Gerd Marie Solstad

Safe Sport for All?

Exploring Safety and Safeguarding in Zambian Sport

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Summary

Safeguarding policies and regulations provide a way for sport associations to address abuse and promote "safe sport". In recent years, formalized safeguarding in sport has gained ground within sport governance in many Western countries – and beyond. Moreover, safeguarding policies are sometimes integrated in transnational Sport for Development partnerships. This is the case for sport associations in Zambia working together with the Norwegian Olympic- and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF).

The main ambition of this research project is to grasp possibilities and constraints associated with formalized safeguarding in Zambian sport associations in the context of their partnership with NIF. I explore the research question: "How are safety and safeguarding understood in the context of organized sport in Zambia?" The study draws empirically on fieldwork consisting of interviews with sport leaders, coaches and athletes in Zambian sport as well as participatory observation with two women's sport teams. Research findings are presented in four articles that shed light on different aspects of the overall research question.

Article 1 focuses on understandings of safety in sport and in wider Zambian society. It shows that the interviewees in this study primarily portrayed sport as a safe arena for youth. Nevertheless, issues such as aggressive coaching methods, unhealthy athlete ideals and the potential for exploitation within asymmetrical power relations were addressed. Against this background, we drew attention to the potential conflict between a vision of safe sport and a sporting culture committed to an ethos of "faster, higher, stronger".

Article 2 problematizes transactional sex as a safety concern for young women and looks into safeguarding resources drawn upon within sport-based social networks. Attention is drawn to the various forms of support offered by senior players to their younger teammates with the intention of steering them towards safe and sensible life choices. We argue that issues located in the grey area between sexual agency and sexual exploitation are important to consider in relation to safeguarding. Moreover, we show that safeguarding in sport can be perceived in ways that diverge from understandings found within organizational policy.

Article 3 examines how athletes perceive the prospect of formally reporting abuse in sport. The athletes described fears of punishment, disbelief, gossip and exclusion from sport, thus portraying reporting of abuse as demanding and risky. These findings alluded to athletes' limited power over decisions affecting their sport participation and raised caution about relying too much on reporting procedures as a mechanism for detecting abuse in sport.

Article 4 considers motivations for addressing abuse through safeguarding by asking how safe sport is "culturally framed" within Zambian sport. The interviewed sport leaders expressed commitment to fighting abuse in sport and positioned safeguarding as an effective approach. They also portrayed safeguarding as consistent with several sport goals and in line with their moral commitments to athletes. The article proposes that political mobilization against abuse in Zambian sport was facilitated by a strong network of local mobilizing actors working for gender equality in and through sport.

Overall, this research draws attention to the vulnerabilities of athletes in resource-poor settings and shows that safety and safeguarding in sport can be understood in diverse ways. Due to local anchoring of the safe sport agenda, safeguarding may become embedded in Zambian sport. However, limited resources and competing problem areas within the sport associations are significant constraints. While the long-term impact of safeguarding remains to be seen, safe sport policies communicate an important message for sport associations to take action against abuse and to foreground the safety of athletes.

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Article 1

Solstad, G.M. and Strandbu, Å. (2017): Faster, Higher, Stronger… Safer? Safety concerns for young athletes in Zambia. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport.* DOI: 10.1177/1012690217742926

Article 2

Solstad, G. M. and Rhind, D. (2018): Sport, Safeguarding and Transactional Sex: A Case Study of Social Networks in Zambian Sport. *Sport in Society.* DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2018.1445990

Article 3

Solstad, G. M. (under review): Reporting Abuse in Sport: A Question of Power? *European Journal for Sport and Society.*

Article 4

Solstad, G.M. and Strandbu, Å. (submitted). Culturally Framing "Safe Sport": On Political Mobilization against Abuse in Sport. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics.*

1. Introduction

This dissertation is about safeguarding in sport, which refers to the actions sport organizations take to ensure the safety of athletes. The project is set within the context of a transnational Sport for Development (SfD) partnership involving Zambian sport associations and the Norwegian Olympic- and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF).

Sport is constructed by multiple and sometimes conflicting discourses. Often, sport is framed as a social good that everyone should be able to access and enjoy. Sport is also commonly positioned as a tool that can be used in pursuit of broader development objectives. Together, sport as a site for enjoyment and a tool for development underpins the logics of SfD as a field, which is occupied with development *of* sport and development *through* sport. Moreover, ideas about the potential of sport have contributed to forge a link between sport and international development, and motivated sport organizations from the global North to establish partnerships with sport organizations in the global South. While SfD initiatives vary in their approaches and objectives, they are united in associating sport with positive experiences and outcomes.

In contrast to the view of sport as a site for enjoyment and development, sport is occasionally constructed as a site of risk, where athletes can be, or are even likely to be, exposed to violence and abuse. Such discourses dominate within the emerging field of safeguarding in sport. Sport is here framed as unsafe and safeguarding is seen as critical for confronting harmful practices and promoting safe sport. Against the presumed risks in sport, protection policies, rules of conduct and other measures are viewed as necessary to ensure the safety of athletes.

With the growing prominence of formalised safeguarding within sport organizations in Western societies, the SfD field is impelled to relate to the discourse of sport as risk. Thus, managing presumed risk of abuse in sport emerges as a central concern also for SfD organizations and practitioners. For sport to *do* good it must *be* good, and formalized safeguarding is increasingly positioned as the leading approach for addressing abuse and achieving safe sport. Until recently, however, abuse and safeguarding have not been particularly visible topics in academic literature about organized sport in global South settings. Presumably, this is about to change, as the safe sport agenda is promoted in increasingly diverse settings, also through transnational SfD partnerships.

The arrival of safeguarding within SfD gives rise to some questions: How is the safe sport agenda, dependent as it is on the impression of sport as a risky arena, understood within contexts that are more accustomed to viewing sport as a social good? Which possibilities and

constraints are encountered in relation to safeguarding in sport within resource-poor settings? Might safeguarding in transnational SfD represent yet another example of good-intentioned Westerners on a quest to "civilize" the South? Inspired by questions such as these, the dissertation explores understandings of safety, safeguarding and safe sport within sport associations in the global South that access funding from a global North SfD partner. Specifically, Zambian sport associations make up the empirical setting for this dissertation. Their partnership with NIF provides a background against which I pose the research question: "How are safety and safeguarding understood in the context of organized sport in Zambia?"

The four articles that make up this dissertation shed light on different aspects of this overall research question. Empirical material, consisting of interviews and participatory observation from Zambian sport, is drawn upon in different ways to inform the thematic emphasis of each article. In short, article 1 explores local understandings of safety in sport as well as in wider Zambian society. Article 2 problematizes transactional sex as a safety concern for youth and looks into safeguarding resources drawn upon within sport-based social networks. Article 3 examines challenges described by athletes when considering the prospect of formally reporting abuse in sport. Lastly, article 4 considers motivations for addressing abuse through formalized safeguarding by asking how safe sport is captured, presented and understood – or culturally framed – within Zambian sport. As clarified in this presentation of the articles, *safeguarding* occupies the centre of this research project, while *Sport for Development* provides the background against which safeguarding is explored.

The articles are presented in part two of this dissertation. The first part of the dissertation provides the overall research framework with the dual aim of i) introducing the research project and research topics, and ii) drawing together the contributions of each article to reflect upon broader implications. Chapter 2 introduces the topic safeguarding in sport and considers some dilemmas when safeguarding meets SfD. Chapter 3 introduces the empirical context. In chapter 4, I embellish upon theoretical considerations made within this research. Chapter 5 builds further on the previous chapters by describing and discussing research relating to safe sport, affording attention to both abuse in sport and safeguarding in sport. Chapter 6 considers the methodological aspects of this project, by describing and reflecting upon research design, method, process and ethics. The findings for each article are summarized in chapter 7. In chapter 8, I draw attention to some possibilities and constraints in relation to safeguarding and safe sport in Zambia and beyond, before offering concluding remarks.

2. Introducing Safeguarding in Sport

In this chapter, I situate the research project in relation to safeguarding in sport as an emergent field of research and practice. In the context of this dissertation, safeguarding concerns the actions taken by sport associations to ensure that all athletes are safe from harm while engaged in their sport activities[1] (ISCSWG, 2016). In the following, I introduce safeguarding in sport by providing some background to how child protection and safeguarding practices have become associated with sport. I also consider some dilemmas that can arise when safeguarding intersects with the field of Sport for Development.

Background to Safeguarding in Sport

The emergence of safeguarding in sport as a field can be related to broader societal trends regarding attention and response to abuse, developments within sport organizations, and shifting understandings of the relationship between sport and wider society. Over the past three decades, organized sport has increasingly been recognized as a setting in which various forms of harm can take place. As in other areas, activism and research grounded in feminist perspectives have served to raise, grow and sustain momentum for addressing abuse in sport (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014a). For example, sexual harassment of elite women athletes first emerged as an issue in Norwegian public media in the mid-1980s (Kolnes, 1994), and has been attended to with increasing intensity within academic scholarship in the following decades – in Norway (Fasting et al., 2002; 2003; 2004) and elsewhere (Brackenridge, 1997; Kirby et al., 2000; Leahy et al., 2002; Volkwein et al., 1997). In the United Kingdom (UK), the case involving Paul Hickson, a British Olympic swimming coach, has been described as a "defining moment in the history of sexual exploitation in sport" (Brackenridge, 2001; 17). In 1995, he was sentenced to 17 years in prison for child sexual abuse of swimmers under his care. These offences were committed over a period of 15 years, and the swimming association became target of critique for failing to respond to complaints made against Hickson nine years prior to his arrest (Garratt et al., 2013). This example is indicative of a common pattern identified in relation to attention to and action against abuse in sport. Indeed, in a number of countries, media coverage of sexual abuse cases in sport has served as a trigger for sport organizations to respond (Lang and Hartill, 2014). It should be noted that sexual abuse of children has for more than a century been topic for debate within different discursive sites,

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[1] I have adjusted the definition in ISCSWG (2016), as they adopt a personal language («the actions *we* take» and «*our* clubs») and refer specifically to children as the target group for safeguarding. For the purpose of this dissertation, I found it more appropriate to use the language «athletes» to specify the organized sport context (regardless of age).

such as medicine, politics, law and psychoanalysis, albeit in varying degrees and intensity (Smart, 2000). Sexual abuse within specific child-servicing institutions, including sport, emerged as a concern much later (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014a).

The significance of media and public attention to sexual abuse cases in sport notwithstanding, sport organizations' response has been irregular and variable across different contexts. An increasingly common response within sport organizations has been the development of child protection and safeguarding policies. This trajectory mimics that of developments in other societal sectors in the UK and elsewhere (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014a; Gilbert et al., 2011). As such, the formalization of child protection and safeguarding across different sectors can be said to have paved the way for organized sport to respond in a comparable manner (Garratt et al., 2013; Hartill and Lang, 2014). Terminology and approaches to safeguarding in sport have also followed developments within social welfare and government policy, as can be seen in a discursive shift from "child protection" to "safeguarding" (Brackenridge et al. 2007; Lang and Hartill, 2014). As safeguarding in sport is perhaps most elaborated, formalized and institutionalized in the UK, it is notable that the British approach has served as a model that has been emulated by other countries (Hartill and Lang, 2014; Parent and Hlimi, 2013). Moreover, institutionalization of safeguarding in sport aligns with the interconnections between developments *within* sport and the shifting position of the sport sector in relation to the state. Professionalization trends towards more specialized systems and services in organized sport is notable in this respect, as they influence how a range of social issues – including harassment and abuse - are dealt with in sport (Ekholm, 2017). Certain aspects of professionalization of sport can also be related to increased demands for accountability from funders, whether they be government or other types of institutions and organizations.

The trend of increased accountability to the state ties in with the position of sport in society, and the perspective on sport policies as an extension of government policies (Brackenridge, 2007). A "wider social role" for sport has been recognized by governments since the turn of the millennium, wherein sport is conceived in instrumental terms and positioned as a tool for various forms of development (Coalter, 2007). The accompaniment of government funding to support the expanded social role for sport has entailed stricter requirements for accountability (Grix and Harris, 2017; Houlihan and Green, 2009). Organizations working with sport have increasingly been expected to demonstrate a positive influence and commitment to social issues, both nationally and internationally through SfD programs and initiatives (Kay, 2012). These developments have presumably served to reduce

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the sport sector's autonomy in relation to government in Western societies. For a long time, Brackenridge (2001) states, the relative autonomous status of sport organizations sheltered the sport sector from external scrutiny and kept sexual abuse of athletes off the sport policy agenda. With England as an example, Brackenridge et al. (2007) has described the establishment of the Child Protection Unit in Sport as signalling "a shift to a more interventionist era in child protection in sport" (p. 26). Soon after, all governing bodies of sport in England were required to meet national standards for safeguarding children in sport within five years to receive funding. It can thus be said that reforms within sport organizations and other societal sectors have contributed towards creating a more conducive climate for the formalization of safeguarding in sport organizations (Garratt et al., 2013). Nevertheless, major differences in approaches and frameworks for dealing with violence and abuse in sport, even within the context of Europe, have been documented (Mergaert et al., 2016). As reflected in the publications referenced above, most of the studies on safeguarding in sport are from western societies.

Safeguarding and Sport for Development
In recent years, safeguarding has been recognized as an emerging topic within SfD (Darnell et al., 2018; Hayhurst et al., 2016), thus drawing attention to the necessity of providing a safe sport environment in order to connect sport with wider development objectives. While the notion that abuse in sport threatens the legitimacy of the practice itself also applies to organized sport within the national context (Fasting and Sand, 2014), it is arguably even more pressing when the mission of an organization is tied to fostering positive social change (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014a). Despite the trend of safeguarding in sport becoming a formalized practice within increasingly diverse settings, it should be reiterated that, in many contexts, safeguarding policies and regulations are absent within organized sport (Mergaert et al., 2016).

While there has not been much academic attention to abuse and responses to abuse in organized sport outside western contexts, the formalization of safeguarding in sport is currently being championed across diverse settings by global powerhouses in sport (e.g. IOC) and international development (e.g. UNICEF). Through the reach and influence of these international institutions, as well as international research projects, transnational SfD partnerships and advocacy initiatives, Western-inspired safeguarding systems are being introduced into diverse geographical settings. In some cases, including NIF's SfD engagement, safeguarding systems are required as a condition for funding. Together, these

initiatives are indicative of an "internationalization" of safeguarding in sport (Mountjoy et al., 2015) and can be viewed as an expression of institutional isomorphism - that is, a tendency for organisations within a field to become more alike one another (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). However, this development may confront researchers and practitioners with new problems and ethical dilemmas, particularly in the case of Western organizations involved in safeguarding in sport within countries with a colonial past.

Broader political implications and ethical aspects of Western interventions in the global South[2] have been thoroughly reflected upon and debated in international development (e.g. Eriksen and Feldberg, 2013; McEwan, 2009) and SfD scholarship (e.g. Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012; Nicholls, 2009). Issues such as imposing western values upon the non-western world, contributing to images of the global South as backward and uncivilized, and favouring Westernized ways of knowledge and understanding are relevant to consider in relation to safeguarding in transnational SfD (Escobar, 2011; Kay, 2012; Tvedt, 2006). For example, Kay (2012) draws attention to how monitoring and evaluation systems, often developed and required by Western partners, can subtly function to influence priorities and resource allocation within recipient organizations. Similar effects can be imagined for safeguarding systems, particularly since they may require additional monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Critical perspectives informed by postcolonialism or anti-development have not been prominent within research on safeguarding within transnational sport partnerships, presumably connected to the relative novelty of this topic and practice, particularly in SfD contexts (Hayhurst et al., 2016). However, resistance to westernized bureaucracy and northern ownership has been documented in relation to a recently developed global policy framework intended to guide sport organizations in their safeguarding work (Rhind et al., 2015a). As follows, and perhaps especially for elements such as codes of conduct, what is being communicated through safeguarding policies and practices across cultures may deserve consideration against a history of colonialism and associated "civilizing projects" (McEwan, 2009).

Moreover, safeguarding in transnational partnerships is tied up with broader relations and structures of power and inequality. One concern relates to how SfD programs may serve

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[2] My use of terms merits a comment: While acknowledging that "global South/global North", "Western/non-Western" and "First World/Third World" are all wrought with difficulties and that they can give the impression of dichotomised, homogenised and separate spheres of the world, I still find merit their use. One reason is that they are still meaningful for highlighting that countries in the global South are still mostly affected by threats to basic needs because of poverty and armed conflict. Another is that these terms are near unavoidable in the international development and SfD literature.

to uphold the status quo of global power relations through alignment with neoliberal logics that emphasize market-based solutions, individual skills and limited state intervention (Hayhurst, 2009; 2013). This critique befalls SfD programs that focus on empowering disadvantaged groups and individuals with skills and capacities to survive within an inequitable world rather than challenging the structures that position them as disadvantaged (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). Similarly, Forde and Kota (2016; 448) argue that much of SfD fails to "question the underlying structures which produce the oppression and inequalities that motivate the need for [SfD] in the first place". Particularly considering how the intention of reducing abuse in sport through safeguarding systems may be compromised by the financial situation in low-resource settings (Krueger et al., 2014), this critique can be relevant for safeguarding in SfD. Moreover, there is a potential for SfD being apoliticized by favouring theoretical frameworks that shy away from addressing structures of power and inequality (Darnell, 2012; Darnell et al., 2018). In focusing on technical solutions to specific problems, it is possible that safeguarding in SfD can be a fitting target for similar critique. If that becomes the case, then the possibility for inducing unwanted, unintended consequences, rather than contributing substantively towards safer sport, may be elevated.

In recognizing that community sport organizations in the global South may not have the human resources or expertise to handle requirements from Western donors (Kay, 2012), external experts and actors, such as international development or SfD organizations, are positioned as important stakeholders for the sport sector. This again affects power dynamics at local, national and global levels. As indicated by Krueger et al. (2014), foreign involvement into social service provision can compromise the position of government agencies. Potential outcomes may include a reduced government ability to oversee and coordinate in matters of public welfare, a fragmented struggle over external resources by different types of welfare providers, and unequal provision of welfare service within the country (Krueger et al., 2014). Within sport, similar effects can be imagined, by which well-resourced sports organizations will be better able to implement safeguarding systems, and, in turn, might be better positioned to acquire further external funding. As such, the question arises of who stands to benefit and lose, and whose interests are served, by the prevailing understandings portrayed within the international safeguarding discourse. On the one hand, the orientation and focus of safeguarding, influenced by powerful Western-led initiatives, may shift attention towards particular problems while simultaneously deflecting attention from locally conceptualized problems in sport. On the other hand, safeguarding may draw attention to issues *within* sport as problematic, without challenging wider socioeconomic inequalities represented by SfD as a

practice. As such, it may contribute to setting the agenda for which issues are worthy of attention, and equally important, which issues that can escape under the radar. This illustrates the agenda-setting powers (Lukes, 2005) of donor organisations to influence priorities in the fields and countries in which they operate. It is against this background that this research project pursues understandings of safety and safeguarding in Zambian sport.

3. Introducing the Empirical Context

The empirical focus of this dissertation is directed at sport associations in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia. By introducing the research setting, I hope to enable a better reading and understanding of the position and meaning of safety and safeguarding in Zambian sport. To do so, I focus on the Zambian setting and situate the research in relation to i) how sport is organized, ii) socioeconomic developments and iii) NIF's Sport for Development engagement.

Organized Sport in Zambia

Sport provision in Zambia is divided between organized sport activities offered by national sport associations (NSAs) for each sport code, physical education and sport programs in schools, and sport activities hosted by local SfD non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Banda, 2010). The NSAs hold the formal responsibility for sport provision at both elite and grassroots level and are affiliated to the national governing body of sport, the National Sport Council of Zambia. The Zambia Paralympic Committee and the Zambia National Olympic Committee are charged with preparing elite athletes for international competitions. Zambia's national sport policy, formulated by the Department of Sport Development within the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development, formally determines the sport agenda and prioritization in the country (Banda, 2010). Each NSA has its own structure, branching from the national to the regional and local levels, although sport tends to be most developed in the urban centres. The leagues house company-teams (including the armed forces and the police) and community teams. The first tends to be sponsored by the company or institution they are affiliated to, while the second type is often self-sponsored. At least in the context of Lusaka, teams affiliated to local SfD-organizations also take part in NSA leagues, and some SfD NGOs organize their own leagues in particular sport codes.

The picture that develops for sport organization and participation in Zambia is thus quite complex and disjointed. This can be viewed in relation to the proliferation of SfD providers in Zambia from the early 2000s, particularly in the Lusaka area (Lindsey et al., 2017). According to Banda (2010; 249), these organizations emerged "to fill the gaps left by government inadequacies" and they contribute significantly to providing community sport around the country. Government funding for sport is spent mostly towards the administration and organization of the professional leagues in the country, with scarce resources dedicated to running activities at the grassroots level. Moreover, the uneven and inequitable distribution of funds in sport seems to have benefited urban areas and football at the expense of rural areas

and other sport disciplines (Banda, 2010). The privileged status of football should be read against a history of Zambia's international football accomplishments in the 1970s[3] and the conviction among some political leaders that success in elite sport, and particularly football, could elevate the standing of Zambia, attract sponsors and strengthen national unity (Chipande, 2016). The economic difficulties in Zambia and relatively low prioritization of sport within government budgets has been associated with the current situation of constrained resources for sport at all levels (Lindsey et al., 2017). For NSAs wanting to develop grassroots sport, then, a pressing need for external sources of income has arisen. However, it has been observed that the organized sport sector has lost out in competition for funding against the more prominent SfD organizations in Zambia. As a result, NSAs have struggled to diversify their funding streams, thus leaving most NSAs to depend solely on insufficient government funding allocations (Lindsey et al, 2017).

A report from Zambia and five other countries in the southern African region shows that girls and women are underrepresented in both participation and leadership positions in sport[4] (Fasting et al., 2014). Based on indications that sport was viewed as a "risky" arena due to violence and abuse, one of the recommendations from the report was to "[d]evelop and implement preventive tools and measurements against violence, so that sport and exercise can be a safe arena for girls and women" (Fasting et al., 2014; 29). Notably, 44 % of the organizations[5] involved in the study had a women's committee and two-thirds reported having taken preventative action against bullying, hazing, homophobia, sexual harassment and/or abuse within the past three years (Fasting et al., 2014; 24). This indicates a rather gender-conscious and anti-violence oriented political climate within sport in the southern African region[6]. As Lindsey notes (2017; 52), however, "the development of sport sectors in Zambia (…) reflects wider trends in the county's political governance and development approaches". To better understand how sport in Zambia is structured and practiced, it helps to take a backward glance, beginning in the colonial era, and portray, in broad brushstrokes, central

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[3] Zambia's national football team for men came second in the African Cup of Nations in 1974 (Chipande, 2016)
[4] The finding of 20 % women representation among board members is comparatively high in a global perspective (Fasting et al., 2014).
[5] 48 organizations participated, representing national Olympic- as well as Paralympic committees, national governing bodies of sport, school sport organizations and five national sport association in each of the participating countries (Zambia, Lesotho, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Malawi) (Fasting et al., 2014).
[6] National sport organizations in southern Africa are affiliated to the African Union Sports Council Region 5, which comprises the ten member states Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe (www.auscregion5.org.bw).

developments leading up to the present day. These developments have carved a space for NIF to play a role in Zambian sport and influence the setting of priorities such as safe sport.

Social and Economic Developments in Zambia: An Overview

Although Zambia has experienced economic growth since the year 2000, the preceding three decades were characterized by economic turbulence. Following independence from British colonial rule in 1964, Zambia had a few years of economic prosperity that translated to an elevated standard of living among the public. The country's first democratically elected president, Kenneth Kaunda of the United National Independence Party, was inspired by a socialist ideology, which manifested in state-provided social services such as education and health care as well as expansion in physical and social infrastructure. In 1968, government ensured majority state ownership in foreign-owned mining companies, converting them into state-owned companies. Alongside the Zambian army, air force and police, these companies became key sponsors and providers of sporting opportunities at all levels (Chipande, 2016). In consequence, sport participation flourished, with investment in facilities and funds being allocated to the running of competitive leagues and organizing of sport festival. Opportunities varied, however, according to the geographical location of the mining companies[7]. Participation was also highly gendered, with comparably few opportunities for women (Lindsey et al., 2017).

The economic growth of the early post-independence era was not sustained, which has been ascribed partly to the country's one-sided economy and high dependence on the mineral industry (Noyoo, 2010). When the copper prices collapsed in the 1970s, Zambia plummeted into economic crisis and was categorized as a low-income country. It has been argued that these external factors were compounded by internal challenges of corruption and inefficient management of the state-owned companies (Noyoo, 2010). The economic crisis negatively affected public services across all domains, including sport. The cutback in state-subsidies to the state-owned companies was felt heavily across the sport sector as the companies withdrew their support one after another. The state of sport facilities also deteriorated in this period since plans for maintenance and development and new facilities were put on hold. Concurrently, physical education in schools suffered as they lost out to more prioritized subjects (Lindsey et al., 2017).

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[7] Sport was most developed in the Copperbelt and along the railway through Lusaka to Livingstone (Banda, 2010)

Facing economic crisis and deteriorating welfare for the Zambian public, government was forced to seek alleviation through external borrowing, leaving Zambia massively indebted by the 1990s (Gough et al., 2016). While China offered some loans, most of the funds came from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank whom required as a funding condition that neo-liberal reforms and a market-based economy be implemented (Kragelund, 2014). This went against the Zambian government's socialist agenda and their ambitions of a state-led economy, and Kaunda tried to fight against these reforms. However, as Chipande (2016; 1848) describes, the Zambian population reached a breaking point in 1990, with riots breaking out over massively increased prices of basic food items. Following both internal and external pressures, Zambia saw a transition to multiparty democracy in 1991, with Frederick Titus Chiluba for the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) being elected president (Lindsey et al., 2017). Chiluba inherited a collapsed economy and had, according to Chipande (2016), little choice but to endorse the liberal reforms demanded by the World Bank and the IMF in exchange for loans needed to revitalize the economy. Under Chiluba, the Structural Adjustment Program was fully implemented, which led to privatization of state-owned companies and reductions in government spending at an unprecedented scale (Chipande, 2016). Subsequently, social welfare provision to the Zambian public suffered extensively (Gough et al., 2016). The progress made in establishing government-provided services such as free health care and education was reversed following the neoliberal economic restructuring in the 1990s (Evans, 2014; Gough et al., 2016). Reverberations from these developments were felt across many sectors and manifested in augmented inequality of access to social services. For example, the emergence of private schools with school-fees of an unattainable level for much of the population left a majority of children with what was often sub-standard schooling opportunities offered by underfunded and volunteer-led community schools (Lindsey et al., 2017).

As noted, neo-liberal policies continued to dominate throughout the 1990s, with an intensification of privatization processes and a continuing reduction in the roles and responsibilities taken by the Zambian government (Noyoo, 2010). These processes have been associated with a worsening of the economic situation in Zambia, not least through increasing unemployment and cost of living (Chipande, 2016). The shrinking of the public sector compelled Zambians to pursue casual and piecemeal work, thus indicating exacerbated levels of job insecurity (Hansen, 2010). As observed by Laird (2007), the perception that national governments in several African countries were failing and corrupt strengthened the position of neoliberal ideologies during this period. In light of this critique, NGOs were positioned as

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central in fostering "effective" development that was able to reach the most disadvantaged segments of developing societies. During the 1990s, there was also growing attention towards the social parameters of development, meaning that international development was made to be about more than economic aid (Eriksen and Feldberg, 2013)[8]. As followed, there was an increase in civil society organizations that got engaged in various development-oriented sectors, not least in relation to the HIV/AIDS epidemic that struck Zambia in the mid-1980s (Lindsey et al., 2017). While sport provision remained centralized and primarily offered by state-recognized organizations (e.g. NSAs) throughout the 1990s, inadequacies in participation opportunities, especially at grassroots level, eventually led to the emergence of new actors. With support from NIF, the first Zambian SfD NGOs of local origin, Sport in Action and Edusport, were founded in 1999 (Lindsey et al., 2017). As a relatively peaceful and politically stable low-income country, Zambia became a key site for international and local SfD activity (Lindsey et al., 2017). It has also been a favoured country for hosting volunteers from the Youth Sport Exchange Program – a collaboration between the Norwegian Peace Corps and NIF to facilitate north-south and south-south exchange of sport volunteers (Hasselgård, 2015b).

With the revival of the copper industry in the new millennium, Zambia is once again positioned in the (lower) middle-income bracket of the World Bank classification system (Gough et al., 2016). This economic growth has, however, failed to translate into noticeably improved living conditions for the Zambian population. Gough et al. (2016; 362) comment that "the country's recent growth is capital rather than labor intensive", which indicates that the unemployment situation has not improved. Rather, it signals concentration of money coupled with economic inequality. Indeed, poverty and economic inequality have been identified as major challenges currently facing Zambia, with 54.4 % of the population living in poverty[9] (76.6 % in rural and 23.4% in urban areas) and a Gini coefficient[10] of 0.57 in 2015 (Central Statistics Office Zambia, 2015). Particularly with Zambia's youthful population, where almost 70 % is below the age of 35, an intensely competitive climate for job seekers and businesses has emerged (Gough et al., 2016). Shrinking wages have also served to move more women to contribute financially to the household (Evans, 2014). Moreover, limited

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[8] The broadening development agenda is seen through introduction of the human development index (HDI) in 1991, which encompassed measures of health, education and standard of living (UNDP, 2016).

[9] The Living Conditions Monitoring Survey also included measures of "self-assessed poverty", where 43.8 % considered themselves to be moderately poor, 40.7 % as very poor and the remaining 15.5 % as non-poor (CSO Zambia, 2015; 113).

[10] The Gini coefficient is a measure of inequality in economic expenditure and ranges from 0 to 1, where 0 represents total inequality and 1 represents total equality (CSO Zambia, 2015; 111).

sexual and reproductive health rights have been documented for adolescent girls in Zambia, and associated with child marriage, teenage pregnancies and unsafely induced abortions (Dahlbäck et al., 2010; UNFPA Zambia, 2016). These problems tend to be more pronounced in rural compared to urban centers and exacerbated in areas most affected by poverty (UNFPA Zambia, 2016). It is estimated that 1.6 % of Zambian children and youth under the age of 18 were living on the street in 2004 (Strobbe et al., 2012). These problems are compounded by the persisting levels of HIV/AIDS, with 12.4 % of the adult population living with HIV in 2016[11]. The situation described across these areas of health, education and gender, have been influential in positioning Zambia as a recipient of international development aid. These topics are also addressed by local and international SfD organizations. In the following, we move to examine NIF's engagement with sport development in Zambia.

NIF's Engagement in Zambian Sport

When NIF started funding the National Sport Council of Zambia in 1990, they built on the approach to sport (and) development established through almost a decade of work in Tanzania[12] (Straume, 2012; Straume and Hasselgård, 2014). They also drew on their "sport for all" philosophy, which has been central in Norwegian sport policy and, subsequently, in NIF's SfD engagements (Straume, 2012). One reason for the grassroots orientation to sport development aid was a growing worry in Norwegian public discourse that the trends towards increasing commercialization and professionalism in elite sport threatened the intrinsic value of sport (Straume, 2012). The "sport for all" concept thus came to dominate in NIF's development aid as it did in Norwegian sport. Focusing on grassroots sport went against the early trends in sport development aid, which were elite oriented and often involved sending coaches to develop elite athletes and building facilities servicing top-level sport (Straume and Steen-Johnsen, 2012). This was also the case in Zambia, with president Kaunda seeking to strengthen elite sport performance in Zambia in the post-independence years by importing coaches from overseas (Lindsey et al., 2017).

Organizations within Norwegian SfD have gradually been tied in closer with official Norwegian development and foreign policy (Hasselgård, 2015a). This should be understood against the background of rising international support for SfD, detected for example through

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[11] UNAIDS Data 2017, from https://www.avert.org/professionals/hiv-around-world/sub-saharan-africa/zambia, accessed 15. August 2018

[12] Norwegian aid started in 1952 with a bilateral agreement with India, while Tanzania became the second country to receive Norwegian aid. Other Nordic countries had preceded Norway in targeting Tanzania for aid project, both in general and in sport development (Straume, 2010).

the ample recognition and legitimation gained through the United Nations system. Following the rising recognition of SfD, and what Kidd (2008) characterizes as a new social movement, there has been a concurrent increase in the number and diversity of actors associated with this field (Hayhurst, 2009; Kidd, 2008). Governments, organizations, institutions and networks with different aims and approaches operating at global, national and/or community levels in diverse geographical settings have been registered among the different entities involved in SfD activities (Schulenkorf et al., 2015). In the wake of this proliferation, competition for funds between different types of organizations invested in this field intensified, which was also observed in relation to Norwegian SfD providers (Hasselgård, 2015a). According to Hasselgård and Straume (2014), these trends have created tensions between NIF's preference for "sport first" and the "development-through-sport" perspective. In discordance with the mainstream SfD discourse, the "sport first" approach contained a focus on sport participation as intrinsically valuable, emphasized *sport for all* as a key concern and foregrounded the development *of sport*. Building structures and strengthening sport governance within a publicly funded system have been central features of a sport first approach (Hasselgård, 2015a). NIF's preferred focus can thus be described as somewhat divergent from the contemporary SfD discourse. As observed by Hasselgård (2015b), the main funder for NIF's development projects, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation[13] (Norad), has also demonstrated an increasing proclivity towards sport-for-development in their funding patterns. Thus, trends and developments within SfD and Norwegian politics have added pressure on NIF to reorient their development initiatives towards SfD organizations and actors (Hasselgård, 2015b).

NIF's priorities and approaches to sport and development have been influenced by public aid priorities ever since their first project, and negotiated with Norad. Before they could embark on their first project in Tanzania, Norad stipulated that NIF should focus on mass sport, preferably within a school context, establish projects in countries that were already recipients of Norwegian development aid, and contribute financially and administratively towards the project (Straume, 2010). The emphasis on mass sport was congruent with Norwegian sport policies and NIF's own priorities (Straume and Steen-Johnsen, 2012). Against concern about cultural imperialism, dominant in the international aid debate at the time, another central principle was that aid should be on the terms of the

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[13]Norad is a directorate within the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, charged with the quality assurance of Norwegian development aid. They are responsible for allocating funding grants to Norwegian organizations that work on development objectives with partners in poor countries. (https://www.norad.no/en/front/about-norad/)

recipient (Straume, 2012). Moreover, in correspondence with Norwegian aid priorities, emphasis was placed on children, women and people with a disability within NIF's early sport development assistance to southern Africa (Straume and Steen-Johnsen, 2012). The resulting project focused on educating teachers and sport leaders, strengthening the existing sport organization and importing sport equipment. After the project ended in 1990, NIF withdrew from Tanzania to continue their SfD engagement in Zimbabwe and Zambia, building further on the "sport for all" concept (Hasselgård, 2015b).

In NIF's early SfD engagement in Zambia, they aimed at strengthening the delivery of sport through a nationally coordinated structure akin to how sport is organized in Norway. This positioned the National Sport Council as the natural recipient for initial funding from NIF. However, as Hasselgård (2015a) describes in relation to NIF's engagement in Zimbabwe, NIF had to negotiate a position between their own approach and priorities within Norad, which at the time moved towards non-state actors as primary aid recipients. Lindsey et al. (2017) also points to complications in the working relationship with National Sport Council contributing to NIF shifting their funding priorities towards the newly emergent SfD NGOs in Zambia at the end of the 1990s. Norway's international development priorities were subsequently embedded within these NGOs, whom adopted a focus on HIV/AIDS, poverty reduction, women's rights and gender equality (Norad, 2007). An example of this development is the initiative taken by Edusport to establish the Kicking AIDS Out Network (KAO) in 2001, which gathered a network of organizations in promoting and implementing a sport-based approach to HIV/AIDS awareness raising (Kruse, 2006). Hasselgård and Straume (2014) write that NIF had to make compromises to accommodate Norad's policy priorities, as development-through-sport gained traction within international development discourse as well as in Norwegian international development[14] policy at the time. This is exemplified by NIF's central role in KAO in providing its secretariat and securing funding through Norad.

Working with sport and HIV/AIDS has been referred to as an entry point for NIF to attend more specifically to safe sport as a priority area[15]. It was also significant that, in 2011, claims of sexual misconduct within SfD-affiliated teams' participation in Norway Cup sparked public debate in Norway about abuse in the context of SfD. It was discovered that, in

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[14] It is notable that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published a separate strategy document for the use of sport in development in the global South for the period 2005-2010. The document was entitled "Strategy for Norway's Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South". The strategy was evaluated in 2011, yielding ten recommendations for revising the strategy, which were not followed through as far as I am aware. (accessed 15. august 2018 fromt: https://www.norad.no/en/toolspublications/publications/2011/evaluation-of-the-strategy-for-norways-culture-and-sports-cooperation-with-countries-in-the-south/)

[15] From interview with the representative from NIF's international development department.

exchange for being selected to participate in the Norway Cup, sexual favours were demanded from women footballers from the Kenyan-based organization Mathare Youth Sport Association - a long-time recipient of Norwegian development support (Opseth and Speed, n.d). Presumably, this controversial case provided further impetus for NIF to reinforce their attention towards abuse and violence through their own SfD engagement. This has come to fruition especially in their extensive work on establishing safeguarding systems at international tournaments, both in Norway and in southern Africa. Notably, a project designated the title "safe and responsible sport in the African Union Region 5" was afforded 600 000 NOK from NIF in 2016[16].

NIF's persistent emphasis on increasing women's representation at participation and leadership level can also be viewed as central in fostering attention to violence and abuse in sport. Participation in platforms at various levels and in different fora is likely to have strengthened their status and influence in this area. For example, NIF acted as the Norwegian government's representative within the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG), housed by the United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace in Geneva. Until the official closure of the UN sport office in 2017 (van Luijk, 2018), Norway functioned as chair for "sport and gender", indicating that they took a lead position in promoting governmental policy-making and action in this area. In relation to the 2014 Plenary Session, president of NIF at the time, Tove Paule, announced that their role in guiding the development of a Gender Action Plan for Sport in the southern African region constituted one of their key achievements. The gender action plan also provided a mandate for NIF to undertake research about gender and gender-related barriers to sport participation in southern Africa. This resulted in two publications: "Gender, Participation and Leadership in Sport in Southern Africa: A Baseline Study" (Fasting et al., 2014) and "Gender-Based Violence in Zambian sport: Prevalence and Prevention" (Fasting et al., 2015). Moreover, abuse and safeguarding in sport received considerable and sustained attention within the SDP IWG, as demonstrated through their hosting of an intergovernmental meeting on child protection and safeguarding in sport in 2012 and on gender-based violence in and through sport in 2014.

Another incentive to get engaged in safeguarding might have been that abuse in sport could threaten to undermine the positive aspects of sport and discredit the rationale for doing SfD. Indeed, a safe sport environment has been conceptualized as a prerequisite for sport for

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[16] https://www.idrettsforbundet.no/tema/idrettens-utviklingssamarbeid/

all (Fasting and Sand, 2015), which by extension implicates NIF's SfD engagements. Similarly, the emphasis on providing safe spaces for sport has become increasingly pronounced within SfD practice and research (Hayhurst et al., 2016; Spaaij and Schulenkorf, 2014; UNICEF, 2010). Following the Western model, formalization of safeguarding within sport- and SfD organizations has been envisioned as the main route towards realizing the vision of safe sport, also in the context of low-income countries in the global South (Rhind et al., 2017). Currently, "safe and enjoyable sport" is articulated as a central aspect of good governance and positioned as one of the priority areas for NIF's partnerships with both sport and SfD organizations in Zambia (NIF, 2013; 1). It is also notable that, according to the National Organization for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation (NOWSPAR), safeguarding and protection is one of ten key policy areas to be included in Zambia's next National Sport Policy (NOWSPAR, n.d.). While continuing to support SfD organizations in Zambia, NIF has in recent years strengthened the "sport first"-component in their approach (Hasselgård, 2015b; NIF, n.d.). This perspective is also central in the core body of NIF's current strategic plan[17] for 2014-2019, which states that: "Norwegian sports shall continue their international development cooperation with the intrinsic value of sport as its cornerstone, and with social development, health and democracy as a contribution to the communities in countries with which they collaborate" (NIF, 2015; 22, *my translation*).

A "sport first" orientation in NIF's work can also be viewed through their establishing partnerships with several Zambian NSAs and working closely with the Zambian National Olympic Committee as well as liaising with government representatives involved in sport provision in the southern African region (Fasting et al., 2014). Indeed, the presumed usefulness of sport in facilitating social development has been increasingly recognized within Zambian national government and sport policy from 2006 (5NDP and 6NDP). In the 5th national development plan, it is suggested that sport, physical education and recreation activities can be used as tools to mitigate rights abuses against children and youth (GRZ, 2006). The attention towards safeguarding as a crucial area of sport governance shows that a "sport first" approach does not necessarily represent disconnection from welfare and social development issues. Rather, safeguarding can be interpreted as an ideal site for uniting "sport first" and "development-through-sport", as it yields an opportunity to demonstrate social justice engagement precisely by concentrating on provision of quality sport. In a recent policy document from NIF, this is conceptualized through the ambition of representing and

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[17] What is called «idrettspolitisk dokument» in Norwegian.

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providing "responsible sport". In this way, safeguarding has become embedded within and considered necessary for good governance in sport. In practice, this has translated into a funding requirement that "all partners are including components on how to safeguard children in their training and programmes" (NIF, n.d; 7). Under the condition that the sport environment is made safe and enjoyable through safeguarding, sport is once again positioned as a site for positive experiences, joy and companionship within NIF's sport for development engagement.

4. Theoretical Considerations

Here, I will discuss the approach to theory taken in this dissertation and describe how the different articles have been inspired and informed by abductive analysis and institutional ethnography. I also outline how gender matters for safety and safeguarding in sport, with emphasis on how this topic has been thematised within this field of research.

Approaches to Theory

A central question in every social science study is the degree to which it is driven and informed by theory and preconceived understandings of the research topic. In Tavory and Timmermans' (2014) "abductive analysis", they advocate for striking an intermediate position between the two polarities represented by empiricism and theoretical determinism as a preferable route in qualitative research and analysis. They define theory as "any form of generalization about observations that provides a potentially useful insight about the world" (Tavory and Timmermans, 2014; 42). Theory and data, the authors claim, are mutually reinforcing in that theory contributes insights that illuminate aspects of data otherwise shrouded, while data can nuance or reinforce theory through unexpected observations that in turn inspire debate about the theory's possibilities and limitations. Abductive analysis thus builds on interaction between theorization and empirical observations. Unexpected research findings, made possible through the researchers' familiarity with the academic literature and relevant theories in the field, are deemed important for guiding the researcher's further theorization that, in turn, advances understandings of the field in question. Tavory and Timmermans (2014) also emphasize the value and importance of meticulous and well-documented research methods, such as keeping detailed notes that fosters the analytic distance required to discover new problems or connections.

Particularly for my way of approaching the interview situation and thoughts about how social interactions and relations are experienced and made sense of, I have found inspiration in institutional ethnography. Here, exploration and discovery are central features (Smith, 2006). As with ethnography, it is based on the belief that social processes must be investigated and understood from the social and cultural context in which they take place (Widerberg, 2007). More specifically, institutional ethnography refers to "the investigation of empirical linkages among local settings of everyday life, organizations, and translocal processes of administration and governance" (DeVault and McCoy, 2006: 15). The starting point for institutional ethnography is an ontology in which people are understood as fundamentally social beings, with an unyielding drive towards social interaction with their

environment (Widerberg, 2015). Smith (2006: 2) notes that "the social is only to be discovered among actual people and their ongoing activity". Therefore, social interaction is the natural starting point for doing research in institutional ethnography, with a focus on people and their everyday practices in the institution within which they are situated. This understanding also positions participatory observation as a natural and valuable research method. However, the goal of institutional ethnography is not to learn *about* the people that are being interviewed, but to learn *from* them about the institution they belong to (Widerberg, 2015). This positions the research participants as experts (or "knowers") about their world and the researcher as the learner. By taking this approach, the researcher seeks to achieve a more even power balance in the interview situation and to avoid reinforce prevailing power structures that shape everyday practices (Smith, 2005).

At the core of discovery in institutional ethnography lies the researcher's attempt to uncover how people's lives are embedded in social power structures and how they are involved in shaping and maintaining these structures through their own activities (Widerberg, 2015). Moreover, since research subjects might themselves be unaware of the ruling relations affecting their everyday practices, it is the researcher's task to discover this through a mapping process (Smith, 2005). In the words of DeVault and McCoy (2006: 21): "Through informants' stories and descriptions, the researcher begins to identify some of the translocal relations, discourses, and institutional work processes that are shaping the informants' everyday work". Here, it is referred to a "work knowledge" that all people hold, which includes "a person's experience of and in their own work, what they do, how they do it, including what they think and feel" as well as how this work is coordinated with the work of others (Smith, 2005: 151). These notions provide parts of the rationale for taking people's lived experiences and ideas about safety and safeguarding as my starting point in the present research project.

Inspired by abductive analysis and institutional ethnography, I adopted an explorative approach and chose a relatively open starting position with respect to theory. That is, I did not apply one preordained theory or set of theories for investigating the research question. Rather, I undertook a broad reading of literature about international development, safeguarding in sport, violence and abuse and other related topics, which brought me in touch with a wide spectrum of theoretical perspectives and concepts employed within these fields. This included postcolonialism, feminism, power, governmentality, youth development and empowerment, social belonging, hegemony, social capital and social movement theory. These perspectives formed part of my theoretical luggage as I embarked upon the fieldwork for this research

project. Some of the theories ended up explicitly informing the articles to varying degrees, while others have more insidiously influenced my thinking around different topics. The inspiration from institutional ethnography is most visible in the two first articles. These are explorative in nature and rely primarily on the academic literature relating to the topic in question as theoretical background. Article 3 and 4, on the other hand, apply specific theoretical perspectives to examine the research question. Article 3 draws on Lukes (2005) and his view on three-dimensional power as well as insights about social belonging and social dynamics as articulated by Elias and Scotson (1994). Article 4 takes on a broader perspective yet by applying social movement theory, with an emphasis on cultural framing (Tarrow, 1994; Benford and Snow, 2000). As described by Tavory and Timmermans (2014), acts of "discovery" were of an instructive function for indicating potentially useful theoretical and analytical frameworks to inform a given topic. Different parts of the entire dataset were used to inform the various article foci. The three mechanisms proposed by Tavory and Timmermans (2014) for achieving a thoroughly considered account of research guided the processes of interpretation and drafting of the articles: i) *fit* (coherence between my claims and the data), *plausibility* (checking for alternative ways of interpreting the data) and *relevance* (reflecting on implications that theorization would have for others). It should be noted as a concluding comment that the analytical frameworks presented were drawn from in various ways, and that I did not apply the procedural steps indicated in institutional ethnography and abductive analysis.

Gender in Safeguarding Research

Due to its centrality to understandings of violence, abuse and sexuality, gender constitutes a prominent theme within research on safety and safeguarding in sport. In the following, I draw attention to how gender has been thematised within this research field. I do so by describing how understandings of gender are made relevant in the fields of sport and international development while making connections to research on abuse and safeguarding. Then, I highlight how perspectives on gender influence research and practice related to safe sport more explicitly.

Sport as a Gendered Space

Sport can be described as a gendered space, where gender functions as an important organizing principle. Moreover, sport is often represented to celebrate masculinity and violence and devaluate characteristics commonly associated with femininity (Hargreaves, 2001). This positions sport as a site for solidification of dichotomous gender understandings

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and has given rise to the impression that sport is made «by and for men» (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014a; 333). Constructions of sport as a risky space for girls and women have commonly been theorized in relation to masculinist values, male coaches' power over female athletes and sexualisation of women (Chroni et al., 2012). These representations and observations have served to direct attention onto women's marginalized role – both in terms of *access to* sport and *opportunities* within sport.

The gender equality-agenda has been central in promoting women's participation in sport (Adams, 2017). Against theories that sexual harassment and abuse of women constrained women's access and infringed upon women's opportunities to thrive and succeed within sport, a link has been forged between the dual purposes of promoting women's participation and addressing sexual harassment and abuse in sport. The association with gender equality has, for example, motivated research focusing on sexual harassment and abuse as barriers to women's participation, also in Zambia (Jacobsen, 2014; Fasting et al., 2015). When the dominance of men and masculine values in sport are used as explanations, this would strengthen feminists' determination to increase representation of women in sport. Through a feminist lens, more gender-equal representation of women in sport, and especially at leadership level, is seen as an effective measure to change cultures that are inattentive to the victimization of women (Brackenridge, 2001).

Moreover, the above description of sport has given rise to the idea of sport as an ideal site for challenging stereotypical conceptions of gender and reductive views on women (Saavedra, 2009; Sikes and Bale, 2013). The effects of women demonstrating athletic skills that defy gender expectations have been expected to reverberate beyond sport, thus empowering women and promoting gender equality in wider society (Meier and Saavedra, 2009). The conviction that sport can empower women and challenge stereotypical gender views is strongly represented within SfD and serves as an argument for using sport in pursuit of gender-related development goals. This perspective is visible, for example, in studies on women role models in sport – such as Zambian boxer Ester Phiri (Meier and Saavedra, 2009). According to Sikes and Bale (2013), women in sports on the African continent have received sparse attention within social science. However, similar arguments have been used to promote women's sport participation within development contexts: Women's sport participation is presented, on the one hand, as an equal rights issue, and, on the other hand imagined having positive signal effects (Saavedra, 2009). For some, this has necessitated critical attention towards sexual harassment and abuse of women, perceived to constrict access and opportunities for women to enjoy sport and excel in sport.

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In Zambia, as elsewhere, sport constitutes an institution in which girls and women are underrepresented in participation and leadership roles (Fasting et al., 2014). Here, the work to promote women and women's participation in sport has fostered attention towards and research on gender-based barriers to participation. As a result, gender-specific norms and expectations as well as concerns for gender-based violence have been found to be significant barriers to Zambian girls and women's participation in sport (Fasting et al., 2014; 2015; Jacobsen, 2014). This included exploitation of women athletes by male authority figures demanding sexual favours in exchange for sporting privileges (Fating et al., 2014; Jacobsen, 2014). Again, when the predominance of men in sport is presented as contributing towards a culture that is inattentive to abuse and exploitation, such findings can result in recommendations to increase women's representation in sport. In this way, it becomes visible how these two agendas – increasing women's participation and reducing abuse in sport – can serve to sustain and reinforce each other.

Gender, Sport and International Development

Gender equality occupies a prominent position within international development, which comes to expression also within sport-related development initiatives (Hayhurst, 2013). Waldrop (2013) writes that, when the United Nations and the international aid apparatus started to engage with gender equality in the 1970s, they focused mostly on women. Imagining women as the primary target group for development aid has been associated with observations that women are generally afforded a lower status and position in society in relation to men. Thus, they tend to have less access to power and be disproportionately affected by poverty (Waldrop, 2013). Lifting this segment of the population out of poverty is thus positioned as an effective poverty-reduction and development strategy. Waldrop (2013) further describes how stereotypical conceptions of women as naturally compassionate and nurturing have contributed to views that women make for "ideal" target groups for development aid. From this perspective, women would be expected to manage and distribute development funds in more egalitarian and less selfish ways compared to men (Waldrop, 2013).

The perspective that targeting women constitutes "good" and effective aid and development has been both supported and contested. However, homogenising views on gender that construct oppositional characteristics and traits based on gender have been widely critiqued and opposed within international development (e.g. Mohanty, 2003) as well as in SfD (e.g. Hayhurst et al., 2015). Moreover, the representation of African women (and Africa

more generally) within Eurocentric development discourses has been thoroughly critiqued from a postcolonial perspective (Seth, 2011). African feminists have contributed importantly, not least by observing how *some* groups of women (black) can become marginalized within certain articulations (Western) of feminism and by urging attention to the *intersection* between gender and other categories, such as race and class (Mohanty, 2003).

Moreover, recent studies draw attention to a renewed intensification on *young girls* as ideal targets for international development - again associated with the perceived nature and presumed development potential inherent in girls. In more current articulations, however, these images have also been coupled with economics-based rationalities that construct (African) girls as smart investments (Chant, 2016; Skalli and Persaud, 2015). Discourses and practices about the presumed "girl effect" have been evidenced also in relation to SfD, and subsequently received critical treatment from a postcolonial, feminist perspective[18] (e.g. Hayhurst, 2013). Drawn together, we recognize how *women's experiences* (poverty and violence) coupled with *ideas about women* (caring, non-violent) matter for approaches and understandings of the problems and solutions that are relevant to a given field – whether it be sport or international development.

Hargreaves (2001) illustrates the complex web of power composed of the variables race, gender and class when describing the situation of black women in sport in South Africa. She explains how black working class men's oppression of black women during Apartheid could have served to keep away men's feelings of powerlessness, and that they might perceive equality between sexes as a threat to their position of relative dominance. In more general terms, Messner (1992: 732) has noted that one might witness "very little willingness among powerful men to transform the social institutions within which they construct their power and privilege over others". A similar point is made by Smart (2000) in her investigation into constructions of child sexual abuse within different domains of British society in early 20th century. She writes that some members of parliament demonstrated "an absolute unwillingness to acknowledge a power difference between young, working-class girls and older, middle-class men" and explains this "rage" as a reaction to "a threat against privilege" (Smart, 2000; 62). Constructions of childhood also came into play, considering older privileged men's resistance to viewing 13- or 14-year-old working-class girls as children (Smart, 2000). These points hold some relevance to the Zambian context considering recent

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[18] The «girl effect» refers to the idea that investing in girls will lead to broader development effects (Hayhurst, 2013)

public and political debates about child marriage (Steinhaus et al., 2016). Zambian government has introduced a law that sets the minimum age of marriage at 21 years, albeit with a possibility to marry at 16 with parental consent[19]. This illustrates how gender intersects with age, and how constructions of childhood also matters for understandings of violence and abuse.

Gender and Safe Sport

Since the 1990s, a notable development within this research field has been a broadening scope for issues considered within the child protection and safeguarding agenda. This diversification can be seen in terms of i) forms of abuse (what), ii) victim- and perpetrator groups (who), and iii) organizational settings (where) (cf. Mountjoy et al., 2015). From being concentrated on systematic sexual abuse of female athletes by authority figures within exploitative, (patriarchal) power structures of elite sports (Brackenridge, 1997; Fasting et al., 2003; Toftegaard-Nielsen, 2001), discussions of physical and psychological abuse as well as neglect within different perpetrator-victim constellations have gained prominence in relation to safeguarding. Examples include studies on emotional abuse (Gervis and Dunn, 2004; Jacobs et al., 2017; Kerr and Stirling, 2012; Stafford et al., 2015), sexual abuse of male athletes (Hartill, 2009; 2014; Parent and Bannon, 2012), bullying between peer athletes (Alexander et al., 2011), overtraining and injury (Oliver and Lloyd, 2014; Pike and Scott, 2014; Stafford, 2013) and studies covering multiple forms of harm or abuse (Alexander et al., 2011; Lee Sinden, 2010; McPherson et al., 2015; Ohlert et al., 2018). While elite or high-performance sport settings have constituted the primary site for studies on violence and abuse in sport (see Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014b), attention to grassroots sport is becoming more common (e.g. Alexander et al., 2011; Peltola and Kivijärvi, 2017; Stafford et al., 2015; Vertommen et al., 2016).

Feminist activism and research into various harms and abuses in sport have been pivotal for drawing critical attention to abuse in sport. Moreover, feminists have contributed greatly to connecting gendered hierarchies and power with women's experiences of subordination in sport (Hovden, 2002). The development described above, however, seems to carry with it a potential distancing from the gender agenda, or at least from the focus on women within the gender agenda. This reflects varying degrees of attention to women as victims also within feminist perspectives and gender/violence research more generally (Messner, 2016). The language used in contemporary discourse as well as in research is

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[19] This corresponds with the age of consent in Zambia (i.e. 16 years) (Population Council, 2017).

illustrating as well, both in relation to sport (Mergaert et al., 2016) and in gender research (Messner et al., 2016). For example, "gender-based violence" is often employed to signal recognition of violence as a gendered phenomenon that predominantly affects women. Indeed, with the expanding scope of problems associated with the safe sport agenda, the explicit focus on women as victims is shifting towards the notion that everyone is "at risk" and needs safeguarding (cf. Duggan and Piper, 2013). Such claims could be supported by some prevalence studies that show contrary results to the expectation that girls and women suffer more victimization in sport than boys and men (e.g. Peltola and Kivijärvi, 2017). However, it is important to examine how the diversification in types and severity of violence/abuse play a part in producing the observed gender patterns. Notably, some studies document a clear overrepresentation of girls when it comes to severe forms of abuse, for both athletes (e.g. Parent et al., 2016; Vertommen et al., 2016) and nonathletes (e.g. Parent et al., 2016). This gender difference appears to be less pronounced or to disappear when milder forms of harm are included (e.g. Fasting et al., 2015; Parent et al., 2016). This is also important to keep in mind when reading and interpreting studies that employ a broad definition for violence and abuse and identify athletes/peers as the "main perpetrator group" (e.g. Alexander et al., 2011; Elendu and Umeakukua, 2011; Fasting et al., 2015; Vertommen et al., 2017). By emphasizing such findings, it is possible to construct athletes as the primary offenders in sport. That is, by using prevalence-based arguments, focus can be shifted away from severe forms of abuse – that often have a clearer gender dimension – to less severe forms of abuse that occur more often. Presumably, the diversification in types and severity of violence/abuse that are examined play a central part in the observed gender patterns for victims and perpetrators of abuse in sport.

Drawn together, gender can be seen to permeate the field of safeguarding in sport: affecting perceptions and experiences of abuse, shaping perspectives on victimhood and perpetration, and steering the focus of safeguarding research and practice. Despite the broadening of the scope of issues subsumed within the safe sport agenda, gender continues to be an important dimension within this field, as it is in the current research project.

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5. Safe Sport: Problems and Solutions

This chapter outlines the various components associated with safe sport: it describes *problems* believed to stand in the way of safe sport and *solutions* that have been suggested to remedy these problems. Specifically, part one (problems) covers definitions of terms that have been used to describe problems in sport and presents research on their extent, while part two (solutions) presents perspectives for understanding abuse in sport as well as research findings regarding safeguarding in sport and SfD.

Problem Description

I previously showed how the scope of problems addressed in relation to safe sport has expanded in relation to the types of problems addressed, who is considered at risk (and from whom) and where the problems occur. Here, I draw attention to research findings about these problems' extent in various sport settings. To do so, it is necessary to first clarify common terms used in this field and raise some cautions in that regard.

Understanding and Defining Violence and Abuse in Sport

The language used to describe problems and harms in sport is important for several reasons. Some terms can be favoured due to political motives: for example, using emotionally evocative concepts such as "abuse" immediately positions the given actions as wrong, and can be used to mobilize public and political action. The terms and definitions used can also directly affect the resulting prevalence figures of a given study: Broad definitions are likely to yield higher prevalence figures than narrow definitions. In turn, high prevalence figures can be used to strengthen the claim that abuse is a problem that needs attention and action. As described by Parent and Fortier (2017; 168), "data from prevalence studies might assist in convincing public decision makers and stakeholders about the necessity to address the issue of violence in sport". On the other hand, using definitions that are "too" broad, might conflate grave and devastating issues (e.g. sexual exploitation) with problems that are generally perceived as less serious (e.g. sexualized jokes). A possible outcome is then that people disconnect from the problem description as it may not reflect their understanding of what constitutes a severe problem. In this situation, broad definitions would presumably create distance rather than build support for the safe sport agenda. The terms used can also serve to draw attention to specific groups of victims (and perpetrators), which is the case with "gender-based violence", for example. Taken together, it is clear that which terms are used and how they are defined is neither neutral nor insignificant.

It is often noted that lack of definitional clarity and divergent use of terminology and survey questions have impeded the progress of research on violence and abuse, both in sport (e.g. Ohlert et al., 2018) and elsewhere (Stoltenborgh et al., 2011). In addition to the potential implications outlined above, these challenges also render cross-study comparisons difficult (Fasting, 2015). To address some of the definitional challenges outlined, Stirling (2009) has proposed a conceptual framework that uses "maltreatment" as an overarching concept. Overall, maltreatment is defined as "volitional acts that result in or have the potential to result in physical injuries and/or psychological harm" (Stirling, 2009; 1091). She then distinguishes between two categories of maltreatment, where the relationship in which the maltreatment occurs plays a defining role. *Relational maltreatment* takes place within what she labels a critical relationship, that is, relationships in which there is presumed to be an inherent power differential between the people involved based on factors such as age, gender, knowledge and dependence[20]. Coach-athlete, parent-child and teacher-pupil constitute common examples of critical relationships. Moreover, relational maltreatment includes sexual abuse, physical abuse, emotional abuse and neglect (Stirling, 2009). In the context of sport, relational maltreatment has often been associated with the dynamic between a (male) coach and (female) athlete (Parent and Bannon, 2012). Next, Stirling (2009) uses *non-relational maltreatment* for all forms of harm in sport that do not occur within a critical relationship, and offers examples such as bullying, harassment, exploitation and assault. Hence, within this framework, the term "abuse" is restricted to harm occurring within critical relationships and would not be used in relation to harm committed by others, such as peers. Non-relational maltreatment also includes institutional maltreatment, defined as "the failure of an institution to meet appropriate standards of care, or when the core practices of an organization are abusive" (Stirling, 2009; 1094). Authorized sport-related injury and violence are examples of institutional maltreatment and would thus not be associated with the term "abuse" according to this conceptual framework (Stirling, 2009). Despite the potential for providing some clarifications in this field, there has not been consistent use of this conceptual framework within research on abuse in sport.

Alongside the broadening scope for harms that have been examined within the safe sport remit, there has been a tendency towards adopting broader definitions of abuse or relying on wider terms such as "violence". An example of a broad definition for abuse is offered within the International Safeguards for Children in Sport ("the Safeguards"), a policy

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[20] The power differential within critical relationships is recognized in the judicial system in some countries by raising the legal age for consent for these instances (Lang and Hartill, 2014).

framework that offers guidance to sport organizations on how to develop and implement safeguarding policies. Here, abuse refers to "the acts of commission or omission that lead to a child experiencing harm", with harm conceptualized as "the negative impact or consequences upon the child" following from such acts (ISCSWG, 2016; 6). In encompassing all acts that result in harm, this definition for abuse functions as an umbrella for a variety of issues and does not differentiate abuse from harassment in terms of severity. As such, it communicates that all kinds of harm to athletes, regardless of severity or perpetrator, should be addressed within safeguarding in sport, and presumably reflects the holistic and inclusive approach aspired to within the Safeguards (ISCSWG, 2016). Other researchers have distinguished more clearly between various *forms* of harm (e.g. sexual, physical and psychological) as the object of study (e.g. Vertommen et al., 2016). Moreover, some have drawn up a clear demarcation between harassment and abuse, both in terms of the *types* of actions they encompass and their *severity* (e.g. Parent et al., 2016). To this end, Brackenridge's (2001) continuum of sexual exploitation is instructive. By providing a scale from "sex discrimination" through "sexual harassment" to "sexual abuse" she indicates a corresponding increase in severity, while also pointing to considerable overlap between the different concepts.

Several researchers within this field focus on the term "violence" (Mountjoy et al., 2015), although preference is variably given to related terms such as nonaccidental violence (Mountjoy et al., 2016), interpersonal violence (Vertommen et al., 2016) or gender-based violence (Mergaert et al., 2016). Those relying on violence as a pivotal concept often refer to the World Health Organization (WHO, 2002; 5), where it is defined as: "The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation". This definition seems to define violence by the *action itself* (as well as the intention of the aggressor) more so than by the *experience* of that action for the person it is directed towards. Here, Matthews and Channon (2017) make a useful distinction between definitions of abuse that foreground the action itself and those that foreground the resulting subjective experience for the person that is targeted by using the terms "violence-as-force" and "violence-as-violation", respectively. Some researchers operate with pre-defined criteria for what is considered abuse (violence-as-force), while other let the athletes' subjective evaluation of a given experience define or influence what constitutes abuse (violence-as-violation). In the first situation, there is a chance that actions are labelled as abuse even when the person affected did not experience the action as abusive. Conversely, focusing exclusively on subjective evaluation of a given action could

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make researchers blind to harmful practices and behaviours that have become normalized within a certain environment. Indeed, normalization of abusive behaviours and practices has been observed and discussed by several researchers – often with reference to elite sport (e.g. Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014b; Kerr and Stirling, 2008; 2012; Lee Sinden, 2012; Messner, 1992; Stafford et al., 2015; Stirling, 2013). The distinction between violence-as-force and violence-as-violation underscores that abuse "may be defined *objectively,* [but is] experienced *subjectively*" (Brackenridge, 2001; 28). Hence, there is a need to consider which perspective is taken when researchers define certain actions as violence (or abuse) and be attentive to how such decisions affect the research findings.

To illustrate, Alexander et al. (2011; 35) noted a lack of clarity regarding whether emotional abuse should be "defined by the behaviour of the abuser/caregiver, or the outcome of a particular behaviour for the 'victim'". In their report, they present prevalence numbers for various forms of abuse defined according to a set of behaviours, which also included frequency of the given behaviours ("never", "once or twice" or "regularly"). Notably, the authors divulged that several athletes disagreed with the labelling of some of the described situations as abuse. Nonetheless, the responses by athletes that did not experience or interpret these behaviours as abuse were *recorded* as abuse in the results. This indicates that the researchers departed from a violence-as-force perspective. While clarifications pertaining to the research methods and the respondents' reflections were provided by Alexander et al. (2011), this is not necessarily the case when other scholars re-present the results in their own publications. As pointed out by Johansson (2013), it can be problematic when researchers refer to prevalence figures from other studies without providing the necessary nuances and qualifications reported in the original articles. As a result, systematic and severe forms of abuse can be reported together with single-occasion and milder forms of abuse, or actions that are not identified as abuse by the people experiencing them can be uncritically classified as abusive (Johansson, 2013). Here, it is also appropriate to note that some researchers measure experiences of violence and abuse over the course of the athletes' lifetime, while others restrict the time span to a specified period, for example by focusing on the foregoing year (e.g. Parent et al., 2016). Presumably, portraying prevalence of violence-as-force-data as if it were violence-as-violation-data could distance the sport community (and others) from the safe sport agenda. This indicates, again, a potential for presenting a problem description that will not resonate with people's experiences and understandings of violence/abuse.

Compared to the definition of abuse supplied by Stirling (2009), violence can be associated with a broader range of actions and behaviours. Alas, it requires more

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"qualifications" to be defined as harmful, inappropriate and unwanted, especially in sport, where actions within the constitutive rules of some sports would, by WHO's definition, be labelled as violence. To this end, Matthews and Channon (2017) assert the importance of distinguishing between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" violence in the context of sport. These are characterised, respectively, as being culturally acceptable or culturally unacceptable behaviours in the given setting. In their interpretation, if the action is permitted within a sport code's constitutive rules, it should be regarded as legitimate violence. On the other hand, violent acts that break the rules of the game would constitute illegitimate violence (Matthews and Channon, 2017). Others might argue that this perspective assumes that consent to participate is freely and willingly given by the athletes and that it ignores structured, institutional or social constraints and pressures that might render "true consent" unachievable.

For safeguarding in the context of transnational SfD, an additional question is how cultural norms, values and practices in a given setting influence the process of defining abuse in sport. With respect to the Safeguards mentioned above, Rhind et al. (2017; 157) emphasize the importance of cultural sensitivity and of recognizing "the complex safeguarding context which arises from the interaction of different cultures at the national, community, sport, and organizational level". It thus becomes necessary to consider the degree to which wider political and social spheres in a country comes into the question of defining appropriate and inappropriate behaviours and practices in sport. For example, where should the threshold for labelling an action physically abusive be placed in a setting where corporal punishment is commonly practiced? A central question is also *who* should decide which definition is applied, not least considering the potential symbol effects and actual effects of wielding such definitional power in an international development context (cf. Hayhurst, 2009). Could there be a risk of adding stigmatization and trauma by assigning the morally evaluative label of violence or abuse to a person's experiences?

So far, I have drawn attention to some of the issues confronting the research field of abuse in sport[21]. My ambition has not been to resolve the conundrums referenced above, but to point out the importance of attending carefully to terms and definitions when conducting and interpreting research about abuse in sport.

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[21] Other relevant issues include gendered patterns in underreporting of abuse (Stoltenborg et al., 2011) and the potential for additional reporting barriers faced by boys and men in the context of sport (Hartill, 2009).

The Extent of Abuse in Sport

I here try to form a picture of the magnitude of violence and abuse in sport, as established through studies from different sport settings. The primary source of information comes from prevalence studies, while a few studies examine abuse reports made to official authorities. In addition to assessing the *prevalence* of various forms of violence and abuse, research on abuse in sport has commonly explored *patterns* in relation to factors such as gender and performance level. Some studies have also compared athletes with nonathletes to investigate whether abuse is an arena that is particularly prone to abuse compared to wider society. Bearing in mind the caveats alluded to above, I will point to some trends and findings about the extent of abuse in sport and draw attention to the following dimensions: i) abuse occurring inside sport versus outside sport, ii) performance level and abuse in sport, and iii) gender and abuse in sport. While a few recent studies that explore prevalence and patterns of violence and abuse in sport have also included parameters such as class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and (dis)ability (Peltola and Kivijärvi, 2017; Vertommen et al., 2016; Ohlert et al., 2018), I concentrate on the aforementioned aspects in the following presentation. Lastly, I draw attention to abuse in Zambian sport to provide a more detailed overview regarding the empirical setting in which the current research project took place.

Abuse Occurring Inside Sport Versus Outside Sport
Some studies have assessed prevalence for certain forms of violence and abuse in athlete populations in comparison to non-athletes (e.g. Fasting et al., 2003 and Parent et al., 2016). In a recent study from Quebec, Canada, Parent et al. (2016) drew from a representative sample of the general adolescent population (age 14-17) to investigate prevalence of sexual violence. 10.2 % of the youth in the study reported experiences of sexual abuse at some point in their life. When looking specifically at the athlete segment of the sample, the prevalence for sexual abuse was 8.8 %. Thus, when comparing athletes with non-athletes, the authors found an elevated likelihood of experiencing sexual abuse for youth that were *not* involved in sport (Parent et al., 2016). Sexual abuse was assessed by two questions that applied to lifetime occurrences: "Have you ever been touched sexually when you did not want to, or have you ever been manipulated, blackmailed, or physically forced to touch sexually . . ." and "has anyone ever used manipulation, blackmail, or physical force, to force or obligate you to have sex (including all sexual activities involving oral, vaginal, or anal penetration)" (Parent et al., 2016; 2672). Notably, Parent et al. (2016) distinguished clearly between "abuse" and "harassment", where the former was restricted to more severe transgressions than the latter. In a study from Norway, comparable prevalence figures of sexual harassment and abuse were

found for athletes (45 %) and non-athletes (47 %) (Fasting et al., 2003). Unlike Parent et al. (2016), the researchers in this study did not analytically separate sexual harassment from sexual abuse in their analysis[22]. Notably, when looking at sexual harassment and abuse perpetrated by a male authority figure (in sport for athletes and at school/work for nonathletes), prevalence among athletes (28 %) was significantly higher than among non-athletes (16 %). Moreover, prevalence of such experiences increased significantly with age for the athletes. The researchers did not find significant differences in sexual harassment and abuse perpetrated by peers for athletes compared to non-athletes (Fasting et al., 2003). According to Garratt et al. (2013; 620), it remains to be resolved whether abuse in sport is unique in some ways or better described as a reflection of a broader societal problem. Presumably, the answer will depend on the empirical context in which this question is explored, the forms of abuse that are assessed and the measures that are used.

Performance Level and Abuse in Sport
Several studies indicate a higher prevalence of harassment, violence and abuse of women athletes at higher performance level (Fasting et al., 2003; 2010; Leahy et al., 2002; Vertommen et al., 2016). For example, Vertommen et al. (2016) investigated psychological, physical and sexual interpersonal violence across competition levels in Belgian and Dutch sport. The overall self-reported prevalence was 38 % for psychological violence, 11 % for physical violence and 14 % for sexual violence (Vertommen et al., 2016)[23]. Performance level was found to be a significant risk factor for all forms of violence, with athletes competing above recreational level being at increasingly higher risk of exposure to violence as they progressed to elite levels of sport (Vertommen et al., 2016). Other studies have not detected a gender difference in victimization according to performance level, for example in a study of sexual harassment of women athletes in Greece (Chroni and Fasting, 2009) and in a study of sexual violence in German sport (Ohlert et al., 2018). The German study should be read with caution with regard to performance level, however, as they distinguished between different competition levels *among high-level performers* and did not include athletes at the grassroots level. Furthermore, some studies have documented *less* peer-to-peer violence (Vertommen et al., 2017) and physical aggression (Stafford et al., 2013) among elite athletes compared to

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[22] The items in the questionnaire used by Fasting et al. (2003; 89) ranged in severity from light (e.g. "repeated unwanted sexual remarks…") to severe sexual harassment and abuse (i.e. "attempted rape or rape").
[23] The authors describe that the questionnaire was composed of: "14 items on psychological violence, comprising, among other types, aggressive verbal intimidation, exaggerated negative comments on performance or body, threats, and neglect, 10 items on physical violence and forced overtraining, and 17 items on sexual violence including sexual harassment and abuse" (Vertommen et al., 2016; 225).

low-level athletes. In Stafford et al. (2013; 290), physical aggression was established by indicating "yes" to any of the following experiences: "being shoved, shaken, thrown about, knocked down and having something thrown at you". Conversely, their study established a higher regularity of athletes being forced to train when injured or exhausted at the highest levels of performance (Stafford et al., 2013). Again, this points to how patterns vary according to the type and severity of violence and abuse that are examined.

Gender and Abuse in Sport
Regarding gender, women seem to be overrepresented as victims of (severe forms of) sexual abuse in sport, and men are more often reported as perpetrators – thus reflecting the global picture for victimhood and perpetration of abuse in society (Stoltenborgh et al., 2011). In the previously mentioned study by Parent et al. (2016) from Quebec, girls were overrepresented as victims of sexual abuse both within the athlete sample (girls: 13.8 %, boys: 3.2 %) and the general sample (girls: 14.6 %, boys: 3,9 %). Notably, when looking specifically at transgressions committed against athletes *by a coach*, there was no gender difference in victimization – neither for sexual abuse nor for sexual harassment. Other studies have also documented significantly more experiences of sexual abuse by female athletes than male athletes during their lifetime, including from Denmark (Toftegaard Støckel, 2014), Australia (Leahy et al., 2002), Germany (Ohlert et al., 2018) and Belgium and the Netherlands (Vertommen et al., 2016).

Some of these studies have included *severity* of the transgression in their analysis. In a study from Belgium and the Netherlands, women athletes were found to report higher rates than male athletes for moderate sexual violence (8.9 % vs. 5.5 %) and severe sexual violence (6.5 % vs. 4.3 %) (Vertommen et al., 2016). The picture was reversed for physical violence, with male athletes having elevated self-reported experiences of severe physical violence compared to women athletes (11.5 % vs. 5.2 %, respectively). The gender differences in physical and sexual abuse correspond with research by Alexander et al. (2011) from sport in the UK. In these studies, then, the *type* of violence was significant for the gender pattern. Women also reported a higher rate of experiences with sexual violence than men in a recent study from high-performance sport in Germany (Ohlert et al., 2018). Indeed, this gender difference was noted across all degrees of severity: Severe sexual violence (women: 14.9 %, men: 6.7 %), moderate sexual violence (women: 13.3 %, men: 6.0 %) and mild sexual violence (women: 19.6 %, men: 11.2 %). In addition to different country setting, the exclusion of grassroots level sport in the study by Ohlert et al. (2018) could contribute towards

explaining the different findings for mild sexual violence compared to Vertommen et al. (2016).

It should be noted that both studies (i.e. Ohlert et al., 2018 and Vertommen et al., 2016) employed a classification system for severity that included both the *type* of situation and its *frequency*. This means that an incident described as mild sexual violence on its own (e.g. "being the victim of sexual jokes" or "receiving messages with sexual content") could be re-classified to "moderate sexual violence" if it occurred more than once, or to "severe sexual violence" if it occurred more than four times (Ohlert et al., 2018; 63). The authors describe that their intention with this classification system was to acknowledge the additional burden of regular exposure of sexual violence compared with once-off occurrences. Although Ohlert et al. (2018) offer a table of prevalence for each situation alongside their frequency, the picture concerning occurrence of the various types of incidents can become somewhat obfuscated when overall prevalence for each severity is presented. It should also be noted that some, but not all, items in the study by Ohlert et al. (2018) accounted for the athletes' perspective in defining the situation as problematic or violent. Finally, gender differences for sexual violence should be interpreted with caution due to an expected underreporting by men (Stoltenborgh et al., 2011).

In addition to prevalence studies, indications about extent, patterns and characteristics concerning violence and abuse in sport have also been provided through studies of official reports to sport authorities (Brackenridge et al., 2005a; Rhind et al., 2015b) and legal authorities outside sport (Hartill and Lang, 2018). One point of interest from these studies is the gender dimension. In Rhind et al. (2015b), for example, men constituted an overwhelming majority of alleged perpetrators (91 %) and boys were overrepresented as victims in the reports (65 %) submitted to the national governing body of sport in the United Kingdom. Hartill and Lang (2018) found somewhat similar patterns for the gender of alleged perpetrators (91 % male) in their study of official reports that occurred in sport or leisure settings. They also established that a coach or instructor was identified as responsible for the reported abuse in 80 % of the cases[24]. In reports where gender of the victim was disclosed[25], the referenced victim was more often female (57 %) than male (40 %). The gender difference

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[24] It is important not to interpret these figures as a reflection of prevalence, as they show distribution of victims and perpetrators of cases that have been *officially reported*. This is likely to yield a skewed picture as reporting is affected by issues such as gendered understandings of abuse and experiences of stigma. For example, abuse that deviates from stereotypical scripts, such as abuse with male victims or female perpetrators, could be underestimated within such statistics (Tener and Murphy, 2015).

[25] It should be noted that the gender of the child was not known or withheld by the local authorities providing the information in 54 % of the reports (Hartill and Lang, 2018)

was more pronounced in cases of sexual abuse. Moreover, they documented an increasing trend in reporting across all regions of England, and especially for sexual abuse cases, in the period 2010-2015. The authors ascribed this trend to heightened societal awareness of abuse rather than associating it with an increase in actual incidents of abuse in sport (Hartill and Lang, 2018).

Abuse in Zambian Sport
Few studies report on the prevalence of violence and abuse in sport from African settings. Those that do have often used student-athlete samples, for example in studies on sexual harassment from Nigeria (Elendu and Umeakuka, 2011), Zimbabwe (Muchena et al, 2015), Kenya (Rintaugu et al., 2014) and South Africa (Van Niekerk and Rzygula, 2011). Against the dearth of studies about abuse from organized sport settings in African countries, a recent study involving 410 athletes (190 women and 220 men) and 116 coaches (31 women and 85 men) from eight different sport associations[26] in Zambia constitutes a significant exception (Fasting et al., 2015). The authors found an overall prevalence of 78 % for verbal harassment, 69 % for sexual harassment, 37 % for sexual abuse, 31 % for physical abuse and 65 % for neglect, measured with a lifetime perspective. Also, 38 % of the athletes indicated that they had experienced having "charged money/gifts/favours to get on the team, access training facilities, increased playing time, etc." (Fasting et al., 2015; 16). In this study, it was distinguished between the severity of sexual abuse and sexual harassment through the items in the survey. Sexual *abuse* was recorded by athletes affirming that they had experienced either "forced sexual behaviour" or "tried to have sex with him/her against his/her will", which yielded a respective prevalence of 29 % and 28 %, respectively. Sexual *harassment* was assessed by athletes indicating "yes" to descriptions of items relating to, for example, sexualized comments and remarks, being touched, grabbed or fondled in a sexual way and indecent exposure[27]. Some of the questions included a subjective component while others did not.

No gender differences were found at an overall level for each form of harassment and abuse that were assessed, but there were some exceptions when results were broken down according to subsets of the data material. A higher prevalence for female athletes compared to

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[26] Handball, football, netball, judo, volleyball, boxing, athletics and basketball.
[27] The items for assessing sexual harassment in Fasting et al. (2015; 16) were: i) "stared at his/her intimate parts such as breasts, buttocks, thighs, etc.", ii) "exposure of intimate body parts to him/her", iii) "spread sexual stories, lies, or rumors about him/her", iv) "sexualized comments, remarks, teasing or jokes about his/her body, clothes and/or private life", v) "received e-mail/SMS/MMS/etc. with a sexual content", vi) "touched, grabbed, fondled, or pinched in a sexual way" and vii) "massage that made him/her uncomfortable".

male athletes was found in the case of sexual abuse for athletes above 21 years (women: 47 %, men: 25 %) and for sexual abuse of athletes competing at the national/international level (women: 43 %, men: 24 %). These figures can be read against the finding that male athletes had a higher prevalence for experiencing sexual abuse at community level (39 %) compared with the national/international level (24 %), which draws attention to the intersection of age and gender. Moreover, a higher prevalence among male athletes compared to female athletes was documented for verbal harassment in team sport (men: 89 %, women: 79 %) and for sexual harassment in team sport (men: 83 %, women: 69 %). As a key finding, the authors point to a high prevalence rate for harassment and abuse across genders in Zambian sport (Fasting et al., 2015).

As the research on abuse in sport has evolved, researchers are implored to look beyond "stereotypical" conceptions of victim- and perpetrator profiles, recognize various manifestations of abuse, and carefully consider the definitions and questions used in different studies. Moreover, the broadening of scope for issues subsumed under safeguarding has implications for perspectives on what safeguarding is meant to achieve and the tools regarded as appropriate.

Suggested Solutions

Here, I consider how different understandings of the causes of abuse relate to suggested solutions. I also present research findings and perspectives about safeguarding in sport and point to some tensions in the field. Lastly, I outline some challenges and dilemmas in relation to implementing Western-based models for safeguarding in sport in the non-Western world.

Understanding the Causes of Abuse in Sport

There are different ways of understanding and explaining athlete abuse, and convictions about the *causes* of abuse relate to suggested *solutions* for addressing it. Understandings of abuse touch upon questions of where to allocate critique: Who or what is responsible for the problem observed? Positioning on this matter assumed within dominant safeguarding discourses would signal where sport organizations need to focus their safeguarding efforts. For example, perspectives from psychology and criminology were prominent within early research on abuse in sport, which framed sexual abuse as a consequence of interpersonal and relational dynamics. According to Brackenridge and Rhind (2014a; 333), such an understanding of abuse "drew attention away from the socio-cultural drivers of sex abuse in sport: capitalist obsession with performance quantification and winning, reinforcement of gender and authority hierarchies that privileged the status quo and the global spread of neo-

colonialism through major sporting events." Which perspective is applied can thus be seen to shape the focus of both research and practice by determining where to direct attention and which "causes" to address. An interesting question that arises here is the degree to which power structures are challenged or threatened within a broadening scope for abuse and safeguarding research and practice. Can formalized safeguarding systems serve as an alibi for sport associations to continue business as usual, or do they implore them to change their culture at a fundamental level?

Researchers and practitioners that interpret abuse from different perspectives tend to direct attention to different points along the continuum from individual to structural causes of or explanation for abuse (cf. Brackenridge et al., 2007; Sinclair, 2005). The individual-level of the spectrum is represented by safeguarding measures such as recruitment procedures, codes of conduct and awareness training. Brackenridge and Rhind (2014a; 333) have observed that such individual-based approaches, inspired by human-resource solutions, are focused on "getting the right people into sport" rather than "getting sport right". They suggest that "systemic organizational elements, such as an ethical climate and measures to achieve transparency, good governance and accountability in sport, are likely to lead to more sustainable prevention and, ultimately, safer sport for all" (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014a; 333). As such, they demonstrate a preference for directing attention towards cultural and structural aspects of sport organizations as a route to safe sport. At the structure-end of the spectrum, issues such as "overconformity to the norms and values embodied in sport itself" (Hughes and Coakley, 1991; 307) have also been raised as impediments for athlete safety by sport scholars. As an example, Jacobs et al. (2017) point to the primacy of the performance discourse within elite youth sport to explain legitimization and normalization of emotionally abusive coaching methods within the context of women's gymnastics in the Netherlands. They also highlight the influence of "the discourse of expert knowledge" grounded in "scientific rationality and validity" as a mechanism for legitimation. Moreover, the perceived need to develop mental toughness in athletes to achieve elite performance and the impression that enjoyment was achieved through winning were associated with the continuance of current practices. Hence, Jacobs et al. (2017) argued that emotionally abusive coaching in elite youth sport was sustained by the institutional context, and that directors/managers of the clubs played an essential part in shaping the sport culture. In concluding, they suggested that cultural transformation might be necessary in order to change abusive coaching practices (Jacobs et al., 2017).

Ideological convictions regarding abuse, including ideas of its causes and effective ways of combatting it has, according to Sinclair (2005), clear implications for how safeguarding approaches are imagined, planned and effectuated. A useful contribution for understanding different approaches to safeguarding in sport is represented by a framework for athlete maltreatment ideologies presented by Brackenridge et al. (2007)[28]. The framework distinguishes between *penal*, *medical*, *utilitarian* and *social welfare* ideologies, each of which are associated with different views on athlete abuse, including: definitions of what the problem is (or is not), attitudes to the problem, and rationales and tools for action. The ideologies are positioned, in this order, along a continuum from "change the (abusive) individual" to "change the (abusive) system" as their desired solution. Brackenridge et al. (2007) describe the social welfare ideology as the most prominent contemporary framework for interpreting maltreatment in sport. The utilitarian ideology can be considered an ideological basis for defending the primacy of performance in sport as well as whichever means necessary to produce elite performances. Due to their centrality for understanding different positions with respect to formalized safeguarding, I embellish on the utilitarian and the social welfare perspectives. It should be noted, however, that safeguarding approaches may be influenced by different ideologies (cf. Sinclair, 2005).

The social welfare ideology is interpreted within a humanistic framework and subdivided into three strands: i) child-centred, 2) reforming and 3) radical. First, the *child-centred* social welfare ideology espouses a protectionist attitude with a focus on child welfare, protection and safety, and commonly positions education and awareness raising as useful tools to ensure athlete welfare. Second, in the *reforming* social welfare ideology, the attitude is described as "judgemental", the focus is on athlete rights and empowerment, confrontation and adaptation are listed as tools, and a discourse of kindness and child welfare for the sake of performance is favoured. A reformist perspective is adopted by David (2005; 34), when positing that, "competitive sports are not systematically harmful to health and they can be practiced safely by talented young athletes, as long as appropriate safeguards are in place". Here, adaptation and additions to sport governance are emphasized, displacing the need for fundamental changes. Potentially, a reformist approach to safeguarding lends itself more easily to instrumental use in the service of strengthening the public image of sport. Third, the *radical* social welfare ideology assumes a challenging attitude with the aim of liberation. It seeks to disrupt and change sport, indicating that there must be better ways of structuring

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[28] The framework for athlete maltreatment is based upon a model of child welfare orientations by Parton (1985) and adapted to organized sport by Brackenridge et al. (2007).

sport to ensure athlete welfare. This ideology is most critical towards the sport system and prevailing ideologies therein - and fundamental change of sport structures and practices is positioned as necessary to achieve safe sport (Brackenridge et al., 2007). As follows, safeguarding in sport can, on the one hand, constitute a threat to the way sport is governed and the priorities made therein. On the other hand, safeguarding can be conceptualized as an add-on system in which fundamental changes are not necessary.

The common denominator for the three variations of social welfare ideology is the belief that there are problems in sport that threaten athlete welfare and need be attended to. Countering this view, the *utilitarian* ideology poses a challenge to the very problem definition. Here, behaviours considered abuse in the other ideologies would be interpreted as normal coaching practice. The utilitarian ideology is characterized by the familiar expression "no pain, no gain" (cf. Nixon, 1993). A performance rationale underpins an attitude of *acceptance*, positioning a wider range of behaviours and actions as acceptable in pursuit of performance objectives. Collusion and denial are among the tools that are used within this ideology to oppose the view that sport has a problem with abuse (Brackenridge et al., 2007; 26-27).

It should also be noted that which issues are framed as problems serves to shift the focus of where to allocate critique. In light of the focus on relational maltreatment (Stirling, 2009), issues such as sport injuries and overtraining, are rarely addressed within the safeguarding literature. Sport injuries and forced training are, however, increasingly considered as forms of physical abuse (e.g. Stafford et al., 2013), in addition to being subject to an extensive body of scholarly work (e.g. Murphy and Waddington, 2007; Nixon, 1993; Roderick and Waddington, 2000; Young, 1993). It can also be observed that the types of harms and problems considered within safeguarding have an influence on perspectives on causality as well as views about allocation of responsibility. For example, a focus on sport injuries lends easily to targeting processes of commodification and commercialization as key drivers of abusive practices. From this perspective, those that encourage these developments, and profit from them, emerge as obvious targets for critique (cf. Pike, 2014).

Traces of different ideologies can be found in examples of policies and practices on child protection and safeguarding in sport within different settings (and at different points in time). As outlined above, ideological orientation toward athlete maltreatment is likely to influence how abuse and violence are understood as problems and which solutions are regarded as appropriate and effective.

Safeguarding Approaches and Perspectives

The safeguarding field is closely associated with research on abuse in sport as the abuse literature largely defines which problems safeguarding is meant to offer the solution to. Together with the evolving research agenda for abuse and safeguarding in sport, the questions of who needs protection, where protection is needed and what one is being protected against seem to have become increasingly elusive. As noted previously, there has been a shift from child protection-approaches to safeguarding-approaches in sport, reflecting broader international trends and developments within approaches to child welfare (Gilbert et al., 2011). The preventative and holistic nature of safeguarding are key factors that separate the safeguarding from the child protection approach. While child protection in sport is focused on protecting *specific* children that have been identified as being at risk of abuse or harm (Brackenridge, 2001), safeguarding is concerned with the holistic development of *all* children and promoting children's welfare (ISCSWG, 2016).

Although safeguarding research often overlaps with the more extensive research on violence and abuse in sport, a number of publications have emerged that focus explicitly on safeguarding in policy and practice. Efforts have been made to map the status of and orientation to safeguarding in sport in different countries (Chroni et al., 2012; Fasting and Sand, 2015; Lang and Hartill, 2014; Mergaert et al., 2016). For example, Lang and Hartill (2014) present a comprehensive compilation of different countries' approach to safeguarding in sport along with measures taken. This includes; having a specialized, central unit for child protection in sport in the country; appointing a designated child protection/welfare officer in sport organizations; performing (adapted versions of) criminal record checks for coaches and others working with children; outlining codes of conduct/behaviour for sport officials; developing systems for reporting abuse with procedures for investigating complaints; awareness and training programs about abuse and prevention. Lang and Hartill (2014), demonstrate great variance across (and within) countries when it comes to the development and implementation of safeguarding in sport, from absence of formal policies on protection from abuse (e.g. Spain and the Republic of Cyprus) to quite extensive and sophisticated institutionalized systems (e.g. England and Canada).

Moreover, academics have investigated the actions and attitudes of specific sport federations, such as the English Football Association (Brackenridge et al., 2005b; 2007), the British Rugby League (Prescott and Hartill, 2007) and the Amateur Swimming Association in England (Lang, 2015). Moreover, specific policy areas within safeguarding, such as disclosure of abuse, have been examined (Parent, 2011), and some studies have looked into

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the effect of education and awareness programs about harassment and abuse in sport (Stirling et al., 2012; Vertommen et al., 2014). Others have investigated the status of safeguarding policies and implementation in a specific country or region and have documented challenges as well as made recommendations for future practice (Donnelly, et al., 2016; Kerr et al., 2014; Parent and Hlimi, 2013; Parent, 2014). For example, Donnelly et al. (2016; 33) found that, 17 years after harassment policies were mandated for Canadian NSAs, they were "falling short of the requirements initially stipulated by Sport Canada for athlete protection". While Donnelly et al. (2016) did not measure impact of the policies, their study indicated that sport associations have difficulties meeting the requirements for safeguarding, even in relatively well-resourced sport nations such as Canada.

Similarly, Parent (2014) took note of several challenges in relation to safeguarding within three sport disciplines (federations and clubs) in Quebec. The sport administrators, coaches, athletes and parents that were interviewed for the study addressed negative perceptions of abuse prevention in sport organizations (e.g. fears of giving the wrong impression), doubts regarding the effects of safeguarding, prioritization of sport-specific responsibilities, perceived costliness (i.e. financial and human resources), lack of expertise about abuse in the sport association or club and inadequacies pertaining to (un)available policies (e.g. insufficient information being transmitted from federation to club level) (Parent, 2014). Based on the interviews and document analysis, sport federations and clubs were recommended to, inter alia, systematize and formalize their recruiting procedures for coaches and volunteers, provide training for sport administrators, establish clear behavioural rules and put in place policies and complaint procedures (Parent, 2014; 145). Furthermore, several researchers have pointed to safeguarding policies being misinterpreted or inadequately implemented as explanations for why abuse in sport continues to occur in sport clubs years after safeguarding regulations were introduced (e.g. Kerr et al., 2014; Lang and Pinder, 2017).

Researchers and activists championing the cause of safeguarding athletes can be said to have experienced a good measure of success, with safeguarding policies appearing on sport policy agendas, at east in a range of western societies (Lang and Hartill, 2014). As Lang and Pinder (2017) point out, the support can be related to child abuse as a "valence issue", indicating that it is uniformly agreed upon as a problem, in sport as elsewhere. Studies on abuse in sport often culminate in recommendations for stricter or more comprehensive safeguarding regulations (e.g. Parent and Fortier, 2018; Vertommen et al., 2017). Presumably, this relates to researchers and activists' preoccupation with establishing abuse as a problem in sport in order to motivate sports organizations to respond. The development towards

formalization of safeguarding has predominantly been viewed by academics in this field as important for preventing and addressing abuse in sport (e.g. Kerr and Stirling, 2008; Mountjoy et al., 2015; 2016; Parent and Fortier, 2017).

Alongside this development, however, research with a more critical perspective on safeguarding regulations in sport (and physical education) has emerged (Garratt et al., 2013; Garratt and Piper, 2016; Piper et al., 2013; Taylor et al., 2016; Öhman, 2017; Öhman and Quennerstedt, 2017). Some scholars have been critical of regulatory and disciplinary practices as well as the collateral damage associated with a risk mentality (cf. Hier, 2011). For example, Duggan and Piper (2013) object to intensification of safeguarding regulations in sport as a recommendation based on the *possibility* for abuse rather than a high *probability*. Likewise, Taylor et al. (2016; 184) have warned against inadvertently promoting a "culture of fear and mistrust". A result, they claim, is that coaches end up using defensive and protective self-regulating technologies to avoid suspicion of abuse and thus threaten healthy coach-athlete engagement. From this perspective, safeguarding is perceived as detrimental for a socially safe sport environment (Taylor et al., 2016; 184). Much of the critique has been directed at "no touch-policies" that advise against "unnecessary" touching of athletes by coaches (e.g. Garratt and Piper, 2016; Öhman, 2017). This illustrates how a valence issue like child abuse can become contested when the focus is shifted from the problem to the proposed solution. These scholars have been met with some resistance from other safeguarding researchers (Gleaves and Lang, 2017; Lang and Pinder, 2017). Together, the conflicting perspectives about abuse and safeguarding highlight the tensions that exist this field. The divergent perspectives merit consideration as attention is turned towards safeguarding within the context of transnational SfD partnerships.

As in other sectors, approaches to safeguarding in sport are likely to depend on how safety is locally understood and how welfare is organized in a given country. This is influenced by factors such as legal frameworks, child welfare orientation, sport policy and political ideologies (Gilbert et al., 2011; Lang and Hartill, 2014; Mergaert et al., 2016). Several challenges and problems have been documented in relation to child protection and safeguarding in research-poor countries. A study of general child welfare systems within five West African countries by Krueger et al. (2014) is instructive. They draw attention to how the child welfare systems in Ghana, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Niger and Senegal were largely based upon models developed in Western contexts with significant inputs from external experts and identified substantial discrepancies between the intentions of the systems and how they function in practice. First, the formal child welfare systems were conceived as

inaccessible and unavailable, not least because there was a tradition in the studied communities (urban and rural) of dealing with child welfare issues through family or community channels. As such, they questioned the relevance and legitimacy of the formal child welfare systems. Second, these systems were described as "complex, bureaucratic-heavy and reliant upon specialized and regulated response processes" (Krueger et al., 2014; 50), whose intended function appeared to be undermined by limited capacity and resources. Across countries, they noted low prioritization of the child welfare sector within national policy and financial allocation, and welfare provision had come to rely heavily on international development agencies. Third, the authors referred to how the child welfare systems were influenced by issue-specific approaches, emphasizing specific themes promoted by the international development community. This was associated with a fragmented approach that did not necessarily align with the most pressing concerns identified within the local communities. Moreover, the considerable influence from external actors was thought to compromise the authority and credibility of the government agencies for child welfare (Krueger et al., 2014). While their study concentrated on general child welfare provision, their findings offer important insights also for safeguarding in sport. In particular, they implore researchers and practitioners to seriously consider the financial conditions in resource-poor settings and assess how the suggested safeguarding system in sport aligns with local ways of approaching and addressing violence and abuse in a given community.

Some of these issues are addressed by Rhind et al. (2017) in relation to research led by Brunel University to develop and implement a universal framework for safeguarding children in sport[29]. The Safeguards, previously mentioned, constitute a standardized approach that aims to "lay the foundation for a holistic approach to ensuring children's safety and protection in all sport contexts internationally" (Rhind et al., 2017; 5). It does so by outlining "the things that should be put in place by any organization providing sport activities to children and young people" (p. 5). Each Safeguard is explained in terms of what it is and why it is needed, accompanied with a list of criteria for success. Rhind et al. (2017) examined barriers to implementing a systems approach to safeguarding in sport, represented by the Safeguards, through interviews with representatives from 36 organizations. By considering the emerging barriers, eight pillars were identified as important for successful implementation of a systems approach to safeguarding in sport. These were represented by the acronym CHILDREN:

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[29] The Safeguards are: 1) Developing your policy, 2) Procedures for responding to safeguarding concerns, 3) Advice and support, 4) Minimizing risks to children, 5) Guidelines for behaviour, 6) Recruiting, training and communicating, 7) Working with partners and 8) Monitoring and evaluation. (Rhind et al., 2016; 9)

Cultural sensitivity, holistic, incentives, leadership, dynamic, resources, engagement and network. In the following, we dwell on cultural sensitivity and resources, particularly related to promoting a "universal" approach to safeguarding in sport in a multitude of locations (Rhind et al., 2017). Here, understandings of what constitutes socially acceptable practices across cultures as well as potential incongruence between the formal requirements within a systems approach and sport cultures that favoured informal and familial set-ups were noted as obstacles. These tensions were associated with potential resistance to change. To overcome these barriers, the authors emphasized a need for cultural sensitivity and flexibility within the Safeguards. Using local people and local language for communicating about safeguarding was also noted as relevant a consideration for successful implementation. Moreover, limited financial and human resources constituted substantial obstacles, manifesting in sport people feeling burdened by the extra workload brought on by safeguarding. Reliance on volunteers within the participating organizations was also addressed in this context. Following from these observations, Rhind et al. (2017) emphasized the need for allocating sufficient resources to support the process of implementing the Safeguards. Their study involved a range of organizations that worked either directly ("deliverers") or indirectly ("governors") with sport. The organizations differed in their emphasis on sport performance, sport participation or sport for development, and all continents but Oceania were represented in the research. Notably, the Safeguards were developed in 2012 by a broad group of sport- and SfD organizations from diverse locations, including Norway and Zambia.

This chapter has outlined central discussions and perspectives about abuse and safeguarding that are significant to consider when safeguarding is being promoted within transnational SfD partnerships.

6. Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the methodological aspects of this research projects. Here, I describe the research design and clarify the grounds for decisions made in relation to the planning of the research. I also describe the research process and methods: how participants were contacted, what the fieldwork entailed and how the interviews and focus groups were carried out. At the end of the chapter, I discuss the role of reflexivity and research ethics for this project. I start, however, by describing and reflecting upon my epistemological positioning. The specific approach for analysis taken in relation to each article can be found in the second part of the dissertation and will not be repeated here.

Epistemological positioning

Previously, I described my research as explorative, which involves the ambition to learn and expand on my understanding of how social actors think about, and present their thinking about, the topic in question. The "truth", Allison James (2014; 77) writes, is "not just out there but is worked on inside our heads in imaginative ways to produce the meanings and explanations that constitute social analysis". I find merit in describing how she considers the twin processes of "analytic imagination" and "imaginative knowledge" as central to crafting of knowledge. First, analytic imagination refers to how the researcher engages with data, attentively and intensively, which leads to the emergence of connections, ideas and insights. The process is characterized by the coupling of arduous and meticulous tracking of data and the researcher's creative imagination. Imaginative knowledge, on the other hand, relates to how research participants' accounts represent their attempts to consolidate and present their ideas and knowledge about the world. The interview encounter should therefore be considered as mediated, as "data are composed of ideas about the world that are imagined by our informants" (James, 2014; 81). Lending from Taylor (2004), James uses the term "social imaginaries" to signal how interviewees' accounts are expressions of their ideas of how things *are* as well as their ideas of how things *ought to* be (i.e. descriptive and normative understandings). Drawn together, James (2014; 81-82) claims that, in an interview situation, "our informants are re-imagining their knowledge about the world for us and it is this momentary, perhaps more enduring, sense-making that, as researchers, we then re-imagine using our own analytic imagination". By considering these deliberations, Atkinson and Coffey's (2003) emphasis on interview accounts as performances comes to mind. Since descriptions, recollections and experiences are always performed, researchers using interview data can only ever access informants' stories and presentations of themselves and others,

which again is affected by their values and moral beliefs. This implies that interview accounts can give insights into what the research participants believe to be acceptable and morally defendable in the interview situation, which in the context of my research project can give rise to important reflections about the topic at hand.

In terms of positioning, I espouse a critical realist understanding, which implies the existence of a real social world that can be accessed through observations that are "mediated through the filter of human experience and interpretation" (Fletcher, 2017; 183). In the context of the present research project, a central aspect of social research is to strive towards learning how people's experiences of (in)security in their life situation connect with broader societal processes that act on, shape and constrain their "options" in life as well as their experiences of life. Elements of critical theory thus shine through in my approach to and views about social research. A central concern is to expose and critique how exploitation at the interpersonal level relates to wider structures of inequality and exploitation, as well as the belief sets and ideologies that serve to uphold and legitimize these structures. This ambition necessarily requires an understanding of an external reality that can be subject to scrutiny and change towards more equality. In the words of Sugden and Tomlinson (1999; 388), "it is a main task of the sociologist to get under the skin of daily life and to understand what passes as 'routine' in the context of broader issues of power, control and resistance to domination". As such, I also believe that researchers can legitimately inform questions relating to a particular social group without inhabiting the social location of that group (cf. Darnell et al., 2018).

Research Design

The aim of this research project was to explore how safety and safeguarding are understood in Zambian sport. As social processes must be investigated and understood from the cultural and social context in which they take place (Widerberg, 2007), the decision to conduct field work was a natural starting point. Sport associations in Lusaka were chosen as the empirical focus for several reasons. This included their recent engagement with safeguarding in partnership with NIF, the opportunity to build on results from the studies on Zambian sport by Fasting et al. (2014; 2015), and the mix of sport-delivery organizations in the locality that compete for attention and funding. It was reasoned that a combination of interviews, focus groups and participatory observation of two sports teams and affiliated sports actors would yield rich data to inform the research question. Such an approach also created space for pursuing different trails of enquiry in the individual articles that together compose this dissertation. The following parameters were set for the research sample: i) The primary sports associations

involved in the study should have engaged with formalized safeguarding at some level, ii) sports leaders, coaches and athletes would be consulted, iii) focus would be on team sports and iv) participatory observation would be performed with two female sports teams from different sport disciplines. From this starting point, coaches and sports leaders affiliated with the two primary sports associations or other parts of the Zambian sport scene would be identified and contacted for further interviews. This approach was envisioned to inform the research objectives by securing both a width in perspectives and depth of information. As follows, the main sources of data for this project consists of:

- Participatory observation with two women's sports teams
- Focus groups and individual interviews with athletes from these teams ("the focal teams")
- Individual interviews with coaches and sports leaders from the two primary sports disciplines
- Interviews with other teams and individuals identified during the fieldwork.

The fieldwork was originally set to take place during four weeks in Lusaka, Zambia in autumn, 2015. In the following, I describe the plan for and reasoning behind the decisions made regarding research methods and sample.

Research Methods

A central consideration in planning the fieldwork pertained to its components and duration. As a primary concern, I had to ensure a sufficient volume of empirical material to meaningfully inform the research goals, while also avoiding too significant time pressures as a potential outcome of temporally extended fieldwork. Moreover, the added practical and financial implications of a transnational research design had to be considered. I landed on a one-month period for data collection in Zambia, eventually extended to five weeks upon insistence from the research participants so that I could attend a tournament a couple of days after my initial return date. This solution seemed to not tip the scale too much in one direction, allowing scope for considerable interviewing and participatory observation, while not compromising too much on the time for the post-fieldwork (transcribing, interpreting, reading and re-reading literature, consolidating and discussing findings, writing and rewriting, submitting and resubmitting etc.). It should be noted that I initially intended to follow up with another round of interviews at a later point in time (e.g. a year later). This is advocated for within abductive analysis, but eventually, it was realized to be outside the scope of this PhD

project due to time constraints. I also took into consideration that there was an ethical dimension to affording my complete attention, time and dedication to the data set that I had collected as long as it had more stories and insights to offer.

Mindful that understandings of safety and harm may differ across and within regional and national contexts (Gilbert et al., 2011), an ambition of this thesis was to seek understanding of how these concepts are made sense of by social actors partaking in Zambian sport. Qualitative, semi-structures interviews and focus groups were thus considered a useful way of exploring these topics and uncovering multiple meanings associated with safety and harm. Interviews offer the opportunity for pursuing different lines of thought, seeking clarifications and asking for examples (Silverman, 2011). To become immersed in the research setting and learn as much as I could during the fieldwork, participatory observation was a natural choice. As Fangen (2010) writes, participatory observation gives access to different and complementary types of data and insights, while also providing an opportunity to become familiarized with both study setting and study participants. It further yields an entry point into certain topics for discussion in interviews by following up on observations and can elicit attention to issues previously not considered. Fangen (2010) also talks of combining different methods for data collection as a way of cross-checking the researcher's findings and preventing a one-dimensional take on information emanating from one type of source. Beyond this, I considered that being physically active together could serve to "break the ice" and to highlight commonalities between researcher and participants (i.e. joy of sport) as a counterweight to more readily discernible differences (e.g. my foreign origin).

The respective strengths of individual interviews and focus group discussions were considered appropriate and complementary for several reasons. Focus groups are often held to be a relatively unobtrusive and inclusive approach that allows the research participants to determine their degree of participation (Silverman, 2011). Thus, focus groups can be described as a relatively egalitarian method of inquiry[30]. They also act as a display of how meanings are negotiated within social dynamics and interplay between people, thus constituting a potentially useful method for a research project preoccupied with (sport) ideals and values as they interconnect at group and individual level (cf. Elias and Scotson, 1994). The way people play off each other and shape the conversation can yield new insights in itself at the same time as focus groups let the researcher identify issues that can later be followed up in individual interviews. Moreover, focus groups can give research participants a better sense

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[30] This is not to express the position that there is always a power differential in favour of the researcher with respect to the research participant, nor that such power differential would always be problematic.

of what the research project entails, thus enabling an informed decision about participation in individual interviews. The individual interviews were considered an appropriate setting for exploring social actors' views and perspectives more in-depth, and for picking up the trail from previous conversations when preceded by focus groups. Issues that perhaps were considered too sensitive or otherwise unsuitable or inappropriate to address in a group setting, for any reason, might be more comfortably raised within individual interviews (Bryman, 2016). Thus, the coupling of these two interviewing strategies was viewed as a fruitful approach.

To enable ample attention to group dynamics while also ensuring that the key themes of the interview guide were sufficiently covered, it was decided to have two researchers conducting the focus groups together. This was also though to foster an ethical and conducive interview climate, and to enable cross-consolidation of observations and reflections between researchers following the focus groups. As for the individual interviews, I was conscious of how this situation might be considered unfamiliar or even threatening for some people and discussed how to facilitate a positive experience for the interviewees. Importantly, this did not mean shying away from difficult or sensitive topics. Rather, it entailed employing a range of measures, such as letting participants decide location and time of the interview, giving a proper introduction about the interview and the research project, and emphasizing the interviewees' free choice to decide whether or not they wanted to be audio-recorded and their option to discontinue the interview at any time, for any reason and without repercussions.

Sample

The exploratory ambition of this research project aligned with favouring to seek a multitude of perspectives over a deep-going analysis of one specific sport. This would presumably allow for a broader array of issues to be raised and debated, which I considered coherent with the overall objectives of the research project. Thus, to acquire a nuanced understanding of how safety is experienced and how safeguarding is perceived in that context, it was deemed important to talk with people in different roles and positions within Zambian sport. Particularly, sport leaders/administrators, and to some degree coaches, were perceived a necessary target group. They would presumably be most familiar with safeguarding as a policy area and the sport associations' work with safeguarding, and were likely to have reflected upon various aspects of developing and implementing formalized safeguarding in Zambian sport. Since the thesis was oriented towards *local* understandings of safety and safeguarding in Zambian sport, I had originally intended not to interview representatives from

NIF's SfD department. When the topic and theoretical framework for the fourth article was decided, however, it was deemed useful to set up such an interview after all[31]. This was meant to clarify some aspects about NIF's safeguarding work in Zambia and should be considered supplementary to knowledge and insights gained from informal conversations and meetings.

Since safeguarding is primarily concerned with the protection of athletes, it was natural to let the empirical investigation concentrate on athletes and their sporting environment as a starting point. Engaging *two* sport teams was viewed as a functional way of i) ensuring a sufficient number of interviews to inform the research within the available timeframe and ii) avoiding that the findings would be restricted in relevance to a single sport discipline and the culture therein. Additionally, I sought access to sport teams that would agree to my presence as a participant-observer, which would not be feasible with more than two sport teams. A decision to involve *women* sport teams for participatory observation and as the starting point for data collection was made, which rested on several considerations. One aspect related to the nature of the topics under study, as safety and vulnerability are often conceived as having gendered dimensions. While also seen to reduce the level of complexity in the data, this provided an impetus for limiting the scope to one gender. Another aspect related to my access as a woman researcher. Here, I assessed that it would be more challenging to gain the same level of access if we sought out men's sport teams.

Research Process

In the following, I explain how the empirical phase of the research was organized, which includes description of the recruitment process, the reasoning behind and the procedure for interviews and focus groups, and the activities and experiences that constituted the participatory observation. Further reflections about the research process, pertaining to reflexivity and ethical considerations, are deliberated upon in the subsequent section.

Recruitment and interview process

Participants were recruited through convenient purposive sampling. The first consideration was identifying and contacting the two women's teams that would form the starting point for participatory observation, focus groups and individual interviews. To achieve this, a contact person in NIF assisted with setting up a meeting with representatives (secretary general or president) for the two selected sport associations, so that I could inform them about the research project and ask for their participation. They were both positively inclined towards the

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[31] This was the same person that served as my contact person in Lusaka.

project and assisted with identifying teams that could be suitable for participation. I was given the telephone number of three to four coaches from each of the sport associations. Thus, the top leadership of the associations were influential in terms of defining the range of options for team selection. From there, I contacted one coach from each sport association, guided by the information I had been given about their training schedule and practice location. They both agreed to meet with me in person and wanted to introduce me to their teams to request their participation. Following the first few days in Lusaka, where I got in touch with these sport association representatives and set up meetings with coaches, I was accompanied by a senior researcher of sociology from the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences[32] for the duration of one week. This was according to our plan to have two researchers moderate the focus groups.

Fortunately, the coaches and athletes welcomed the research project and appeared positively attuned to my/our presence at their practice sessions and matches. After being introduced to the athletes in a sport setting and becoming somewhat familiarized with each other, a focus group interview was held with each team. All players in each team were invited to participate to express that we valued contributions from everyone and to avoid that any athlete would feel excluded[33]. Following from there, I spent some time with the athletes before inviting them for individual interviews. While I signaled that I was interested in talking to everyone, I was also careful not to overstep any boundaries or put pressure on anyone. Rather, I initially engaged those that were most outgoing and talkative and set up a time and place for individual interviews with them.

Three (senior) athletes from each team participated in individual interviews. I asked the coaches and leaders of their sport clubs and sport associations for interviews. I set up interviews with the coaches of each team but was not able to carry through with interviewing focal team 1's coach because of illness. I did, however, get an interview with a coach that had previously coached them and still followed up on their activities. Thus, a coach associated with each focal team was interviewed for the project. From there, I continued to contact further sport leaders and coaches upon suggestions from the people that were interviewed. The coaches assisted greatly with identifying and contacting people that they thought could yield important insights and interesting perspectives about my research topic. Having a contact person in NIF's SfD department present in Lusaka during the first phase of the fieldwork was also essential for putting me in touch with people within organized sport and

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[32] The focus groups were co-led by prof. Åse Strandbu, my PhD supervisor and co-author of article 1 and 4.
[33] The pronoun "we" is preferred on occasion to indicate the participation and contributions of my PhD supervisor during the first week of the fieldwork.

SfD. With the help of these people, I was able to secure a diverse sample that included female athletes, female and male coaches and leaders, representatives from organized sport as well as some affiliated chiefly to the SfD sector, and people with primary experience from five different sport codes from organized sport. The interview with the representative from NIF was conducted at the NIF main office in Oslo in spring, 2018.

In total, 18 individual interviews were conducted. The first two individual interviews, involving the respective leaders of the focal sport associations, were conducted together with my research partner. The remaining 16 were conducted without a second interviewer. Interview location was determined based on practical considerations (e.g. location, noise and privacy) and the wishes of the interviewees and resulted in some interviews being held in an office, café or cafeteria while others were held outdoors in conjunction with sport activity. Prior to the interviews, information about the project's aims and intentions was shared and it was stressed that participation was voluntary. On all occasions, I asked if it was OK to use an audio recorder for transcription purposes and explained that personal data would be anonymized. All but two interviewees agreed to being recorded. In those two exceptions, key words and short notes were taken during the interview and supplemented with more information from recollection immediately after. Impressions and reflections were captured in a field journal at my earliest convenience following each interview.

In addition, we seized the opportunity to conduct focus groups with sport teams and coaches that we came in contact with through our expanding local network or in the context of sport competitions. As a result, five focus groups were held in addition to the two conducted with the focal teams. Three of these were with women's teams and a mixed-gender group of coaches from the sport code in which focal team 2 competed and were conducted in the proximity of the sport arena in the context of "match day". Another focus group was held with a women's sport team in a third team sport discipline, assisted by a former YSEP[34] sport volunteer that was engaged as a coach in Lusaka at the time. The last of the seven focus groups was not considered a formal part of this project's data material but should be mentioned nonetheless since it added to my understanding of safety and vulnerability in sport in the research context. This focus group was conducted on the initiative of a representative working with gender issues at the Norwegian Embassy in Zambia and focused on the sport experiences of LGBTI[35] athletes. The four people partaking in this focus group had occupied

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[34] The Youth Sport Exchange Program, described in the context chapter (page 13).
[35] LGBTI stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people. In this interview, sport was portrayed as an arena where gender-nonconforming physical expressions were more accepted than elsewhere.

different roles in relation to sport, including competing at the elite level, serving as coaches and working in the administration of an NGO for LGBTI-rights that had started using sports as part of their program.

Taken together, a total of 18 individual interviews and seven focus groups were conducted, which is presented in the overview below. Specific sport discipline affiliation has been edited out in order to preserve anonymity, and the two teams involved in participatory observation are designated as "focal team 1" and "focal team 2". Altogether 49 people took part in interviews in relation to this research, constituting a group with diverse and complementary sport experiences from the Zambian sport scene[36]. It should be noted that the class background of the interviewees varied, but most of the interviewees were employed, which might indicate that the interviewees are not representative for the socioeconomic situation in Zambia considering the high rate of unemployment and illiteracy (Noyoo, 2010). The majority of the coaches and leaders partaking in the study can be described as moderately affluent.

Individual Interviews

No.	Role	Gender	Representation
1	Leader	Man	Focal Sport* 2
2	Leader	Man	Focal Sport 1
3	Athlete	Woman	Focal Sport 2
4	Athlete	Woman	Focal Sport 1
5	Leader	Woman	SfD** 1
6	Leader	Man	SfD 2
7	Coach/Leader	Woman	Focal Sport 2
8	Athlete	Woman	Focal Sport 2
9	Leader	Man	Focal Sport 1
10	Athlete	Woman	Focal Sport 1
11	Coach	Woman	Focal Sport 1
12	Coach/Leader	Man	SfD 2 / Sport 3
13	Coach/Leader	Man	Focal Sport 1
14	Athlete	Woman	Focal Sport 1
15	Athlete	Woman	Focal Sport 2
16	Athlete	Woman	Focal Sport 2
17	Coach	Man	Focal Sport 2
18	Leader	Woman	NIF

*Indicating the same sport discipline affiliation as the focal team with the corresponding numbering, ** Representing a Sport for Development organization

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[36] Seven interviewees took part in both focus groups and individual interviews: three athletes from each focal team and one athlete from one of the other athlete focus groups.

Focus Groups

No.	Role	Gender	Sport	n
1	Athletes	Women	Focal team* 2	7
2	Athletes	Women	Focal team 1	6
3	Coaches	Mixed	Focal Sport 2	5
4	Athletes	Women	Focal Sport 2	4
5	Athletes	Women	Focal Sport 2	6
6	Athletes	Women	Sport 4	6
7	Coaches/Leaders	Mixed	Sport 5/SfD** 3	4
Total				38

*Indicating the same sport discipline affiliation as the focal team with the corresponding numbering, ** Representing a Sport for Development organization

Interviews and Focus Groups

A semi-structured interview guide was used to ensure that main themes were addressed in each interview, allowing for a somewhat structured reading of interview transcripts and enabling an overview of commonalities and divergences of understandings. The interview guide was developed based on identification and discussion of prominent themes and topics in the safeguarding literature together with more experienced social science researchers. A primary concern was to align the interview-guide with the goal of eliciting conversations that would inform the research objectives. Recognizing that concepts such as safety and vulnerability may vary in scope and emphasis, we took an open approach to explore and be receptive to different understandings. By doing so, we did not provide a pre-defined understanding of key concepts such as safety, violence and abuse. Rather, we wanted to explore the study participants' own conceptions to gain insight into which aspects of safety were emphasized, which issues were referred to and afforded gravity and how conceptions of safety *in* sport aligned with or differed from views on safety more generally. This entailed, for example, being receptive to whether conceptions of safety emphasized the absence of harm or to which degree they incorporated elements such as an environment of trust, comfort and familiarity (cf. Spaaij and Schulenkorf, 2014). Moreover, we wanted to explore whether the study participants perceived some issues as more prominent or problematic in sport than in other settings, and if some aspects of sport were associated with added vulnerability. In approaching these questions, we did not expect that a uniform interpretation would be captured or portrayed by the study participants, but rather that these concepts would be subject to different views and hold negotiated meanings.

Another concern was to balance attention to problems, risks and fears with a more "positive" focus. Indeed, we expected that negative and positive aspects in relation to sport

would coexist and interact, while also wanting to avoid inadvertently giving the impression that we anticipated that Zambian sport would be ripe with violence and abuse. Moreover, we were interested in safety (primarily in sport but also beyond) as well as safeguarding. The interview guide was thereby divided into six parts: 1) Introduction, 2) background questions about sport experience, 3) perceptions on safe sport, 4) conditions relating to vulnerability, 5) safeguarding measures, 6) perceptions and response to safeguarding incidents (through vignettes). Slightly different versions of the interview guide were developed for leaders, coaches and athletes, with a more distinct emphasis on formal safeguarding policies and practices for the sport leaders. The vignettes were used as an alternative route to elicit thoughts and reflections around difficult situations that could arise in the sport context and how they may be dealt with. More specifically, they described hypothetical scenarios, whereby we enquired what the research subjects would think and do in the situation described. We also explored how perceptions and evaluations of the scenario shifted as some elements were manipulated, such as gender and age of the characters.

I was aware that doing research on sensitive topics requires an added emphasis and consideration of ethics (Sikes, 2010). For example, we discussed the potential strain placed on the research participants if memories of traumatic personal experiences were evoked during the interview[37]. We also took care in phrasing the questions in sensitive ways to avoid passing any form of moral evaluation at personal or cultural level regarding views or experiences relating to violence and abuse in sport. Furthermore, we ensured that the interview guide started and ended with quite open and inviting questions to set the tone for the interview and diffuse potential tensions built up during the interview. It was also important to communicate that the interview was not about the research participants' personal experiences with the topics covered, although they were free to disclose such information if they wanted to. It was also decided to get an overview of local organizations providing support for victims of abuse, so that interviewees could be referred to such services if the need arose. In taking these precautions, I do not propose that all potential problems or negative experiences are removed from the interview situation, nor contend that this should necessarily be a goal. Rather, I express an intention of approaching the interviews with care and sensitivity to minimize potential discomfort. As a counterpoint, we were also cognizant that partaking in interviews

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[37] Notably, it was not a criteria for inclusion in the study that the athlete themselves had experienced being the victim of abuse in sport.

could be a valued experience, for example as an opportunity to share their views and experiences with an attentive listener (cf. Scheyvens and Leslie, 2000).

Participatory Observation

The main part of the fieldwork was contained within the five weeks that I stayed in Lusaka in autumn 2015. As noted, I kept close contact with two women's teams from two different team sport disciplines during my time in Lusaka. I start with a description of the focal teams involved in participatory observation, before moving on to share reflections from both the "formal" and "informal" parts of the fieldwork.

The two focal teams had some similar and some different characteristics. They both had regular practice sessions and participated in a local league that was run by their respective sport association, and these leagues contained community teams and sponsored teams as well as teams affiliated to local SfD organizations. Focal team 1 was a self-sponsored community team of 14 regular players that practiced twice per week, sometimes together with a team of boys/men from the same sport club. Focal team 2 was a company team, with a squad of 16 players, which normally practiced four times per week, and received remuneration for their participation. Both teams consisted of players in the age range 15-35, with some players coming from relatively middle-class families while others lived in high-density areas outside the city centre ("compounds"). Most of the senior athletes were employed (including "general work", teaching and administration), while the younger athletes were in school or had dropped out. Even so, focal team 1 appeared to, on average, consist of athletes that were somewhat better off in terms of their socio-economic situation compared to focal team 2. It should be noted that the senior players were most amenable to conversing, and that it was the senior players that, following focus group interviews, volunteered to participate in individual interviews. Thus, information about the younger players comes mostly from the senior players and the coaches' descriptions.

The formal part of the participatory observation amounted to seven practice sessions, four "match days" and a weekend tournament. When asked, I participated in drills and training matches, albeit somewhat self-conscious about my mediocre skills compared to the athletes. Indeed, as another consideration in selecting the sport disciplines, I had chosen sports that I did not have much experience with, mostly to avoid building on imagery of the "Western expert". Instances where such images seemed to be present in the research participants' minds, however, were experienced at times. One example is when I was asked to give an assessment of a practice session and provide advice for what needed to be improved.

As someone without coaching credentials or experience, and with limited familiarity with the sport discipline in question, I experienced this as quite peculiar. It could be that the coach was simply making conversation or was glad for inputs from any sport-interested person, but my theoretical baggage nonetheless saturated this experience with thoughts of neo-colonialism. Descriptive and reflective notes were taking subsequent to these events. Keeping a journal of interviews, field observations and other conversations and experiences was considered an important and integral to the empirical process (cf. Tavory and Timmermans, 2014). I also contended that journaling would be a helpful way of processing a wealth of information and impressions in a relatively foreign setting, and I also wrote extensively about the more informal aspects of my time in Lusaka.

The informal field experiences included casual conversations with the athletes in the context of home visits, hanging around and waiting together, attending other sport events etc. also warrant attention. While getting a better impression of the athletes' daily life and living conditions, these experiences also provided an opportunity to talk more freely and openly about a range of different topics. Some lines of conversation turned out to be informative for the research project, such as when one athlete described how female job applicants were pressed for sexual favours from authority figures in the interviewing process and that this was a form of exploitation that she perceived as quite common and appalling. Such conversations were reminders of challenges faced *outside* the sport context and how safety is inextricably tied up with socio-economic conditions and other axis of (in)security (e.g. job security, see Gough et al., 2016).

Another part of the informal fieldwork was my trip to Lusaka in autumn 2014, on invitation from NIF, to participate as an observer to a survey on violence in Zambian sport conducted by Kari Fasting and Diane Huffman (resulting in the aforementioned 2015-publication entitled "Gender-Based Violence in Zambian Sport: Prevalence and Prevention"). During this week, I met with a number of people involved in sport and SfD in Lusaka, including the National Olympic Committee, Sport in Action, Edusport and NOWSPAR. Through observing an educational session on gender-based violence and focus group interviews with athletes and coaches, as well as from having informal conversations and discussions about the project, I was given a glimpse into some of the issues and dilemmas that proved relevant to my own research project. For example, we were told about a situation where a coach had impregnated an underage athlete, and that reporting the abuse to the authorities was rendered difficult because the coach in question worked for the local police. Such predicaments implied that there could be practical challenges related to the reporting

process that are difficult to prepare for at the policy level. Overall, the participatory observation provided a vantage point from which I could get an overview of how sport was organized and practiced in the area. For example, I learned that several athletes were familiar with the SfD NGOs that operated in and around Lusaka, and some even participated in their activities and sport leagues. Similarly, a handful of coaches and sport leaders had experience from working with these NGOs, and the SfD representatives interviewed for the study had "grown up" in organized sport, so to speak. As such, I found that there was considerable overlap between organized sport and SfD – two sectors that are often portrayed as quite distinct and separate in the academic literature.

Reflexivity and Ethical Considerations

All procedures and protocols as stipulated by the Norwegian Social Science Data Service were followed for ethical approval for this study[38]. Research ethics should not be restricted, however, to formal procedures of approval from boards of ethics, nor be limited to discussing the methods applied. Here, ethics is regarded as an integral part of the entire research process, which includes consideration of, as Simone Abram (2014; 22) writes, "the ethics of doing the research *per se* [and] the philosophical approach adopted by the researcher". In this section, I also describe how three forms of reflexivity – introspection, intersubjective reflection and social critique – have shaped and informed this research project. Ethical considerations are elaborated on in extension of reflexivity as social critique.

While there has been limited space for reflexive musings in the individual articles, I consider reflexivity as an important and integral to the interpretative process leading up to publications. Active reflexivity provides researchers with a means to recognize that "we are a part of the social events and processes that we observe and help to narrate" (Atkinson and Coffey, 2003; 120). Reflexivity can, however, be conceptualized in different ways. Finlay (2002), for example, distinguishes between five forms of reflexivity: introspection, intersubjective reflection, mutual collaboration, social critique and discursive deconstruction. While not the place to go into each of these, I wish to elaborate on how introspection, intersubjective reflection and social critique have accompanied this research. In doing so, I attempt not to engage in personal revelation for its own sake, but to use it in the way proposed by Finlay (2002; 215), as "a springboard for interpretations and more general insights".

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[38] See appendix for application form and research approval confirmation from the Norwegian Social Science Data Service.

Reflexivity as *introspection* has involved critical self-reflection and interrogation of my own observations and conclusions from inception to conclusion of the research endeavour, kept track of through journaling of my experiences and reflections. One question has been the degree to which my background of living and working with sport in Zimbabwe has shaped my expectations for what Zambian sport would entail. Through YSEP, I was given a placement at the head office of the Sports and Recreation Commission and lived with a moderately affluent and sport-enthusiastic chiShona-speaking family in Harare in 2010. In fact, a local SfD organization was run from a house on their property and led by my host father. Following the initial one-year volunteer program, I stayed on for a second year, working for NIF in the capacity of administration officer at the Zimbabwean Paralympic Committee. During these two years, I visited Lusaka on several occasions. My prior acquaintance with Zimbabwe and, to a lesser extent, Zambia, made me more comfortable with the prospect of doing fieldwork in a relatively unfamiliar location. Thus, in a highly concrete and practical sense, these experiences made the present research possible. Moreover, during the fieldwork in Zambia, I was able to draw upon my rudimental language skills of chiShona, as it shares similarities with some of the languages used in the Lusaka-area and because there is considerable movement across the Zambia-Zimbabwean border for purposes such as employment, trade and settlement[39]. While not a major influence, language familiarity may have eased the process of being accepted in at least one of the sport teams. For example, I remember clearly how, on one occasion, I was introduced to a group of athletes in a heartfelt and joyous tone of voice: "This is Maje[40] - she's Zimbabwean!".

Another subject for introspection has been my relationship with NIF and its potential influence on the research project. The international department at NIF were instrumental in providing an entry point into the sport associations that were involved in the study. However, my relatively close connection with a notable funding organization for sport and SfD in Zambia triggered several questions relating to ethics and methodology. Would I be perceived as a representative from NIF, despite my efforts to underline that I was from the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NIH)? The mistakenly similar acronyms notwithstanding, one or two "Freudian slips" by research participants indicated that I was sometimes equated with NIF. What did this mean for what came across in the interviews? One of the main sport

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[39]Traveling by bus between Harare and Lusaka also, regrettably, afforded me a close encounter with the issue of road safety. Several truck carcasses could be viewed at the bottom of the valley when the bus raced through the sharply curving roads as we approached the Zambian border on the Zimbabwe side. Such experiences certainly provided a backdrop against which to consider issues of safety *in sport*.
[40] Maje is my nickname, short for Gerd Marie.

associations involved in the study was currently funded by NIF while the other was in discussions of establishing a partnership. Would sport leaders aware of NIF's role perceived me as a representative of, or even a controller, for NIF? Would they be able to speak freely, and would they put an extra effort into projecting their sport association in a positive light? While these issues were subject to reflection and discussion beforehand, NIF's involvement remained crucial for going through with the study and was an important source of information and insights about sport and safeguarding in Zambia. The resulting compromise was to stay aware, in relation to interviews and their interpretation, of these potential influences on (some of) the research participants.

With respect to *intersubjective* reflexivity, immersion in the academic milieu as well as informal conversations during the fieldwork, deserve mention. Tavory and Timmermans (2014) refer to the academic milieu as a "community of inquiry", which continuously facilitates the process of checking and rechecking the coherence between empirical observation and theorization, looking for alternative explanations for findings and assessing the relevance of the research beyond the specific context of the study. Participation at various courses about methods, the theory of science, ethics etc. has been enlightening through providing opportunities for discussing and gaining new perspectives on research in general and for my own project. The many informal conversations and discussions had with people in different position with elaborate knowledge and experience from Zambian sport and society also served as mechanisms for intersubjective reflexivity. The participation of my main supervisor in the first week of the fieldwork was significant in this respect, as we discussed and digested our first impressions and experiences of the fieldwork and used each other as sounding boards for ideas and preliminary interpretations.

Moreover, sharing responsibility for the one-year academic course "Sports, Culture and Development Cooperation" at NIH has put me in touch with four cohorts of sport students that have had one-year placements primarily in Zambia and other countries in southern Africa. This has also offered opportunities for intersubjective reflexivity, not least through reading exam papers informed by their experiences as sport volunteers. In addition, I followed up with the volunteers that were placed in and around Lusaka and listened to their stories during fieldwork. Moreover, I have twice helped facilitate an academic course at the University of the Western Cape in South Africa for the students during their placement. For example, one student wrote an exam paper about dieting practices, while another discussed the problem of children coming to sport practice in 30 degrees+ heat without a water bottle. Despite these descriptions, the role of sport for enjoyment was thoroughly reinforced through

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the students' accounts, prompting consideration of the positive aspects of sport alongside attention to the more problematic ones. Together, my role at NIH has been a source of new information and perspectives on safety-related issues in and around sport in Zambia.

Particularly due to the transnational character of my research topic and fieldwork experience, I have dwelled on the implications of my social location for the interview encounter and for wider ethical issues. This relates to reflexivity as *social critique*, involving "how to manage the power imbalance between researcher and participant" in acknowledgement of "tensions arising from different social positions" such as gender, class and race (Finlay, 2002; 220). Mindful of neo-colonial residue within and power differentials between researcher and research participant in this project, acting with care in approaching the interview situation was deemed essential. Another concern, however, has been to not let reflexivity concerning power dynamics *in the interview encounter* overshadow attention to global economic inequalities as a problem in itself as well as the factors and relations that sustain and further exacerbate these inequities. According to Lukes (2005), this would include attending to decision-making, agenda-setting and ideological power. Thus, people are embedded in broader relations and structures of power, sustained by normalized ideologies and rationalities that are enacted in everyday life. These are, in all likelihood, not amenable to being evened out through interview techniques employed by the researcher.

A common theme within international development is researchers from the global North contemplating their potential complicities in neo-colonial practices and exploitation when undertaking research in the global South. When faced with these apprehensions, coined a crisis of legitimacy, global North researchers have, according to Scheyvens and Leslie (2000), responded by: i) withdrawing from doing research in the developing world altogether, ii) romanticized or privileged "Third World knowledge", or iii) sought to redress inequalities post-fieldwork through e.g. sharing authorship. In navigating this contentious territory, I am inclined towards the view that engagement is a more ethical alternative than disengagement. Indeed, concurring with Radcliffe (1994; 28), one may propose that "disclaiming the right to speak about/with Third World women acts to justify an abdication of responsibility with regard to global relations of privilege and authority". From this perspective, the intentions and ambitions of the researcher takes precedence over their social location or origin. It can be argued that the common pattern of global North researchers doing research in the global South (Kay, 2012) is a *manifestation* of global inequalities and not a *cause*. As such, problematizing this practice may represent a misallocation of critical scrutiny, and potentially

discourage researchers from interrogating the roots of economic and social inequalities in different localities and at a global scale.

This relates to the ethical dimension of the researcher's choice of theoretical perspectives, as some may be better equipped to challenge unequal distribution of power and resources than others (Darnell et al., 2018). A central critique of SfD, for example, is that it is geared towards equipping people with skills that enable them to compete and survive within an inequitable world. In the process, the structures of power and inequality that uphold such a world remain unchallenged (Hayhurst, 2009). In a similar vein, I inhabit a critical stance towards neoliberal ideology and policies that decentres responsibility from state/government level to individual level and the "logic" that market-based solutions provide an equitable approach to questions of economic or social development. As noted by Darnell et al. (2018), a critical sociology framework might be better suited to raise social critique than more "apolitical" frameworks such as youth development. For this dissertation, some articles have been more driven by critical theoretical perspectives than others, and I concede that a more politically driven position could have been pursued. As a final ethical remark, an aspiration for this research has been to make a contribution that can be of value for researchers and practitioners working with safeguarding in sport.

7. Findings

In this chapter, I present summaries of the research findings for each of the four articles that make up this dissertation. Together they inform the overall research question about how safety and safeguarding are understood in Zambian sport. Implications of the collected findings for the dissertation are discussed in the next chapter.

Article 1

Solstad, G.M. and Strandbu, Å. (2017): Faster, Higher, Stronger… Safer? Safety concerns for young athletes in Zambia. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport.* DOI: 10.1177/1012690217742926

In the first article, we explored safety concerns in the context of sport and how they related to safety concerns for young people in Zambia in general. While safety and safeguarding have been increasingly prominent topics within sport research, empirical studies on this topic from organized sport in the global South have been scarce. Against the notion that specific socioeconomic and cultural conditions in a given society are significant for views on sport and safety, we posed two research questions: i) In what ways may various aspects of organized sport constitute a threat to the safety of young athletes? ii) How do concerns *in sport* relate to safety concerns for young people *outside* the sport setting? With this approach, we aimed to get a sense of what is general and what is specific about sport when it comes to safety concerns. To inform the research questions, coaches, sport leaders and athletes in Zambian sport were consulted through individual interviews and focus groups, supplemented by participatory observation.

An important observation was that the interviewees often associated sport with safety. Sport was portrayed as a positive activity that could deter youth from engaging in illicit or antisocial activities. Simultaneously, unsupervised leisure time was perceived as the most "risky" setting for young people in Zambia. The interviewees expressed that, in unsupervised settings, girls were particularly vulnerable to sexual abuse while boys could be introduced to drugs. As such, a clearly gendered pattern for safety concerns emerged. This impression was amplified when potential consequences of sexual abuse for girls were considered, including teenage pregnancies, which was associated with drop-out from school and loss of future work opportunities. We also noted that conceptions of safety were closely tied to supervision, as the interviewees expressed stronger need to watch over girls to protect them. General safety concerns served to put sport-related issues into perspective by situating them against other issues impinging upon young people's safety and wellbeing in the local context.

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In the sport setting, the interviewees expressed concern for unequal power relations, coaching ideals and athlete ideals within the organized sport culture. They observed that coaches and sport leaders held significant power over athletes, which could give rise to exploitative practices. Concerns were commonly articulated in relation to international tournaments, which were associated with an elevated risk of exploitation since athletes' motivation to travel and compete could be used as leverage for sexual favours. In relation to coaching ideals, the interviewees expressed that coaches sometimes used harmful coaching methods in pursuit of sporting success without the intention to cause harm to athletes. Thus, we maintained that critical reflection on the performance culture and the ideals embedded therein might be a fertile angle for understanding normalization of harmful practices in sport. A central discussion point, as the title indicates, concerned the budding incongruity between a vision for safety in sport and the idea that sport is about pushing the limits of human capacity.

Article 2

Solstad, G. M. and Rhind, D. (2018): Sport, Safeguarding and Transactional Sex: A Case Study of Social Networks in Zambian Sport. *Sport in Society.* DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2018.1445990

Article two pursued a topic that we were alerted to in the first study. Transactional sex refers to the practice of exchanging sexual favours in return for material support or other benefits and is associated with a range of negative experiences and outcomes. This includes sexual abuse, violence and HIV/AIDS. Since the athletes described the sport team as a protective setting in which young players were discouraged from "risky" sexual practices, we approached this topic in two ways: First, we asked what factors women athletes perceive as increasing young women's vulnerability to transactional sex. Second, we considered how women athletes in Zambian sport perceive the safeguarding potential of social networks in sport, with specific attention to transactional sex as a concern. This article drew primarily on interviews with athletes about safety and vulnerability in and around sport and explored "informal" safeguarding through sport.

The interviewees described that transactional sex should be discouraged and avoided. Other studies have found varying degrees of social acceptance for this practice in sub-Saharan Africa. As such, transactional sex can be viewed as a contested and multifaceted issue, positioned in the grey area between sexual agency and sexual exploitation. While transactional sex could occur within the context of sport, for example in exchange for sporting privileges, it was first and foremost referred to as a general safety concern for young women.

Furthermore, the interviewees pointed to poverty, wanting to fit in with peers and lack of social support as sources of vulnerability for engaging in transactional sex. Of note is that individual- and community-based explanations were most pronounced in the interviewees' accounts, with focus on immediate and practical strategies to guide young girls away from risky practices. From this perspective, the interviewees saw sport as an important and meaningful site for socialization, belonging and enjoyment, which in turn could grant access to social and financial support. The interviewees communicated this message by referring to the sport team as a family, in which senior players embraced extended care-taking responsibilities for younger players in an attempt to steer them towards safe and productive life choices. While showing that sport-based social networks can provide some mitigation against vulnerability to transactional sex, we maintained that sport participation does little to address the causes and conditions that give rise to the phenomenon in the first place. Instead of positioning sport as a solution to transactional sex, then, we encourage critical attention towards social and economic inequality as well as gender-based expectations in sexual relationships. As an issue that stresses the gendered and corporeal implications of poverty and inequality, we suggest that transactional sex merits further attention in literature on safeguarding in sport within resource-poor settings.

Article 3

Solstad, G. M. (under review): Reporting Abuse in Sport: A Question of Power? *European Journal for Sport and Society.*

The third article shifts the focus to formalized safeguarding systems in sport. Again, the thread is followed from previous observations about challenges related to the prospect of reporting abuse in sport for athletes. Reporting systems in sport are often launched as a central mechanism for detecting and addressing abuse within formalized safeguarding approaches, thus projecting reporting as the expected and the right thing to do when abuse occurs. Although it is documented that only a small minority of athletes reports abuse while still active in sport, few studies have applied a sociological lens to consider this question. The purpose of this article was therefore to foreground power and social belonging to explore how organizational reporting procedures are perceived and made sense of by athletes and others in sport. The article draws theoretically on the works of Steven Lukes and Norbert Elias and empirically on interviews with sport leaders, coaches and athletes.

Through thematic data analysis, four themes emerged as barriers to reporting abuse, conceptualized as fears of punishment, not being believed, being gossiped about and being

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excluded from sport. Sport ideals such as discipline, toughness/resilience and loyalty, as well as the image of sport as a moral preserve, contributed to associating the outlook of reporting with potential negative consequences. The athletes expressed that they had limited power over sport-related decisions, and that reporting abuse in sport could jeopardize their sport participation and social position in the team. Set against the social meanings ascribed to sport participation and the enjoyment and identity derived therefrom, remaining silent or telling a trusted friend about abuse was articulated as the safest alternative. Due to the many uncertainties associated with the prospect of reporting abuse in sport, one may ask whether undue responsibility is placed on athletes by expecting them to be the primary mechanism for detecting abuse in sport.

Article 4

Solstad, G.M. and Strandbu, Å. (submitted). Culturally Framing "Safe Sport": On Political Mobilization against Abuse in Sport. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics.*

The fourth article applies a social movement theory perspective to study political mobilisation against abuse in Zambian sport associations. Informed by interviews with sport leaders in Zambian sport, we pose the question: How is safe sport captured, presented and understood - or culturally framed - in Zambian sport? The aim of the article was twofold: i) to stimulate discussion about potential conflicts and challenges related to formalized safeguarding systems in sport in the context of transnational Sport for Development partnerships, and ii) to contribute to a theoretical understanding of how issues in sport become politicized and turn into sport policy. To inform these questions, we examine the cultural framing alongside two other elements of the social movement theory framework: political opportunity structure and mobilizing actors.

The cultural framing analysis revealed substantial support for formalized safeguarding systems in the sport associations, but also some ambivalence about the extent of abuse in sport. Sport leaders largely considered safeguarding to resonate with goals and values of sport and described it as a practicable and effective way of combatting abuse. On the one hand, sport leaders viewed abuse and its consequences as detrimental to performance and incompatible with the integrity, morality and social good associated with sport. On the other hand, they conveyed a belief that formalized safeguarding could be beneficial for the sport associations' reputation and image. Thus, safeguarding was associated with a potential for increased sport participation and sponsorship. Together with the normative connotations to

the safe sport agenda, we argued that resonance with sport priorities might have dampened critical comments or cautions regarding formalized safeguarding.

In the discussion, we emphasize that the locally grounded features of the safe sport agenda were significant for garnering support for safeguarding. A policy climate characterized by increasing governmental expectations for sport's social profile, coupled with a strained resource situation in the sport associations, positioned conditional funding as an effective strategy. In concluding, resourceful mobilizing actors and resonance with sport-related goals and values emerged as significant for political mobilization against abuse in Zambian sport.

8. Concluding Discussion

The articles in this dissertation have dealt with understandings of safety and safeguarding in Zambian sport. In the following, I draw attention to some broader implications of the research project with respect to the safeguarding field and the prospects for providing safe sport in Zambia. I consider possibilities for the safe sport agenda related to conditions in the local setting as well as constraints in relation to limited resources and competing priorities.

The network of people dedicated to athlete safety in Zambian sport and SfD constitute a possibility for sustained momentum for safe sport. Previously, I raised the question of whether transnational safeguarding in sport could be seen to represent an imposition of Western ways and values upon the non-Western world, in line with insights from postcolonial theory. In the present research, Zambian sport leaders expressed considerable support towards formalized safeguarding. However, it is possible that they felt inhibited to share reservations about international intervention in this area, since opposing the safe sport agenda could result in the suspension of an important funding stream for the sport associations. Funding conditions notwithstanding, the sport leaders portrayed safeguarding as consistent with several sport goals and in line with their moral commitments to athletes. The perceived resonance between safeguarding and sport-specific priorities positioned safeguarding as rather easy to embrace for the involved sport associations. Moreover, in article 4, we highlight the significant role played by local organizations in Lusaka that work for gender equality and women's rights in and through sport. The people in these organizations constituted important mobilizing actors together with NIF and provided local anchoring for the safe sport agenda. Instead of setting up a simplified dichotomy between the values of the Norwegian partner and the values of the Zambian partner, a more precise depiction might be that a plurality of values and interests exist in both localities. In this case, the international department of NIF, with interests in gender equality and sport for all (Straume, 2012; Hasselgård, 2015a), can be seen to have found support in, as well as reinforced, the social justice-oriented bracket of the Zambian sportscape. Together, this points towards a strong possibility for safe sport to be embedded within the sport associations.

Ambivalence about the extent of abuse in sport as well as competition for resources between different tasks could constrain progress towards safe sport. This dissertation has shown that questions of safety and vulnerability *in sport* cannot be dissociated from the material realities of economic difficulties and inequality in wider Zambian society. The first two articles highlighted that socioeconomic deprivation is a critical source of vulnerability for Zambian youth. The interviewees in this study did not consider exploitation and abuse to be

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particularly pronounced in sport compared to other settings and emphasized unsupervised leisure as a site of risk. The most severe threats to athlete safety were thus located outside the sport setting. As follows, the uncertainty about what forms of abuse sport associations are responsible for and what they are capable to do something about within sport can be considered a constraint for safeguarding. To inform future safeguarding research and practice, I encourage more studies that investigate whether various forms of abuse in sport stem from structures, practices and belief sets in sport.

Presumably, the strained funding situation in Zambian sport can inhibit realistic prospects for a formalized safeguarding system akin to advanced Western systems (cf. Krueger et al., 2014). Moreover, constrained resources put pressure on sport associations to make tough priorities amongst a range of competing problem areas. In the present research, I noted the potential for augmented consequences of abuse due to poverty, stigma and restricted access to affordable medical treatment. Examples included teenage pregnancies, unsafely induced abortions and discontinued schooling. The interviewees also spoke about concerns in relation to sport injuries, with unkempt sport grounds and dilapidated facilities being mentioned as safety hazards. Again, the potential consequences become amplified when considering that resulting financial problems could lead to disrupted education and loss of income (cf. Jacobsen, 2014). Thus, a constraint for safeguarding in sport is that the problem of abuse competes for attention and resources with other significant problems and tasks.

Concluding Remarks

Having safe sport embedded in sport associations' policy priorities represents the success of activists, researchers and their allies in directing critical attention to abuse in sport. The safe sport agenda communicates a message to take action against repressive power structures, abusive practices and unhealthy ideals that impinge on the safety of athletes. Moreover, safeguarding signals important ambitions of fostering an institutional climate in which sport participants' enjoyment and healthy development is given primacy.

The focus of this dissertation was on *understandings* of safety and safeguarding in Zambian sport. Based on the dissertation findings, two endeavours stand out as important for people engaging with safeguarding in sport. The first is understanding athlete safety in relation to wider economic, social and political circumstances. The second is aligning safeguarding ambitions in sport to what is achievable within the context of sport and the capacity of sport associations. Hopefully, exploring these avenues can inform which safeguarding approach will be best suited to achieve safe sport in Zambia and elsewhere.

9. References

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10. Articles

Article 1

Solstad, G.M. and Strandbu, Å. (2017): Faster, Higher, Stronger… Safer? Safety concerns for young athletes in Zambia. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport.* DOI: 10.1177/1012690217742926

Article 2

Solstad, G. M. and Rhind, D. (2018): Sport, Safeguarding and Transactional Sex: A Case Study of Social Networks in Zambian Sport. *Sport in Society.* DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2018.1445990

Article 3

Solstad, G. M. (under review): Reporting Abuse in Sport: A Question of Power? *European Journal for Sport and Society.*

Article 4

Solstad, G.M. and Strandbu, Å. (submitted). Culturally Framing "Safe Sport": On Political Mobilization against Abuse in Sport. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics.*

Article 1

Faster, higher, stronger… safer? Safety concerns for young athletes in Zambia

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Abstract

This article draws attention to safety concerns affecting young people in the setting of organized sport in Zambia. Our primary aim is to explore ways in which aspects of sport culture may constitute a threat to athlete safety. Secondly, we try to understand sport-specific safety concerns in light of more general concerns for young people's safety in Zambia. The study is based on interviews with athletes, coaches and sports leaders from Zambian sport. Although sport was mainly described as a positive recreational arena for youth, concerns were raised about unequal power relations and problematic ideals in the sport culture. Our findings suggest a need to discuss critically how glorification of toughness and resilience might contribute to normalize harmful practices in sport. Further, we indicate that divergent and elusive understandings of violence and abuse – in research and in practice – can influence athlete safety in significant ways. We conclude that safeguarding in sport continues to exist in the tension between protecting athletes from harm on the one hand and subscribing to a culture that promotes the ideals 'faster, higher, stronger' on the other.

Keywords

athlete safety, gender, normalization, safeguarding, violence, Zambia

Introduction

Athlete safety has become an increasingly prominent topic in sport studies following growing global attention to children's rights and in response to high-profile cases of child abuse (Garratt et al., 2013; Lang and Hartill, 2014). Compared to other sectors, sport has been described as a latecomer in formally attending to child welfare. Arguably, the autonomy of the sport sector and a widely held faith in the 'moral goodness of sport' has contributed to this delay (Brackenridge, 2001: 10).

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Some of the structures, values and cultural practices found in sport have been associated with increased risk of abuse of young people, and particularly girls and women (Chroni et al., 2012; Brackenridge, 2001; Kirby et al., 2000). Features such as easy access, the dominance of men and hyper-masculinist values, coach–athlete power imbalances (Chroni et al., 2012) and a 'no pain, no gain' ideology (Nixon, 1993) have been highlighted. Based on this research, the impression that sport is a risky arena for children and youth could manifest itself in public opinion and threaten future participation in sports. However, a central question regarding safety and sport remains largely unanswered: does sport constitute a setting that is particularly prone to abuse in comparison to other social settings, or is abuse, regardless of context, 'a part of the same pervasive problem?' (Lang and Hartill, 2014: 620).

Studying safety in sport in different regions of the world and considering perspectives from outside sport might contribute towards this overall conundrum. Specifically, in this article, we draw on interviews with people in different roles of organized sport in Zambia. We highlight their perspectives as we address the question: in what ways may aspects of organized sport (i.e. structures, values and cultural practices) constitute a threat to the safety of young athletes? Since ideas of welfare and safety are highly context-specific (Gilbert et al., 2011), qualitative studies in previously marginalized research contexts such as Zambia are likely to broaden our understanding of athlete safety.

Indeed, the current knowledgebase on athlete safety emanates primarily from global North settings, and sub-Saharan Africa remains among the regions that are under-represented in this field (Lang and Hartill, 2014). The sociocultural and political realities in this region could create unique conditions for safety of youth in general as well as in sport. This leads to our secondary research question: how do concerns *in sport* relate to safety concerns for young people *outside* the sport setting? Including views on safety from other arenas is used to illuminate what is specific about sport. Before analysing and discussing these questions based on interviews with athletes, coaches and sports leaders in Zambia, we situate the study within the literature on athlete safety and safeguarding in sport and present relevant aspects of the Zambian context.

Athlete safety and safeguarding in sport

Safeguarding research initially focused on protecting children from sexual abuse (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014; Lang and Hartill, 2014). Gradually, its remit has been expanded to include a wider array of harmful practices, collectively referred to as non-accidental violence (Mountjoy et al., 2016). The potential for abuse within (male) coach–(female) athlete relationships has been extensively researched, often from a feminist perspective (Fasting, 2015; Owton and Sparkes, 2017). We have also witnessed growing attention towards physical and psychological forms of harm as well as neglect (Lang and Hartill, 2014; McPherson et al., 2017b). Notably, psychological abuse has been considered to be 'at the core of all other forms [of abuse]' (Mountjoy et al., 2016: 1021). In addition, peers have been shown to constitute a significant perpetrator group, particularly for sexual harassment and physical and emotional abuse (Alexander et al., 2011; McPherson et al., 2017a; Stafford et al., 2015).

While major headway has been made, issues relating to normalization and divergent understandings of violence and abuse continue to impinge on safeguarding in sport research. These challenges may be particularly pronounced in the sport setting due to common features of sport practice. Sport has been described as a social institution in which use of force and violence by participants is permitted, or even encouraged, albeit within a regulated framework (Elias and Dunning, 1986). According to Messner (1992: 66), 'the tendency to utilize violence against others to achieve a goal is learned behavior in sport'. He further elaborates: 'violent adult athletic role models as well as rewards from coaches, peers, and the community for the willingness to utilize violence successfully create a context in which violence becomes normative behavior' (Messner, 1992: 66). Thus, habitual exposure to violence can serve to 'blur the lines' between acceptable and unacceptable practices, eventually getting to a point where various forms of violence and abuse may be normalized. This has been shown to occur for emotional and physical abuse in both elite and recreational sports settings (Kerr and Stirling, 2008, 2012; Stafford et al., 2015; Stirling, 2013). In practical terms, coaches might use harmful methods without intending to cause harm. Likewise, athletes can be exposed to actions that fit formal definitions of abuse (from coaches, peers or others) without experiencing it as abuse.

This brings us to *understandings of violence and abuse* that provokes the question: is it the *action itself* or the athlete's *experience of the action* that determines if it is violence? Matthews and Channon (2017) denote these two perspectives as violence-as-force and violence-as-violation, respectively. They assert that this conceptual distinction is rarely made in studies about violence in sport, which is a point that warrants further attention. 'Violence-as-force' is characterized by attention to a perpetrator's 'intentional, destructive force' against someone or something (Matthews and Channon, 2017: 752). Relying solely on this perspective would be problematic in a sport setting. For example, seemingly 'violent' actions, like throwing punches in boxing, that are integrated and necessary elements of that sport, would be defined as violence. Therefore, Matthews and Channon (2017) make an important distinction between *legitimate* and *illegitimate* violence in the given setting, which allows for context-specific interpretations. With the boxing scenario, the person receiving the blow is not likely to experience the situation as having been violated. In a violence-as-violation perspective, therefore, it is not looked upon as violence. Taken together, this prompts consideration of what actions take place (e.g. criticizing performance), how they are interpreted in the sport context (i.e. legitimate or illegitimate) and how they are experienced by the persons involved (i.e. does the athlete feel violated?).

Against the backdrop of a global movement of researchers and practitioners intent on foregrounding athletes' rights and welfare in sport (Rhind et al., 2017), child protection and safeguarding is progressively being incorporated into sport as a part of 'good governance' in numerous countries. The newly published 'International Safeguards in Sport', intended as a guiding framework for all organizations involved in sport worldwide, serves as an example of this trend (Rhind et al., 2017). However, child protection and safeguarding has not been uniformly embraced. Indeed, critical perspectives have emerged from empirically and theoretically informed studies of sport (Brackenridge et al., 2007; Garratt et al., 2013; Hartill and Lang, 2014; Piper et al., 2013; Prescott and Hartill, 2007; Taylor et al., 2016). The critique raises concern about evoking 'moral panic' (Furedi, 2011)

through excessive emphasis on risk and protection. For example, increasing suspicion and distrust within the sport environment has been observed alongside the growing attention to safeguarding in sport in the United Kingdom (Piper et al., 2013). These perspectives should inspire critical reflection about the wider implication of safeguarding.

Athlete safety in Zambian sport

In Zambia, safeguarding is beginning to make its way into sport, and several sport associations have developed 'safe sport' policies within the past five years. If we look at the wider context of sub-Saharan Africa, girls and women are often described as disproportionately burdened by poverty, HIV/AIDS and sexual violence (Stoebenau et al., 2016). Similar concerns have been raised in the Zambian context (Lindsey et al., 2017). Organized sport in Zambia, as in most parts of the world, is largely a male dominated arena, with uneven gender representation in executive boards, coaching positions and athlete participation (Fasting et al., 2014). Notably, gender-based violence has been identified as a barrier to girls and women's participation (Jacobsen, 2014). Accordingly, the National Sports Council of Zambia recently developed a Gender Action Plan that highlights gender-based violence as a concern (Fasting et al., 2014). As a part of this agenda, Fasting et al. (2015) conducted a base-line survey of gender-based violence in Zambian sport.

The report yielded prevalence figures for harassment and abuse that were described as high compared to what has been found in the global North context. A total of 78% of the athletes reported having experienced verbal harassment, 69% sexual harassment, 65% neglect, 37% sexual abuse (defined as 'forced sexual behaviour' or 'tried to have sex with you against your will') and 31% physical abuse ('been slapped or hit'). In concluding, the authors describe harassment and abuse of athletes as a widespread and pervasive problem at all levels of organized sport in Zambia (Fasting et al., 2015). The report was based on a questionnaire with 116 coaches (63% men and 27% women) and 410 athletes (54% men and 46% women) above 15 years of age from different performance levels and sports associations in Zambia.

While Lindsey et al. (2017) provide an extensive account of social challenges for Zambian youth, athlete safety in the organized sport context in Zambia has received limited research attention. As such, Fasting et al. (2015) provide an important overview of practices in Zambian sport that could be harmful to athletes, and is a useful starting point for exploring how safety in sport is *evaluated* and *understood*. The current article seeks to contribute towards understanding these facets of safety in sport by asking two questions: 1. In what ways may aspects of organized sport constitute a threat to the safety of young athletes? and 2. How do concerns *in sport* relate to safety concerns for young people *outside* the sport setting? We foreground the perspectives of athletes, coaches and sports leaders in Zambia. While Zambia acts as the empirical context for this study, we venture that exploring athlete safety in a previously under-researched setting adds to the wider field of safeguarding in sport.

Methods

The empirical basis for this article was drawn from a larger research project that took place in Lusaka, Zambia, in 2015 and was ethically approved by the Norwegian Social

Science Data Service. Semi-structured interviews and focus groups were the primary sources of empirical data for this study. Participatory observation with athletes in practice and match situations was an important part of establishing rapport and familiarity. Using a qualitative and exploratory approach also aligned with our ambition to place the participants' perspectives at the centre of the research process.

As global North researchers in a global South research setting, we fit into a wider critical discourse about Western power and dominance that highlights enduring and suppressive effects of colonialism (McEwan, 2009). This has presented us with ethical conundrums and practical dilemmas, but has also afforded us advantages associated with an 'outsider perspective'. For instance, our status gave us the opportunity to ask 'dumb questions' and question issues that might otherwise be taken-for-granted (Scheyvens and Leslie, 2000). Particularly when 'normalization' of violence has been identified as an important social mechanism in sport (Messner, 1992), an outsider's gaze could be helpful. Further, a positive aspect of cross-cultural research is that the participants have a space where they can articulate their concerns. Having your perspectives heard by outsiders and contributing to science can be a valued experience (Scheyvens and Leslie, 2000).

Participants

The participants were recruited through convenient purposive sampling. We sought one women's team from two different team sports disciplines that competed in the local league. Our decision to include only women's teams was based on several considerations. As safety and vulnerability are topics that have gender-specific dimensions, we wanted to limit our scope to one gender. In addition, we assessed that it would be more challenging for us, as women, to gain the same level of access into male sports. Access to the teams was negotiated through a contact person in the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sport (NIF). She put us in touch with the leaders (secretary general or president) of two different sports associations.[1] They were positively inclined towards the study, and recommended a number of teams that could be suitable. Assuring that our inclusion criteria were met, we chose one team from each of the two disciplines based on practical considerations (e.g. practice schedule and location).

Following contact with the teams' coach, we then arranged to meet and ask for their participation in the study – which both teams agreed to. Team A was a community team consisting of 14 players in the age range 15–35 years. They practiced twice per week. Team B was a so-called 'company team' and had a squad of 16 players in the same age category. Some of the athletes lived in middle-class areas while others lived in high-density compounds.[2] After being introduced to the athletes in a sport setting, we held a focus group interview with each team. We extended invitations to participate to all the athletes in the teams to express that their contributions were valued. However, while they all wanted to be present, we noted that the 'senior athletes' (age 20 +) contributed more actively than the younger athletes did. Thus, the athlete perspectives in this study should not necessarily be taken to represent the views of younger athletes. Both authors of this paper moderated the focus groups to enable attentiveness to both group dynamics and the interview guide. To get a broader impression from sport in Zambia, we seized the opportunity to conduct four additional focus groups: three with women's teams and one with coaches.

A total of 16 individual interviews were also held. Three (senior) athletes from each focal team volunteered to take part in an individual interview. The contacts made through these teams were used to reach out to coaches and leaders from the two foci sports ($n = 7$). We also interviewed three individuals with experience from other team sports and the sport-for-development sector. The class background of the interviewees varied, but most of the interviewees were employed – a situation that could not be taken for granted in Zambia (Lindsey et al., 2017). The coaches and leaders can be described as moderately affluent. Together, the interviewees represented a group with diverse and complementary sport experiences.

Interviews

Handling the interview situation with sensitivity and respect was a fundamental concern for us as researchers. One aspect of postcolonial critique focuses on the way that the global South through media and – indeed – research all too often is associated with images of poverty, violence and disease (McEwan, 2009). Therefore, we pursued a balanced focus on both positive and negative aspects of sport in our semi-structured interview-guide. In the interviews, we always introduced 'athlete safety' through an open question: '*what do you think about when I say "safety in sport?"*'. We devoted ample time to what was viewed as important for athletes to feel safe, and explored how sport was associated with safety. If the interviewees did not raise the topic of abuse or violence in sport on their own accord, we were careful to introduce these aspects in a way that would not be experienced as stigmatizing of Zambian sport or Zambian culture. For example, we could phrase the question in the context of Norwegian sport: '*Where I am from, there have been some problems with such things as abuse in sport…*'. At the same time, we had to take care that our self-awareness about power dynamics in the interview situation would not come at the expense of addressing difficult topics.

The interviews were held in English without the aid of a translator. While English is the official language in Zambia, it is normally not the preferred language among Zambians outside formal contexts. The leaders and coaches spoke English fluently, and the same can be said for most, but not all, of the athletes that were interviewed. Written or oral informed consent was given prior to the interviews, which were taped with a digital audio recorder, anonymized and transcribed verbatim. Two (out of 16) participants declined our request to record. Written notes were taken during and directly after these interviews. Since there is low representation of women in coaching and leadership positions in Zambia (Fasting et al., 2014), disclosing both gender and position in the association may jeopardize the participants' anonymity. We therefore decided to collate the categories leader and coach into 'coach/leader' and divulge their gender, particularly as gender is considered an important aspect to understandings of safety and risk in sport (Brackenridge, 2001). This decision also made sense because most of these individuals indeed held dual roles or had experience from both coaching and sport administration/leadership.

Analysis

Our ambition to foreground the views and perspectives of the research participants bore weight in choosing our approach to interpreting the interviews. Discussions of emerging

themes between the researchers during the data collection should be considered the initial part of the analyses. For transcript analysis, we followed a so-called open thematic coding where categories are created based on the themes addressed in the interviews (Burnard et al., 2008). Through multiple transcript readings, three broad themes emerged that informed the research questions: (i) threats to safety for young people situated in a wider local context; (ii) unequal power relations in sport; and (iii) ideals of toughness in the sport culture. The third category was further subdivided into 'athlete ideals in the sport culture' and 'coaching ideals'. We re-read the interviews to identify statements and sections as they related to each theme within their original context.

Findings

We wanted to hear the study participants' views and conceptions about athlete safety in their own words. A common perception was that sport is positive for young people's safety because it gives them something meaningful to do (see Lindsey et al., 2017). Unsupervised leisure time, on the other hand, was often associated with antisocial behaviour. Even when we introduced 'safety *in* sport', participants emphasized that the most pressing challenges for young people lay in wider Zambian society. This should feed into how readers interpret our findings from the sport setting.

This article's primary concern is the sport-specific challenges to athlete safety. We here present three themes based on the participants' accounts: (i) unequal power relations in sport; (ii) coaching ideals; and (iii) athlete ideals in the sport culture. The first part of the findings illustrates the more general risks, thus situating the threats and risks in sport within the wider local context.

Safety, gender and supervision

Challenges facing youth in Zambia were discussed with strong engagement by the study participants, and gender emerged as a central aspect in their constructions of safety. Indeed, the conversation tended to shift towards girls as a focus when addressing these issues. Girls were described as more vulnerable, and considered exposed to different and more 'devastating' types of risk than boys:

> The main concern on the girls is sexual abuse. And, on the boys, obviously, drug use and that kind of thing. (Male Coach/Leader 1)

For girls, vulnerability was associated with unsolicited sex as well as consequences of unplanned pregnancies:

> Let's say a girl gets pregnant. School comes to a halt. And, maybe she will not be married afterwards. You could get some diseases together with the pregnancy. So, you're back to the parents' house. (…) But, for the guy, even if he impregnates someone, he still goes to school. He'll still get a job. (Athlete 1)

The athlete suggests that gender-based implications contribute to the fact that safety may be viewed in different ways for girls and boys. Relatedly, the participants

said that women in Zambia are expected to have few sexual partners compared to men (see Nshindano and Maharaj, 2008). Perceiving girls as vulnerable seemed to prompt an inclination toward parental supervision as a way to protect them from harm:

> There is always that concern. OK, even I as a parent, I would really be concerned about my daughter's safety. I would really like to know where she is, what she is doing and who she is with. (Athlete 2)

> When you're growing up, when you're young – you have to get permission from the parents. And sometimes it's difficult for them to let you go. Then when you're married – it's your husband. So it's permission from your parents – [then] from your husband. (Athlete 1)

In line with other accounts from Zambia (Lindsey et al., 2017), girls and women seemed to experience more constraints in terms of personal freedom compared to boys and men. As a sport-related example, we heard of athletes that had to beg for permission from their husband to attend matches outside their community. For young athletes in particular, the participants drew our attention to situations that lacked adult supervision, such as travelling to and from the sports venue:

> We have very few training facilities and we subject our players to moving at awkward times. (…) [After training,] they have to walk back in the dark. If not, they have to jump on public transport to get back to their respective homes. But, again, that is after dark. So, that's a serious risk that we subject our players to. (Male Coach/Leader 3)

Thus, we should be careful not to consider 'safety in sport' as a question displaced from wider society. Our findings prompt reflections about how perceptions of gender and safety shape people's lives in terms of opportunities and constraints – both inside sport and beyond.

Unequal power relations in sport

When athlete safety in sport was addressed, the participants expressed concern about the potential for abuse within hierarchical power relationships. The power and influence possessed by coaches and leaders with respect to the athlete was highlighted in the context of team selection:

> Obviously, if you have teams that are travelling out, every athlete wants to travel. So, if they are abused, they might not tell you because they fear that 'no, maybe I don't even deserve this position'. (Male Coach/Leader 8)

These challenges were often spoken of in general terms, and the participants referred mostly to rumours and other people's experiences rather than their own:

> We only hear rumors. We hear that 'there's this girl, she was impregnated by that coach', but they have never [reported]. (Female Coach/Leader 4)

This quote aligns well with the notion that sport can foster a culture of silence when it comes to abuse (Brackenridge, 2001; Kirby et al., 2000). As indicated above, breaking this silence was associated with athletes' fear of being excluded or denied sport privileges. In accordance with Parent (2011), the athletes pointed to fears of not being believed as likely reasons for not disclosing abuse. Another concern was the potential for rumours to be spread about the athlete involved. Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, coaches and leaders seemed more ready than athletes to acknowledge the potential for athlete abuse in sport. As noted, concerns were often articulated in relation to tournaments:

> You find that certain people in elite sport – if I am a woman – I may be given a space to play at the national team because I have to sleep with the coach. Or, I get some form of a prize or something. (Female Coach/Leader 6)

The coach/leader describes how authority figures in sport may misuse their power to gain sexual favours from athletes. Limited awareness of abuse among athletes was offered as a contributing factor to this kind of exploitation:

> [Athletes] need to understand what it means to be violated. If the coach says 'ok, you have to sleep with me' or 'you can get a space [on the team], but only when you do this for me', you need to know and understand that this is not right. If we have that attitude to say 'no, this is not right', and everyone realizes that it is wrong, I think we will have better safe sport in Zambia. (Female Coach/Leader 6)

The coach/leader also points to how identifying abuse might not always be as clear-cut as is generally expected. That abuse might come in different and unanticipated forms was further alluded to by a male coach/leader. He explained that women athletes sometimes tried to leverage their sexuality in exchange for sports-related favours from coaches, which created a space for authority figures to 'take advantage'. Would this constitute abuse? Would athletes and coaches evaluate this situation differently? From this example, we hint at the importance of challenging common assumptions about what abuse looks like (see Brackenridge, 2002).

These assumptions include gender. Girls were consistently considered the most vulnerable to sexual exploitation, while abuse of boys was rarely addressed. However, one coach/leader reflected upon the additional challenges boys might face if they were victimized:

> Girls are more vulnerable than boys. Though, somehow, a man… At times, they may not know that they are also being violated or that they are also being abused. They may think 'it's just the girls' and 'me, I'm a man', but they may not know it is harassment. (Female Coach/Leader 6)

Similarly, Hartill (2009) has documented that male victims of abuse may have difficulties recognizing instances of sexual abuse. In our study, male athletes were portrayed as unlikely victims of such abuse. On one occasion, this was explained by referring to the scarcity of women coaches in Zambian sport. It thus seemed like the possibility for male-to-male abuse was not acknowledged. It is also possible that the topic was deemed inappropriate to address in light of anti-gay laws in Zambia. Nevertheless, we suggest that

ideas of whether male athletes may be considered 'feasible' victims of sexual abuse are connected to wider understandings and discourses of gender and vulnerability (see Messner, 2016). We further venture that reluctance to recognize abuse outside expected patterns might contribute to stigmatization and silencing of male victims.

Coaching ideals

Despite the concerns raised about the potential for abuse within hierarchical power structures, coaches were typically portrayed as good-intentioned individuals with the athletes' best interest at heart. When cases of inappropriate coaching methods were addressed, they were primarily construed as misguided ways of motivating athletes:

> We do not have so many properly trained coaches, so you find issues of admonishment of players and whatnot in the wrong methods. A player makes a mistake [and the coach yells] 'you silly boy!' (Male Coach/Leader 3)

'Inadequate training' is signalled to be at the core of these practices. A coach alluded to a related challenge within the coaching profession; striking the right balance between a friendly approach and sufficient authority:

> You have to develop a friendly relationship. Because if you are too harsh on the athlete, they may not enjoy training. (…) At the same time, you have to have a word of command. Not actually being harsh, but they have to comply with what you are telling them. They have to do everything that you tell them to do. (Female Coach/Leader 5)

By pointing to the need for athletes to obey coaches, she introduces an important point: that sport's logic of performance and success could conflict with concern for athlete safety and wellbeing (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014). As shown elsewhere (McPherson et al., 2017b; Owusu-Sekyere and Gervis, 2014), coaches may use physically and emotionally harsh methods to foster mental toughness in athletes in pursuit of sporting success. Stirling (2013) also found that coaches' emotional engagement with the sporting action could cause them to lash out at athletes. In other words, intent to harm is not a prerequisite for abusive practices.

Assumptions about gender and vulnerability could filter down into actual practice on the sports ground. While our findings indicate that toughness ideals in sport affect girls as well as boys, some interviewees had the impression that boys are exposed to tougher coaching styles than girls:

> From my own perspective, [coaches are] more strict with boys than with girls. Always there is this soft spot for the girls. I think because of the nature of girls and women. If you go to a sports field, and you see a coach conducting a session for the ladies or girls, that coach is a bit soft. But, if you go to a training for the boys – they can be 10 years – then the coach would be (…) shouting and calling names. (Male Coach/Leader 2)

Habitual exposure to shouting and name-calling from an early age lends support to the notion that athletes over time will come to see these practices as a normal part of sport

(Lee Sinden, 2012). Compliance and acceptance from athletes could serve to 'confirm' questionable coaching practices as legitimate in the sport context (Matthews and Channon, 2017).

Athlete ideals in sport culture

Athlete ideals emerged as a component of the sport culture that could have a profound influence on athlete safety. That athletes are tougher and more resilient than their non-athletic counterparts was a commonly held perception among the athletes. This was sometimes expressed as a source of pride:

> Me, I'm a player who don't care. If someone says bad things, I show her that I'm a player. I play more than the way she can play. That's why I'm in the national team. Because I have the heart. (Athlete 3)

Through directly associating mental fortitude with athletic success, resilience is constructed as an essential aspect of being an athlete. In other words, downplaying derisive comments, whether from peers or others, may be socially accepted and rewarded in the sport context. This is likely to affect norms for how athletes are expected to behave and express – or not to express – emotions (Lee Sinden, 2012; Messner, 1992). It was also suggested that there is a gender dimension to the athletes' *response* to insults:

> Aaah, there is a difference between the boys and the girls. The boys, they will take the yelling and move on with it. For the girls, most of them, they will close up. Or they will drop out. (Male Coach/Leader 7)

While we are not attempting to confirm this pattern, one of the athletes in our study had indeed dropped out of sport after enduring belittling treatment from her coach for some time. She described how she confronted the coach before leaving:

> You cannot treat me like a soldier! I am not a soldier. I am a civilian. (Athlete 1)

The athlete returned to sport after a few years. As our study mostly consists of people that have remained in sport, they might have had relatively few negative experiences or perhaps responded to them by 'toughening up'. Indeed, Athlete 3 shows how girls might be aspiring to such idealized forms of responses in sport. The coach/leaders also shared their impression that athletes tend to accept being shouted at during sport activities:

> I think most of [the athletes] will feel like it's not right, but just because of the environment they are in, they tend to adjust and accept. (Male Coach/Leader 7)

> Unfortunately, in the context of Zambia, [the boys] think that's OK. Although that's not very OK. And some of them will carry that [with them] when they become leaders. And they will think that's a normal thing; that, when you're coaching, you have to shout and scold. Which is not very right. (Male Coach/Leader 2)

Together, these accounts provide insight into how normalization of questionable conduct might occur over time – as an institutionalized practice transferred throughout the sport system by means of modelling and adopting observed behaviours. Based on our findings, we suggest that valourization of certain ideals in the sport culture can contribute to normalizing problematic practices.

Discussion and conclusion

In this study, we looked at athletes, coaches and leaders' understanding of safety for young people – both inside and outside sport – in Zambia. Although sport was mainly associated with positive experiences and outcomes, some problematic aspects of the sport culture were identified. In particular, the potential for abuse within hierarchical power structures, rooted in athletes' various investments in sport, was articulated as a concern (see Brackenridge, 2001; McPherson et al., 2017b). Critical attention was also drawn to certain ideals within the sport culture that athletes seem to aspire towards and that might influence how people relate to one another in the sport context. In the following, we discuss how these features of sport, in combination with divergent and elusive understandings of violence and abuse, may influence athlete safety.

By contextualizing athlete safety within wider safety concerns, we observed that safety for youth was closely connected to ideas about gender, both inside and outside sport. Girls were consistently portrayed as more at-risk than boys, which might be a reflection of girls and women actually being more exposed to violence and/or general beliefs that women need protection. We argue that gendered ideas of vulnerability can manifest themselves in problematic ways. For girls and women, a perceived need for close supervision could be used to legitimize excessive control and effectively restrict their active participation and engagement in sport and society. For boys, our findings indicate that they might be perceived as unlikely victims of sexual abuse. This could contribute to disguising sexual abuse of male athletes and impede action to end it (Hartill, 2009).

Set against the types of risk and challenges that were discussed, organized sport was primarily seen as a positive arena for youth. As an overall impression, this might seem to diverge from Fasting et al.'s (2015) conclusion that harassment and abuse in Zambian sport is endemic. It therefore inspires examination of how different research methods might foreground either 'violence-as-force' or 'violence-as-violation' as a basis for evaluating and understanding violence. In Fasting et al. (2015), the respondents are asked if they have experienced specific situations or actions that had been predefined by the researchers as harassment or abuse. Arguably, it should not be taken for granted that the same actions are understood as abuse by the athletes themselves.

In our study, we draw on the accounts of insiders in the sport culture that might be highly influenced by normalization. Concurrently, such accounts can have unique value in *identifying* 'taken-for-granted' aspects of sport that play a part in normalization processes. Indeed, the insider accounts in this article point to how structures, practices and ideals in sport – such as the demand for obedience and discipline from athletes and the conditioning of athletes to 'adjust and accept' – might gradually serve to normalize an excessive level of psychological and physical violence in sport. As a result, the threshold for how severe an action must be in order to be experienced as a violation could be

elevated (Matthews and Channon, 2017). This reveals a limitation to relying only on sportspeople's own understandings of violence and abuse as a measuring stick for what should be considered acceptable and unacceptable in the sport context. Researchers and practitioners are therefore encouraged to consider violence-as-force and violence-as-violation perspectives together as a basis for policy-making in this field.

Our discussion has underlined the ever-existing tension between predefined notions of harassment and abuse and people's own understanding and experience of harm in a given context. By pointing to this inherent dilemma within safeguarding in sport research, we encourage ongoing discussions of where – and how – to draw the line between legitimate and illegitimate as well as acceptable and unacceptable practices in sport and beyond. In conclusion, our findings provide impetus to challenge assumptions about gender and abuse, question commonly revered ideals in the sport culture and critically examine institutionalized power relations as mechanisms that could disguise and sustain abusive practices.

Acknowledgements

Funding

Notes

1. The sports disciplines are left unspecified to protect the identity of the participants.
2. Compounds are low-income areas on the outskirts of the city, and consist of 'a mass of tightly packed, small breeze-block homes, usually inhabited by a large number of family members' (Lindsey et al., 2017: 99).

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Article 2

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Sport, safeguarding and transactional sex: a case study of social networks in Zambian sport

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ABSTRACT

In this article, we draw attention to the practice of transactional sex as a risk for adolescent women in Zambia and explore how social networks in organized sport might contribute to mitigate such risks. The study is primarily based on interviews and participatory observation with athletes from two women's sports teams. Three sources of vulnerability were associated with transactional sex: (1) poverty, (2) wanting to fit in with peers and (3) lack of social support. We found that organized sport could provide a context where this vulnerability is lessened through social network support. Specifically, the social network in sport was associated with: (1) social and financial support, (2) role models and (3) team cohesion. However, we stress that the underlying causes of transactional sex, such as gendered poverty, need to be addressed through political and social reform. Meanwhile, transactional sex warrants further attention within the safeguarding in sport literature.

Transactional sex

The practice of transactional sex exposes young women to considerable risk of negative health and social outcomes. While placing women at risk of sexual violence (Stoebenau et al. 2016), it has also been associated with HIV/AIDS (Ross, Dick, and Ferguson 2006), child marriage (Steinhaus et al. 2016), unintended pregnancies and unsafe-induced abortions (Dahlbäck et al. 2010). The objective of this paper is to further explore transactional sex within the Zambian context, with specific reference to (i) factors that may increase adolescent women's vulnerability to engage in this practice and (ii) how organized sport may provide an arena through which the risks of transactional sex can be mitigated.

Transactional sex is understood as 'noncommercial, non-marital sexual relationships motivated by the implicit assumption that sex will be exchanged for material support or other benefits' (Stoebenau et al. 2016, 187). While there are no country-specific data available on its pervasiveness in Zambia, it has been identified as a relatively common practice in sub-Saharan Africa. In a study from Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi and Uganda, between 36 and 80% of sexually active girls aged 12–19 reported that they had been involved in

transactional sex (Moore, Biddlecom, and Zulu 2008). A number of publications document that this practice influences young women's lives in Zambia (Coalter 2013; Dahlbäck et al. 2010; Lindsey, Kay, and Jeanes 2017; Mwaanga 2003; Ndubani et al. 2003; Nshindano and Maharaj 2008; Steinhaus et al. 2016).

Regardless of the risks addressed above, studies from Zambia (Nshindano and Maharaj 2008), Botswana (Helle-Valle 1999, 2003) and Tanzania (Wamoyi et al. 2011) indicate that youth might regard this practice as a voluntary and fair exchange. These studies point to transactional sex as a contested, and to some degree normalized, practice among youth in sub-Saharan Africa. However, in order to understand how transactional sex is constructed as an alternative for young girls, one should consider structural constraints that limit girls' options for accessing resources and achieving social mobility (Nshindano and Maharaj 2008; Stoebenau et al. 2016). Adolescent girls have been referred to as highly marginalized and vulnerable in terms of sexual and reproductive health rights in Zambia (UNFPA Zambia 2016). On a general level, sociocultural norms, gender inequality, religious influences and poverty can restrict women's freedom to make safe choices regarding their own sexual and reproductive health (Wood and Jewkes 2006). Other influential factors relevant to the Zambian context include restrictive legislation and low access to comprehensive sexual education (Dahlbäck et al. 2010). Notably, the circumstances limiting women's sexual and reproductive health rights overlap with the conditions that put women at risk of engaging in transactional sex.

In our research project on safeguarding in sport, transaction sex came across as a concern in relation to young women's safety. The first research question we pose is therefore: 'what factors do women athletes perceive as increasing young women's vulnerability to transactional sex?' Before exploring this further, we turn to the role of sport and social networks in terms of safeguarding young women.

Safeguarding through sport

Sport organizations have become increasingly preoccupied with keeping athletes safe from harm, collectively referred to as 'safeguarding in sport' (Lang and Hartill 2014). Until now, the majority of research in this area has focused on understanding how athletes can be safeguarded *in* sport. Building on this literature, Brackenridge and Rhind (2014) proposed that safeguarding can take place in, around and through sport. One of the concerns underlined in interviews in the current study was the risk of young women being involved in transactional sex. This issue has not been thoroughly addressed within the Western safeguarding tradition. In this article, we, therefore, highlight transactional sex as a significant health and safety issue for women in Zambia. Moreover, we also consider the possibility that young women's participation in organized sport in Zambia may offer some protection, that is, it may reduce their vulnerability to transactional sex. This study, thus, follows the recommendation of Brackenridge and Rhind (2014) for research into safeguarding through sport, particularly in the Global South.

While social networks can have different shapes and meanings for different individuals, it has been postulated that the configuration of a person's social network(s) influences health-related behaviours and outcomes (Crosby and Holtgrave 2006; Valente and Auerswald 2013). Social networks can be seen in relation to the concept of 'social capital'. In the pragmatic conceptualization offered by Seippel (2006), social capital is viewed as social

relations that contain and potentially generate useful resources for the future in terms of social actions and attitudes. We adopt his understanding that social capital is 'an individual asset based in social relations' (Seippel 2006; 170), where future benefits are seen as unintended consequences rather than intentional outcomes of engaging in the network. Trust, reciprocity and cooperation among members of a social network that aims to achieve a common goal are considered central aspects of social capital (Holtgrave and Crosby 2003). Participating in sport can thus be a source of social capital, where you become attached to a social network, form and maintain ties with other people and (ordinarily) unite in the pursuit of the same goals. While originally an institution that was 'created by and for men' (Messner 1992, 150), sport has become increasingly accessible for women, and has come to be considered a relevant site for social interaction regardless of gender. Indeed, data from Zambia and four other countries in Southern Africa shows that girls and women make up one-third of the athletes registered with their respective country's sport associations (Fasting, Huffman, and Sand 2014).

Although the value of sport-based social networks in Zambia has been observed (Lindsey and Grattan 2012; Lindsey, Kay, and Jeanes 2017; Mwaanga and Prince 2016) it has not been thoroughly discussed from a safeguarding perspective. The potential for safeguarding through sport is more commonly assumed to result from the empowering effects of sport participation. Our main contribution is to develop the idea that sport may be relevant to the safeguarding of women, not only through individual empowerment, but also through social networks. In relation to gender and sport in the Global South, this perspective is relevant for at least two reasons. The first is that previous research indicates that social networks can influence (vulnerable) women's likelihood to engage in transactional sex (Giorgio et al. 2016). The second is that sport constitutes an important site for partaking in social networks (Seippel 2006). Organized sport, thus, emerges as a relevant avenue for accessing social support. Such support may in turn represent an important mechanism of safeguarding through sport and hence this merits investigation. In the current study, the second research question was, therefore: 'How do women athletes in Zambia perceive the safeguarding potential of social networks in sport?'

Methods

Participants and procedure

The empirical data for the research project this article is based on were gathered over the course of a five-week stay in Zambia in 2015. Participants in the study were recruited through convenient purposive sampling, from a starting point of local contacts in two sports associations[1] in Lusaka. For anonymization purposes, the number of athletes as well as the representation of women within the sport were considered when selecting sport disciplines for the study. Further, and in line with our ambitions for the overall research project, we sought sport associations that had started developing and implementing safeguarding policies. The opportunity to explore topics in a clearly defined group was an impetus for selecting team sports rather than individual sports. It also enabled an exploration of team culture as a factor in safeguarding. Among options suggested by the national sport association leaders, one women's team from each of these disciplines was chosen as the starting point for data collection. These two focal teams' narratives form the primary empirical basis for this

article. The perspective of coaches, leaders and other athletes are used in a supplementary fashion, based on individual interviews with six coaches and four sports leaders as well as focus groups with three women's teams and one mixed-gender group of coaches. In order to ensure confidentiality, they were drawn from a range of sport organizations.

The two focal teams were similar in team composition, with a wide age range of players (15–35 years). A number of the junior players lived in low-income areas outside the city centre called compounds. The majority of the senior players (i.e. age 20+), on the other hand, were employed and lived in middle-class areas. Their employment status is notable in the context of limited opportunities for employment and social mobility for young people in Zambia (Lindsey, Kay, and Jeanes 2017). Both teams competed in the local league organized on the weekends by their respective sport association. The first team consisted of 14 players and they practised twice per week. The second team had a squad of 16 players and practised four days per week.

Interviews, focus groups and participatory observation

The focal team players' narratives emerged from one focus group discussion with each team ($n = 7$ and 8) and individual interviews with three senior athletes from each team ($n = 6$). The athletes who were individually interviewed all had experience of being coached by both men and women. All interviewees were above 15 years of age. They provided written or oral informed consent prior to the interviews, which were taped with a digital audio recorder, anonymized and transcribed verbatim. Two participants were not comfortable with being recorded. Written notes were taken during those interviews and complemented from memory immediately afterwards.

A semi-structured interview guide was used for the interviews. It was tailored to a larger research project that covered a range of topics related to athlete safety. Key questions in this broader project included 'What do you think about when I say 'safe sport'?', 'What makes a person vulnerable to harm?', and 'What makes you feel safe when you are doing sport?' For this article, we focus on the answers that related to transactional sex, vulnerability, social networks and ways in which the players supported each other.

The focus groups were led by two researchers to enable attentiveness to both group dynamics and the interview guide. The invitation to participate was extended to all athletes to indicate that their participation and contributions were valued. It should be noted that the senior athletes were more vocal in the group discussions and were first to volunteer for individual interviews. Thus, the findings of this study do not necessarily reflect the views of the junior players. In addition to interviews, the first author took part in seven practice sessions as a participatory observer and attended four matches and a weekend tournament. Descriptive and reflexive notes were taken during and/or following the events. Combining interviews and observation allowed better familiarity with the players and the context in preparation for interviews, on the one hand, and the opportunity to follow up on observations on the other (cf. Fangen 2010). Although this article appears to rely primarily on interview data, we regard these methods as complementary, thus, making the participatory observation a notable component in the co-construction of the interviews.

Analysis

The data analysis was inspired by 'abductive analysis', which is a pragmatic approach based on an ongoing process of studying and revisiting theory and empirical data (Tavory and Timmermans 2014). As such, it departs from theory-testing top-down approaches as well as from bottom-up approaches that are grounded in data alone without considering theoretical underpinnings. For us, this meant that our predefined notions of relevant issues for safeguarding in sport were used for developing the interview guide. Then, upon discovering new topics of relevance in the interviews (i.e. transactional sex), we consulted this new body of literature, and applied a new lens to the data informed by insights from the literature on transactional sex. Categorization was done manually and digitally, using the qualitative data analysis programme MAXQDA 12 (2013), and the emerging themes were discussed within the research team. The participants are assigned pseudonyms in the presentation of study findings. The study was approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Service.

A central aspect of abductive analysis is to use 'surprising' discoveries in the data material as a point of departure for developing new theories. The 'surprising data' in the current material was twofold. First, we took note of the recurrent references to transactional sex as a source of vulnerability for young women in Zambia. This particular issue has not received much attention in relation to safeguarding and sport in the Zambian context (albeit with a few exceptions such as Coalter 2013; Jeanes 2013; Mwaanga 2003). The study participants did not refer to this practice as 'transactional sex', but described it in indirect ways on several occasions. A challenge associated with discovering this theme when analysing the interview material was that we missed the opportunity to pursue the topic further in the interview situation. While, this might serve as an example that researchers with an outsider perspective (in this case, European women) can be sensitive to issues that are taken for granted or normalized by insiders (Fangen 2010; Scheyvens and Leslie 2000), there is the risk of overstating the significance of these issues in favour of other critical issues. Even so, we maintain that the emphasis by the study participants as well as the limited attention within safeguarding in sport literature warrants focus on transactional sex. Sexual abuse and harassment is discussed in another article from the same research project (Solstad and Strandbu 2017). The second point of notice was the extensive and deliberate support provided within the team. Although a sizable body of research looks into the potential for positive or developmental 'effects' of sport participation, we have not come across literature that demonstrates how sport teams take deliberate actions to safeguard young athletes.

Findings

Transactional sex as a safety concern

The study participants described transactional sex as a practice that should be discouraged and avoided. Specifically, they addressed three sources of vulnerability to transactional sex: poverty, fitting into the peer group and lack of social support. While somewhat overlapping, each of these themes will be described and illustrated with participant quotes. We stress that the athletes did not draw on their own experiences when referring to transactional sex, nor did they imply that the young players on their team engaged in it. Rather, they used hypothetical scenarios for illustrating transactional sex as a general concern for young women in Zambia. Our main impression of how transactional sex is evaluated by the

research participants appears to deviate from Nshindano and Maharaj (2008) that describe widespread acceptance of the practice among university students in Zambia, which suggests that understandings and evaluations of this issue are diverse.

In their accounts, the participants were concerned that adolescent girls may be blinded to the inherent risks through focusing on anticipated 'positive outcomes'. In line with previous research (Nshindano and Maharaj 2008; Stoebenau et al. 2016), transactional sex was described as a potential avenue for fulfilling material needs that were not met within the family. Accordingly, poverty emerged as the first source of vulnerability. A sport leader addressed this concern from his perspective as a father:

> I know that if I don't provide [what my daughter needs], she will find another boy who provides her, but then in return for sex as payment. (Samuel)

Samuel expresses the belief that not having your needs fulfilled increases your likelihood of engaging in transactional sex. The athletes also noted poverty as a significant influence:

> The things that make a girl more vulnerable … Envy. I'd say – envy. Because I'd have something, and then you don't have [it]. So, if you say you don't have it and you don't have the money to buy what you need, you have to go out: out there. [And] find yourself someone who will buy for you. (Stephanie)

> If I become envious of certain things my family cannot afford to give me, then what comes to my mind is '*I should find someone who would do certain things for me*'. And that person will want something in return. Then I'm vulnerable like that. (Thandi)

In this scenario, poverty is implicated in making young women vulnerable to engage in transactional sex. These quotes also describe the vulnerability that can result if girls compare themselves to peers that are more affluent than they are (relative poverty). This brings us to the second source of vulnerability: fitting into the peer group. In the quotes above, the athletes referred to this form of vulnerability as 'envy'. In terms of previous research, it can be related to social status and social mobility (cf. Stoebenau et al. 2016). Thandi emphasizes this point by noting that girls are influenced by their desire for social belonging and recognition:

> [Girls] don't really have that attitude of accepting who they are. They want to go beyond what they can afford to have. Eventually they just start doing other things to make sure they also fit into the group that is more comfortable (better off) than them. (Thandi)

Here, the role of the social surroundings is highlighted as well as the motivation for fitting in with a desired peer group (cf. Stoebenau et al. 2016). The third source of vulnerability also focuses on social networks, but now as a context for support and guidance. We noted that lack of social support was associated with vulnerability:

> You find that you want something from someone… Most clubs have male and female teams, so you find that, probably, *if you are not free to go to your friends*, you have to go and ask a boy … Probably you need 50 Kwacha or 10 Kwacha (10 Kwacha ≈ 1USD), and they might not want to give that money for free. They want something in exchange. That makes that player vulnerable. (Halima, emphasis added by the authors)

While also showing that sport can be a context in which transactional sex could be negotiated, this quote points to the value of having a social network as a safety net. Halima implies that vulnerability comes in when you do not have the opportunity to turn to your friends for support. While such support may prove valuable, another vulnerability should be noted in relation to sport. As presented in another article from the same research project (Solstad and Strandbu 2017), the hierarchical power relations often found in sport create

a space in which sports coaches and leaders may misuse their position of power in order to exploit athletes. This could be in the form mentioned above or through withholding or administering sports privileges, such as deciding over team selection for tournaments. This situation is described by a female coach/leader:

> You find that certain people in elite sport – if I am a woman – I may be given a space to play at the national team because I have to sleep with the coach. Or, I get some form of a prize or something. (Leyla)

This highlights the relevance of considering transactional sex within safeguarding in sport literature, both as a general concern for young women's safety and as an expression of potentially problematic structuring of power relations in sport. Regardless of the setting in which transactional sex takes place, our findings point to how the sport team may constitute a significant social network in which support and guidance on important life matters can be garnered. In the next section, we present how the sports team was framed as a valuable social network and how it could play a part in reducing young women's vulnerability to transactional sex.

The role of safeguarding through sport

While enjoyment in the sport activity itself was an important motivational factor for the women in this study, the value of sport as a context for socializing was evident:

> To be a female athlete in Zambia, mostly we like mingling together. We share ideas. We make friends through [our sport discipline] – through sport. (Mutinta)

> We meet socially: Have time together, have fun together. (Stephanie)

Some women stated that they had most of their friends within their sport. From a coach's perspective, the social value of sport was clear:

> Most of the girls who are involved in sport, they have eternal friends. They have eternal networks. They have a number of friends they can count on. (Kelvin)

In line with Lindsey and Grattan (2012)'s findings, the family analogy used about the team was prominent among sport participants. It appeared significant in relation to safeguarding:

> Not only have I found friends, but I have … I have found people that I can call family. People that I can call upon whenever I have a problem. And people that I look up to and people that look up to me. And I think … Not only that, even … I think, even if something would happen to me, I am in safe hands. Because I have a team and a family that looks after me. (Mary)

While the recurrent family analogy in the interviews appears to be a strong indicator of cohesion and unity, one might question what the participants mean by referring to it. It is a concept with different connotations in different cultural contexts, and it is possible that family terms ('my brother', 'my sister' etc.) are used quite loosely in the Zambian context. With this caution in mind, we retain the interpretation that the family analogy implies a social network characterized by trust, belonging and support.

After having drawn attention to how the sport team is portrayed as a meaningful social network, we now focus on what kind of safeguarding functions were demonstrated within the teams. We identified three key themes for how the social network in sport could contribute to mitigate the risk of engaging in transactional sex. These were social and financial support, role models and team cohesion.

Social and financial support

The senior athletes in the current study tried to support their junior members in ways that would lessen their vulnerability or reduce pressures to attain material goods through unsafe means. First, we highlight how the seniors offered social and financial support to the juniors:

> I guess it's just like a family. Everybody loves the other person. So, we share our problems… And we help each other. If you need money for this or that, then we help out… We have the elder ones looking out for the younger ones. (Stephanie)

> Others, I've even kept them at my home. Depending on the situation, some have even come to tell me '*I have this problem, can I be with you for a period?*' Then, if I can manage, definitely, I'll accommodate them until they are settled. (Thandi)

It was explained that the athletes had at least one person on the team that they could confide in. An important aspect of the social support was to establish a team culture where personal or sensitive issues could be raised and discussed. To accomplish this, the senior athletes explained how they emphasized to the juniors that they are approachable and reliable:

> We have young players, you know, and we keep appealing to them to say, every time they feel they need something that they are lacking, it is better to approach older players. Because in the team we have older players, and most of us are working. So, they are free to come to us to say '*I am asking for a favor. I need this and that*'. Usually we come through. (Nomsa)

Here, Nomsa explains that there is no need for young players to seek help from someone who expects something in return. Whether it was sneakers or a bus fare, the team would try to meet the girls' requests. One of the teams also supported their youngest players through boarding school.

Role models

Both teams described the coach as a valuable resource and a role model. In much the same manner, the senior players stressed that they wanted to be good examples to the junior players on their team. This applied to their conduct both on and off the sport field. The emphasis on education and sound relationship choices can be related to athlete vulnerability:

> Most of the players have been to school, [and] for our girls, we make sure that they concentrate with school… [We] monitor their schoolwork and their school performance. (Mary)

> We also as a team, we sit down as a team, and teach one another about life, most especially for us that are married and even those that are yet to get married. At least we are trying to be a role model to the young ones. (Stephanie)

This exemplifies how the sport team can be a source of guidance on significant life choices. The seniors also explained that they had to be conscious of their own behaviour around the younger players in order to set a good example:

> If you look at the team, we have different age groups. Teenagers and up to us that are a bit older. So at the end of the day, (…) we have to conduct ourselves in a way that will not have a negative effect on the younger ones. (Halima)

> You can't even go from this boyfriend to another boyfriend yourself, because what kind of example is that? They (younger players) will think that whatever I'm doing is normal. (Nomsa)

Here, we see that the senior athletes consider the potential influence their own behaviour can have on the younger players. They explained that the presence of the juniors could also help them make responsible choices concerning relationships, in the hope that the juniors would mirror their behaviour. As such, the seniors could also be interpreted as *moral* role

models. It is possible that these women not only wanted to present the younger players with advice that kept them safe, but also with ways in how to live in a morally responsible manner (cf. Helle-Valle 1999, 2003). Because our study was focused on the concept of safety, we were perhaps not able to fully capture the moral dimension of the senior athletes' role modelling. However, we find it reasonable to suggest that both aspects – safety and morals – mattered for how the senior athletes appeared to conceptualize and present transactional sex as a practice to be discouraged for their juniors.

Team cohesion

In the previous section, it was indicated that girls' desire for social belonging and recognition could serve as motivation for engaging in sexual exchanges. In addition to being good role models, the seniors tried to counter this type of vulnerability by limiting the perceived differences within the team. For example, one of the teams had specific rules when attending tournaments in order to look after one another and achieve a sense of unity. They also had a dress code for when they attended tournaments or other events together. Nomsa explained their reason for doing this:

> It helps to make everyone equal. There shouldn't be anyone feeling superior to the other. (Nomsa)

In other words, the rules and initiatives taken within the teams were ways of creating team cohesion and reducing differences that they thought could foster division and vulnerability. It appeared that this open team culture was intended to reduce the likelihood of the young girls choosing unsafe alternatives. As such, the athletes were sensitive to how feelings of relative deprivation (or 'envy', as Stephanie put it), not only 'basic needs', may influence young women's decisions when it comes to these matters (cf. Stoebenau et al. 2016).

Taken together, our findings have illustrated how the sport team can provide a conducive setting for safeguarding young women through various forms of social network support. By offering guidance on personal issues and monetary assistance (social and financial support) as well as by emphasizing the importance of education and safe relationship choices (role models), they hoped to steer the juniors away from transactional sex as a potential avenue for taking care of their material needs. Taking steps to reduce the perceived differences between the players (team cohesion) was also a part of the social network support provided through the sport team.

Concluding discussion

In this article, we have explored the relevance of sport-based social networks for mitigating the risk that young women may engage in transactional sex. The first contribution of this study is to discuss the potential for safeguarding through sport within the context of organized sport in Zambia. Our second contribution is to highlight transactional sex as a safety concern for young women in Zambia. This issue has not featured prominently within the safeguarding in sport literature, and, based on the concerns expressed by our study participants, we suggest that it demands more attention within this academic field. We explore these two points further in the discussion that follows.

So far, we have highlighted organized team sport as a potentially valuable context for social networks and support in the Zambian context, particularly in relation to transactional sex.

While individual empowerment has been the principal focus within research that associates sport participation with positive social outcomes (Coalter 2013), we have emphasized the role of *social networks* in this respect. Our finding, thus, aligns with research linking social networks to positive health-related behaviours and outcomes (Crosby and Holtgrave 2006; Valente and Auerswald 2013). We further contend that individual and collective aspects of sport participation should be viewed in concert rather than separately, which corresponds to the notion of social capital as individual assets grounded in social relations (Seippel 2006). Within what has been described as a local context of shrinking family systems and financial insecurity in Zambia, the sport team could replace or supplement safeguarding functions usually found within the family (Lindsey and Grattan 2012). In our study, such functions were illustrated by senior players providing junior players with financial support as well as guidance on issues of health, gender and sexuality. An emphasis on social relations and social support also aligns with the Zambian philosophy of 'Ubuntu' that speaks of mutual respect and the ideal of togetherness (Mwaanga and Prince 2016). Thus, paying attention to community aspects and peer relations in a sports team setting emerges as a culturally relevant way of approaching how youth navigate more or less 'risky' options in life.

This brings us to our second contribution, which is to highlight transactional sex as a concern for young women in Zambia and argue for its inclusion in future studies on safeguarding in sport. As noted in previous studies from sub-Saharan Africa, young women may pro-actively engage in transactional sex with the understanding that it is a fair and mutually benefitting exchange (Helle-Valle 1999; Nshindano and Maharaj 2008; Wamoyi et al. 2011). In our study, on the other hand, transactional sex was presented in rather negative terms and linked to vulnerability. Taken together, transactional sex can be viewed as a contested and conflictual issue. It follows that, in order to comprehend the dynamics at play regarding transactional sex, the issue should be informed by local perspectives regarding this practice (Carney and Chawansky 2016). We further discern a need to recognize women's sexual and emotional agendas, while also considering how political and social conditions may serve to constrain women's agency and their ability to negotiate safe sex (Forde 2014; Jewkes and Morrell 2012). This includes paying critical attention to belief systems that position women as sexually available to men that provide for them (Stoebenau et al. 2016). Further, as our findings indicate that transactional sex also occurs in the sport setting, and that sport privileges might serve as a part of the exchange (Solstad and Strandbu 2017), we welcome studies within safeguarding in sport that consider how transactional sex may influence young women's safety in this context.

By taking a 'safeguarding through sport' perspective (Brackenridge and Rhind 2014), we have considered how sport can provide a context for valuable social support. However, while it is common for close, social bonds to develop in the sport context, we do not suggest that this is always the case nor that sport teams have inherent safeguarding qualities. That is, we do not draw any inferences between 'sport' (in all its variety across time and space) and 'safeguarding' (from every perceivable threat) in general. Instead, we maintain that the configuration and content of the social network in sport as well as the quality of the bonds between the individual team members matter greatly in terms of its safeguarding potential. Further, we consider the value of sport-based social networks to derive mostly from its 'immediate' availability. We do not claim that sport has, nor should have, capacity to address structural conditions that have given rise to this phenomenon in the first place. In other words, we do not suggest that social networks in sport can provide any 'solution'

to transactional sex, as it does little to cut into the roots of the phenomenon. Instead, transactional sex should perhaps be viewed as a symptom of gendered social inequalities at various levels (e.g. household, education and employment, politics, etc.) that need to be addressed through political and social reforms.

Moreover, we contend that grappling with 'grey zone' issues such as transactional sex is likely to generate nuanced debate on gender, safety and vulnerability that incorporates structural and cultural constraints as well as individual agency (Jewkes and Morrell 2012). Indeed, the focus on transactional sex in this study was grounded in the study participants' own perceptions of risk to young women. From the resultant discussion, we hope to have inspired critical reflections on gendered vulnerabilities and gender-based expectations in sexual relationships (Ndubani et al. 2003; Stoebenau et al. 2016). To be clear, we maintain that the sociocultural constraints that construct transactional sex as an alternative for young women will not be sufficiently addressed through social network support. Even so, this article has presented how senior athletes navigate within the constraints in their local setting and try to influence their junior teammates. Without overstating its potential, our findings suggest that social support accessed through sport might go some way in alleviating imminent risks that young women may engage in transactional sex. We conclude by emphasizing the value of exploring athletes' own perspectives on safety concerns in their particular context as a way of broadening our understanding of risk and safety in and through sport.

Note

1. The sports disciplines are left out to ensure the research participants' anonymity.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Article 3

Solstad, G. M. (under review): Reporting Abuse in Sport: A Question of Power? *European Journal for Sport and Society.*

Reporting Abuse in Sport: A Question of Power?

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Reporting Abuse in Sport: A Question of power?

Although abuse occurs within sport, few athletes formally report while they are still active participants. At the same time, formal reporting channels in sport often constitute a central part of sport organizations' safeguarding frameworks. How reporting procedures are perceived and made sense of by athletes and others in sport is therefore of some importance for understanding their potential as well as their limitations. The article addresses this question through a sociological lens that foregrounds power and social belonging, inspired by Steven Lukes and Norbert Elias. Sport leaders, coaches and (women) athletes from organized sport in Zambia were interviewed about their perspectives on the prospect of reporting (any form of) abuse through formal channels in sport. Issues perceived as reporting barriers included fears related to punishment, not being believed, being gossiped about, and being excluded from sport. Reporting was thus construed as a task that potentially jeopardized athletes' social position as well as their sport privileges, and remaining silent or telling a trusted friend about abuse was articulated as the safest alternative. The uncertainty associated with the reporting process is discussed in relation to decision-making, agenda-setting, and ideological power and the social meanings ascribed to sport participation. I conclude that the role of power and social belonging should be considered central aspects of the reporting conundrum, and that these dimensions deserve due attention within safeguarding in sport.

Introduction

The majority of children and youth who have experienced sexual abuse choose to delay disclosure until adulthood (London et al., 2008). In other words, reporting ongoing abuse can be described as the exception rather than the rule. This appears to be the case also for athletes (Cense and Brackenridge, 2001). As signs of abuse of different forms can be hard to observe by others (e.g. Kerr and Stirling, 2012; Stafford et al., 2015), disclosure is often the primary method of detecting abuse. Having reporting systems in child-serving organizations, such as sport clubs, is therefore seen as important for safeguarding children and youth. This is reflected in the newly developed International Safeguards for Children in Sport, which assert that reporting procedures "help to ensure prompt response to concern about a child's safety or well-being" (International Safeguarding Children in Sport Working Group, 2016; 20). For reporting systems to fulfil their intended function, however, they need to be used. As it stands, little is known about whether reporting channels in sport are perceived as accessible and viable options for athletes. Moreover, few studies have empirically explored this topic in the context of organized sport (except Parent, 2011) or looked at reporting in relation to other forms of abuse than sexual abuse. The aim of this article, therefore, is to explore sport people's perceptions and sense-making in relation to the prospect of formally reporting (any form of) abuse in sport. This question is explored empirically through interviews with coaches, sport leaders and women athletes within organized sport in Zambia, a setting that has previously received limited attention in the disclosure literature.

The scholarship on disclosure of child sexual abuse has largely been grounded in perspectives from criminology, psychology and social work, and has yielded a wealth of insights on the topic. As a complement to this literature and for other reasons to be outlined shortly, applying a sociological lens could shed new light on reporting of abuse and be particularly suitable for the

sport context. First, the traditions, norms and value systems of specific institutions can influence both prevalence and disclosure of abuse (Mathews, 2017). This is indicated by examples of concealment of extensive child sexual abuse in religious institutions and sport/educational settings (Hartill, 2013). Even so, few studies give considerable attention to the interactional nature of disclosure or the specific characteristics of the context in which it takes place (Reitsema and Grietens, 2016; Walker-Simpson, 2017). Second, since sport represents an important arena for socialization and enjoyment for children and youth, in Zambia (Lindsey et al., 2017) as elsewhere (Coakley, 1993), the social dynamics within this context constitutes, in all likelihood, an essential aspect to address in relation to reporting. Third, power in its various manifestations warrants special attention in sport, not least due to a tendency towards hierarchical structures and close, dependent relationships within sport groups (Brackenridge, 2001). Based on the above, I suggest that, alongside power, the characteristics of the sport environment, including dominating ideals, norms and practices, are useful to consider when discussing reporting procedures for athletes. Thus, an ambition and contribution of this article is to make explicit how power embedded in social relations might matter for reporting of abuse. In this attempt, I draw on Lukes' (2005) conception of power as three-dimensional, as well as Elias and Scotson's (1994) sociological description of the interdependencies between individuals and the groups in which they partake. These concepts are elaborated in the next section, and serve as an interpretative lens for the article, including the ensuing presentation of literature on disclosure of abuse.

Sociological reflections about power and social belonging

According to Lukes (2005), power can be viewed as three-dimensional, and includes: i) Decision-making power, the observable action of power exercised by getting someone to do something, ii) Agenda-setting power, the power of deciding which issues get considered (or not) on the agenda,

and iii) Ideological power, how power operates at the level of shaping people's perceptions and preferences. The latter dimension constitutes Lukes' (2005) most significant contribution to scientific discussion of power. Ideological power can be either intentional or unintentional, and, as opposed to the two other dimensions of power, does not have to be observed in order to exert its influence. Notably, Lukes (2005; 27) proposes, with reference to the third dimension of power, that *"the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent conflict from arising in the first place"*. Through this mode of power, social actors acquiesce in their position in the existing order through compliance with an underlying ideology. Lukes further refers to sources such as information control, media and socialization to illustrate how ideological power can shape people's very ideas of what their own interests are, with socialization, in particular, being relevant to the present article. Equipped with the understanding that socialization can be interpreted as a channel for exercising ideological power, I now turn to Elias and Scotson (1994) for further insights concerning group dynamics and social belonging.

Indeed, Elias highlights the centrality of understanding people's behavior within the figurations they form with others. In sport, this can be illustrated by the mutual interdependency of all players within a sport team and the interdependency between different teams. Power, which can manifest in the status rankings of groups and individuals, is regarded as an essential feature of these figurations (Maguire, 2011). Elias and Scotson (1994) maintain that group membership is secured through conformity to group ideals, norms and standards. They further assert that the charisma or disgrace associated with the group becomes internalized as part of the individual's personality structure. In other words, a person's we-image and we-ideal forms a central part of a person's self-image and self-ideal, which highlights the emotional investment and identity attachments between person and group (Elias and Scotson, 1994; xliii). Through belonging to the

sport community, then, the individual athlete is associated with qualities and values that sport typically represents. Since, according to Elias and Scotson (1994), group belonging endows its members with the power associated with the group, membership is often valued highly. It follows that failure to conform to group standards risks expulsion from the group and a loss of the group-derived power and status formerly possessed by the athlete. Given these insights, there is grounds for thorough reflection upon whether athletes consider reporting as an action that might jeopardize their position in sport.

It is also pertinent to note the role of gossip and stigma in relation to reporting of abuse, particularly if reporting is associated with a breach of group norms such as toughness, loyalty and resilience (Jacobs et al., 2017). Gossip is referred to as a social mechanism that indicates and influences status positions in a group through signaling who succeeds and who fails to live up to prevailing standards and ideals (Elias and Scotson, 1994). The interdependencies between group identity and individual identity is highlighted also in relation to gossip and stigmatization. Through 'emotional transference', group stigmatization is often experienced as individual stigmatization just as stigmatization of an individual group member reflects negatively on the group (Elias and Scotson, 1994; 102). It follows that athletes might be reluctant to act in ways that tarnishes the image of the sport community to which they belong. This could have implications for the process of reporting abuse. In sum, the theoretical reflections presented alerts us to how power and social dynamics intertwine in ways that are likely, if not bound, to influence athletes' and other sport people's sense-making regarding reporting and its potential consequences. This should be kept in mind as attention is turned towards the academic literature on barriers to disclosing abuse.

Barriers to reporting abuse

In this section, I present insights on reporting of abuse identified within scholarship on disclosure of child sexual abuse from non-sport settings, considered alongside studies about abuse and organizational responses to abuse in sport. Disclosure[1] can be understood as 'telling another person about (…) abuse either formally or informally, voluntarily or in response to others' invitations to tell' (Tener and Murphy, 2015; 391). While sometimes viewed as the precise moment in time when a person makes a formal report, the understanding proposed by Reitsema and Grietens (2016), where disclosure is viewed as interactional and processual, is favored for this article as it foregrounds the social and dynamic nature of reporting. It thus involves the signals sent and received between the abused and people in their surroundings, and the characteristics of the given environment. While recognizing the mutual influence and interaction between categories, for presentation purposes, I follow Tener and Murphy (2015) in distinguishing between intrapersonal, interpersonal and sociocultural barriers.

At the intrapersonal level, a person's emotional response, particularly feelings of guilt, shame and self-blame in connection to the abuse, have been shown to inhibit disclosure (Lemaigre et al., 2017; Tener and Murphy, 2015). Questioning whether what they had experienced indeed constituted abuse was also noted as an intrapersonal barrier. In sport, recognizing abuse can be challenging particularly if the abuse occurs within close, trust-based relationships (see Brackenridge, 2001 on 'grooming') or in cases where abusive practices have become normalized (e.g. Kerr and Stirling, 2012; Jacobs et al., 2017). Particularly within sport cultures characterized by masculine heteronormativity, stigma in relation to same-sex abuse of male victims has been

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[1] The terms disclosure and reporting will be used interchangeably in this article, with a favouring of 'reporting' as it is deemed more appropriate in relation to manifestations of abuse in different forms and degrees of severity.

documented (Hartill, 2014). In Zambia, there could be an added burden of stigmatization in cases of male-male sexual abuse as well as fear of criminal charges, due to homosexual acts having status as a criminal offence. Of course, and as Elias and Scotson (1994) described, while experience of stigma is felt at the individual level, it cannot be viewed as a solely intrapersonal barrier.

At the interpersonal level, Tener and Murphy (2015) identified fear of other people's reactions to their disclosure as the main barrier. Similarly, Lemaigre et al. (2017) noted anticipation of negative social reactions and negative consequences of disclosure, for oneself or for others, as significant barriers. Since there is often a close, emotional relationship between the offender and the victim, fear of punishment can in some cases extend to include the perpetrator (McElvaney, 2015; Reitsema and Grietens, 2016). The relevance of these findings to sport are made clear when researchers use expressions such as 'a culture of retribution' to describe the sport environments involved in their study (Jacobs et al., 2017; 7). Furthermore, among negative social reactions, not being believed or receiving limited support has been found to make abuse victims apprehensive about disclosing (Lemaigre et al., 2017). These barriers have also been identified in the sport context. In her study of disclosure of sexual abuse in Canadian sport organizations, Parent (2011) found that athletes expected that the accused rather than the victim would be believed and that sport administrators' fear of false allegations could induce caution and lack of action by the organization. The author further noted that "sport stakeholders (including athletes) minimized and trivialized the problems experienced by the victims, blamed the victims for the acts perpetrated against them, or even challenged the victims' credibility" (Parent, 2011; 328). While these could be conceptualized as intra- and/or interpersonal barriers, they also have clear links to the sociocultural environment.

Turning to the sociocultural level, Tener and Murphy (2015) observed that victims sought 'social legitimation' for the abuse in the sense of fitting into socially and culturally recognized narratives of abuse. In other words, abuse victims were concerned about potential incongruence between 'stereotypical' abuse situations and their own experiences and self-image. Thus, deviating from social scripts, for example by having a female perpetrator, could act as a barrier for disclosure. For athletes, it could be particularly challenging to unite their own self-image with that of an abuse victim due to the perceived association between successful athletes and qualities such as resilience and mental toughness (Jacobs et al., 2017; Owusu-Sekyere and Gervis, 2014; Solstad and Strandbu, 2017). Incongruence could also come in at the level of narratives used to characterize the field of sport, which according to Hartill (2013; 249) 'persistently represents itself (through its institutions and organizations) as a philanthropic force, simply providing healthy, fun, positive opportunities for children to interact, learn and develop". This positive social image of sport, sustained by a discourse of virtue and morality, has been implicated in 'institutional blindness' and delayed acknowledgement by sport organization concerning sexual abuse of athletes (Brackenridge, 2001).

Supporting this impression, Parent (2011; 328) identified 'prejudice, beliefs and myths that seemed to perpetuate a culture of inaction and silence' in the aforementioned study, thus indicating how institutional climate can pose a barrier for disclosing abuse. Another example is provided by Jacobs et al. (2017) in their study of elite gymnasts in the Netherlands. They found that coaching methods that could be labelled emotionally abusive were legitimized within a discourse of performance, despite increased engagement with safeguarding at the policy level of the sport club. This shows that organizational barriers go beyond absence or insufficient implementation of policies (Donnelly et al., 2016) to include the norms and values espoused

within the sport culture. Indeed, as Hartill (2013; 251) has noted, one should not underestimate the difficulty of 'disengaging with, or critically reflecting upon, the institutions and values – the narratives – that we have come to embody'. The parallel to Lukes' ideological power is worth observing. Accordingly, understanding the interplay between athletes and the social structure they take part in (and sustain) becomes a crucial step towards a nuanced understanding of the reporting process in sport.

The reporting barriers presented above can usefully be considered in relation to Lukes' (2005) three dimensions of power. While power has not featured prominently in the disclosure literature on sport, asymmetrical power relations are implicated as a central explanatory factor for sexual harassment and abuse in sport (see Brackenridge, 2001). Hierarchical power structures and relations surely allow for the exercise of decision-making power, for example by making athletes compete while injured (e.g. Pike, 2014). As alluded to by Brackenridge (2001), sport organizations also command agenda-setting power by residing over which issues are attended to within the organization and by setting a precedence for how they should be dealt with (e.g. developing policies and accessible reporting procedures). Lastly, ideological power can come into play through communicating norms and standards set by members of the sport community (re-produced and exacerbated through the media) regarding how athletes are expected to react and respond in the face of adversity. Drawing together the threads from the theoretical reflections presented earlier, I suggest that the value placed on being an athlete and belonging to the sport community, the necessity for conforming to the standards and ideals of that community and the potential for exclusion in the case of nonconformity can be considered potential expressions of Lukes' ideological dimension of power.

Methods

Study context

This article forms one part of a larger research project about safety and safeguarding in sport, and is based on fieldwork that took place in Lusaka, Zambia, 2015 (see Solstad and Rhind, 2018; Solstad and Strandbu, 2017). The study participants - athletes, coaches and sport leaders - were recruited using convenient purposive sampling. Through a contact person within the Norwegian Olympic- and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF), two different sport associations engaged with safeguarding were identified and approached. The leadership of these associations welcomed the research project and suggested different teams that they thought would be interested in participating. The sport leaders involved in the study described that they had developed reporting procedures for abuse, codes of conduct and safe sport policies, in collaboration with other organizations (such as NIF), and inspired by similar policies made available by the international governing body for their respective sport discipline. Accordingly, there appeared to be a great deal of coherence between the sport associations' policies and procedures for reporting abuse. The sport associations had less than five years of experience with safeguarding work at the organizational level, and they were at different stages of implementing their safe sport policies. For anonymization purposes, and due to the sensitive nature of some of the topics discussed, I avoid revealing further details about the participating sport associations' safeguarding work.

Interviews and Focus Groups

The interviews were arranged according to a semi-structured interview guide that included predefined topics that we wanted to address, while also allowing flexibility in pursuing different themes as they came up. Different forms of abuse (e.g. psychological and sexual) were covered in

the interviews, and emphasis was placed on the study participants' own understandings of abuse. Thus, the researchers adopted a broad understanding of abuse as "the acts of commission or omission that lead to a [person] experiencing harm" (International Safeguards for Children in Sport, 2016; 6). Exploring what athletes, coaches and sport leaders viewed as challenging in relation to reporting abuse was considered important for understanding whether such procedures are likely to be used and benefitted from. It should be emphasized that personal abuse victimization was not a criterion for inclusion in this study, although we cannot preclude that some of the interviewees indeed had suffered abuse in one form or another. To reiterate, this article pursues a nuanced understanding of social and cultural dimensions in sport, their interaction with processes of individual identity (cf. Elias and Scotson, 1994) and connections to various power dimensions (cf. Lukes, 2005). The study participants, through their immersion in and familiarity with the social dynamics in their sport team and club as well as their various investments in sport, were well positioned to contribute towards the ambitions of this article. Coaches and sport leaders' perspectives were deemed important, not least, due to their position as authorities and value-bearers within the sport community (cf. Hartill, 2013), but also because they had all been athletes themselves before transitioning into their organizational roles in sport. Together, this provided a broad basis of experiences for reflecting upon the process of reporting abuse in sport.

The interviews were introduced with a general question about the interviewees' sport background, before asking an open question about what they associated with 'safety in sport'. For this article, accounts emerging from questions about perceived challenges in relation to the prospect of reporting abuse through formal channels in sport were central. In most cases, questions relating to reporting were introduced through 'vignettes', in which the interviewees

were asked to imagine themselves in the position of the protagonist in the vignette and share what they would do in that situation. Importantly, and particularly due to the cross-cultural nature of our research, this was considered a non-intrusive approach that could inspire discussion around potentially sensitive topics without challenging the participants' sense of privacy (as recommended by Jenkins et al., 2010). While precise wording could vary between interviews, questions included 'who would you talk to in relation to abusive experiences or observations?', 'would you feel comfortable with reporting to sport authorities?' and 'what kind of challenges might athletes face in relation to reporting abuse in sport?'. Sport leaders and coaches were followed up with questions about their sport association's safeguarding work, as well as their reporting procedures and how potential claims were dealt with.

The interviews were held in English, which is the official language in Zambia, but is normally not the preferred language among Zambians outside formal contexts. Informed consent was obtained from the study participants, and the interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim and anonymized. For the two interviewees that chose not to be recorded, written notes were taken during the interviews and supplemented from memory immediately afterwards. The research project was ethically approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD).

Participants and procedure

Two women's teams from each of the two focal sport associations were selected and contacted through their coach. The teams agreed to the researcher's presence at practices and matches for the fieldwork duration of five weeks. Participatory observation, focus groups (n = 7 and 8) and individual interviews with three senior athletes (i.e. 20+ years) from each of these teams serves as the main basis for the athlete perspective in this study. In addition, focus groups were held with two other women's teams (n = 8 and 6). The focus groups were led by two researchers to enable

attentiveness to both group dynamics and the interview guide, while most of the individual interviews were conducted by the author alone. Although the findings primarily draw on interview data, we consider the fieldwork experiences to be an integral part of the co-construction of the interviews and overall findings. Indeed, participatory observation enabled familiarity with the study participants, better understanding of their sport routines and environment, and the opportunity to follow up on observations in the interview situation (cf. Fangen, 2010).

Individual interviews were held with seven coaches and leaders representing the two sport associations previously described. Although the empirical basis for this article was narrowed down to include mainly representatives of these two sport associations, I chose to include the accounts of two coach/leaders from other sport associations (designated as 'Male coach/leader 1' and 'Female coach/leader 1'). This was because their reflections about reporting abuse were of a general character and not specific to one sport association. The reader can take their affiliation into consideration when reading the interview excerpts. In the presentation of findings, these individuals are referred to as coach/leader based on anonymization considerations in relation to gender and because many held dual positions as coach and leader/administrator. In general, few clear differences in views and perceptions were observed between athletes and coaches/leaders at the group level, and I have remarked in the text when such differences were discerned.

The athletes in this study participated competitively in their respective local league. These leagues contained non-sponsored community teams, that were not remunerated and had to cover their own expenses, as well as sponsored teams, where athletes received an allowance for travel and participation. Athletes from both types of teams were represented among the participants in the study. The junior athletes (i.e. 15-20 years) typically lived in low-income areas outside the city center, while most of the senior players (i.e. 20+ years) had jobs and were situated in less

impoverished areas. Employment appeared to be the rule rather than the exception for the older athletes, which is notable in the context of high unemployment for young people in Zambia (Lindsey et al., 2017). While it may appear that participating in organized sport is associated with a somewhat privileged socioeconomic status (or with unique sport talent that results in sponsorship), this picture could also be a result of selection methods. Some coaches received a salary or allowance for their work in sport, while others were formally employed elsewhere and contributed to sport in a voluntary capacity. It should also be noted that religion held a central part in the life of the study participants. Indeed, according to the 2010 census, 95,5% of the Zambian population identify as Christian (Central Statistical Office, 2012). Furthermore, religion is considered to have a significant influence on norms and standards, not least in relation to gender and sexuality (van Klinken, 2013). This impression was strengthened both through interviews and informal conversations with the study participants. While the topic was not thoroughly covered in the interviews, the role of religion is relevant to consider in the context of group belonging and stigma.

Analysis and presentation of findings

The analysis aimed at understanding barriers to reporting abuse in sport through exploring the study participants' views and perceptions of the reporting process. As a first step, thematic analysis was used to identify themes within the interview transcripts that related to reporting barriers (Fangen, 2010). To foreground the interviewees' perspectives, I wanted to present the findings in a manner that stayed true to the way that they articulated concerns and challenges. After reiterated readings and discussions, the following categories were thus assigned; fear of exclusion, fear of punishment, fear of not being believed and fear of gossip. The statistical software MAXQDA was used for sorting the text into themes, before illustrative quotes were

identified through repeated readings of the thematically categorized transcripts. The categories should not be considered exclusive or static, however, but rather an attempt to, somewhat orderly, present a messy reality in which individual, interpersonal and sociocultural elements are interdependently connected.

In line with the ambition for this article, staying attentive to the workings of different types of power (i.e. decision-making, agenda-setting and ideological) as well as the social dynamics and values expressed in the sport setting, was an important part of the analysis. As a second step in the analysis, then, I attended more specifically to power workings at various levels, including the ideological dimension and how sport ideals could shape athletes' understanding of what reporting abuse would entail. For, as Lukes (2005; 1) asserts, 'power is at its most effective when least observable'. The sport-specific ideals that emerged as significant in the interviews are presented alongside the reporting barriers. Finally, and elaborated upon in the discussion, the reporting process in sport was interpreted and deliberated upon through the lens of Lukes' three-dimensional power.

Findings

A common thread throughout the discussions of barriers to reporting was the uncertainties encountered in trying to assess the reporting process and its potential outcomes. The barriers were often considered in relation to the consequences reporting might have for athletes' sport participation and highlighted athletes' relatively limited power and influence within the sport structure. Furthermore, various sport ideals appeared to contribute to constructing reporting as an act that could lead to negative consequences for the person reporting. In the following, I first present the value ascribed to sport participation and concomitant fears of exclusion from sport.

Then, sport ideals that emerged as defining aspects of the sport community are considered in relation to how the interviewees made sense of reporting of abuse.

Fear of exclusion

First and foremost, fear of exclusion from the sport community was considered a strong barrier to reporting abuse. This perceived barrier was associated with the value ascribed to sport participation. In addition to enjoyment derived from sport, appreciation of sport-based friendships and belonging within sport was regularly referred to, sometimes by using the word 'family' (see Solstad and Rhind, 2018):

> Not only have I found friends, but I have... I have found people that I can call family.
>
> (Athlete 1)

The sport community appeared united by their shared devotion to sport and collective interest in pursuing the best possible performance. These positive aspects of sport were central in the interviewees' deliberations about reporting of abuse in sport. Indeed, the fear of being denied sport participation or excluded from the team emerged as a reason why athletes might keep quiet about abuse:

> As an athlete, what is key to you is playing your sport. Playing and enjoying your sport. So, they usually try to hold on to the sport they love to play. For the sake of the sport they play, they tend to keep quiet. (Male coach/leader 1)

> Sometimes you think that if I'm the one who told the elders or someone else, he might put you out of the team. And you might lose your position. (Athlete 2)

These quotes indicate that athletes may experience having limited control over their own participation and position in the team and the sport community. This observation may be particularly significant when athletes depend on sport for income or future career opportunities:

> You're afraid you'll be kicked out, because most people in the community are not employed. (…) You sort of depend on your sport to generate income. So, you want to protect that. (Female coach/leader 1)

While perhaps more dramatic for sponsored athletes, being denied participation in sport appeared to be a concern regardless of performance level and sponsorship situation:

> [If] you are suspended from the team, you will be lonely. You know, you are always at the ground. (Athlete 3)

It was also noted that athletes might fear that reporting negatively affect their social standing within the team:

> [Athletes] fear that "if I talk about it, I'll be victimized as the one who has been spreading bad vibes" (Male coach/leader 1)

These quotes indicate that athletes fear damaging their social position in sport, and that reporting abuse can be viewed as an action that entails a risk of athletes losing their place on the team. Why would such an expectation develop? In the following, I illuminate how sport ideals, norms and values translated into fears and insecurities and seemingly shaped expectations of what reporting abuse would entail in terms of reactions and consequences.

Fear of punishment

Fear of being punished or disciplined constituted another barrier to reporting abuse. This fear manifested within a sport culture in which discipline was considered imperative. Consequently,

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the interviewees were uncertain as to whether reporting could be interpreted as indiscipline and thus result in punishment for the person reporting. To explore this connection, we first look at the role that discipline played in the interviewees' conceptions of sport, athlete identity and success. Indeed, following rules and embodying discipline was described as central to being a sport person:

> When you're in the ground outside, there are rules you should follow. A player should be a disciplined person. (Athlete 3)

Accompanying 'discipline' as a shared athlete ideal was the understanding that indiscipline can and should be punished. The conviction that punishing indiscipline or misconduct is a legitimate and appropriate course of action was expressed by some athletes:

> Yeah, the [association's] executive is very tough. They don't condone indiscipline. Which is a good thing, because it's just helping discipline to always be within a player's mind. (Athlete 4)

The authority and disciplinary power of sport authorities is seemingly accepted on the premise that they act in the best interest of the athlete and the team. Deference to authority thus appeared to be couched within a 'performance rationality' and normalized within a 'culture of retribution' (cf. Jacobs et al., 2017; 7). One example was given from the context of a national team camp from when the interviewee was still an active athlete herself:

> These coaches having an affair with a girl, (…) it's not allowed. I remember when (…) they dropped a certain player and the coach at the last minute, when the team was just two days before travelling. (…) The player was not sleeping in her room. The coach was

taking the player every night to sleep… So the coach was dropped. In fact he was

suspended. Even the girl was suspended. (Woman coach/leader 1)

In this scenario, I was told that they indeed had rules against coach-athlete sexual relationships, and that the athletes had been informed about what would happen if they broke the rules. Although I do not know the details of this incidence, it appears that the situation was interpreted as indiscipline rather than investigated for potential abuse.

That indiscipline or nonconformity tended to be met with punitive action, seemed to give rise to uncertainty about how reporting of abuse would be met by sport leaders. Thus, avoiding formal reporting channels was communicated as the preferred option. In this way, respect for sport authorities could contribute to shaping expectations of how reports of abuse would be received within the sport context. This example also shows how athletes are in a disadvantaged power position in terms of controlling the outcomes of the reporting process (cf. Lukes, 2005). As such, we can read these findings into a larger debate about democratic processes and athletes' influence in sport governance (see Donnelly, 2015).

Furthermore, comments such as 'sometimes, you must just rise above it' (Athlete 2) in relation to derogatory remarks aimed at athletes, showed how discipline could be related to embodying toughness and resilience. Similarly, this form of discipline was articulated as an ingredient to sporting success:

Me, I'm a player who don't care. If someone says bad things, I show her that I'm a player.

I play more than the way she can play. That's why I'm in the national team. Because I

have the heart. (Athlete 5)

The ideal communicated through this quote is that successful athletes should not let emotional or physical discomfort distract them from the sport endeavour. As shown in Solstad and Strandbu (2017), assuming the position as 'victim' could be experienced as incongruent with athlete identity and the act of reporting as an admission of weakness. By divulging and reporting experiences of victimization, then, athletes might risk breaking with the ideals of discipline and resilience. It might appear, therefore, that athletes face an added barrier to disclosing abuse because of a perceived break with social norms and expectations associated with athlete identity - similar to what has been shown in research on male victims of sexual abuse (Alaggia, 2005).

Fear of not being believed

Fear of not being believed was another perceived reporting barrier highlighted by the interviewees, particularly in relation to sport and morality. The commonly expressed view of sport as a morally upstanding institution appeared to influence the interviewees' expectations for how reports would be received by sport authorities. In the following, I look at reporting in light of how sport was conceptualized in terms of image and morality.

The sport leaders/coaches displayed confidence that their codes of conduct would be abided by, and that rules and regulations had a deterring effect. As follows, they portrayed harassment and abuse as unlikely occurrences within their own sport association:

> We're lucky. We haven't had very serious cases… We have very committed people that abide by the laid down rules. (Male coach/leader 2)

While expressing that abuse was not believed to be an extensive problem in their own sport association, the coaches/leaders acknowledged that reporting barriers may exist, including fear of not being believed:

> Obviously, when you are a single person that is being abused, it's normally your word against somebody else's, you know. And it's difficult to get evidence. (Male coach/leader 3)

Acknowledging the problem of determining whom to believe, the same person described how they assessed the situation when faced with abuse allegations, or 'accusations', in their sport association:

> There were accusations, like "for this player to be a part of the team, she was sleeping with the coach". Because it was a male coach. But, then we looked at several factors: This coach has been there all along, [and] these accusations didn't come. Why are they coming only when we are going to [an international tournament]? (Male coach/leader 3)

This quote indicates that sport authorities might be more inclined to place their confidence in coaches rather than athletes. If athletes have previously observed that the accused's side of the story is believed, it could serve as a barrier to reporting future cases (cf. Tener and Murphy, 2015). As coaches and sport leaders could be viewed as bearers of norms and values in sport (Hartill, 2013), sport authorities' willingness or ability to admit to potential 'moral failings' of these people could be compromised.

Moreover, the social ramifications of reporting could affect athletes' future sport participation and their personal lives. This is illustrated by a coach/leader as he describes being publicly confronted with rumours of athlete exploitation in their sport association:

> We had consequences, where (…) the husband comes and says "oh, is that the reason you are on the national team?!". So, it brought a lot of problems in the homes, where the husbands wanted to withdraw the athletes. (Male coach/leader 3)

This quote also highlights how some (women) athletes are dependent on their partner's approval, and that accusations that damage the moral reputation of sport can become a barrier to women's participation. As such, reporting could come to be seen as an act that jeopardizes the moral standing of sport and future sport participation for athletes themselves.

Fear of gossip

Last, fear of gossip was presented as a barrier to reporting abuse. This could be related to the expressed importance of loyalty within the sport team and broader sport community as well as the potential stigma attached to experiences of abuse. Many athletes spoke of trusted companions within the sport community, and ardently emphasized the social significance of their teammates. In line with research on preferred recipients of initial disclosure of child sexual abuse (Gagnier and Collin-Vézina, 2016), trust and loyalty emerged as important for whom athletes chose to confide in with personal and sensitive issues:

> Each one of us has a very close friend whom you feel is free to tell her anything. So, you go to that person where you can tell. You know that when I tell this friend of mine, it's all about me and her, and she will advise me accordingly. (Athlete 3)

Knowing that the person they confided in was trustworthy appeared to be important, not least, to avoid that the content of the conversation was spread as gossip. It seemed that the act of reporting was itself equated with the act of gossip on some occasions. Fear of gossip highlights the significance of shame and stigma in relation to victimization:

> Probably there has been a case where she has confided in someone and they would have told someone else. You lose confidence and, then, [she] just keeps [her] things to [herself]. (Athlete 6)

> [Some athletes] might be scared [to approach a senior person] because they feel it might just come out to everyone in the region. Because [some] people might not be strong enough to keep certain things. (Athlete 4)

A sport leader also indicated that experiencing shame in connection to a potentially abusive relationship could affect who, if anyone, athletes chose to confide in:

> The players, they know each other. If that player is dating the coach, the players would know. But us officials, we wouldn't know. (…) They fear! They can't come [out] in the open. They feel ashamed. (Female coach/leader 3)

While the coach/leader problematized athletes' reluctance to formally report or take issues to sport authorities, the athletes described dealing with sensitive issues within their own team in more positive terms. Notably, one team had established their own disciplinary committee, which could be read as an attempt to reclaim power and control over processes that affect them as athletes:

> We've just come to say that anything that is within our team, let it stay within us. So, let's try by all means to solve our own problems. (Athlete 7)

> [Having a disciplinary committee] not only does it help, it also builds the team and (…) brings unity in the team. So, each and every one is aware of how to behave, and is also aware of how to conduct themselves in public. (…) If I do something wrong out there in public, people (…) won't say that *I* did this, they will say *[the team]* did this. We try to avoid that. (Athlete 1)

Image preservation, controlling gossip and protecting the interest of the team is here shown to be important for the athletes. Notably, negative talk about *one* of the players is believed to reflect

badly on the team as a whole, much in line with Elias and Scotson's (1994) description of gossip as a social mechanism. Based on these observations, athletes would likely reflect on how their decisions to report abuse would affect the team as well as themselves.

Discussion

The study findings demonstrate that reporting abuse in sport is conceived as being far from an easy task, thus collaborating the impression gained from previous research on disclosing barriers (e.g. Lemaigre et al., 2017; Parent, 2011; Tener and Murphy, 2015; Ungar et al, 2009). In line with studies indicating unpredictability and potential loss of control as impediments to disclosing abuse (Dorahy and Clearwater, 2012; Ungar et al., 2009), I identified a high degree of uncertainty in relation to reporting abuse. This was expressed through fears of punishment, not being believed, gossip and exclusion from sport. A unique contribution of this article has been to apply a sociological lens and consider the reporting barriers with particular attention to group processes and power in the sport context. Accordingly, two observations relating to the dimensions of power addressed by Lukes (2005) stand out that merit further attention: 1) the limited power and influence held by athletes over processes that affect their position and participation in sport, and 2) how processes of group belonging and identification inspire conformity to sport-specific norms and values, which serves to nourish and uphold the status quo in terms of power distribution in sport. I also consider how these dynamics come to play for women athletes in Zambia.

First, it was notable that athletes' haphazard exclusion from sport was presented as a probable and seemingly accepted eventuality. Considered against athletes' enjoyment in sport as well as their social attachments, to govern over athletes' access to participation is a significant manifestation of power. The notion of athletes being expendable appeared to be normalized within a climate

characterized by performance rationality and deference to authority figures (cf. Jacobs et al., 2017). Athletes' acceptance of sport authorities' disciplinary powers could be gleaned through the expressed belief in discipline as a useful tool in the pursuit of performance success - also among athletes. Sport leaders' decision-making power is quite obvious in this context, but how legitimation of and compliance to this power is secured can be better comprehended through recognizing the ideological dimension of power (cf. Lukes, 2005).

A second point concerns how current power structures and relations are sustained through processes of group socialization and identification within sport. As Elias and Scotson (1994) note, preserving group membership is premised on submission to collective norms and ideals. Indeed, in the interviews, athletes appeared to accept and adopt sport ideals and sport-specific logics, which again bore relevance to interpretations of what reporting abuse would entail. For fear of being expelled from an exclusive and cherished sport community, athletes may be incentivised to conform to dominating sport practices. If abuse is not legitimated as a topic by the sport leadership, or kept off the agenda, so to speak, reporting abuse could be conceptualized as a nonconforming act that puts athletes' position in sport at risk. This observation is in line with research showing that explicitly addressing abuse as a topic facilitates disclosure (Lemaigre et al., 2017), thus indicating the significance of agenda-setting powers. With athletes being uncertain of, and indeed lacking control over, how abuse reports would be received and interpreted by sport authorities, staying silent seemed to emerge as the safest alternative. Moreover, the importance of trust and friendship in deciding whom to confide in (cf. Gagnier and Collin Vézina, 2016) expressed by the athletes in this study potentially destabilizes the claim that 'arms-length' safeguarding officers might be best positioned to assist athletes in the reporting process (cf. Donnelly et al., 2016). While it may solve the problem of personal ties between the safeguarding

officer and the person being reported against, it may also add to the threshold for athletes to report in the first place. This dilemma merits consideration in future studies.

As relative newcomers to the sport scene, women athletes in Zambia might be particularly conscious of sport participation as a potentially short-lived and fragile privilege. While there are examples of women in positions of power in Zambian sport, the overall picture is still that of women's underrepresentation in governance and general participation (Fasting et al., 2014). In light of this status, these athletes might be particularly careful to avoid acts that jeopardize their membership in the sport community. This could be related to how voicing allegations of abuse was perceived to bring with it a possibility for culpability, disgrace and gossip. Indeed, the precarious nature of women's sport participation was indicated by numerous stories of women that had left sport for reasons such as pregnancy or 'non-supportive' husbands and emphasized through a commonly expressed fear of gossip. According to Elias and Scotson (1994), gossip can serve as a mechanism that signals and sustains status positions. Correspondingly, avoiding stigmatization and gossip appeared to be a central aspect of securing these athletes' participation rights. In this respect, athletes appear to also have an interest in preserving the morality of the sport community and sport as an institution. This point was illustrated in our study when allegations of sexual exploitation directed towards coaches resulted in athletes being denied further participation by their husbands. As the act of reporting entails acknowledgement and exposure of 'disgrace' within the sport community, with which they identify and whose values they presumably strive to embody, reporting can be seen to carry with it a threat to athletes' continued sport participation. However, it is not my intention to portray reporting as an impossible task or the power status of Zambian women athletes as fixed in a disadvantaged position. Indeed, as Elias and Scotson (1994) assert, status positions are never static, but

continually contested and challenged. In this study, the initiative to establish their own disciplinary committee within one of the teams in the study indicates a potential for increased athlete control over their own sporting lives.

Concluding remarks

In this article, barriers that athletes might face when reporting abuse in sport have been explored, revealing that reporting can be associated with a great deal of uncertainty. While this uncertainty could reflect the novel incursion of safeguarding into Zambian sport, it could also be understood as resulting partly from athletes' relative powerlessness in decision-making processes in sport - including the reporting process. This powerlessness concerned both their precarious status as active athletes and their lack of control and influence over the reporting process. Sport authorities wield decision-making power over athletes' right to participate as well as the extent of athletes' participation, also through determining how abuse reports are interpreted and handled. They also hold agenda-setting power through signaling, intentionally or unintentionally, which topics are legitimate to raise as concerns.

I also indicated that the reporting barriers were related to athletes' understanding of their own role within the sport system and the perceived social costs involved in noncompliance to sport ideals, norms and practices. Ideological power, working through socialization into sport, could thus be said to play a role in securing athletes' acquiescence to their role in the sport system. In sum, this situation appeared to give rise to considerable uncertainty about what reporting could entail. From what can be gleaned from this study, fostering a conducive organizational environment for reporting abuse in sport may well involve a democratic shift of power, where athletes are given more influence in decision-making processes and their rights to participation are preserved. The theoretical framework used for this article has elucidated how power and social belonging are

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central elements to consider for understanding the complex process of reporting abuse in sport.

By way of concluding, I venture that these dimensions, and the potential social costs and

implications associated with reporting, deserve due attention within safeguarding in sport.

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Article 4

Solstad, G.M. and Strandbu, Å. (submitted). Culturally Framing "Safe Sport": On Political Mobilization against Abuse in Sport. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics.*

Culturally Framing 'Safe Sport': On Political Mobilisation against Abuse in Sport

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Culturally Framing 'Safe Sport': On Political Mobilisation against Abuse in Sport

Abstract

Formalisation of safeguarding in sport occurs in increasingly diverse contexts to address abuse of athletes and promote 'safe sport'. Moreover, safeguarding policies are occasionally integrated in transnational Sport for Development (SfD) partnerships as a condition for funding. In this article, we draw from social movement theory to explore political mobilisation against abuse in Zambian sport associations with a Norwegian SfD partner. Using the concept of 'cultural framing', we examine how safe sport is captured, presented and understood by coaches and sport leaders involved in Zambian sport. The findings show that there was considerable support for formalised safeguarding, even though ambivalence was expressed regarding the extent of abuse in sport. With motivation grounded in resonance with sport priorities and humanistic values, safeguarding seemingly equipped the sport associations with a practicable formula for confronting a morally evocative problem. Coupled with a strong network of local mobilizing actors championing this cause and a conducive political climate for connecting sport with broader social responsibilities, we suggest that this cultural framing facilitated political mobilization against abuse in Zambian sport. Lastly, some implications of the findings for safeguarding in sport and for the politicisation of sport issues are outlined.

Keywords: safe sport, cultural framing, social movement theory, safeguarding, abuse, sport for development.

Introduction

Some conflictual issues in sport turn into sport policy and politics, while others do not. Abuse in sport can be seen as an issue that is succeeding in political mobilization[1], as it is increasingly appearing on sport policy agendas in the form of safeguarding regulations (Lang and Hartill, 2014). Formalised safeguarding systems are now being introduced in diverse geographical contexts, not least through transnational Sport for Development (SfD) partnerships and global research projects (Rhind et al., 2015). One example is the partnership between national sport associations (NSAs) in Zambia and the Norwegian Olympic- and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF). In such partnership constellations, the potential for safeguarding regulations being interpreted as a form of neo-colonial civilizing project is worth observing. Resistance to westernised bureaucracy and northern ownership has recently been documented in relation to the idea of global safeguarding standards in sport (Rhind et al., 2015), thus indicating a potential for reluctance and reservations concerning formalised safeguarding, particularly in countries with a colonial past. Indeed, global power relations and the imposition of western articulations of problems and solutions in non-western societies are familiar points of contention within postcolonial perspectives (e.g. Escobar, 2011; Kay, 2012; McEwan, 2009). Against this background, we venture that political mobilization depends, in part, on how an issue is understood in the local context. Hence, it is the purpose of this article to examine how 'safe sport'[2] is captured, presented and understood – or culturally framed – in Zambian sport.

The expanding reach of safeguarding in sport is positioned as overwhelmingly positive by the metanarrative of child protection that characterises the research and practice related to abuse in sport (Lang and Pinder, 2017). This is presumably based upon broad consensus about abuse being wrong and unwanted in sport (as elsewhere) coupled with widespread confidence about

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safeguarding regulations being effective in addressing abuse. Within this metanarrative, however, organizational policy as a 'site of discursive struggle' might be overlooked (Dougherty and Hode, 2016; 1731). A burgeoning literature with a critical take on some aspects of safeguarding regulations (Garratt et al., 2013; Garratt and Piper, 2016; Piper et al., 2013; Taylor et al., 2016; Öhman, 2017; Öhman and Quennerstedt, 2017) underscores the potential conflicts contained within this field. That sport associations (in the UK) long were reluctant to embrace safeguarding (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014) further supports that political mobilisation is dependent upon more than the evocative nature of the issue at hand. Even for issues that are emotively and morally compelling, such as abuse, then, it may not succeed with political mobilization in sport (see Seippel et al., 2018).

With these points in mind, we suggest that it is not a given that abuse would be addressed within Zambian sport policy in the form of safeguarding regulations. To unpack the complex web of meaning associated with safe sport and to elucidate the process of political mobilization against abuse in Zambian sport, social movement theory can be a useful framework. In particular, cultural framing[3], which is central within this perspective, allows us to examine how an issue is articulated as a problem, how the solution is conceptualised and how motivation is garnered to mobilise politically for a given cause (Benford and Snow, 2000). The primary ambition in this article is to elucidate multiple meanings associated with safe sport, while a secondary aim is to contribute towards an emerging framework of how issues in sport become political and turn into sport policy, while others do so partly or not at all. First, we outline the central tenets of social movement theory, with an emphasis on cultural framing, and present the study context and methods. Then, we outline the findings and, in the ensuing discussion, consider the emerging cultural framing for safe sport in relation to the other aspects of social movement theory. Before

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concluding, we reflect upon the study's implications for safeguarding in sport as well as for politicisation of sport issues.

Social Movement Theory

Based on the social movement theory represented by Sydney Tarrow (1994) and Charles Tilly (2002), among others, three prerequisites are outlined for successful political mobilization. These pertain to the political opportunity structure, mobilizing actors and cultural framing, which we will briefly outline in relation to safeguarding in Zambian sport. Our intention is not to give an exhaustive presentation of these factors, but to enable a meaningful discussion of cultural frames for safe sport in this setting.

First, a conducive *political opportunity structure* is characterised by a situation in which people have a clear understanding of where to direct their political claims, a readily available channel for communicating them and actors that are receptive to the claims. Further, those receiving a claim must feel a responsibility for the given issue and have the capacity to do something about it (Tarrow, 1994). In Zambia, the responsibility for sport governance and -provision for their respective sport disciplines at both elite and grassroots level lies with the NSAs, as mandated by the National Sport Policy (Banda, 2010). However, limited and unequally distributed government funding, favouring elite sport, football and urban districts, has also created a space for local and global non-governmental organizations to offer sport activities (Banda, 2010; Lindsey et al., 2017). Within a policy climate characterised by increasing governmental and other external intervention into sport, as illustrated by the description of sport as a tool for development in Zambia's 5th and 6th National Development Plan (Banda, 2010), the sport sector is arguably compelled to desist from being an autonomous entity cordoned off from wider society and associated responsibilities. NSAs' perceived responsibility for and capacity to act regarding safe

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sport should therefore be considered with these economic constraints and governmental directives in mind.

Second, we turn to the people, networks, organizations etc. - that is, the *mobilizing actors* - that actively work to garner attention around a given issue and place it on the public agenda. Their status and power to influence others, how they are organised and which strategies they apply influence whether they will be successful in compelling political action to address their cause (Tarrow, 1994). For safe sport in Zambia, NIF is not alone as an organization with an interest in promoting this agenda. After prolonged engagement in sport within southern Africa, they are also able to draw upon the resources, local knowledge and political purchase of their partners in organised sport and the SfD-sector in Zambia and the region. This includes organizations such as the National Organization for Women in Sport and Recreation (NOWSPAR), the National Olympic Committee of Zambia (NOCZ) and the African Union Sport Council (AUSC) Region 5. Also, recognised as a reliable funding partner for sport and SfD in Southern Africa (Banda, 2010; Hasselgård, 2015), they have been able to deploy conditional funding as a strategy for mobilizing action, with criteria attached to development and implementation of safeguarding policies. Bearing this in mind, NIF is positioned as a relatively strong mobilizing actor within a network of gender- and anti-violence minded stakeholders.

The third prerequisite for political mobilization, and the focus of this article, is *cultural framing*. As an issue can be subjected to multiple interpretations, it needs to be captured in a particular way and presented in a manner that is relevant to a broad group of people. Political sociologists Benford and Snow (2000) have elaborated on Goffman's (1974) frame analysis to address how social issues are interpreted and made sense of. There are two basic claims in Benford and Snow's approach (see Seippel & Strandbu 2012); first, that framing involves selection and

construction - some topics are emphasised while others are deemphasised. Second, that framing is an active process that 'implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction' (Benford and Snow 2000; 614). According to Benford and Snow (2000), effective framing depends on three tasks: Posing a *diagnosis*, suggesting a *prognosis* and building *motivation*. Rephrased into questions: What is the problem? What is the solution? Why should people care? Diagnosis involves a problem description in which causal links are often indicated. This can include identifying someone or something responsible for the issue at hand. Next, one needs to present possible solutions to the problem. Finally, cultural framing involves building motivation, which entails fostering a sense of severity, urgency and propriety concerning the issue at hand (Benford and Snow, 2000). In other words, people need to feel that abuse of athletes is a serious issue that requires immediate attention and action.

It is also relevant to consider how elements from one cultural frame *resonate* with elements from other cultural frames (e.g. political ideologies or sport-specific rationalities), that is, how they fit together and potentially reinforce each other (Seippel et al., 2018). For example, political mobilization of safe sport could be eased through highlighting ideological resonance between safeguarding and 'sport as a social good' - a theme that has been recognised by Zambian state actors and embraced within a well-established SfD sector in the country (Banda, 2010; Lindsey et al., 2017). Moreover, an effective cultural framing often involves encapsulating a given issue within wider *master frames* such as gender equity or children's rights (Snow and Benford, 1992). A recent report entitled 'Gender-based violence in Zambian sport: Prevalence and prevention' by Fasting et al. (2015), commissioned by NIF as a mandated action from the AUSC Region 5 Gender Action Plan, is illustrative. In both title and perspective, the report creates a direct association between safe sport and the gender agenda. It also draws attention to abuse as a

problem *in sport* (diagnosis), thus prompting action *by sport* (motivation) through suggested policy regulations (prognosis). In sum, culturally appealing frames catch people's attention, elicit sympathy for the cause and serve to 'dignify and justify movements' (Tarrow, 1994; 99). Drawing on this theoretical framework, we empirically explore the cultural framing of safe sport in Zambia.

Context

To appreciate how the sport sector in Zambia is situated, we find it useful to make a brief historical detour. At least since independence from British rule in 1964, Zambia's economy has been highly dependent on its mineral export industry. From being one of the richest nations in Africa, a collapse of the copper price in the 1970s plummeted Zambia into economic crisis (Gough et al., 2016). A consequence for Zambian sport was that the country's mining companies withdrew what was previously quite substantive funding for both elite and grassroots sport (Chipande, 2016). Moreover, the degrading economy forced the government to seek assistance from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, whose funding conditions propelled Zambia into massive privatization across sectors. This entailed severe cutbacks on governmental spending (e.g. social welfare services) and led to a reduction in public sector employment from 72 % to 30 % between the 1970s and 2000s (Gough et al. 2016; 354). Consequently, many Zambians have been compelled to pursue casual and piecemeal work, barely making enough money for subsistence (Hansen, 2010). The economic turbulence evoked insecurities in people's lives that manifested in poor health, unemployment and poverty. These challenges, exacerbated by an increasingly youthful population, have persisted also throughout a period of economic growth in the 2000s (Gough et al., 2016). This situation presents the government with what presumably is considered more pressing concerns than sport provision - also in times of reduced

economic strain. As follows, the sport sector has been a quite marginalised area in terms of government spending (Banda, 2010). It was thus in the context of strained resources that NIF, in 1990, entered the Zambian sport scene as a funding partner for the National Sport Council of Zambia (Straume and Hasselgård, 2014). Characterised by a 'sport for all' orientation, with focus on grassroots level participation and equal opportunities for girls and women, NIF has become a notable contributor towards both organised sport and local SfD organizations in Zambia (Banda, 2010; Lindsey et al., 2017).

Methods

Procedure and Participants

The empirical basis for this article is drawn from a larger research project on safety and safeguarding in Zambian sport (see authors, 2017 and authors, 2018 for more details). While the entire material also covers participatory observation of two sports teams and athlete interviews, the current article relies primarily on interviews with sport leaders, coaches and SfD representatives from Lusaka, Zambia, supplemented by an interview with a representative from NIF[4]. Informal conversations with people within NIF and Zambian sport in relation to the participatory observation, the first author's observer role in the previously mentioned study on gender-based violence by Fasting et al. (2014), and the inaugural conference for the organization Safe Sport International (held in Madrid in April, 2018) also informed this study. In addition, organizational documents and policies made available by the participating sport associations were reviewed as part of the background material. It should be noted that the NSAs involved in the study had developed (and variably implemented) safe sport policies during the past five years.

The study participants were recruited through convenient purposive sampling. A contact person in NIF facilitated the initial contact with two sport associations. Approval was granted from the

leadership of the sport associations, the study participants and the Norwegian Social Science Data Service. Altogether 16 people were engaged in the interviews drawn upon in this article. 11 participants were interviewed individually (seven men and four women) while five participants took part in a focus group interview (three women and two men). Presently, 11 interviewees were affiliated to two different team sports within the organised sport sector, four worked within SfD (three locally, one in NIF), and one was active within both. Several of the interviewees had experience from both organised sport and SfD, many sported dual roles (e.g. coach and administrator), and other points of interconnectedness between the two sectors were observed. For these reasons, and to enable disclosure of gender without infringing upon anonymity, we have chosen to categorise all interviewees as 'sport leader'. Together, the participants' varied background and experience was expected to yield a broad basis for exploring how safe sport was culturally framed within the Zambian sportscape.

Interviews and Focus Groups

The focus group was led by both authors, while the individual interviews were, with two exceptions, conducted by the first author alone. The interviews transpired in English without the need for translation. All but two interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim and anonymised. Written notes were taken during the interviews and supplemented from memory immediately afterwards for the two non-recorded interviews, and reflections were journaled after each interview. The semi-structured interview guide, based on common themes identified in the 'safeguarding in sport'-literature, ensured that the intended topics were covered while also allowing considerable flexibility in pursuing different themes that were raised. To foreground the interviewees' own understandings of the topics addressed, we asked, as one of the initial questions, what they associated with 'safe sport' or 'safety in sport'. From there, we explored

their perceived difference between safety in sport and other arenas, what they thought influenced vulnerability of athletes, what was being done on this topic in their association and how they considered safeguarding's role in sport. We also asked about challenges or reservations related to doing safeguarding in their association as well as what they hoped to achieve in the coming years. We did not have predefined questions directly related to different forms of challenges, thus letting the interviewees raise potential concerns by their own convictions.

Analysis

The interview material was systematised by using social movement theory as an analytical framework. First, transcripts were read and marked for the categories 'political opportunity structure', 'mobilizing actors' and 'cultural framing'. This was done both manually and digitally, using the qualitative analysis software MAXQDA. From there, we focused on the cultural framing category and identified text that was thematically associated with 'diagnosis', 'prognosis' or 'motivation'. Notes were taken to indicate what part of these elements the text was associated with, such as 'problem' and 'causes' for diagnosis. Additionally, the category 'background' was separated out to capture information pertaining to the socioeconomic context that sometimes slipped into the background when our analytical lens focused on the safe sport concept. As the next step, we studied the categories in search for dominating trends in the material and took notes of emerging connections. After a draft text with key points was collated during this process, the individual transcripts were revisited to search for illustrative quotations and to verify that our interpretations were appropriately derived from the text segments' meaning within their original context. As part of the analytic process, the emerging findings were discussed between the co-authors at multiple times as well as with other members of the authors'

academic milieu (Tavory and Timmermans, 2014). These processes were useful for crystallizing the findings and reflecting upon their theoretical implications.

Cultural Framing

The aim of our analysis was to highlight how safe sport is captured, presented and understood in Zambian sport. Thus, we do not make any explicit distinction between purposive and non-purposive framing but recognise that the interviewees' accounts are likely to reflect both (Tarrow, 1994). We here present the emerging cultural framing, structured according to the three core framing tasks proposed by Benford and Snow (2000): diagnosis, prognosis and motivation. The latter framing task is presented in from of resonance with master frames and sport-specific frames drawn upon within narratives on safe sport, while instances of resonance with other cultural frames are indicated throughout the findings.

Diagnosis

Diagnosis deals with how the problem is articulated and what or whom is considered responsible for the problem. In our case, a wide range of issues were contained within the problem description for safe sport. Concerns for athlete safety included the risk of sport injuries in addition to harassment, exploitation and abuse:

> When we talk of safe environments, we don't just talk of environments where there's no fighting, but also playing surfaces. For us that's a safe environment. (Sport leader 1, man)

The extent of issues such as abuse *in sport*, however, was subject to uncertainty. Some presented an optimistic view that abuse in sport was a thing of the past, thus questioning its current relevance to sport associations:

> From the time when we started engaging some NGOs[5], that abuse has lessened. I don't know about other associations, but in our association, there's no abuse. (Sport leader 2, woman)

The sport leader, with wide contacts in her sport, stated that she had not heard of any cases in her association within the latest years. Some leaders referred to the previously mentioned report on gender-based violence (Fasting et al., 2015) and said that abuse in sport was a problem, while others expressed ambivalence regarding the extent of abuse in sport. Abuse was portrayed as a general societal problem that could manifest within sport and that affected girls to a larger extent than boys (see authors, 2017).

Moving to causes, the threats to athlete safety were believed to stem from a variety of factors, in line with the broad problem description. Lack of awareness and education for both athletes and sport leaders stood out as significant for the interviewees:

> I think in the context of Zambia, it has been proved that, yes, poverty is there, but it's not the ultimate issue that is really contributing to the issues of harassment or abuse. I think it's the issue where you have a lot of people – parents, guardians, young people themselves – who have less information. (Sport leader 1, man)

> Most of the coaches, the problem is, they lack knowledge. (…) They may not know the psychology of a player, the health of a player. (…) But such courses are rare. There are few people who do them. There are a few privileged people who have done them. (Sport leader 3, man)

These education and information 'deficiencies' were consistently described as more prominent in rural compared to urban areas. As in the quote above, poverty was sometimes portrayed as

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'background'. Others, however, adamantly emphasised poverty, alongside insufficient and unevenly distributed resources[6], as a fundamental source of vulnerability for young people. This was particularly mentioned in relation to the practice called transactional sex (see authors, 2018). Again, these issues were primarily discussed in a broader context, and not as something that happened only in relation to sport.

To sum up, the diagnosis afflicting safe sport was conceptualised in a broad perspective, taking into account more than harassment and abuse – the issues most commonly focused on in the safeguarding literature. Due to a broad problem description, uncertainty regarding extent in sport and ambivalence as to the problems' causes, the diagnosis appears somewhat unclear.

Prognosis

Prognosis offers solutions to the problems raised. A range of measures familiar from the safeguarding literature emerged as ways of facilitating safe sport: Protection policies, codes of conduct coupled with sanctions for breaking rules, reporting systems for abuse and education- and awareness sessions for athletes and sport leaders. Resonating with frames of professionalism, these measures were often referred to as appropriate and effective ways of contributing towards provision of safe sport:

> In terms of safety for our children and young people (…), if there's no policy that is guiding you in what you're doing as an institution, it becomes very, very difficult for you to be effective. (Sport leader 1, man)

Furthermore, some coaches noted that they occasionally experienced distrust and suspicion in sport, and considered policies and clear regulations useful for minimizing unfounded suspicion of misconduct:

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If that policy was in place, the athlete would know that "OK, this (…) is how I'm

protected". Even the coach, he will know "this is the way I'm protected". So, it's worth

spending money on these kinds of systems. Because they will protect. (…) We need to

protect the coaches and protect the athletes themselves. So, the best way to create an

enabling environment: The females are supposed to discuss their personal issues with a

female coach. (Sport leader 4, man)

While conveying confidence in safeguarding regulations, this quote also alludes to an

ambivalence concerning male-female interaction in sport and an associated scrutiny of male sport

leaders. Similar sentiments were expressed by another leader who shared his impression that men

were generally viewed in a suspicious light in relation to child abuse issues:

Because I'm a man, people will always look at me and say "aaaaah, maybe he's

encouraging it". (Sport leader 5, man)

In addition to providing some assurance against false abuse allegation, safeguarding was

mentioned as something that could lead to additional sponsorship, thus adding to the list of

potential positives associated with this prognosis. Potentially negative sides or unintended

consequences of safeguarding, however, were rarely alluded to, although the possibility of

safeguarding policies being 'misunderstood' was noted:

The only challenge which I've seen is a situation whereby people tend to look at it in

terms of trying to… thinking like it's trying to follow up individuals, but it's not supposed

to be that way. (…) There might be resistance if they don't understand the notions behind

it. Because, you know how it is with the sport federations. Others, their focus is "where is

my national team?", "when are we playing?", "Where are we going to look for money for travel?" etc. (Sport leader 4, man)

The sport leader here alludes to a tension between values and priorities associated with elite sport - that is, medals and performance - and grassroots sport, implicitly understood as being oriented towards other goals. He thus points to potential resistance to safeguarding within the elite sporting sphere, while indicating that safeguarding resonates rather well with grassroots sport and SfD activities. Furthermore, some hesitation was expressed in relation to limited resources and expanding responsibilities. This was particularly visible when it came to the practical side of safeguarding, such as providing education and awareness training:

We want to go around and educate "look, these are the dos...". (…) But we rarely have resources in place to allow us to do that. (Sport leader 6, man)

What we've found is that, every expertise that comes outside the box, is better. Because we are not expertise in that field. We might be experts in terms of technical know-how, but we are not expertise in terms of [safeguarding]… (Sport leader 5, man)

Despite cautions voiced regarding high demands for capital and expert knowledge, the interviewees still expressed commitment to the central tenets and the presumed necessity of doing safeguarding. Indeed, safeguarding appeared to be generally accepted as an appropriate way to tackle abuse in sport that was within the capacity of sport organizations to put in place – at least if they were supported with resources and expertise by outside agencies. In short, the prognosis was culturally framed to be relatively clear and well-accepted.

Motivation

'Motivation' concerns how a sense of severity, urgency and propriety is evoked regarding the issue at hand. In our case, we are talking about building motivation for sport organizations to address abuse in sport, on the one hand, and motivation for addressing abuse via safeguarding regulations on the other. Motivation for safe sport seemed to be drawn, first and foremost, from resonance with sport-specific frames. Beyond that, safe sport was occasionally viewed in relation to wider master frames.

Sport-Specific Frames

Safe sport was portrayed in ways that resonated with sport goals and values in relation to the diagnosis as well as the prognosis. First, it was pointed out that it would be detrimental to performance if athletes experienced distress, thus building motivation for action that prevented harm to athletes, whether it occurred within sport or elsewhere. The interviewees also emphasised that coaches and leaders generally have a sense of care and responsibility for athletes, and that allowing athletes to be abused, or even be involved romantically with coaches, would be an affront to their integrity:

> If that person condones [coach-athlete sexual relationships], then they should be mad people. (…) [Coaches] have integrity, and they wouldn't condone that. (Sport leader 1, man)

> Yeah, if it's [violence] from home, you'd notice. Even the coaches would notice that the performance of the child... There's something...! Something's wrong. (Sport leader 7, woman)

Another sport frame that came across quite strongly was the idea of sport as a social good. Sport was viewed as a source of positive experiences, and as a deterrent - something that kept youngsters away from bad places or risky activities:

> You know for Zambia, I think the parents, most of the parents, are happy that they are participating in sport. Because they wouldn't indulge themselves to go for drinking, you know. A lot of girls will go for drinking, such activities. But if they come for sports, at least it helps them to be kept busy. (Sport leader 8, woman)

In this framing for sport, idle time was regarded as the main concern for youth, and keeping young people busy through sport was part of the solution (cf. Lindsey et al., 2017). On the one hand, this could disturb the notion that abuse in sport is a problem, thus reducing sport organizations' motivation to act. On the other hand, this framing could increase sport leaders' motivation for ensuring that sport is safe, enjoyable and suitable as a 'tool for development'. Particularly for NIF, the latter interpretation appeared relevant, as safe sport was positioned as a prerequisite for their inclusive sport mission:

> We really had no choice if we were going to actually make a difference and make sport inclusive at all levels, providing a safe environment became a number one priority. (NIF leader, woman)

So far, we have indicated that sport leaders have several reasons for wanting to ensure that sport is abuse-free. The second observation concerning sport-specific frames relates to safeguarding as a prognosis. In addition to being believed to have an actual preventative effect on abuse, safeguarding was presumed to positively influence reputation as well as sport participation:

> Having the safe sport environment is critical because that acts as an attracting component. And, at the same time, it also acts as a deterring component. (Sport leader 4, man)

When we tell [parents] that we have well trained people, people that are responsible and ready to ensure the safety of children, (…) we get support.' (Sport leader 6, man)

Basically, you don't want a parent to come and say to you "I left this responsibility in your hands, and you failed." I think that tarnishes the image of the club. (Sport leader 5, man)

The accounts above illustrate a perceived link between safeguarding and participation, based on the idea that parents would gain increased trust in sport leaders and thus be comfortable allowing their children to participate. This causal explanation was troubled, however, by sport leaders indicating other reasons than concern for abuse as explanations for limited parental support:

One thing you'd find, their set-up, our nature here, whenever a child is doing something, [the parents] believe they have to benefit from that. (…) In terms of money and other things, you know. And when they don't see that, it becomes a big challenge to them. They'd rather stop their children [from participating]. (Sport leader 9, man)

This and similar interview passages positioned the (lack of) instrumental value of sport as an alternative reason for why some parents restrict their children's sport participation. Concern about abuse appears to constitute but one part of this picture, thus indicating that other challenges might be relevant to address to stimulate greater sport participation. Even so, the overall impression was that sport coaches and leaders were motivated to prevent abuse in sport and to do so through safeguarding – partly because of its perceived congruence with sport goals and values.

Master Frames

In addition to sport-specific frames, wider master frames were sometimes alluded to as a way of motivating safe sport engagement. The sport leaders demonstrated concern for children's welfare and engagement with issues such as health and gender:

Because we are parents. Above all. We look at these as our children. (Sport leader 5, man)

We do a lot of talk, pep talks on various cross-cutting issues, issues of gender-based violence, which is a big thing in the country at the moment. (…) Every day you are seeing cases of a child being defiled, a child being beaten, coming from a bad home, wife battery and all those cases, rape issues and whatnot. Those have been very common. So, we do a lot of education on those issues. [Also on] HIV/AIDS, which is a big thing in the country again. (Sport leader 10, man)

These quotes speak of a 'natural' inclination towards protecting and caring for children and how sport leaders cannot consider themselves separated from these issues. Indeed, they support the notion that sport leaders accept a wider societal role for sport beyond sport participation and performance (cf. Coalter, 2007). Alongside significant attention towards human rights and gender issues in the local context, assuming such a role gives NSAs an opportunity to demonstrate that they are responsible social institutions, thus positioning themselves as attractive to social justice-oriented funders.

The association between gender and abuse was emphasised in the interviews. The interviewee from NIF commented that the union with gender issues created a 'real push' for the safe sport agenda and 'allow[ed] it to be moved along faster, rather than having it stand alone'. The link to gender (and sport for all) was also described as a central part of NIF's motivation to focus on safe sport in the first place: 'How can we bring in all these women and not have a safe environment?' (NIF leader). Furthermore, the previously mentioned report on gender-based violence in Zambian sport (Fasting et al., 2015) can also be viewed as a step towards building motivation for safe sport, not least by establishing *gender-based* violence as a relevant and pervasive problem in Zambian sport and cementing the attachment to the gender agenda. A sport leader shared how the

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report had affected his view of the safe sport diagnosis: 'During the survey we had with NIF, we came to realise that this harassment really takes place in certain sport' (Sport leader 4, man).

With evidence of abuse within the sport sector, sport leaders are presumably more likely to accept that abuse is relevant to them, thus strengthening the impression that abuse falls within their area of responsibility. The interviewee from NIF also described how they worked to foster local ownership to safe sport, for example by not imposing finalised policy documents but by offering assistance with the NSAs' policy development. This links back to the strategies used by NIF, in which working together and encouraging local ownership of the safe sport agenda was described as central. Taken together, motivation to address abuse in sport, and specifically to address it through safeguarding, came across as quite convincing, not least through resonance with master frames and sport-specific frames.

Discussion

By focusing on cultural framing within social movement theory, we have elucidated aspects that eased the placing of safe sport on the policy agenda in Zambian sport associations. Potential hurdles for political mobilisation against abuse in sport included perceived conflicts with other priorities and values in sport organizations (e.g. Garratt et al., 2013; Taylor et al., 2016), a general reluctance to embrace new regulations and initiatives in sport (Brackenridge and Rhind, 2014), and the possibility of interpreting safeguarding initiatives as post-colonial demands from global north agents (Rhind et al., 2015). While the funding conditions offered by NIF was no doubt a strong incentive for the NSAs to place safe sport on the policy agenda, the cultural framing for safe sport seems to have quieted some of the possible conflicts surrounding this topic. More specifically, we suggest that the framing of safeguarding as a seemingly practicable solution coupled with its resonance with both sport-specific priorities and wider rights frames played a

central part in this. After discussing these three aspects of cultural framing for safe sport, we turn to the conspicuously limited postcolonial critique within the interviews. Here, we draw attention to the locally grounded features of the safe sport agenda. For, as we recall, successful political mobilization is contingent on an enabling political opportunity structure and effective mobilizing actors in addition to a relevant and appealing cultural framing of the issue (Tarrow, 1994). Lastly, we discuss the possible implications of our findings for the literature on safeguarding in sport (and SfD) as well as their relevance for politicisation of sport issues.

Cultural framing for safe sport

First, the perception of safeguarding as a solution constituted a key aspect of the cultural framing for safe sport. When faced with a complex problem, it is likely that the mere availability of a widely endorsed solution would lower the NSAs' threshold for taking on this responsibility (cf. DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Further, that safeguarding regulations were believed to be an effective approach for protecting athletes positions abuse as a problem that is within the NSAs' capacity to do something about. Second, we argue that the resonance between safeguarding regulations and sport goals forms a central part of the expressed support for safe sport. Not only was abuse viewed as detrimental to performance, but safeguarding policies were framed as a way of building a prosocial image for sport. These aspects of the prognosis were viewed to harmonise well with sport-specific goals, thus providing NSAs with strong incentives for supporting safeguarding regulations in sport. While considering safeguarding as helpful for protecting coaches from false allegations of abuse could motivate support for regulations, it also indicates that Zambian sport is not free from worries concerning intergenerational interactions similar to what has been documented in Western societies (Duggan and Piper, 2013). This impression was

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strengthened by sport leaders endorsing defensive and risk-conscious practices, such as not being alone with athletes.

Third, we draw attention to the association with master frames such as gender and children's welfare. This connection, we suggest, highlights the moral connotations of the safe sport agenda alongside a normative push towards adopting safeguarding regulations. That is, the focus within this framing appears to be shifted towards NSAs' moral positioning regarding abuse (in sport). As an effect, it could become difficult for sport leaders to express commitment to fighting abuse in sport without also expressing support for safeguarding as an approach. When a problem is being delivered with a prescribed response attached, Piper et al. (2013; 595-6) writes, 'critics of the methods employed [risk] being understood or portrayed as being indifferent to the problem itself'. As such, the moral dimensions of safe sport may, at least partly, explain why alternative approaches to tackling abuse or concerns for unintended or unwanted consequences of safeguarding did not constitute prominent themes in our interviews.

Political opportunity structure and mobilizing actors

So far, we have presented three aspects of the cultural framing that we believe were critical in garnering support for safe sport within the Zambian NSAs in this study. Next, we briefly consider the role of the political opportunity structure and central mobilizing actors for safe sport, particularly in relation to minimal postcolonial critique expressed in the interviews. As noted in the introduction, a network of local mobilizing actors with an interest in promoting gender and anti-violence in and through sport formed a strong basis for promoting the 'safe sport' agenda. This coalition included representatives from the government, the ZNOC, various NSAs, NOWSPAR and other SfD organizations. In that relation, it might not be surprising that safe sport was perceived as a locally anchored agenda. Such a view shone through when one sport

leader expressed, in relation to the 'gender-based violence'-report (Fasting et al., 2015), that sport leaders in Zambia 'had to believe the results *because* the research was done by local people' (authors' emphasis). Apparently, the involvement of local organizations in recruiting and conducting the research granted the report local legitimacy. The quote seems to indicate that postcolonial critique of this cause might have been more prominent if the research had been viewed exclusively as an 'outsider' project. The importance of local ownership and participation for the political mobilisation for safe sport is thus shown: As seemingly a locally grounded endeavour, postcolonial reservations may have been displaced as valid objections.

We should not preclude the possibility, however, that the interviewees to a larger degree would have voiced critical comments about what Rhind et al. (2015) describes as the northern origin of safeguarding if the interviews had been conducted by local researchers. Perceiving an association between the researchers and the donor organization or being cautious not to offend the researcher by critical comments on their work, might have served to limit critique of outsider engagement with safe sport. Even so, this observation should inspire reflections about the need to manage impressions within a climate of accountability and liability (cf. Gilbert et al., 2011). In a policy environment where sport is considered part of the solution to Zambia's development challenges (Banda, 2010) and demonstrating dedication to social goals beyond sport provision is regarded important for prospective funders (Kay, 2012), commitment to safe sport and, by extension, human rights, can be viewed as a strategically sensible choice for NSAs. Moreover, the interviews show that this agenda can harmonise well with the NSAs' own interests, both in terms of preoccupation with child welfare and gender issues, on the one hand, and sport-specific priorities such as participation and performance, on the other.

Implications for safeguarding in sport

As cultural framing emphasises some elements of an issue while simultaneously deemphasizing others (Benford and Snow, 2000), we find it relevant to ask which aspects of safe sport are being moved to the background. Especially because of 'reasonable' inhibitions to voicing criticism against safeguarding, as suggested above, it is pertinent to draw attention to the narratives that troubled the apparently dominating perspective on safeguarding regulations as a positive development. In our case, this included NSAs' challenges beyond harassment and abuse (e.g. facilities and injuries) and concerns about scarce resources for policy implementation. The cultural framing for safe sport that emerged yields an image of safeguarding regulations as rather unpolitical and consensual (cf. Dougherty and Hode, 2016). This may serve to stifle conflicts inherent in the issue and obstruct critical and constructive discussions of safety and safeguarding in sport and SfD. To avoid this situation, we venture that engaging with the concerns raised in relation to safeguarding regulations could facilitate circumvention of certain unintended and unwanted consequences. As pointed to elsewhere, such consequences could include fostering a 'culture of fear and mistrust' (Taylor et al., 2016; 184) that stands to threaten healthy coach-athlete engagement, sport-related outcomes and the psychosocial safety of sport (e.g. Öhman and Quennerstedt, 2017). At least if 'safety' is considered to be more than the mere protection from harm (cf. Spaaij and Schulenkorf, 2014), commitment to the goals and ambitions of the safe sport agenda presumably includes taking challenges to the child protection metanarrative into account. A related question is whether focusing on safeguarding regulations might steer researchers and practitioners' attention towards managing (risk of) abuse rather than attending to the causes of abuse. A final caution is that, while having safeguarding policies in place might raise broader

awareness of abuse in sport, they do not necessarily guarantee that the intended progress towards safe sport will follow (cf. Piper et al., 2013).

Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this article was to examine how 'safe sport' is captured, presented and understood in Zambian sport, within the context of transnational sport for development partnerships. By employing social movement theory, we have shown how safe sport was culturally framed in ways that may have facilitated political mobilization. This included a morally evocative diagnosis, a clear and practicable prognosis and motivation grounded in both moral responsibility and sport-related considerations. While highlighting the relevance of cultural framing for political mobilisation, we have also attempted to situate this case in relation to the political opportunity structure and central mobilizing actors for safe sport in Zambia. By doing so, local anchoring of the agenda alongside a favourable policy climate emerged as significant conditions for support of formalized safeguarding in sport.

Moreover, our findings show that motivation for a concise and rational-seeming prognosis can facilitate political mobilization of an issue despite a relatively unclear diagnosis. As expressed in the interviews, motivation for the solution could be garnered even when there was ambivalence about the extent of the problem in sport. The role of conditional funding for this eventuality should not be underestimated, of course, as it can function to circumvent some steps in local decision-making processes and favour the interests of some groups vis-à-vis others. The advantages of being able to deploy conditional funding as a strategy, then, reinforces the significance of resourceful mobilizing actors and allies for political mobilisation. Moreover, the morality of the issue coupled with a policy climate where accountability and public image plays a significant role (Kay, 2012) arguably works together in promoting adoption of dominant

organizational approaches in sport. If the issue or the solution also harmonises well with sport

goals, resistance to some elements of the solution may escape from critical scrutiny. Our

observations thus support the claim that sport-specific resonance is a central mechanism for the

politicisation of issues in sport (Seippel et al., 2018).

Notes

[1] This is to say that many sport organizations at the international and national level have safeguarding policies, not to make a claim that safeguarding has succeeded in political mobilization everywhere. Also, the state of implementation still varies considerably across different contexts and sport associations (Lang and Hartill, 2014).

[2] To clarify, in this article, 'safe sport' refers to the desired outcome whilst 'safeguarding' denotes formalised organizational strategies to achieve safe sport.

[3] Benford and Snow (2000) speak of 'collective action frames' in the context of social movements. In this article, however, we follow Seippel et al. (2018) in using the term 'cultural frames' to denote interpretative frames that are not necessarily related to social movements.

[4] In the context of this article, "NIF" refers to their international sport for development department, funded partly by NIF centrally and partly by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad).

[5] NGO is short for non-governmental organizations.

[6] Football and elite sport receives most of the government funding for sport in Zambia, and urban areas are prioritised above rural areas (Banda, 2010). The interviewees in this study related that only athletes participating at international tournaments (i.e. elite athletes) had health insurance.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary in Norwegian

Appendix 2: Research Approval

Appendix 3: Information Letter to Research Participants

Appendix 4: Interview Guide for Athletes

Appendix 5: Interview Guide for Sport Leaders

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Sammendrag

«Safeguarding» i idrett viser til policy og praksis rettet mot å ivareta idrettsutøvere og hindre at de blir utsatt for vold eller misbruk i idrettssammenheng. I senere år har safeguarding fått fotfeste innenfor idrettsorganisasjoner i en rekke land. I noen tilfeller har safeguarding-policy også blitt integrert som en del av internasjonale idretts- og utviklingssamarbeid. Samarbeidet mellom idrettsorganisasjoner i Zambia og Norges Idrettsforbund og Olympiske og Paralympiske Komité (NIF) utgjør et eksempel.

Hensikten med dette doktorgradsprosjektet er å lære om mulighetene og begrensningene som ligger i formalisert safeguarding i zambiske idrettsorganisasjoner, sett i lys av deres samarbeid med NIF. Forskningsspørsmålet som undersøkes er: «Hvordan forstås trygghet og safeguarding i organisert idrett i Zambia?» Det empiriske materialet i studien er intervjuer med idrettsledere, trenere og utøvere i zambisk idrett så vel som deltakende observasjon i to damelag. Forskningsfunnene er presentert i fire artikler som belyser ulike sider ved forskningsspørsmålet.

Artikkel 1 fokuserer på forståelser av trygghet i idrett og i Zambia mer generelt. Den viser at idrettsledere, trenere og utøvere i hovedsak betraktet idretten som en trygg arena for ungdom sammenliknet med andre arenaer. Likevel rettet de kritiske blikk mot enkelte aspekter ved idretten, særlig aggressiv treneradferd, usunne utøveridealer og muligheten for utnyttelse innen asymmetriske maktforhold. På bakgrunn av disse funnene påpekte vi en mulig konflikt mellom tanken om «safe sport» og en idrettskultur som fremmer idealene «raskere, høyere, sterkere».

Artikkel 2 tar for seg fenomenet transaksjonssex, et tema som har vært lite diskutert i litteraturen om safeguarding, men som utøvere og trenere ofte nevnte som en risikopraksis for unge kvinner. Artikkelen viser også hvordan sosiale nettverk i idretten kan være trygghetsskapende. Det kom frem i intervjuene at eldre utøvere bidro med ulike former for støtte til sine yngre lagvenninner med mål om å styre de i retning trygge og forsvarlige livsvalg. Artikkelen konkluderer med at også gråsonepraksiser som transaksjonssex bør tematiseres i arbeid med safeguarding.

Artikkel 3 utforsker barrierer idrettsutøvere kan oppleve når de vurderer å rapportere misbruk via rapporteringskanaler i idretten. Forskningsdeltakerne uttrykte bekymring for at rapportering kunne føre til straff, mistro, ryktespredning og ekskludering fra idrettslaget. Rapportering framstår derfor som krevende og risikabelt. Artikkelen viser også hvordan utøvernes begrensede makt over og innflytelse på avgjørelser som rammer deres egen idrettsdeltakelse blir et hinder for å rapportere. I lys av disse funnene fremstår det som utilstrekkelig å belage seg på rapporteringsmekanismer i idretten som eneste kilde til avdekking av misbruk.

Artikkel 4 undersøker faktorer som bidro til at en politikk for safeguarding ble innført i zambisk idrett. Det analytiske grepet er hentet fra studier av sosiale bevegelser og «kulturell innramming» (framing). Idrettslederne i studien ga uttrykk for at safeguarding lot seg forene med andre målsettinger for

idretten og var i tråd med deres moralske ansvar ovenfor idrettsutøvere. Samtidig vurderte de formalisert safeguarding som en effektiv tilnærming for å bekjempe misbruk i idretten. Artikkelen viser også at politisk mobilisering mot misbruk i zambisk idrett var mulig gjennom et sterkt nettverk av lokale aktører som jobbet med likestilling i forbindelse med idrett.

Denne avhandlingen retter oppmerksomhet mot hvordan fattigdomsrelatert sårbarhet rammer idrettsutøvere. Den viser hvordan trygghet og safeguarding i idretten kan forstås på ulike måter avhengig av kontekst og perspektiv. At safeguarding-arbeid lar seg forene med andre mål og ambisjoner i zambisk idrett, samt har lokale forkjempere, er forhold som bidrar til at safeguarding kan bli en integrert praksis i zambisk idrett. Ressursmangler samt konkurrerende oppgaver og problemområder i idretten er reelle begrensninger. Denne avhandlingen har tatt for seg hvordan sikkerhet og safeguarding forstås i en oppstartsfase. Hvordan safeguarding i idrett vil fungere på lang sikt vil avhenge av hvordan arbeidet gjøres i praksis. Uansett sender en uttalt politikk om «trygg idrett» et viktig budskap om å ivareta idrettsutøvere og stå opp mot misbruk i idretten.

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Gerd Marie Solstad
Seksjon for kultur og samfunn
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Postboks 4014 Ullevål stadion
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Vår dato: 14.08.2015   Vår ref:44052 / 3 / AGL   Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 13.07.2015. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

44052	*Safe sport first? Exploring policies and practices to ensure safe sport in Zambia through international development cooperation.*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Norges idrettshøgskole, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Gerd Marie Solstad*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.
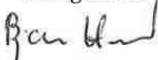
Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 01.09.2018, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Bjørn Henrichsen

Audun Løvlie

Audun Løvlie tlf: 55 58 23 07
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Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Utvalget informeres skriftlig og muntlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Det norske informasjonsskrivet er godt utformet. Informasjonsskriv på engelsk må tilføye samme dato for prosjektslutt og anonymisering som det norske.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger Norges idrettshøgskole sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet. Dersom personopplysninger skal lagres på mobile enheter, bør opplysningene krypteres tilstrekkelig.

Forventet prosjektslutt er 01.09.2018. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres.
Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes.
Det gjøres ved å:
- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)
- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)
- slette digitale lyd-/bilde- og videoopptak

Request for participation

Safe sport for all? The establishment of safeguarding systems within Norwegian "Sport for Development" cooperation in Zambia

Purpose of the research project

The purpose of this PhD research project is to explore how "safe sport" is understood and practiced in the context of the Norwegian - Zambian sport partnership, and how this work affects the safety of athletes. The project is conducted by Gerd Marie Solstad, PhD student from the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.

Participation in the research project

You are being asked to participate because you, as a coach, can provide valuable insights into this topic.

To learn about safe sport in Zambia, the researcher intends to attend a number of practice sessions with you and your team over the course of ca. three week. She also intends to return the following year to attend practices for another three weeks. If you agree to participate in the research project, you will also be asked to take part in an interview of ca. 1 hour, with a follow-up interview scheduled for the return visit.

The interview will focus on positive and negative aspects of sport, barriers to participation and perceptions on safety in sport. The interview will be recorded with a tape recorder and transcribed. The researcher will also take handwritten notes from the practice sessions.

What happens to the information about you?

All personal information will be handled confidentially and anonymously, and only the researcher responsible for the project will have access to transcripts and audio files from the interview. The final research publication will not contain any personal information, and the project will be concluded in September 2018.

Voluntary participation

Participation in the study is voluntary, and you can also choose to withdraw from the interview or the research project if you no longer wish to participate. You can do this without sharing your reason to drop out, and without consequences of any kind.

The research project has been approved by the Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research, the Norwegian Social Science Data Service.

If you would like more information about the research project, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher, Ms. Gerd Marie Solstad on email (g.m.solstad@nih.no) or phone (+ 47 90 18 22 57).

Thank you for your participation!

Written consent to participation in the research project

I have received information about the research project, and am willing to participate.

…………………………………………………………..

(Name and date)

Interview Guide for Athletes

ABOUT

- Where do you stay? What kind of house do you have?
- And you live with your family? How big?
- What do your parents do? What kind of work?
- What do you do on a normal day? (school? work?)
- What kind of thoughts do you have about your future? What do you want to do?

1. **BACKGROUND QUESTIONS ABOUT SPORT**
   - How long have you been playing sport?
   - Why did you join the club?
   - What does it mean to you to play *your sport*?
   - What is the best part of being an athlete?
   - What is the most challenging part of being an athlete?
     - o Do you think it is different for girls?
     - o Do you think it is more difficult for girls?
   - How often do you have practice? And matches?
   - Do you attend every time? If not – what keeps you from going to practice?
   - How long do you think you will do sport?
   - What is your motivation for participating? Do you have ambitions to play at a high level?

2. **PERCEPTIONS ON SAFE SPORT**
   - What do you think about when I say "safe sport"?
   - What characterizes a safe sport environment for you?
   - Do you feel safe when you are doing sport in your club?
   - What makes you feel safe when you are doing sport?
     - o Friends on the team, nice coach, equal treatment of the athletes etc.
   - Do you feel more or less safe in sport than other arenas in life (e.g. school, church, home)
   - Do you think parents in general view sport as a safe arena for their children?
   - Which issues are you aware of that could be harmful to athletes?
   - What kind of things could make sport participation feel unsafe?
   - Would you say that the sport environment in Zambia in general is safe?
   - Would you say that your club has a safe sport environment?
   - Do you think athletes experience sport as safe?

3. **"BEFORE" (risk factors etc.)**
   - What makes a person vulnerable to harm?
     - o Gender, age, poverty, family situation etc.
   - Are there specific situations in which you feel less safe?
     - o E.g. to-from away matches, changing rooms, at tournaments etc.

4. **"DURING" (approach, measures, action...)**
   - Has there been any awareness training on safety issues in your club?
   - Do you have any rules for behaviour in your club? Perhaps a code of conduct?
     o For whom?
     o When do they apply? In general, trainings, away matches or tournaments
     o What are the rules about?
     o What do the rules say?
   - Whose responsibility is it that everyone feels safe and taken care of in your team?
   - Looking back three years – have you noticed any changes since then?

Case 1: You hear that a 14-year-old girl on one of the teams in your club is in a relationship with her adult coach.

   o How do you think this situation would be perceived by athletes?
   o What should they do?
   o What would your peers say should happen to the athlete?
   o What would your peers say should happen to the coach?
   o Would athletes trust that this would be taken seriously by sports leaders if it were reported?
   o What if the girl says they are in love and are going to get married – does that change what athletes would think about the situation?
   o What if the girl was 15 and the coach 19? What if the coach was 35? And the girl 19?
   o What if the athlete were a boy and the coach a lady?

5. **"AFTER" (response, reactions...)**

   - Do you have someone you feel comfortable talking to in your club if you have a problem?
     o What role does this person have?
     o Would you talk to this person if your concern is within sport?
     o Would you talk to this person fi your concern is stemming from outside sport (at home or in school)?
   - What could keep an athlete from sharing their concerns?
   - Do you feel like you would be taken seriously?

Interview Guide for Sport Leaders

1. **BACKGROUND QUESTIONS ABOUT SPORT**
   - How did you get interested in sport?
   - How long have you worked here?
   - What kind of work do you do?

2. **PERCEPTIONS ON SAFE SPORT (IN GENERAL IN ZAMBIA)**
   - What do you think about when I say "safe sport"?
   - Which issues are you aware of that could be harmful to athletes?
   - What do you see as the threats to a safe sport environment?
   - Do you think athletes experience sport as safe?
   - What kind of things would you think is important for an athlete to feel safe?
     o Different for boys and girls?
   - Would you say sport is more or less safe compared to other arenas in life?
     o What is different e.g. compared to the school environment?
   - Do you think parents in general view sport as a safe arena for their children?
   - How do parents normally think about sport?
     o Is it valued?
     o Different for girls and boys?
     o Difference based on what type of sport?
   - What about husbands?
     o Problem of getting permission to participate?

3. **"BEFORE" (risk factors etc.)**
   - What makes a person vulnerable to harm?
     o Gender, age, poverty, family situation, hierarchies, disability, (lgbt) etc.
   - Are there specific situations in which athletes are more vulnerable?
     o E.g. to-from away matches, changing rooms, at tournaments etc.
   - Would you say there is agreement in your federation when it comes to dos and don'ts?
     o E.g. coach-athlete relationship
     o Coaching behaviours such as screaming and name-calling
       ▪ Different for boys and girls?
   - Among athletes, do you think there is agreement?
     o Do you have the understanding that athletes understand their rights? Or that athletes understand what they are not to do?

4. **"DURING" (approach, measures, action...) – IN THE FEDERATION**
   - In what way are you involved with work related to safe sport?
   - What are you doing as an organization to ensure safety of athletes?
     o Policiy? CoC? What does it cover?
     o Training of staff? What kind of training (content of courses)?
     o Awareness training for athletes? Background checks? Reporting systems?
     o Designated person in charge?
   - How did this topic appear on your agenda?
     o When?
     o Who decides what is important to focus on, or what needs to be done?
     o How do you intend to implement your policy measures going forward?

o Do you have specific focus or priority areas?
- What do you see as the main challenges in your work with safe sport?
- Whose responsibility should it be to ensure that the sports environment is free from harm to athletes?
- Are you working with other organizations, e.g. UNICEF or Save the Children?
- How do your safe sport activities align with the international sport federation?
- Do you think this work has an effect? Does it contribute to a safer environment?
- Any negative aspects of doing this work?
    o Takes time from core business?
    o Creating suspicion rather than trust?
- Do you think it is important to explicitly focus on this?
- Do you feel like your club does too much or too little on this topic?
- Do you have any form of evaluation for the work that you are doing with safe sport?
    o How do you follow up?
    o Are there challenges to evaluating this kind of work?
    o Can its impact be measured?
- Looking back three years – what do you think has changed since then?
- 5 years from now – what would you like to have changed?
- Do you have a plan for future steps with ensuring safe space?

5. **"AFTER" (response, reactions...)**

Case 1: You hear that a girl on one of your teams is in a relationship with her coach.

    o How do you think this situation would be perceived by sports leaders?
    o What should they do?
    o What would sports leaders say should happen to the athlete?
    o What would sports leaders say should happen to the coach?
    o Would such a situation be taken seriously by sports leaders if it were reported?
    o What if the girl says they are in love and are going to get married – does that change what sports leaders would think about the situation?
    o What if the girl was 15 and the coach 19? What if the coach was 35? And the girl 19?
    o What if the athlete were a boy and the coach a lady?

- What happens if an athlete or employee comes to a coach or a sports leader with a concern? Please walk me through the steps.
- Has this happened in your organization? How was it handled?
- Do you think athletes feel comfortable to share their concerns?
- What do you think could keep athletes from reporting a negative incident?

Interview Guide – Focus Groups with Athletes

- Structure: 1) Introductions, 2) General questions about sport participation for girls in Zambia, 3) discussion about three made-up scenarios that could occur in sport.
- Anonymous, encouraged to speak openly and freely

1) INTRODUCTION

Going around the circle: Please introduce yourself by telling us 1) your first name, 2) your age and 3) how long you have played your sport.

2) GENERAL QUESTIONS

- What is it like to be an athlete in Zambia today?
- Would you say that sport is generally viewed as something positive?
    o Different for girls than boys?
    o Does it matter what type of sports you do?
- What do your parents think about you playing sport?
    o Is it different for girls than for boys?
    o Do you think it is more difficult for girls than for boys to participate in sport?
- Do you feel like you sometimes have to choose between sports and other things (like education, work or housework)?
- What can get in the way of doing sport?
- If you fail to make practice, what is normally the reason?
    o Are there different barriers for girls than for boys?

CASES FOR DISCUSSION

Case 1: Athlete-coach relationship

*Lilah is 14 years old, and plays *sport* for a local club. She loves being an athlete and is very talented. Her coach, Joseph, is a nice and dedicated 20-year old coach who seems to genuinely care about his players. He has always shown Lilah a lot of attention and given her compliments. One day you hear that Lilah and Joseph are in a relationship.*

- What do you think?
- What would you do?
- Would you tell someone? Who?
- What would be reasons to tell? What would be reasons to keep quiet?
- What should happen to the athlete?
- What should happen to the coach?
- Do you think this situation would be taken seriously if it were reported?
- What if the girl says they are in love and are going to get married?
- What if the girl was 15 and the coach 17?
- What if the coach was 35? And the girl 19?
- What if the athlete were a boy and the coach a lady?

Case 2: Harassment / bullying

You arrive at practice one afternoon and witness that a group of boys on the *sport* team are standing in a circle around a boy on their team. You know the boy as Michael. He is pushed around and called mean and insulting names by his teammates. You see that he is visibly upset. Their coach is not there to witness the episode.

You see that a girl in your club is being pushed around and called insulting names by her teammates.

- What would **you** think about this episode?
- What would you do?
- Would you tell someone? Who?
- What would be reasons to tell?
- What would be reasons to keep quiet?
- What if this has happened several times before?
- What if this was a once-off episode?
- What could be the reasons for Michael being picked on? Could it be that they had a legitimate reason for pushing him around?
- Do you think this situation would be taken seriously if it were reported?
- What should happen to the harassers?
- Would it be any different if the victim were a girl rather than a boy? Would it be more or less serious?

Case 3: Physical violence at home

One day after a match that you lost, you notice that Maggie is sitting by herself, crying. You guess that it is because she is upset with her own performance, and go over to her wanting to cheer her up. You are surprised when she reluctantly tells you that she has a problem at home. The day before, she had an argument with her father. He yelled at her for spending too much time on sport and not enough time helping her mother at home. Now she is scared that she will get a beating when she comes home.

- What would you do?
- Would you tell someone? Who?
- What would be reasons to tell someone?
- What would be reasons to keep quiet?
- Whose responsibility would it be to take action in this situation?
- Should the club intervene?
- Do you think the club would take this issue seriously if you reported it?
- What if Maggie begs you not to tell anyone?
- What if Maggie's father is a respected man in your community?
- Knowing that Maggie's family depends on her father's income to survive, has three younger siblings and an ill mother; would that change what you would do?