

Sexual abuse, safeguarding and prevention in sport

Dr Ian Mahoney (Centre for Crime, Offending, Prevention and Engagement, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, UK). [Ian Mahoney \(0000-0003-0313-3418\) - ORCID](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0313-3418)

Kirsty Teague (Centre for Criminology and Social Policy, University of Derby, Derby, UK).

Michelle Cunliffe (Centre for Crime, Offending, Prevention and Engagement, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, UK).

Professor Belinda Winder (Centre for Crime, Offending, Prevention and Engagement, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, UK).

Abstract

This chapter offers a critique of key issues around safeguarding and prevention in relation to sexual abuse in sport. Central to the chapter is a consideration of the prevalence and incidence of sexual abuse in sport and responses from a number of governing bodies around the world. Ramifications of the findings from these reviews go beyond the respective disciplines for which they were produced and point towards the need for greater joined up thinking and sharing of practice between sports and governing bodies to support and protect potential victims and survivors of abuse. Simultaneously, we offer a critique of the change in approach to risk management which has occurred in recent years and the implications of this for coach-athlete relationships.

Key words: Sexual abuse, safeguarding, risk, sport, athletics, gymnastics, football, ice hockey

Introduction

As is discussed throughout this book, sexual harassment, abuse and violence can have profound impacts upon individuals and communities both in the short term, at the point where the act is perpetrated, and in the medium and longer term – not just for victim/survivors, but also for the people causing harm and the wider community itself. It is known to occur across society, and sporting communities are no different in this regard, with some arguing that sport is one of a number of arenas that can provide opportunities for abuse to occur by virtue of close and personal coach and athlete relationships (Royal Commission into Child Sexual Abuse 2017, IICSA 2022). Awareness of sexual abuse and the need for effective safeguarding was arguably neglected for a long time (Brackenridge 2001). More recently, however, there has been growing awareness and consideration of sexual harassment, abuse and violence within sporting communities and contexts, particularly following a series of high-profile scandals in sport around the world. In 2010, abuse in US Swimming was identified. Meanwhile, in 2015, allegations emerged of abuse perpetrated by former USA Gymnastics team doctor Larry Nassar who was found to have abused hundreds of gymnasts between 1997 and 2016 which resulted in a \$380 million legal settlement between US Gymnastics and the victims and survivors of his abusive actions (The Guardian 2021). Known and well documented cases of contemporary and historic abuse in sporting communities are not confined to any one sport or country and examples include: Canadian Ice Hockey (Canadian Hockey League 2022), football in Britain (Sheldon 2022), Canada (Hall 2023), Gabon (Aarons and Molina 2022) and the USA (Yates 2022), gymnastics in the USA (McPhee and Dowden 2018) and UK (Whyte

2022), athletics in the UK (Mendick and Rumsby 2016) and rowing in the USA (Lutz 2023). Elsewhere, the British newspaper 'The Guardian' now has an entire section of its online presence dedicated to the reporting of 'Sexual Abuse in Sport' (The Guardian 2023), and at the 2020 Tokyo Olympics the German women's gymnastics team chose to wear full length unitards rather than leotards in protest against the sexualisation of female bodies within sport and society (see Jewkes 2013 and Mahoney et al 2022 for a broader discussion on this topic); a choice which some have linked to the impact of the US Gymnastics sexual abuse scandal (see, for example, BBC 2021 Mansoor 2021) indicating a wider awareness and demand for reform within and without sporting communities.

What emerges from these cases and the reviews which have followed - and which are discussed later in this chapter - is that sexual abuse in sport is not confined to any one group. People affected including children and adults, athletes and coaches, across genders, from grass roots and recreational levels (IICSA 2022) through to professional and elite competitions. This increased awareness and reporting of sexual harassment, abuse and violence within sporting communities which, as shall be discussed further in the chapter, share some characteristics with 'closed communities'. This has in turn led to an increase in wider societal concerns around the potential for abuse within these communities and associated prevention and safeguarding practices. This chapter will explore key developments which underpin such concerns, and wider experiences. These include a review of existing literature focused upon what is already known about the extent of sexual abuse in sport, consideration of barriers to reporting of abuse, and what is being done to improve safeguarding practices. Over and above this we consider the implications of the findings from six independent reports into abuse (including sexual abuse) across Australia, Canada, the UK and the USA. Within the chapter we will also consider how prevailing attitudes to sexual abuse and sport are representative of a broader shift in society from a probabilistic risk paradigm to one focused around possibilistic attitudes towards risk and risk management, and the importance of this for coaches, athletes and governing bodies alike.

Sexual Abuse and Sport

Sexual abuse in closed communities such as a sporting groups is notoriously difficult to research (Vertommen et al 2015). This difficulty is evidenced by the fact that the proportion of athletes across all sports who have estimated to have experienced sexual harassment range from 19% to 92%, while sexual abuse victimisation estimates ranging from 2% to 49% (see Mountjoy et al 2016). Much of this variation has been attributed to the methodologies and study designs employed across studies (Ibid). Despite this, it has been argued that sexual abuse in sporting communities occurs in contexts not dissimilar to others (e.g., religious communities, healthcare settings and schools) but that the necessitation of physical contact in many sports creates greater potential for abuse to occur (Darling et al 2020). Sexual abuse in sport encompasses a wide range of behaviours including grooming, sexual relationships, indecent exposure, explicit comments, improper contact and the showing pornographic material with unwanted touching, verbal sexual harassment, voyeurism, exhibitionism with unwanted touching to rape (including attempted rape) being the most reported forms of abuse (Vertommen et al. 2015).

While the figures vary from country to country, sport to sport, and cohort to cohort, there are some studies which provide particularly interesting insights given the context of this

chapter. Sølvsberg et al (2022) reported that a fifth of the school age and adolescent respondents who participated in their study reported that the sexual harassment and abuse that they had experienced within a twelve-month timeframe was perpetrated by a trainer, teacher or member of the coaching team within their school. Meanwhile, Vertommen et al (2015) highlighted that in 323 cases reported to a helpline set up by the Dutch National Olympic Committee and Dutch Sport Federation, 77% of the alleged perpetrators were male coaches aged between 31 and 50 years. This is a particularly significant consideration given that the perceived severity of cases of sexual harassment - and sexual assault in particular - increases where an authority figure is the perpetrator (Vertommen et al 2017). Elsewhere, a Swedish study of athletes found a typical gender imbalance in the reporting of sexual abuse (Timpka et al 2019). Eleven percent of the athletes in Timpka et al's study had experienced sexual abuse during their lifetime, with nearly four times as many females reporting that had suffered abuse than males. Of the participants who had suffered sexual abuse during their lifetime, 15% (6/40) reported that their sexual abuse was experienced specifically in an athletic setting which suggests that, while sport can play a protective role (see also Fasting, Brackenridge and Norr 2010), there is still a risk of abuse which needs to be addressed. This is especially the case at elite levels where female athletes are at greater risk of experiencing sexual harassment and abuse from within the sporting community (Mountjoy et al 2016, Timpka et al 2019, Sølvsberg et al 2022, Vertommen et al 2015, Fasting, Brackenridge and Norr 2010). The power dynamic that coaches have over both guardians and the athlete is important when understanding sexual abuse in sport. Coaches are viewed by both guardians and the athlete as a key to their success and it has been found that the more elite the athlete becomes the more vulnerable they are to sexual abuse (Kerr and Stirling, 2012). However, across the existing literature there is a consensus that the sexual abuse can be perpetrated by a variety of those who inhabit the wider support entourage beyond the coach (Sølvsberg et al 2022, Mountjoy et al 2016).

Sport like other settings can be considered as a type of closed community. Closed communities are a collective of people where joint sensitivities to the harm caused are not necessarily held (Douglas 1982 cited in Denney 2005). In a sporting context some behaviours between adults and children, in a different context, would be perceived as inappropriate. For example, close physical contact and tactile touching are a common and routine characteristic in a sporting environment. However, research with victims has demonstrated that these characteristics of sport are a way in which sexual abuse is denied by both the accused and the wider sporting community and presented as legitimate behaviours needed (e.g. touching to correct form) (Brackenridge & Fasting 2005; Darling et al., 2020). Furthermore, Owton and Sparkes (2017) examined the experiences of elite female athletes who had encountered sexual abuse in their sporting careers and emphasised how the closed nature of sporting communities and the power dynamics that pervade the communities perpetuate abuse. Sport has both psychological and social benefits and can improve the lives and wellbeing of children (Eime et al, 2013; Mountjoy et al, 2015; Unicef, 2023), however a narrative of morality and virtuousness is employed when talking about sporting communities (Hartill, 2013). These narratives impact victims' ability to seek support through fear of being disbelieved and arguably creates a culture of silence around sexual abuse (Parent & Demers, 2011; Sanderson & Weathers, 2019). Echoing findings from some religious communities around domestic violence and abuse (see Chowdhury and Winder 2022); this culture of silence can perpetuate the abuse and allow it to continue unchecked for long periods.

The impacts of sexual abuse for athletes of all ages and across a variety of sports can be profound. The impacts can include a sense of shame, substance abuse, and suicide, and difficulties in trusting and maintaining relationships with family and significant others including close relations with children, (Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse 2017a, Darling et al 2020, Sheldon 2022). Elsewhere, in a conceptual model of sexual abuse and harassment in sport, Mountjoy et al (2016) delineate between athlete impacts and organisational impacts. They note that potential impacts for athletes as being physical, cognitive, emotional, behavioural, mental health, relational, and economic. Meanwhile, organisational impacts can include reputational damage, loss of players, fans and sponsorship, reduced medal tallies, reduced public support and confidence, a loss of trust, and asset depreciation. As will be seen later in this chapter, we suggest that this can be extended further to include a potential loss of current and future coaches who have not been involved in abuse as part of wider concerns about the knock-on effect of such reputational damage upon themselves and thus an undermining of healthy and supportive coach-athlete relationships. While, as can be seen above, the extent of sexual abuse within sport can vary considerably, where cases do come to light we frequently see significant media coverage. As outlined in the opening discussions of this chapter, this is particularly the case where sexual abuse is perpetrated by coaches and authority figures, echoing Vertommen et al's (2017) finding that this can increase the perceived severity and impact of cases of sexual abuse.

Responding to abuse in sport

In response to the breadth of concerns and allegations that have arisen surrounding high-profile cases of abuse in sports, key organisations and institutions responsible for athlete and player safeguarding, safety and wellbeing have commissioned independent reviews and reports into the situations that have arisen. These organisations include the English Football Association (Sheldon 2022), US Womens Football (Yates 2022), UK Athletics (UKA) (UKA 2020), British Gymnastics (Whyte 2022), US Gymnastics (McPhee and Dowden 2018) and Canadian Ice Hockey (Canadian Hockey League 2022). Over and above this, in 2017 the Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse published its final report, while in 2020 a thematic review focused specifically on sexual abuse and sporting communities in the UK was also published (Darling et al 2020) as part of a wider analysis which saw the UK Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse publish its final report in 2022. As part of our analysis of the key issues in safeguarding, prevention and sexual abuse in sport we have explored the rationales behind these reviews, their key findings and recommendations in an attempt to identify commonalities both in terms of issues, but also responses and next steps in improving prevention and safeguarding, and attempting to reduce the potential for ongoing and future abuse and associated harms.

In each case, high profile, mediatised concerns played a role in the commissioning of the reports. This is indicative of a recognition by organisations as to the significant impact that (in line with Mountjoy et al's, 2016 findings), such allegations and wider concerns around safeguarding and prevention of abuse can have upon institutions and the reputation of sport. All of the reviews have identified areas for review, reform and improvement; some, but not all, have been highly critical of failings within institutions and organisations. This was particularly the case with regards to British Gymnastics (Whyte 2022), USA Gymnastics (McPhee and Dowden 2018) and US women's football (Yates 2022) where significant concerns were raised around persistent failings to investigate complaints and address reports

of sexual abuse, and missed opportunities to address possible ‘red flags’ around the conduct of some members and coaches. This was not however, universal and reports highlighted that good practice does already exist. For example the Sheldon (2022) Review into English Football drew attention to the progress that has been made around safeguarding in recent years, with similar commentaries included in the Quinlan Review into UKA (UKA 2020). It is important to note that while it was not necessarily the sole form of abuse being investigated in every case, concerns around sexual abuse and safeguarding were identified and documented in each of the reviews.

Significantly, each of the reviews was conducted by an independent group or individual, signifying an awareness of existing critiques of ‘closed communities’ and a desire to show that the organisations were open to independent scrutiny rather than trying to hide things from public view. This is particularly significant given that an important theme which emerged from the reports was around the culture of the sporting communities and institutions. Importantly, the reports largely cited that the organisational cultures were not set up to facilitate abuse and/or act as a barrier to the reporting of abuse, but that their cultures acted as facilitators for abuse. For instance, the Independent Review Panel exploring the Canadian Hockey League inferred that there was a culture which prioritised ‘winning at all costs’ (CHL 2022), echoing findings by McPhee and Dowden (2018) and Yates (2022) regarding the US and British gymnastics teams respectively, over player and athlete welfare and safety. Such concerns led to Whyte (2022) inferring a need for this to be considered by funding bodies in future in a nod to national competitive sport funding models which allocate resources based on the potential for competitive success. Meanwhile in US Women’s football, the survivability of the league was often seen to be the most pressing issue, with a fear of litigation from coaches also deemed to have been given greater priority in some cases (Yates 2022). It has also been suggested that many of these cultures which downplay, deprioritise or ignore safeguarding and prevention around sexual abuse are facilitated, at least in part, by poor governance and a lack of clear safeguarding policies, practices and/or accountability measures (Australian Commission on Child Sexual Abuse 2017).

The reports evidence that within each of these sporting communities, a culture of non-reporting, fuelled by a number of different factors has developed. While specific considerations appeared in relation to particular issues – such as athletes assuming that Nassar had their best interests at heart given that he was a qualified doctor – concerns around not being believed, fears of retaliation (including not being able to progress through one’s chosen sport, being transferred or ‘benched’¹) and demands for strict obedience and compliance were identified. In some cases, even where instances of abuse were reported, organisations or wider statutory agencies failed to act in a timely manner if at all (see for example McPhee and Dowden 2018, Department of Justice 2021), or employed opaque and bureaucratic processes plagued by delays which further reduced the progress of claims in proceeding (see for example McPhee and Dowden 2018). Elsewhere, there was evidence across all of the reports of a lack of clear and centralised governance or guidance around safeguarding policies and practices, and reporting procedures. This was particularly the case where responsibilities were devolved to other organisations, for example through subordinate league in Canadian Hockey (Canadian Hockey League 2022), and Home Counties Athletics Federations (HCAFs) in UKA

¹ Being moved from an active member of the team to a substitute, or not being selected at all)

(UKA 2020). This meant that guidance was at times unclear or conflicting, and that there was often a lack of accountability where organisations did not have a specified individual responsible for safeguarding and prevention of (sexual) abuse (see for example Whyte 2020, Quinlan 2022, Canadian Hockey League 2022).

A series of recommendations were made across all of the reviews which focused upon addressing institutional cultures, the development of new, centralised and consistent approaches to safeguarding and player welfare, and development of accountability and awareness. These have universally been accepted by each of the sporting organisations, indicating that they are all aware of the pressing need to address wider concerns from athletes and the public around their confidence in organisational abilities to address safeguarding and sexual abuse. This is a significant step in developing wider strategies, however the reports stop short of calling for nationwide or indeed international shared codes of conduct across all sports. This is perhaps not wholly surprising on an international level given different cultural determinants towards risk (Durodié 2017), however there are suggestions that this might be useful at a national level, particularly in the case of safeguarding children and young people given that they frequently engage in multiple sports at any one time and so they and their families find themselves needing to navigate numerous different codes of conduct, responses and responsibilities. This is however still likely to be a significant and challenging task given that it runs counter to recent trends towards the decentring of risk management under contemporary neoliberal practice, and its shifting away from being a central role of the state and towards the role of organisations and institutions (see Ansell and Baur 2018).

[Safeguarding, prevention and risk management](#)

Underpinning the recommendations within the reports is a desire to embed effective safeguarding through preventative risk management strategies (see: Ansell and Baur 2018). This is significant; such strategies require extensive surveillance, observation, and collection and reporting of data, and this is a core component of recommendations in a number of the reports including the Quinlan Review (2022) and Turnpenney Review (Canadian Hockey League 2022). One such example of this is through calls in the Turnpenney Review for the formulation and maintenance of risk registers with a view to identifying and mitigate for potential risks of abusive behaviour (Ibid). Meanwhile, there are extensive calls in reports for awareness raising activities including updating websites and sharing of the findings of reports, and the embedding of clear processes of safeguarding training for coaches, athletes and families so as to communicate the actions being taken. The flipside of this, however, is that the raising awareness is part of an information sharing activity which “is inevitably understood by both communicators and recipients, as being in part at least, a transfer of responsibility and accountability.” (Durodié 2017, p.250). In this case this means making sure that everyone – from organisations, through clubs, coaches, children and families are aware of the potential for abuse and pay attention to any possible signs. In doing so, risk mentalities become ever more pervasive and people increasingly vigilant.

This shift in responsibility for risk analysis and management mirrors a shift in wider society from more ‘probabilistic’ risk analysis and towards ‘possibilistic’ (Furedi 2009) or ‘precautionary’ (Ansell and Baur 2018) approaches. Building on his own earlier analysis of a ‘culture of fear’ which encourages the viewing of just about every human experience as being a threat to our safety and survival (Furedi 2006), Frank Furedi (2009) argues that

contemporary Western society is plagued by uncertainty, and that this has filtered through into the political and public psyche. Furedi argues that this invites “the growing influence of possibilistic thinking, which invites speculation about what can possibly go wrong. In our culture of fear, frequently what can possibly go wrong is equated with what is likely to happen.” (Ibid, 205) and the associated amplification of threat as a result. He goes on to note that this is problematic because it means that we “minimise the potential for understanding the threat.” (Ibid, p.206) that we are presented with, and stands in stark contrast to probabilistic responses which seek to calculate and manage risk and safety. This has combined with a rise in populist concern around the risks to children and young people of falling prey to so called ‘sexual predators’ (see for example Pratt 2007) which sees the inflicting of symbolic and structural (and in some cases physical) violence upon any individual convicted of a sexual offence against a child (Mahoney et al 2022) and an associated focus on child vulnerability and safety.

Managing risk in coach-athlete relationships

These risk mentalities in turn filter through into other aspects of the coaching and athlete experience. Latent within the reports and their findings are concerns around those in positions of power in relation to athletes, and particularly coaches, peers (including senior peers) and the wider staff base (for example medical assistants). The nature of sport – particularly for those who participate competitively – means that some athletes spend a lot of time with coaches and away from family to train and/or compete. This then cements the importance of coach-athlete relationships, the need for trust, but also the importance of effective and meaningful safeguarding training and processes where it can create opportunities for grooming and sexual abuse (Royal Commission on Child Sexual Abuse 2017, IICSA 2022). Existing research in relation to coach-athlete relationships and sexual violence suggests a number of key themes in relation to these shifts in response to the risks – perceived and actual – that coaches, athletes and their families consider. This is summarised in a metanalysis conducted by Gaedicke et al (2021) with themes identified including the role of power, closeness, and blurred boundaries/ambiguous role, trust, the grooming process, roles and ambiguous boundaries, consent, heteronormative constructs of sexual violence, and interpersonal and organizational power. Reflective of the wider shift in risk mentalities outlined above, Gaedicke et al (2021) note that through high profile media cases and international campaigns such as #SportToo and #CoachDontTouchMe which have sought to raise awareness of sexual violence towards athletes more generally, there has been growing public awareness and concern as well as a push for ‘no-touch’ policies to be implemented in sport. Informed by the previously discussed shift towards a possibilistic risk paradigm this approach increasingly treats people – and particularly men – who choose to willingly give up their time as volunteers, or work in close contact with children and young people with growing suspicion by the wider public (Piper, Taylor and Garratt 2012). In some cases, this suspicion is shared by existing members of the sporting community should a perceived ‘outsider’ who does not have direct ties to that community (through for example past or ongoing participation in the sport, or a familial link) seek to join and engage (Nichols, Tacon and Muir 2012). At times, this has led to coaches preferring less interaction with parents as they seek to protect themselves and reduce possibilities for conflict (O’Donnell et al 2022).

Such discourses have proven to be problematic for some coaches who are themselves adopting increasingly risk averse positions, with a growing number choosing to avoid or

significantly reduce physical contact altogether to reduce the potential for accusations of impropriety (Bringer, Brackenridge and Johnston 2002; Piper, Taylor and Garratt 2012; Pépin-Gagné and Parent 2015). This can have knock on impacts relating to both the athletes' performance and decreases in the quality of training (Bringer, Brackenridge and Johnston 2002, Piper, Taylor and Garratt 2012). However, due to the nature of many sporting activities and the need for positional support – for example for gymnasts, or field athletes when it comes to developing their posture and positioning – touch may be an integral part of the coaching-athlete relationship (Pépin-Gagné and Parent 2015). Such discourses are challenged by research which indicates that for the most part, athletes are already equipped with the knowledge to be able to identify where touch is likely to be appropriate or inappropriate (Toftegaard Nielsen, 2001; Volkwein, Schnell, Sherwood, & Livezey, 1997, Kerr et al 2015, Papaefstathiou 2015), indicating a conflict between people's approaches to risk on the one hand, and understanding of inappropriate activities and abuse on the other. This is echoed in Vertommen et al's (2015) findings indicate that it is *unwanted* functional and non-functional touching which is seen as problematic and was reported to the Dutch hotline, rather than *any* touching.

Simultaneously, Pépin-Gagné and Parent (2015) note that there is an increasingly pervasive discourse in sporting contexts regarding young people; namely that they lie and commonly make malicious, vexatious accusations. This is despite evidence showing that false accusations are rare both in wider society (Oates, 2007; Trocmé & Bala, 2005) and sporting settings (Brackenridge, Bringer, & Bishopp, 2005). This has, in turn, led to some coaching staff and sports administrators doubting the credibility of victims and also made them reluctant to report any concerns raised for fear of falsely accusing a member of staff. When combined with a lack of clarity over appropriate touching (Piper, Taylor and Garratt 2012; Pépin-Gagné and Parent 2015), this has amplified the fear of false accusations. Such concerns highlight a further complex barrier which needs to be overcome to safeguard both athletes and coaches. Knock on impacts include the changing of behaviours in such a way that coaches increasingly are encouraged to avoid being alone around children and young people such that there becomes an increasing focus on panoptic surveillance rather than athlete development (Piper, Taylor and Garratt 2012), again indicative of a shift to more possibilistic approaches to risk management which focus on protecting oneself from worse case outcomes (Durodié 2017). Elsewhere Mahoney et al (2022) have argued that vindictive and censorious responses to sexual offending against children are likely to have implications for other populations, including athletes and coaches due to a fear of adverse consequences and being treated with suspicion as appears to be the case with some coaches here.

The communication of strategies and raising awareness as to the findings and recommendations covered within these reports, and subsequent actions taken by governing bodies is significant, and needs careful consideration. As Durodié (2017, p.251) has argued, the way

“people act or respond to any particular situation is, accordingly, a product of the legacy of past events, experiences and expectations, as well as of current assumptions and evidence...Equally, risk communication does not take place in a vacuum. Those engaging in it need to be acutely attuned to the cultural mood that they project their messages into.”

This raises the question of how governing bodies, and us as a wider society, can work to develop a culture of development and support for both athletes and coaches – particularly at grass roots levels – to prevent a decline in the recruitment and retention of such volunteer coaches (see Kim et al. 2010; Hyde et al. 2014) particularly given the frequently already stated need for greater coaching and voluntary participation (Nichols, Tacon and Muir 2012). Furthermore, in response to concerns around the lack of support for coaches in their own development Hsu et al. (2013) found that any changes introduced should focus on supporting the development of autonomy rather than controlling and disciplinary frameworks which can demotivate and reduce participation. A failure to do this can have unintended impacts on coaching and its effectiveness.

Future Challenges

A key test for all of the approaches and changes outlined in the reports will be what happens next not just in those specific sports and sporting organisations, but in both other sports and globally. It is arguably a pivotal time in this regard with a heightened awareness of sexual abuse around the world, and so organisations should expect greater external scrutiny. Should the new safeguarding approaches be seen to fail early on, there is a potential challenge to their legitimacy and for a subsequent lack of trust further down the line. In what could be construed in some regards as a test of UKA's intention to show that it is working to support the interests of athletes and vulnerable individuals, former UKA coach Toni Minichiello is no longer able to hold a UKA coaching licence after a series of allegations of abuse emerged in 2022 (UKA 2022a). The abuse, which occurred over a period of fifteen years, included making inappropriate sexual references and miming sexual actions, failures to respect athletes' privacy, unwanted physical touching, and aggressive and emotionally abusive behaviours (UKA 2022b).

Perhaps problematically, Minichiello's coaching licence had already expired at the point where the case was heard, meaning that, in the view of the disciplinary panel, no sanctions could be applied directly. However, UKA advised that they would not facilitate future licensing applications from Minichiello instead (UKA 2022a). In response to this, during an interview with Dalton Grant, Minichiello stated that:

“The ban for life is not a ban from coaching. The ban for life is in perpetuity, so I'm not even allowed when I am dead to uh hold a coaching certificate which is, okay, I don't hold your coaching certificate. That doesn't mean that you can't coach. That doesn't mean you can't advise, that doesn't mean you can't support. It doesn't have that authority to it from that perspective” (Dalton Grant Academy 2022)

Meanwhile, elsewhere in the interview Minichiello stated that athletes “will use you, they will accuse you, and they'll abuse you.” (Dalton Grant Academy 2022). These statements are important on a number of levels with ramifications for both coaches, athletes, and their relationships. Firstly, as identified elsewhere in relation to problematic and abusive behaviours, the statements indicate a lack of reflexive awareness as to his own actions and their impact upon athletes, alongside a very particular, one-sided take on the coach/athlete relationship. Secondly, there is a need – again in line with other findings elsewhere - for ongoing development and support for coaches to enable the sharing of good and best practice, and the challenging of bad practice and negative attitudes, as part of their own continual coaching

development. There also remains a wider need to signpost athletes and families effectively, following good practice in place within UKA around identifying qualified and accredited coaches (UKA 2023). Meanwhile in US Gymnastics publicly available lists covering ineligible members, suspended and restricted persons (particularly around working with minors and young people), and links to state and national registries of people convicted of a sexual offence (USA Gymnastics 2023). This approach is however arguably a double edged sword; on the one hand it shows that the responsibilities of the US Gymnastics are being taken seriously with regards to safeguarding and sexual abuse, there are wider implications for the ongoing stigmatization and marginalisation of anyone alleged to have been engaged in any form of impropriety through publicly shaming them which can have significant ramifications for their ability to engage in other roles and activities away from sport and vulnerable populations (see for example Mahoney et al 2022). There are also important questions around the accuracy and effectiveness of such online lines and registries (see: Levenson and Cotter 2005) and their ability to protect people and communities.

All of this has significant wider ramifications when considering those involved in the delivery of coaching. Key coaching, welfare and support roles are often filled by volunteers with competing demands on their time and no pay, who find themselves supporting and building strong relationships with both young athletes and their parents; many clubs rely on the invaluable contribution that volunteer coaches make (Kim et al., 2010; Hyde et al., 2014). They are thus very important and contribute to the successful rollout and delivery of community sports clubs as well as promoting an engaging and positive environment for young people involved in sports (Harman and Doherty, 2014). Volunteer coaches are motivated by several factors, these include making a positive difference to a young person's life (Kim et al., 2010; Busser and Carruthers, 2010); feeling connected and a 'love of the sport' (Welty Peachy et al., 2013); personal growth (Busser & Carruthers, 2010) and as an avenue to start a career in coaching (Sports Coach UK, 2012). It is thus important that volunteer coaches, and their paid counterparts, feel supported and comfortable in delivering their roles as they develop positive, supportive relationships with athletes. However, in sports coaching, volunteer coaches are expected to perform the same role as paid coaches and as such receive the same pressures from young athletes' parents. The relationship between the coach, parents and child is both extremely important for the development of the child athlete and one that can also be full of complexities. Thus there is a challenge here for ensuring that there is adequate support and training for coaches and welfare officers on the one hand, and realistic expectations for volunteers to ensure that they have the capacity for this, with the benefits clearly explained and understood, so that this does not become seen as just another bureaucratic hurdle to be overcome.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In conclusion, a number of sporting contexts are considered to have elements which surmount to them being environments, or liminal spaces, 'risky' for the commission of sexual violence. With the recent release of a multitude of key reports it is clear that safeguarding is very much on the agenda of several key governing bodies. However, much like reports into other areas of social life, e.g., the prison estate (see: HMIP, 2022 'the experiences of adult black male prisoners and black prison staff') which are similarly described as closed communities, commissioners of such reports must be appraised on the extent to which recommendations for positive change are actioned, as failure to enact change could be

construed as complicity. Importantly, however, in the realm of criminal justice, we are seeing people in positions of power and authority be forthcoming about institutional problems. For example, in England the Chief Constable of Avon and Somerset Police, Sarah Crew, has recently admitted her force is institutionally racist (Morris, 2023). Such public acknowledgement can give credibility to those wanting to be change makers in their organisation. Going forward, sport may look to the criminal justice system for how to 'own' their issues and open up their organisations and sport to those who want to see positive change in the sport. Based on the authors' work in examining sexual abuse, safeguarding and prevention in sport, we pose the following recommendations.

We utilise a micro, meso and macro approach (Serpa and Ferreira, 2019) to the framing of our recommendations. On this basis, the recommendations for change on a macro level will entail strategic policy change need on a national level to gain a degree of consistency with regard to safeguarding whilst meso level changes involve change needed at organisational level which will have impact at a micro level for practice in regard to coaching and safeguarding. Permeating all levels however is a need for a greater understanding of the impact of attitudes towards sexual offending and the relative impacts of such upon coaches. 'Risk' is central here to such concerns, and thus public discourses which run counter to those with populist undertones are needed to redress the imbalance and ineffective education on matters of sexual crime.

On a macro level, a clear, evidence-informed, and strategised approach is advised. By way of an example, in the UK, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport can play a pivotal role in setting policy goals and priorities that align with the issues and challenges presented within this chapter. Meanwhile international organizing bodies including the International Olympics Committee, World Aquatics, and FIFA among a myriad of others also have an important role to play in protecting athletes competing in, and training for, events and programmes within their areas of expertise. Issues pertaining to safeguarding and victimization cut across sports owing to the closed nature of sporting practice. As such, a standardized approach with regard to protocols and procedure underpinning safeguarding would be optimal given the cross-cutting nature of issues which underpin the ability for CSA to proliferate. This is echoed in the HM Government (2023) draft consultation 'Working Together to Safeguard Children'. An intersport collaboration, which is heralded by global sporting organisations, would allow for the avoidance of gaps and inconsistencies across sports. Similarly, top-level support for research to understand the nature, extent and nuances of the issues presented would (i) signal a clear commitment to understanding the landscape (challenges and mitigation) in detail; and (ii) provide the basis for being responsive to the nuanced challenges present. Such large-scale research requires a significant monetary investment to be conducted robustly. In addition, it is important that the research is conducted by specialist independent researchers and academics based in Higher Education and/or in research companies, and not subject to interference by sporting bodies unless to provide access to research environments and participants. An infrastructure of trauma-informed through care is also required for participants and non-participants should they require it to access specialized support. Support should utilise the evidence in 'what works' in supporting individuals impacted by child sexual abuse (Christie 2018). Such commitment to impartial, objective research into sporting environments within a strategised approach to tackling CSA in sport would pave the way for more localized intervention.

Through a strategic commitment to tackling CSA, practices on a localized level can be established to help meet the broader goals and objectives of the cause. On a meso level, following the example set by UKA in response to Toni Minichiello, robust responses to cases of sexual harassment, abuse and violence at all levels are required to ensure victim and survivor safety and confidence. This in turn will promote a culture of belief that (i) reports of victimization will be taken seriously; and subsequently, (ii) encourage reporting and develop public confidence. Key to this is a development of evidence-informed and standardised safeguarding policies and practices. Beyond this, training must be meaningful and responsive to the needs of its participants. Central to training provision must be honest and evidenced discussion around grooming behaviours. Multiagency working is critical here so that knowledge exchange can occur between children-facing practitioners in health, social services and education, and those in sport (HM Government 2023). At this level, nudge initiatives, which encourage 'subtle tweaks to the environments that shape unconscious, automated or habitual behaviour' (Pedwell 2017: p.60), will be useful to ensure sporting professionals engage more readily with their attitudes, behaviour and actions towards athletes. It has been found that such intervention which incorporates a range of behavioural techniques 'have the potential to positively transform a wider range of societal problems, from racism, to suicide, to climate change' (Ibid). As such, change pursued at a higher, macro and meso level, have can have an impact on what individuals do. On a micro level, effective and meaningful engagement with safeguarding training and processes is required for meaningful change. This requires not tokenistically engaging to fulfil criteria, i.e., licensing requirements to coach. There must be an active commitment to (i) engaging with safeguarding training and upholding of the underpinning principles; and relatedly (ii) the development of a reflexive mindset which seeks to actively foster positive coach-athlete relationships. Central to such, however, is the involvement of the parents and guardians of athletes. Safeguarding processes and practices that are fit for purpose and comprehensive require investment from a range of stakeholders, each knowing and feeling confident in their ability to coach, parent, but above all else, effectively safeguard those within their care.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Dr Matt Long and colleagues at UK Athletics for helpful comments and insights which have fed into the development of this chapter.

References

Ansell, C. & Baur, P. (2018) Explaining Trends in Risk Governance: How Problem Definitions Underpin Risk Regimes, Risk, Hazards & Crisis in Public Policy, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 397-430

Aarons, E. and Molina, R. (2022) How Sexual Abuse Allegations Rocked Football in Gabon, *The Guardian [Online]* 13 April 2022 <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2022/apr/13/how-sexual-abuse-allegations-rocked-football-in-gabon> accessed 20 May 2023

BBC (2021) German Gymnasts' Outfits Take On Sexualisation in Sport, BBC News 23 April 2021 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-56858863> accessed 19 May 2023

Brackenridge C. H., Bringer J., Bishopp D. (2005). Managing cases of abuse in sport. *Child Abuse Review*, 14, 259-274.

Brackenridge, C. H. and Fasting, K. (2005) 'The grooming process in sport: Narratives of sexual harassment and abuse'. *Auto/Biography*, 13(1), pp. 33–52. doi:10.1191/0967550705ab016oa

Bringer J. D., Brackenridge C. H., Johnston L. H. (2002). Defining appropriateness in coach athlete sexual relationships: The voice of coaches. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 8(2), 83-98.

Busser, J. A., & Carruthers, C. P. (2010). Youth sport volunteer coach motivation. *Managing Leisure*, 15(1-2), 128–139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13606710903448210>

Canadian Hockey League (CHL) (2022) [PlayerWellbeingUpdate_FINAL.pdf \(chl.ca\)](#)

Christie, C. A. (2018) *Trauma-informed Health and Care Approach for responding to Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation Current Knowledge Report*. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/712725/trauma-informed-health-and-care-approach-report.pdf

Chowdhury, R. and Winder, B. (2022) A Web Model of Domestic Violence and Abuse in Muslim Communities—A Multi Perspective IPA Approach. *Social Sciences* 11: 354. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11080354>

Dalton Grant Academy (2022) Dalton Grant Academy – Interview with Toni Minichiello – Episode 24 available via [Dalton Grant Academy - Episode 24 - Toni Minichiello - YouTube](#) accessed 19th May 2023

Darling, A., Pope, L., Mooney, J. L., King, S., & Ablett, G. (2020). *Child sexual abuse in sports*. The Truth Project Thematic Report.

Denney, D. (2005). *Risk and Society*. London: SAGE

Department of Justice (2021) *Investigation and Review of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Handling of Allegations of Sexual Abuse by Former USA Gymnastics Physician Lawrence Gerard Nassar*, available from oig.justice.gov/sites/default/files/reports/21-093.pdf accessed 19th May 2023.

Durodié, B. (2017) Theory informed by practice. Application informed by purpose. Why to understand and manage risk, cultural context is the key. *Safety Science*, 99, pp. 244-254.

Eime, R. M., Young, J. A., Harvey, J. T., Charity, M. J., & Payne, W. R. (2013). A systematic review of the psychological and social benefits of participation in sport for children and adolescents: Informing development of a conceptual model of Health Through Sport. International. *Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, 10(1), 98. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1479-5868-10-98>

Fasting, K., Brackenridge, C., Knorre, N. (2010) Performance level and sexual harassment prevalence among female athletes in the Czech Republic. *Women in Sport & Physical Activity Journal*; 19 pp.26-32

Furedi, F. (2006) *Culture of Fear Revisited*, (4th Ed) London: Continuum

Furedi, F., 2009. Precautionary culture and the rise of possibilistic risk assessment. *European countryside*, 2(2).

Gaedicke, S., Schäfer, A., Hoffmann, B., Ohlert, J., Allroggen, M., Hartmann-Tews, I. and Rulofs, B., (2021). Sexual Violence and the Coach–Athlete Relationship—a Scoping Review From Sport Sociological and Sport Psychological Perspectives. *Frontiers in Sports and Active Living*, 3.

Guardian, The (2023) Sexual Abuse in Sport, *The Guardian* [Online] <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/series/sexual-abuse-in-sport> accessed 4th July 2023

Hall, M. (2023) Canadian MPs Summon Senior Soccer Officials as they investigate responses to abuse, *The Guardian* [Online] 28th Mar 2023 accessed via <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2023/mar/28/canadian-mps-summon-senior-soccer-officials-as-they-investigate-response-to-abuse> 4th July 2023

Harman, A., & Doherty, A. (2014). The Psychological Contract of volunteer youth sport coaches. *Journal of Sport Management*, 28(6), 687–699. <https://doi.org/10.1123/jsm.2013-0146>

Hartill, M. (2013). Concealment of child sexual abuse in sports. *QUEST*, 65(2), 241–254. doi:10.1080/00336297.2013.773532

HM Government (2023) *Changes to statutory guidance: Working Together to Safeguard Children. Government consultation*. Available at: https://consult.education.gov.uk/child-protection-safeguarding-division/working-together-to-safeguard-children-changes-to/supporting_documents/Working%20Together%20to%20Safeguard%20Children%202023%20%20consultation%20document.pdf

Hsu, W. T. et al. (2013) Autonomy and Structure Can Enhance Motivation of Volunteers in Sport Organizations. Perceptual and motor skills. [Online] 117 (3), 709–719.

Hyde, M. K., Dunn, J., Bax, C., & Chambers, S. K. (2014). Episodic volunteering and retention. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 45(1), 45–63. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764014558934>

Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse (2022) *The Report of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse*, available from <https://www.iicsa.org.uk/index.html> accessed 18th May 2023.

Jewkes Y. (2013). 'Online child pornography, paedophilia and the sexualised child.' In E. Quayle and K. Ribisi (eds.) *Understanding and Preventing Online Sexual Exploitation of Children*. London: Routledge, pp. 116–132.

Kerr, Gretchen & Stirling, Ashley & Heron, Amanda & MacPherson, Ellen & Banwell, Jenessa. (2015). The Importance of Touch in Sport: Athletes' and Coaches' Reflections. *International Journal of Social Science Studies*. 3. 10.1111/ijsss.v3i4.803.

Kim, M., Zhang, J. J., & Connaughton, D. P. (2010). Comparison of volunteer motivations in different youth sport organizations. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 10(3), 343–365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16184741003770198>

Levenson, J. S., & Cotter, L. P. (2005). The effect of Megan's Law on sex offender reintegration. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 21(1), 49-66

Lutz, T. (2023) US Rowing Investigates claim famed coach Ted Nash abused teenage student, *The Guardian* [Online] 20th March 2023, available via <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2023/mar/20/ted-nash-sexual-abuse-allegations-jennifer-fox-us-rowing> accessed 22nd May 2023

Mansoor, S. (2021) 'It's About Creating Equity.' The Significance of German Gymnasts' Full-Length Unitards at the Tokyo Olympics, *Time* [Online] 23rd July 2021, available via <https://time.com/6083431/german-gymnasts-unitard-olympics/> accessed 14th May 2023

McPhee, J. & Dowden, J.P. (2018) *Report of the Independent Investigation: The Constellation of Factors Underlying Larry Nassar's Abuse of Athletes, Ropes and Grey*, available from <https://www.ropesgray.com/-/media/Files/USOC/ropes-gray-full-report.pdf> accessed 18th May 2023

Mendick, R. and Rumsby, B. (2016) Athletics dragged into sexual abuse scandal amid cover-up claim, *The Telegraph* [Online] 1st Dec 2016 available via <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/athletics/2016/12/01/athletics-dragged-sexual-abuse-scandal-amid-cover-up-claim/> accessed 14th May 2023

Morris, S. (2023) Avon and Somerset police chief admits force is institutionally racist. *The Guardian*. 16 June 2023. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/jun/16/avon-and-somerset-police-chief-admits-force-is-institutionally-racist>

Mountjoy, M., Brackenridge C. H., Arrington, M. et al (2016) International Olympic Committee consensus statement: harassment and abuse (non-accidental violence) in sport, *British Journal of Sports Medicine*; 50 pp.1019-1029.

Nichols, G., Gratton, C., Shibli, S., & Taylor, P. (1998). Local Authority support to volunteers in sports clubs. *Managing Leisure*, 3(3), 119–127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/136067198376021>

Nichols, G., Tacon, R. and Muir, A. (2012) 'Sports clubs' volunteers: Bonding in or bridging out?' *Sociology*, 47(2) pp. 350–367.

Nichols, G.S. and James, M. (2017) *Social Inclusion and Volunteering in Sports Clubs in Europe; findings for policy makers and practitioners in England and Wales*. Report. University of Sheffield.

O'Donnell, K., Elliott, S. K., & Drummond, M. J. (2022). Exploring parent and coach relationships in Youth Sport: A qualitative study. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 14(7), 1023–1044. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676x.2022.2048060>

Oates, K. (2007). *Can we believe what children tells us?* Sydney, Australia: The Howard Williams Oration.

Owton, H. and Sparkes, A.C. (2015) 'Sexual abuse and the grooming process in sport: Learning from Bella's Story'. *Sport, Education and Society*, 22(6), pp. 732–743. doi:10.1080/13573322.2015.1063484.

Parent, S., & Demers, G. (2011). Sexual abuse in sport: A model to prevent and protect athletes. *Child Abuse Review*, 20(2), 120–133. doi:10.1002/car.1135

Papaefstathiou, M. (2015). "It's not what you say, it's how it feels": Touch in the tactile context of Cypriot track and field sport. In: Piper, H. (ed.) *Touch in Sports Coaching and Physical Education: Fear, Risk and Moral Panic*. London: Routledge.

Pedwell, C. (2017). Habit and the Politics of Social Change: A Comparison of Nudge Theory and Pragmatist Philosophy. *Body and Society*, 23 (4), 59-94

Pépin-Gagné, J. and Parent, S., (2015). Coaching, Touching, and False Allegations of Sexual Abuse in Canada. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 40(2), pp.162-172.

Piper, H., Taylor, B., & Garratt, D. (2012). Sports coaching in risk society: No touch! No trust! *Sport, Education and Society*, 17, 331-345.

Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (2017a) *Final Report Vol 14: Sport, recreation, arts, culture, community and hobby groups*, available from <https://www.royalcommission.gov.au/child-abuse/final-report> accessed 17 May 2023

Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (2017b) *Final Report: Recommendations*, available from <https://www.royalcommission.gov.au/child-abuse/final-report> accessed 14 May 2023

Sanderson, J. and Weathers, M.R. (2019). "Every time someone comes forward, it makes it easier for the next survivor to be heard": Sport as a triggering agent to break The silence of child sexual abuse'. *Communication Quarterly*, 67(3), pp.333–353. doi:10.1080/01463373.2019.1596141.

Serpa, S., & Ferreira, C. M. (2019). Micro, meso and macro levels of social analysis. *Int'l J. Soc. Sci. Stud.*, 7, 120.

Sheldon, C. (2022) *Independent Review into Child Sexual Abuse in Football 1970-2005*, available from <https://the-fa.com/7ZFDqu> accessed 17th May 2023

Simon, R. L. (2018). *Fair play: The ethics of sport*. Routledge

Sølvberg, N., Torstveit, M. K., Rosenvinge, J. H., Pettersen, G., & Sundgot-Borgen, J. (2022). Sexual Harassment and Abuse among Young Elite Athletes, Recreational Athletes, and Reference Students: A Prospective Study. *Medicine and science in sports and exercise*, 54(11), 1869–1878. <https://doi.org/10.1249/MSS.0000000000002972>

Taylor, W. G., Piper, H., & Garratt, D. (2014). Sports coaches as 'dangerous individuals'—practice as Governmentality. *Sport, Education and Society*, 21(2), 183–199. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2014.899492>

Timpka T, Janson S, Jacobsson J, Dahlström, O, Spreco, A, Kowalski, J, Bargoria, V, Mountjoy, M. & Göran Svedin, C. (2019) Lifetime history of sexual and physical abuse among competitive athletics (track and field) athletes: cross sectional study of associations with sports and non-sports injury *British Journal of Sports Medicine* 53 pp.1412-1417

Toftgaard Nielsen J. (2001). The forbidden zone: Intimacy, sexual relations and misconduct in the relationship between coaches and athletes. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 36, 165-182.

UK Athletics (2020) *UK Athletics Independent Safeguarding Review: Final Report*, available via <http://www.uka.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/UKA-Independent-Safeguarding-Review-Final-Report-August-21.pdf> accessed 17th May 2023

UK Athletics (2022a) *Result of the Adjudication in UK Athletic v Minichiello*, available via <https://www.uka.org.uk/news/news-and-features/result-of-the-adjudication-in-uk-athletics-v-minichiello/>, accessed 14th August 2023

UK Athletics (2022b) *Summary of Charges*, available at <http://www.uka.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Summary-of-charges.pdf>, accessed 14th August 2023

UK Athletics (2023) *Safeguarding Advice for Parents*, available from <https://www.uka.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Safeguarding-Advice-for-Parents-.pdf> accessed 19th May 2023

UNICEF UK (2023) *UNICEF and Sport*. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org.uk/sport-for-development/> (Accessed: 21 June 2023).

USA Gymnastics (2023) *Safety and Response*, available from <https://usagym.org/safety/> accessed 19th May 2023

Vertommen, T, Schipper-van Veldhoven, NHMJ ; Hartill, MJ ; Van Den Eede, F. (2015) Sexual Harrassment and Abuse in Sport: THE NOC-NSF Helpline. *International review for the sociology of sport*, Vol.50 (7), p.822-839

Volkwein K. A. E., Schnell F. I., Sherwood D., Livezey A. (1997). Sexual harassment in sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 32, 283-295. T. Vertommen et al. (2017) **Profiling perpetrators of interpersonal violence against children in sport based on a victim survey**, *Child Abuse and Neglect*; 63, pp.172-182

Welty Peachey, J., Lyras, A., Cohen, A., Bruening, J. E., & Cunningham, G. B. (2013). Exploring the motives and retention factors of sport-for-development volunteers. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 43(6), 1052–1069. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764013501579>

Whyte, A. (2022) *The Whyte Review: An independent investigation commissioned by Sport England and UK Sport following allegations fo mistreatment within the sport of gymnastics*, available from <https://www.sportengland.org/guidance-and-support/safeguarding/whyte-review> accessed 17th May 2023.

Yates, S.Q. (2022) *Report of the Independent Investigation to the US Soccer Federation Concerning Allegations of Abusive Behavior and Sexual Misconduct in Women's Professional Soccer*, King and Spalding, available via <https://www.ussoccer.com/sally-q-yates-report-us-soccer>, accessed 18th May 2023