Integrity in Sport Literature Review

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Table of Contents

Section One: Introduction .............................................................................................................. 3
  Background.................................................................................................................................. 3
  Objectives ................................................................................................................................... 3
  Literature Search Method and Scope ............................................................................................ 3
  Literature Review Structure ........................................................................................................... 4
  Summary of Key Findings ............................................................................................................. 5

Section Two: Integrity, Ethics and Sport ...................................................................................... 9
  What is meant by integrity? ........................................................................................................... 9
  What is meant by ethics? .............................................................................................................. 11
  What does integrity mean in the context of sport? ....................................................................... 13
  In what ways does the meaning of sport integrity and ethical behaviour and values differ across different sports and codes? ......................................................................................................... 16
  In what ways does the meaning of sport integrity and ethical behaviours differ across different sporting environments? .................................................................................................................. 18

Section Three: Negative Attitudes, Behaviours and Values having an impact on Sporting Integrity; known influencers and drivers of shifts and changes in integrity and ethical behaviour and values in sport ..................................................................................................... 21
  What is the contemporary context and circumstances of negative attitudes, behaviours and values having an impact on integrity in sports? ....................................................................................... 21
  What are the main social and cultural behaviours and values having an impact on integrity in sports? ........................................................................................................................................ 24
  What are the main institutional and administrative behaviours and values having a negative impact on sport? ........................................................................................................................................ 28
  In what ways do negative attitudes have an impact on sport, including different levels, age-groups, and codes? .......................................................................................................................... 32
  What key drivers influence the development of negative behaviours and values in sport? ........ 36

Section Four: Positive Attitudes, Behaviours and Values having an Impact on Sporting Integrity; known influences and drivers of positive shifts and changes in integrity and ethical behaviour and values in sport ..................................................................................................... 39
  What is the contemporary and historical context of positive attitudes and values influencing ethical behaviours and integrity in sport? .................................................................................................. 39
  What are the identifiable positive attitudes, behaviours and values in sport? ............................... 41
  In what ways do the identifiable positive attitudes, behaviours and values mitigate unethical behaviours and practices? ........................................................................................................... 43

Section Five: Sport Integrity and Engagement at All Levels ..................................................... 45
  What is the relationship between sport integrity and social reasons for engaging in sport? ........ 45
  What is the relationship between sport integrity and health reasons for engaging in sport? ........ 48
  What is the relationship between sport integrity and entertainment reasons for engaging in sport? 50
Section Six: Processes, Programs and Initiatives influencing positive behaviours and Sport Integrity

Are there existing programs, processes and structures influencing positive behaviours and values in Australia? 

Are there existing programs, processes and structures influencing positive behaviours and values internationally? 

Has the literature undertaken any comparative analysis, and what are the findings? 

Does the literature indicate measurements to value the positive impact of such programs and initiatives?

Section Seven: Implications for research and policy development

What are the implications of this literature for the field of research in sport and ethics? 

What are the implications of this literature for the development of policy and programs related to mitigating negative behaviours and promoting positive behaviours that influence sport integrity?

Section Eight: Bibliography
Section One: Introduction
Background, Purpose, Scope, Structure and Summary of Key Findings

Background
The literature review on ‘Integrity in Sport’ for the ASC is to inform the development of a National Integrity in Sport Strategy (NISS). The development of the NISS will address the commitments, objectives and priority initiatives articulated in the following key government and sport industry documents. The Australian Government’s new vision for sport, articulated in Australian Sport: The Pathway to Success commits the Australian Government to: (1) ensure sporting opportunities are safe, fun and inclusive for all; and (2) provide athletes with an even playing field by targeting drugs in sport.

The National Sport and Active Recreation Policy Framework articulates under the priority area of system sustainability, the objective of safeguarding the integrity in sport and active reaction. The ASC’s Integrity Section will drive the development of the NISS.

The literature review is designed to inform the development of Issues Papers and the NISS.

The review was conducted by The University of Adelaide within the Fay Gale Centre for Research on Gender by Faculty academic researchers Dr Mandy Tregus, Dr Rob Cover and Associate Professor Chris Beasley. A team of research assistants led by Ms Carolyn Lake provided invaluable assistance in the compilation of materials.

Objectives
The primary objectives of this review are to inform the development of the NISS in areas that involve:

1. The negative attitudes, behaviours and values that influence the integrity of sport at all levels;
2. An analysis of the circumstances in which negative attitudes effect integrity;
3. An identification of the key drivers and influencers on integrity in sport issues, including public opinion, and
4. The processes, programs and key factors that influence positive behaviours that enhance the integrity of sport.

Literature Search Method and Scope
Using the resources of National Sports Information Centre’s Clearinghouse of Australian Sports Publications in addition to The University of Adelaide’s Barr Smith Library’s journal, book and newsprint research, a comprehensive range of literature addressing sports, ethics, integrity, behaviour, spectator attitudes and coaching were selected and acquired for summary and analysis by the review team.

Selection of literature followed a number of research criteria, including:

- Literature, sources and media reports which related to integrity and ethics in sport (including team sports, solo athletic sports, sporting institutions and organisations, youth and under-age sports, coaching)
• Literature, sources and media reports which related to comparative ethical and integrity issues 
  (harassment, drugs and alcohol, discrimination, gambling, fraud, media scandals)
• Research literature that was built on evidence and/or theorisation rather than speculative in 
  nature
• News, public opinion and online non-professional sources included selectively, where selection 
  involved an assessment as to its relevance to the specific topic and its representation of broadly-
  held public and stakeholder views on that topic.

Literature Review Structure

Given the diverse range of approaches to the topic, the interdisciplinarity of the study of sport and 
integrity/ethics, and the anticipation of the literature review's use in informing current and future 
policy development, it is proposed the literature review be organised with a detailed structure 
around contemporary key questions in sport integrity and ethics, ranging from the introductory to 
indications of trends in the literature on specific topics.

The literature review has thus been presented in sections with key questions as follows:

Section One: Introduction
• Background, Purpose, Scope, Structure and Summary of Key findings

Section Two: Integrity, Ethics and Sport
• What is meant by integrity?  What is meant by ethics?
• What does integrity mean in the context of sport?
• In what ways does the meaning of sport integrity and ethical behaviour and values differ across 
different sports and codes (sole athletic engagement, team-sports, professional sports, 
community sports, youth and school-level sports)?
• In what ways does the meaning of sport integrity and ethical behaviour and values differ across 
different sporting environments (players, coaches, managers, spectators, volunteers, families, 
organisations, on-field and off-field, training)?

Section Three: Negative Attitudes, Behaviours and Values having an impact on Sporting 
Integrity; known influencers and drivers of shifts and changes in integrity and ethical 
behaviour and values in sport
• What is the contemporary context and circumstances of negative attitudes, behaviours and 
  values having an impact on integrity in sports?
• What are the main social and cultural behaviours and values having a negative impact on sport? 
  (Includes: harassment, racism, bullying, violence, alcohol and drug use, parental behaviour, 
spectator behaviour, other stakeholder behaviour, etc.).
• What are the main institutional and administrative behaviours and values having a negative 
  impact on sport? (Includes: fraud, discrimination, coaching behaviours, unethical administration, 
  match-fixing).
In what ways do these have an impact on sport, including different levels, age-groups, and codes?

What key drivers influence the development of negative behaviours and values in sport?

Section Four: Positive Attitudes, Behaviours and Values impacting on Sport Integrity; known influencers and drivers of positive shifts and changes in integrity and ethical behaviour/values in sport

What is the contemporary and historical context of positive attitudes and values influencing ethical behaviours and integrity in sport?

What are the identifiable positive attitudes, behaviours and values?

In what ways do identifiable positive attitudes, behaviours and values mitigate unethical behaviours and practices?

Section Five: Sport Integrity and Engagement at All Levels

What is the relationship between sport integrity and social reasons for engaging in sport?

What is the relationship between sport integrity and health reasons for engaging in sport?

What is the relationship between sport integrity and entertainment reasons for engaging in sport?

Section Six: Processes, Programs and Initiatives influencing positive behaviours and sport integrity

Are there existing programs, processes and structures influencing positive behaviours and values in Australia (at all levels, across all codes and sporting environments)?

Are there existing programs, processes and structures influencing positive behaviours and values internationally (at all levels, across all codes and sporting environments)?

Has the literature undertaken any comparative analysis, and what are the findings?

Does the literature indicate measurements to value the positive impact of such programs and initiatives?

Section Seven: Implications for research and policy development

What are the implications of this literature for the field of research in sport and ethics?

What are the implications of this literature for the development of policy and programs related to mitigating negative behaviours and promoting positive behaviours that influence sport integrity?

Section Eight: Bibliography

Summary of Key Findings

Integrity is a complex term that takes on different meanings in different environments, contexts and according to different research approaches and disciplines, even when focused solely on sport and sports participation. The literature on sport and integrity is best understood through a notion of integrity that defines it as “respect for oneself and others, moral responsibility and accountability”.

Across the literature, the concept of ethics is commonly used in relation to both on-field and off-field behaviours, activities, experiences and attitudes. Ethics, in this context, focuses on both the processes and outcomes of sporting practices. An institutional ethical system treats all participants
or stakeholders respectfully and as “ends in themselves”, governed by equality of access and participation, fairness and mutual respect.

In a broad assessment of the literature on integrity and sport, it can be said that sport is found to be a site which is both favourable to the development of integrity and, often simultaneously, unwelcoming towards integrity and ethical values.

**The context of integrity and sport in Australia**

A number of questions have arisen around integrity, ethics and sports in Australia over the past decade, predominantly as a result of increased media and public attention to sports players, institutions, leagues, organisations and stakeholders in both on-field play and off-field player behaviour contexts. In the past few years, these have included issues related to: doping and recreational drug use; violence on- and off-field; racism; vilification and heterosexism and the impact these have on sports participation at all levels; off-field behaviour in relation to gender, sexuality and sexual assault and violence; institutional fraud; gambling, betting and match-fixing, and coaching and management practices.

Where these issues raise questions around integrity, much of the cause involves the relationship between different perceptions of sport and different understandings of sporting behaviour. For example, the emphasis on winning and being competitive has increasingly been found to be in conflict with attitudes towards inclusiveness and community engagement. The development of sport integrity in team sports has, likewise, been in conflict with the focus on public perception and social characteristics of players. Central to these conflicts are different perceptions of the meaning of “sportsmanship”.

In conducting this literature review, it was found that there is a considerable variety of research pertaining to sport and ethical character-building and moral development.

**Distinction in sport contexts**

Ethical tensions were found, by several researchers, to exist between sport as it is commonly conceived in its amateur form and the increasing reality of sport as an elite commercial enterprise. The distinction in how questions of integrity are perceived between amateur and elite sports in Australia relate partly to the increased media focus given to professional sports in contrast to the greater community embeddedness of amateur sports.

Integrity and ethical concerns also differ across age levels and systems. As a result of media scandals, at times, the literature has a tendency to focus on adult sports and sports players, whereas other literature argues the focus on sound, ethical behaviour ought to be on younger players.

**Player development and integrity**

Some current literature on sports and integrity indicate that integrity and ethical behaviour is fostered not among adult elite teams and individual athletic sports, but among younger, school-aged sports participants. The existing literature note that two stakeholder groups who play a significant role in the fostering of integrity are spectators, who have a greater impact on player attitudes than is commonly believed, and coaches and physical education teachers who, it is indicated, are in a strong position to instil virtues of integrity in younger players but who sometimes sacrifice this role. It is notable that there is minimal qualitative research on the behaviours, attitudes and experiences of integrity among younger sports persons, and little empirical research testing the effectiveness of existing policies designed to foster integrity or sound sporting behaviours and attitudes among younger players.
Integrity in Sport Literature Review

Attitudes, behaviours and values having a negative impact on sports integrity

Across much literature the identification of negative attitudes and behaviours in sport includes over-competitiveness, pushing oneself or being pushed too hard towards winning, and negative interpersonal behaviours that often were not reflective of broader contemporary social attitudes but emerged within specific sporting cultures.

Attitudes, behaviours and values that have a negative impact on the development and maintenance of sports integrity tend to centre on gender. Sport is a highly gendered environment and high-level and elite sports rarely involve mixed gender play. Much literature focuses on the negative impact of masculine and “hyper-masculine” behaviours and attitudes, particularly where such gender performance is predicated on physicality and an attitude to the player body as a tool for violence or a site of invulnerability. In much literature this broad cultural and institutional context has been found to result in gender-based discrimination, aggressive behaviours and heterosexism or homophobia, these being significant issues in sport impacting on integrity issues such as participation and accessibility.

Prior research also points to an unclear relationship between sport participation and alcohol consumption which is found to have had an effect on ethical behaviour of sports players, spectators and other sports stakeholders. The strong tradition of sports as a social activity involving drinking in addition to the traditional relationship between elite sport and alcohol sponsorship is given significance in the literature.

Additionally, racist attitudes, behaviours and values were found to have a substantial negative effect on the development and maintenance of a sporting environment marked by integrity and ethical behaviour. Much literature points to the prevalence of incidents of discrimination and vilification across many sporting codes, involving a broad range of stakeholders, whether involved in professional, semi-professional, community or amateur sports. Racism was found to present a barrier to sport participation for Indigenous persons — with the notable exception of Australian Rules football — and other culturally and linguistically-diverse peoples. Barriers to participation based on race were found to exist at both institutional and administrative levels, despite policies and initiatives designed to mitigate against discriminatory attitudes and behaviours.

Finally, a “winning at all costs” mentality was noted in some literature to have adverse effects on sporting integrity, however this was found to be a dispersed attitude that could not be pinned down to any specific sport, league, state, or age-group but depended more on attitudes and values held by coaches, players, parents, clubs and institutions on a case-by-case basis.

Attitudes, behaviours and values having a positive impact on sports integrity

Some literature indicated a number of ways in which respectful and responsible attitudes have a positive impact on the fostering of sports integrity at different levels and across professional and amateur sports. In the Australian context, an egalitarian sporting culture relative to the class discrimination in the British origins of contemporary sport was found to have a positive influence on the sporting environment. The ways fostering of relationships across traditional community divides is noted in some research, as is the capacity of sports to provide a site for sociality among rural communities in Australia.

Identifiable positive attitudes, behaviours and values in sport include: the enhancement of social support and self-esteem; sports as a site for socialisation; the fostering of team building and the provision of discipline; positive challenges, and an enhanced work ethic. The literature also indicates some of the ways in which sport can provide meaningful mentorship and peer relationships among both adults and youth that instil positive ethical values and behaviours.

Positive values and attitudes that result in sporting environments marked by integrity have been noted to be associated with: a decrease in certain types of criminal behaviour; the provision of a competitive environment operating as an alternative to other, more dangerous, risk behaviours for
adolescents, and the development of autonomy in the relationship between participation and integrity.

Programs and structures influencing the development of integrity in sport

The literature reviewed indicates that there are a number of programs and structures designed to foster the development of an ethical sporting environment governed by player, spectator and stakeholder integrity.

International programs designed to foster integrity and influence positive values in sports frequently involve external organisations and participants, whereas Australian programs tend to be organised within, and run by, sports governance organisations.

Several gaps in the existing research on such programs has been noted in the literature, the most significant of these being that there has been minimal qualitative and empirical testing of the effectiveness of such programs and structures, particularly those introduced over the past decade.

Recommendations for research emerging from the literature review

Although continued high-quality and interdisciplinary research is required in all areas relating to sports and integrity, two significant gaps emerge from this literature review.

Firstly, there is a need for significant further research on the behaviour, values and attitudes relating to integrity and ethics among younger sports players, with a particular focus on current experiences and attitudes of integrity, and the role played by junior and school-level sports teams in fostering ethical behaviours and integrity in players prior to their selection to elite, professional and high-profile sports teams. How youth and junior sports, particularly team sports, operate to instil ethical behaviours that will be carried through into later sporting involvement and/or adult life is, in the contemporary context, relatively unknown and broadly untested.

Secondly, there is a pressing need to empirically evaluate the context, social meanings and effectiveness of policies, processes and structures that are designed to foster ethical sporting behaviours at all levels and, comparatively, across multiple sports and codes. As many such policies operate as mitigation strategies or involve the use of penalties and sanctions as a primary means by which to enforce ethical behaviours in both on-field and off-field environments, further interdisciplinary research that evaluates the effectiveness of these methods as well as undertaking comparative evaluation of alternative methods is required.
Section Two: Integrity, Ethics and Sport

What is meant by integrity?

In his article ‘Ethics of Integrity’ (2001), Mark Mason argues that integrity is a form of “self-consciousness” within the individual (p. 47). Through focussing on the self, Mason argues for a self-consciousness of one’s own identity and role in society relative to both the dominant prevailing culture and individuals outside one’s social position (2001). The virtue of integrity is an inclusive state of being whereby an awareness of and tolerance towards others prevails in our intentions and actions: a rejection of racism, sexism, and any antipathy towards another. It is what Daniel Gould and Sarah Carson (2008) would call an “internal asset”. Mason defines integrity as having two aspects which work in tandem: 1) ‘the principal of the respect for the dignity of each other’s being’ and 2) ‘taking responsibility for our moral decisions’ (2001, p. 67).

Similarly, John Teehan (1995) defines integrity as ‘the result of unity between an agent’s actions and his or her moral image’ (p. 857). The author further stipulates that individuals must consider the consequences of their behaviours and actions, both for themselves and their communities and for both the short and long term (p. 857). In the formulations of both Mason and Teehan, ‘integrity’, despite their focus on the personal in its role as a virtue, requires people to act fairly: in the interests of both themselves and others. This interest in others carries over to integrity as it might apply to institutions. Mike McNamee and Scott Fleming define integrity as having three elements – equity, responsibility, and respect – and that these constitute a system of ethics applicable to both organisations and institutions.

David Shields and Brenda Bredemeier (1995) – as scholars interested in the relationship between philosophy and sport – attempt to demarcate “integrity” from the ambiguous term of “sportsmanship”, stating: ‘The virtue of integrity is the cornerstone of character, for it is the embodiment of our ideals’ (p. 194). They argue that sportsmanship is the outcome of “moral action”, whereas integrity is the intention of the individual to act in a sportsperson-like way, regardless of how their actions will be received by their fans, peers, coaches or officials (p. 194).

Related to integrity is the concept of “good character”. Joseph Doty, in his attempt to define “character”, notes that one cannot empirically discern it (2006, p. 3). He canvasses a range of interpretations: ‘an internal state that is manifested in behaviour’; ‘the sum of a person’s moral qualities’; the courage to act in accordance to one’s convictions; and the possession of a range of virtues which one willingly acts upon ‘both in their own long term interests as well in the interests of others’ (Doty 2006, p. 3). Doty ultimately concludes that “character building” is a ‘life long holistic process that is primarily influenced by contextual variables throughout a person’s life’ (p. 8). Looking at sport as such a contextual variable, he asks whether sport contributes to the building of good or bad character (2006, p. 8).

Integrity is a personal virtue-term, but as Damian Cox et al realise, ‘any attempt to strive for integrity has to take account of the effect of social and political context’ (2008). As Doty recognised (2006), sport is one such context and as with any institution it ‘can be both inimical and favourable to the development of integrity, sometimes both at once’ (Cox et al 2008). The Australian Sports Commission has identified four characteristics that it considers integral (“essential”) to Australian sport: fairness, respect, responsibility and safety (ASC ‘Ethics’). This literature review assumes these values as constituting important aspects of integrity in sport. This review will analyse particular sporting environments, contexts and perspectives in relation to their faithfulness to these core values.
Main findings:

- ‘Integrity’ is a complex term that takes on different meanings in different environments and contexts.
- Integrity requires respect for oneself and for others.
- Integrity requires moral responsibility and moral accountability.
- Sport, as a whole, can be both inimical and favourable to integrity.
What is meant by ethics?

Ethics is considered a system of moral behaviour and values which pertain ideally to the notions of ‘moral character’, ‘respect’, ‘responsibility’, ‘compassion’, and ‘honesty’, as a reflection of positive societal values (Holowchak 2001; Keating 2007; Shields and Bredemeier 1995; Feezell 2004; Feezell 2007; Festini 2011; Boxill 2003a; Morgan 2007). Mark Mason (2001) defines this concept as ‘the respect for the dignity of persons, and the acceptance of responsibility for the consequences of our moral choices’ (p. 47). Ethics has similarly been defined as a system in which the moral integrity of the individual is supported as a group or institutional dynamic (Ianinska and Garcia-Zamor 2006). In defining an ethics of integrity as a system of living and interacting with others, Mason focuses on the identity of self, arguing that a self-consciousness is needed in order to be aware of one’s own social position relative to the positions of others and dominant cultural narratives (2001). This, in turn, contributes to and maintains ethical systems as individuals function together as a conglomerate (Mason 2001). Mike McNamee and Scott Fleming (2007) likewise define ethics as a system which incorporates ‘moral rules, principals, obligations, agreements, values, and norms’ (p. 426).

Lumpkin et al (2003), in addressing ethics, defines ‘nonmoral values [as being] based on extrinsic and intrinsic values rather than on people, intentions, motives, deeds, or traits of character that affect other persons’ (p. 239). For example, one may be a responsible leader and always “gets the job done”, even if this is achieved by cheating. Ethics, as the authors claim, involves the elements of personal philosophy, social responsibility, and professional responsibility in combination (Lumpkin et al 2003, Fig 13.1, p. 240). This brings into the equation the notion of ‘consequentialism’ (the end justifies the means) within acts of personal integrity (Rajczi 2009; Feezell 2004), namely, that winning in what appears to be the greater good for the team/community is not an act of moral behaviour if it lacks personal integrity on the part of the participants (Lumpkin, et.al 2003; Rajczi 2009; Feezell 2004; Shields and Bredemeier 1995; Keating 2007).

Christoph Lumer (1995), in an effort to create a systematic ethical framework, attempts to define the difference between “norms” and “moral norms” in sport. Lumer demarcates “rules” from “moral norms” by showing that rules can be altered to ensure fairness or conformity to a general moral norm (p. 269). However, the adherence to rules in sports is still morally demanded as the act of playing constitutes a moral contract (Feezell 2004) between players. Within sport it is, at least philosophically, impossible to both cheat and compete, as competing, winning and losing are ‘only intelligible within the framework of rules that define a specific competitive sport’ (Delattre 2001, p. 75).

Douglas Hochstetler (2003) seeks to develop a ‘sports ethos where process is understood and valued’ (p. 231). An aspect of this process is the ongoing “narrative” of the participants whereby observation and experience informs the evolving system of ethical practice. Within this ethical framework, Hochstetler claims, the participants ‘gain knowledge of the entire continuum of sport experience’ (p. 231). He notes that the idea of “process” is often overlooked in developing sports ethics and that instead of an athlete always looking for end results (winning, avoidance of losing, greater levels of fitness, agility, etc.), they need to learn the “craft” of their sport and create a relationship with the sport itself as a “process” (p. 239). When this process is achieved, the athlete moves from the sole goals of simple outcomes, gains a deeper perspective of values, and becomes ‘reacquainted with the spirit of play’ (p. 239). Such a spirit of play is reflected in a study investigating the role of physical education in male secondary school students which suggested that investment in physical activity, the body, its sensations and meanings, might actually be more pressing considerations for sports participation than friendship or even winning (Gard and Meyenn 2000, p. 24).

In addressing ethics as a system, Jürgen Court (1995) analyses ways in which ethics can integrate sports science as a whole and he also speaks of a “3 stage model” (p. 323). This model
incorporates the levels of 1) ‘separation’ whereby aspects of the phenomenon of sport are analysed - it is within this stage, claims Court, that ethics and the education thereof should be addressed, 2) ‘additive combination’ where the various interdisciplinary elements involved in sport are considered, and 3) ‘integrity’ where a ‘common theoretical focus’ is sought and deductions made within the framework and findings of stages 1 and 2 (p. 324). However, the author notes that the field of ‘unity of sports science’ – as an interdisciplinary field with an ethical focus – is mainly conducted in ‘German-speaking circles’ and has limited English language references (p. 330). Nevertheless, an English language application can be seen in Eugen König’s (1995) ethical analysis of doping and artificial enhancement in sport.

In summary, “ethics” refers to a system that guides and motivates adherence to a set of moral values and behaviours. For a system or social institution to be ethical it must treat persons with respect and as ends in themselves. It should not undermine its own integrity in order to achieve its goals and objectives. It should strive to remain fair and respectful to all those involved, even when it appears difficult to do so.

**Main findings:**

- “Ethics” is a system which supports the morality and integrity of its individuals.
- Ethics concerns the process, as well as the outcomes, of sporting practices.
- For a social institution to be ethical it must treat persons with respect and as ends in themselves.
- An ethics system should treat everyone equally, with fairness and respect.
What does integrity mean in the context of sport?

Integrity in sport is largely addressed in research through concepts of fair play, respect for the game, sportsmanship, positive personal values of responsibility, compassion for the other, and honesty in adhering to rules (Keating 2007; Bolter 2010; Butcher and Schneider 2003; Feezell 2004; Feezell 2007; Morgan 2007; Festini 2011; Gould and Carson 2008; Lumpkin et al 2003; Boxill 2003). Robert Butcher and Angela Schneider (2003) give an historical overview of the notion of “fair play” showing that in the nineteenth century because ‘sport was the preserve of a homogeneous elite (i.e., moneyed, educated, aristocratic, leisured males), their shared values carried over into sporting practices.’ (p. 153). Jan Boxill (2003) emphasizes that the ideas of “fair play” and “sportsmanship” arise from the Muscular Christianity movement in nineteenth century British Public Schools, which in turn claimed its roots in classical Greek sports (p. 153). There is wide consensus that sport teaches values (Butcher and Schneider 2003; Steenberg and Tamboer 1998; Hall 2006; Keating 2007; Morgan 2007; Festini 2011), but whether these values are positive or negative ‘depends on the way in which sport is played, taught, and practiced’ (Boxill 2003, p. 153).

M. Andrew Holowchak (2001; 2002) also defines sportsmanship as a cultural phenomenon and contextualizes the term relative to the Greek idea of moral and physical excellence: areté. Holowchak calls this “aretism” which implies ‘hardship and commitment to winning’ (2002, p. 162). Holowchak elaborates on this idea by stating that the commitment to winning is combined with the manner of virtuous fair play in which victory is achieved (pp. 162-163). He emphasizes the Greek view that ‘action is judged virtuous because it is performed by a virtuous person,’ claiming that this idea is still a prevalent undercurrent in modern society (p. 154). Following through on the cultural-historical background of sports, David Shields and Brenda Bredemeier (1995) cite studies undertaken by the anthropologist, Richard Sipes (1973; 1975; 1976) who found that ‘contact sports were popular in 90% of the warlike societies and in only 20% of the peaceful societies’ (p. 191). James Keating (2007) also overviews the notion of sportsmanship and sport as representing societal values, virtuous behaviour, and preparation for war. Keating notes that the pervasive societal perception of sport is as ‘a straight road to moral perfection or an antidote to moral corruption’ (p. 150).

Aside from the above historical and anthropological studies of sport, the overwhelming view in the literature is that sport reflects the values of the society in which it exists (Steenberg and Tamboer 1998; Hall 2006; Morgan 2007; Festini 2011; Boxill 2003). To quote Shields and Bredemeier (1995): ‘Sociologists [...] point out a correspondence between broader social values and those seemingly nourished in the world of sport [and] tend to emphasize how sport is integrated with other socializing institutions, passing on the norms and ethos of culture’ (p. 191): that is, the ethics, values, and societal mores (norms) of the wider community. It is widely suggested that the commercialisation of sports has resulted in negative sports behaviours and a “winning at all costs” mentality (Holowchak 2001; 2002; Keating 2007; Feezell 2007; 2004; Hall 2006; Festini 2011). Randolph Feezell (2004) points out that the idea of “winning” and “being competitive” often becomes the key virtue in sports as it is associated with ‘achieving external goods in our social context’ (p. 133). Hence, Feezell claims, there is confusion as to what virtuous conduct means in the context of sport.

Most of the authors in the study place integrity in sport under the general heading of ‘sportsmanship’ (Keating 2007; Bolter 2010; Butcher and Schneider 2003; Feezell 2004; 2007; Morgan 2007; Festini; 2011; Gould and Carson 2008; Lumpkin et al 2003; Simon 2003; Boxill 2003). Angela Lumpkin et al (2003) attempt to define sportsmanship by contrasting the concept with an opposite: gamesmanship. In turn, the authors define gamesmanship as ‘pushing the rules to the limit without getting caught, using whatever dubious methods possible to achieve the desired end’ (p. 57).

Daniel Gould and Sarah Carson (2008) consider the attributes of respect, integrity, compassion, and positive values as being “internal assets” of the individual (p. 61). Jessica Fraser-Thomas et al (2005) also speaks of building internal assets (see Section E2). Butcher and Schneider (2003)
conclude there is no complete definition of “fair play”, yet they claim that the intrinsic essence of fair play is “respect for the game”, believing this concept is the starting point for an ethical approach to sports education (p. 168). There has been consistent inability in research to define and effectively utilise concepts of fair play, sportsmanship, morals, character, and ethical conduct (Palaez 2010).

According to Angela Lumpkin et al (1994), moral reasoning within sports involves three elements: moral character, moral valuing, and moral acting, requiring ‘impartiality, consistency, and reflective judgment’ (p. 31). A more recent study outlines three different but related views of the term “sportsmanship”: 1) a form of social union; 2) a means in the promotion of pleasure, and 3) as a form of altruism (Arnold 2003, p. 72). Peter Arnold defines sportsmanship – in the altruistic perception of the term – as a sacrifice of an individual who goes ‘beyond what is required by duty or a proper observance of the rules […] namely that [these acts] have moral value and they are not morally obligatory’ (p. 78). In elucidating this idea, Arnold relates an example of a marathon runner who stops before the finish line to assist another competitor in need, forfeiting victory.

As to empirical research in this field, Russell Gough (1998; 2002) questions the validity of studies of moral development in sports, suggesting that moral evaluation is a subjective issue and cannot be made an objective science. Secondly, he questions how morals could possibly be reduced to scientific language, doubting the methods employed by sports psychologists and sociologists. Carwyn Jones and Mike McNamee (2000) also claim that empirical studies of the development of morality and character in sports are flawed, citing the works of Bredemeier et al, the authors’ reasons being that the ‘complex and multi-faceted nature of character’ is reduced to a cognitive ability to make judgments and that this is too simplistic (p. 131).

Hugh Upton (2011) examines whether to cheat or not to cheat is a genuine moral dilemma by exploring if there are overriding moral reasons to cheat or – in the author’s terms – a moral “duty” to cheat (p. 161). Evidence was found that given it is a player’s duty to assist the team to victory, there are cases where participants considered cheating as “a part of the game” and, therefore, morally acceptable.

In the body of the work Upton speaks of ‘premeditated and non premeditated’ rule breaking and defines various classes of this behaviour. An example of non premeditated rule breaking – defined not as cheating, but ‘deceptive behaviour’ (p. 172) – may be an instantaneous decision and instigates a change in the flow of the game. Overall, the author concludes there are “different degrees of cheating” (p. 173) and claims there are cases where it is a player’s “moral duty to cheat” as much as there should be education of the young to understand the subtle differences.

A study (Watson et al 2006) from the University of West Virginia overviewed ethical programs in American post graduate studies of sports psychology and found that there is a “lag” in this area compared to clinical and counselling psychology. The study surveyed 47 directors of graduate programs in applied sports psychology and concluded that the students graduating from their courses were not fully prepared for the ‘ethical and legal issues’ (p. 5) they will face in their professional lives. The study found that 64.4% of the graduate programs had ethics training components which were incorporated into non-ethics subject areas and, on the whole, the field of sports ethics – as a stand-alone topic – was largely ignored.

Ian Boardley and Maria Kavussanu (2009) conducted research investigating the effects of motivational climate and coaching character-building competency on prosocial and antisocial behaviours among sport participants (p. 843). Their research found that athletes morally disengage from their sporting environment, which allows them to ‘cognitively reconstrue transgressive behaviours into benign or laudable acts’ (p. 844). Such moral disengagement in sport has been strongly and positively related to antisocial behaviours (p. 844).

The research indicates a complex relationship between competition, a desire to win and integrity. Further research into whether competition itself raises ethical issues or whether extrinsic
motivations like money that come into play in elite professional sports are solely undermining integrity in sports. Research indicates that athletes abdicate their moral responsibility or morally disengage in sporting environments. It is unclear what the effects of such moral behaviour is on sports integrity and what process and structures produce (or inhibit) such behaviour.

Main findings:
- Integrity is related to a range of sport-related virtues.
- Sport can reflect the values of the wider society.
- ‘Winning’ and ‘being competitive’ are often, perhaps problematically, seen as virtues in sport.
- ‘Respect for the game’ is an important feature of sport integrity.
- ‘Winning’ as a first-order value may be antithetical to sport integrity.
In what ways does the meaning of sport integrity and ethical behaviour and values differ across different sports and codes?

Mike McNamee (2009) views little difference in ethics and integrity across different sporting codes, citing in how players blur the lines between breaking and bending the rules. He references three divergent sports: field athletics, Formula One, and football. He claims that the practice of fouling and strategic ‘mishaps’ (he makes the example of a Formula One driver who purposely crashed his car to delay the race, thereby securing a win for his team mate) is now an acceptable virtue. The author believes this now common practice stems from the high value society gives to winning and is reflected in modern sports – both amateur and professional.

In a semi-structured qualitative study (Fraser-Thomas & Cote 2009) of competitive swimmers in Canada, it was found that many participants experienced positive developmental outcomes and few negative developmental experiences in undertaking their sport, feeling – on the whole – the sport enhanced their personal values and life skills. The negative developmental experiences were caused by peer influences, parental pressure, poor coaching relationships, and the ‘challenging environment of competitive sports’ (p. 3). The researchers concluded that a crucial element in either positive or negative developmental experiences was the behaviour – overtly or covertly – of the coaches (see also Palaez 2010). The research suggests further training for coaches to understand youth psychology and the sociological pressures on young people, an understanding of the impact of coaches’ behaviours, and development of positive communication skills in coaching. However, the authors note that their research was undertaken exclusively in the area of youth elite swimming, and indicate that some of these pressures may be particular only to this sport.

Andy Rudd and Brian Gordon (2010) undertook a study utilising both questionnaires and interviews of American college basketball spectators to gauge their ‘understanding and valuing of sportsmanship’ (p. 466). The results of this study ($n = 1509$) were mixed, finding that although all participants understood the notion of sportsmanship, they did not value it. For example, all participants felt it was acceptable to engage in “abusive cheering” and “distracting” the opposition and felt that this behaviour was an aspect of their role as spectators and supporters of their team. The authors conclude that lack of practical understanding of sportsmanship is only partially responsible for spectator aggression and they advocate the possibility of moral education as a means to conjoining the theory and practice of sporting values and sportsmanship.

Another study (Kaye and Ward 2010) detailing 98 cases of antisocial sporting incidents among North American high school athletes found five ‘ethical domains’ in which the moral infractions took place: bending the rules, cheating, coach aggression, disrespect, and player aggression (p. 1). The authors also found that player aggression was more commonplace in male as opposed to female participants and that collision and contact sports may not have ‘a negative socialization effect’ (p. 12). The authors claim that the idea of sport promoting positive moral development remains unresolved (p. 12). Yet, in qualifying this statement, the authors state that there is the potential in sports to develop moral awareness.

Peter French (2001) examines the issue of intercollegiate sports in US universities, claiming that the large amounts of money invested in these sports are justified by the universities as promoting moral behaviours and values, enhancing character development in students, and that intercollegiate sport ‘raises the levels of alumni donations and community support’ for the university (p. 11). French argues there is little evidence of sports enhancing moral development and further that donated funds rarely find their way into the wider academic pursuits of the university (as an investment in learning, as argued), but that the monies stay within athletics departments.
Within the literature, there is a general tendency to view amateur sports as having more *intrinsic motivation* and professional sports having more *extrinsic motivation*. Paleaz (2010) addressed coaches’ intrinsic motivation and terms it ‘personal motivation’ (p. 83). Gould and Carson (2008), like Palaez, firmly place the focus of life skills development in sports as decisively stemming from coaching attitudes and behaviours. Boxill (2003) and Steenbergen and Tambour (1998) define and address directly the idea of *intrinsic* and *extrinsic motivation*. Intrinsic motivation is the desire for pleasure, connection with the other, and a sense of personal satisfaction. Extrinsic motivation is glory, status, external prizes and rewards. Boxill (2003) identifies four major factors for intrinsic motivation: 1) activity must be interesting, 2) activity must be challenging, 3) activity must provide feedback, and 4) activity must be freely chosen. Boxill cites various studies on whether extrinsic motivation decreases intrinsic motivation and vice versa and found this inconclusive (p. 163).

In the study undertaken by Rudd and Mondello (2006), 12 (4 female, 8 male) US college coaches from various sporting codes were asked to define character. The authors made two categories for character: social (honesty, fairness, and compassion) and moral (social character under ‘competing societal pressures and temptations’) (p. 3). The study found that the coaches surveyed overemphasised social character over moral character which the authors surmise contributes to the ‘ethical problems in sports’ (p. 1). The authors also note there were “no discernible differences in the way male and female coaches define character” (p. 8) which they claim is not in agreement with other research. The authors do admit, however, that the sampling was small and that three coaches (out of 12) lacked specificity in defining character.

Sport integrity is shown from the research to differ across various sporting environments, particularly between amateur and elite or professional sport. Extrinsic motivations that are increasingly present at elite levels suggest problems for sport integrity, though this requires further research. More research into what the structures and processes driving increased extrinsic motivation at elite levels is required, as well as research investigating the effects of extrinsic motivation on sport integrity. The role of the coach has been shown to have a significant relationship with sport integrity. Further research regarding this relationship could shed light on coaches’ potentially unique position to influence the ethical sports climate.

**Main findings:**

- Spectators understand sportsmanship but either don’t value or don't identify with the characteristic.

- There is a variety of research pertaining to sport and character-building and moral development. The breadth of results demonstrates that sport and integrity has a context-specific specific relationship and contains not always identifiable mediating factors.

- Elite and professional sports have been increasingly associated with extrinsic motivation.

- Coaches potentially risk harming the development of sport integrity and moral character by over-emphasising social characteristics over moral ones.
In what ways does the meaning of sport integrity and ethical behaviours differ across different sporting environments?

The 2010 Ethical and Integrity Issues in Australian Sport Survey collected data from 3,734 people engaged in sport as players \((n = 897)\), coaches \((n = 1645)\), officials \((n = 572)\) and administrators \((n = 620)\). It found that issues impacting most negatively upon sport traverse a range of different sporting environments: going beyond the spirit of the game, verbal abuse, negative coaching behaviours and practices, athletes being pushed too hard by coaches or parents, negative administrative behaviours and practices, and negative officiating behaviours and practices (ASC 2010). A review of the literature finds that the meaning of sport integrity and ethical behaviours for players and coaches has been widely researched. There is an increasing body of literature since the late 1990s concerning the ethical obligations of sports managers and sports organisations as well as literature concerning the off-field conduct of players. While there is some literature concerning sports participants in the third sector, families and spectators, its relevance to ethics and integrity is limited.

A recurrent theme throughout the literature is the ethical tensions between sport as conceived in its amateur or recreational forms and the increasingly professionalised and commodified forms of sport commonly seen today, particularly at the elite levels (Hums et al. 1999, Chalip 2006, p. 4, Connor and Mazanov 2010, George 2009, p. 26, Kelly and Hickey 2008, Malloy et al. 2000, Paterson 2009, p. 107). For example, Mary A. Hums et al. (1999) notes that because professional sport has as its aim entertainment and profits, its ethical considerations differ markedly from those in amateur sport. The elite levels of sport which operate as entertainment businesses (Kelly and Hickey 2008, p. 384) contain two distinct yet related realms of ethics for players and managers: on-field and off-field conduct (Kelly and Hickey 2008, p. 384, George 2009, p. 27; 32, Paterson 2009). Research indicates that while bad off-field conduct is not a new phenomenon, it is now more widely covered due to increased media interest and new media technologies (Paterson 2009, p. 143). The corporate nature of elite sports means sporting reputation, which is affected by the off-field conduct of players, is now connected to investment by sponsors (George 2009, p. 26) and organisations must balance protecting these sponsorships with concerns about player privacy (Kelly and Hickey 2008, p. 384).

However, a recent case study of the 2009 National Rugby League season (Connor and Mazanov 2010) which was rife with scandal, has advocated that sports managers consider a sponsor strategy of “embracement”, arguing that scandal is inevitable in elite sport and does not necessarily adversely affect sponsorship (p. 213). Indeed, due to ‘legislative loopholes’, some sports are in a rare marketing position of being able to offer products like alcohol broadcast space. That alcohol is usually directly or indirectly related to off-field scandals and that heavy drinking remains a significant part of football culture in Australia is an irony that does not escape the authors (Connor and Mazanov 2010, p. 213; Trosby 2010, p. 50; Palmer and Thompson 2007, p. 188; Lawson and Evans 1992; Jones 2010). Alcohol is commonly cited as a key causal factor in off-field athlete transgression (Trosby 2010, p. 50) and as such the National Alcohol Code of Conduct has, since early 2009, been adopted by the Australian Football League, National Rugby League, Football Federation Australia, Australian Rugby Union, Cricket Australia and Netball Australia (George 2009, p. 32). This elucidates one of the contradictions wrought in sports management discussed by Laurence Chalip (2006) which shows that there are five common international legitimations for sport: health, positive socialisation, economic development, community development and national identity (p. 4). Yet, there is little empirical evidence to suggest sport develops positive socialisation, moral development, competitive or team orientation or good citizenship (Frey and Eitzen 1991, p. 506). But, as the wide alcohol sponsorship of sport suggests, design and implementation of sports programs, events and policies often are often inconsistent if not antithetical to the five common “legitimations” (Chalip 2006, p. 4).
Peter Kelly and Christopher Hickey (2008) conducted an AFL funded research study, *Getting the Balance Right: Professionalism, Performance, Prudentialism and Playstations in the Life of AFL Footballers*, investigating the emergence and active cultivation of a ‘professional identity’ for AFL players (p. 385). They discuss the implementation and role of Player Development Managers within the AFL, whose provision of pastoral care to players increasingly concerns off-field conduct (p. 390). Player Development Managers are in charge of maintaining ‘player profiles’ which includes information of a private nature. While ‘these profiles constitute forms of workplace surveillance that were justified by concerns that had the players interests at heart, … at the same time they circulated in administrative contexts that had the club’s interest at heart’ (p. 392). This private information was important to elucidate on-field behaviours and attitudes of players but also to manage risks that could result from off-field behaviour (p. 392). James Paterson (2009) likewise found competing conflicts of interest among governing bodies, athletes and sponsors when he reviewed the personal conduct policies of the AFL and the NFL and suggested the commercial interests of the leagues may unduly influence the application of the policies (p. 105). Similar anxieties surround the increasing power and potential for conflicts of interest among player agents in Australia. At the elite levels of Australian sport, including the Australian Football League, the National Rugby League and the Football Federation of Australia, code of conduct policies are instituted for player agents which govern, and aim to regulate, the practice of player poaching (Johnson 2006). Nevertheless, after a review of the player agent systems in Australia and the United States of America, Simon Johnson (2006) warns that the increasing power of player agents in elite commercial sport should be regarded as the ‘sleeping giant’ of Australian sport (p. 120).

The literature suggests that ethics and integrity differs across different sporting levels and age groups. In relation to player “poaching”, for example, despite the welfare of athletes being a major consideration in all sporting environments, poaching and inducements at junior levels in sport should be discouraged or, failing that, regulated by the sport’s governing body (Cooke 2005). Similarly, athletes of all ages are motivated to take risks and make significant sacrifices for sport (Reynolds 2000, p. 51). This is particularly dangerous for young athletes when they are participating in a sub-cultural environment that encourages them to adhere to certain values which can lead to increased injury or health problems (Reynolds 2000, p. 56). In a study of poor driving factors associated with poor spectator behaviour (Nicholson and Hoye 2005), it was found that the “winning at all costs” mentality was often displayed by parents of athletes, which was particularly worrying at junior levels where players were likely to adopt these behaviours (p. 98). Such behaviour by parents was heightened during finals, again indicating a “winning at all costs” mentality (Nicholson and Hoye 2005, p. 101). This is congruent with results from the 2010 ASC survey which identified athletes being pushed too hard by coaches and parents as having significant negative impact on sport.

Hardman *et al* (2010) argue that coaches are central to contemporary sporting excellence and play a pivotal role in the moral education of their athletes (p. 357). This is supported by research which demonstrates that the greatest predictor of sport enjoyment among male and female youth basketball players is the motivational climate established by the coach (Cumming *et al* 2007, p. 311). It is also a significant principle considering it has been argued across multiple fronts (Bredemeier *et al* 2003, pp. 218-219; Kerr 2005, p. 83; Boardley and Kavussanu 2009, p. 852) that sport participants externalise morality and abdicate their responsibility to sports officials and coaches. As well as guiding moral behaviour of athletes, coaches and sports officials have been shown to have a major impact on the behaviours of spectators (Nicholson and Hoye 2005, p. 100), specifically increasing the likelihood of poor spectator behaviour when they are seen to be arguing or behaving poorly themselves (p. 98). Negative coaching behaviours and practices have been identified as having a significant impact on sports in Australia and as such are a central focus for the Australian Sports Commission (ASC 2010).

While there is emerging literature concerning ethics and integrity in relation to both on-field and off-field practices and attitudes of elite athletes, particularly those in AFL, the widespread occurrence of a “winning at all costs” mentality across various levels, age-groups and codes suggests further
research is required to investigate how this impacts on non-elite sporting environments. There is ample research to suggest the coach has a significant role in setting the ethical tone of sport environments, but the significance of negative coaching behaviours and practices in the 2010 ASC survey suggests further research on the relationship between tangible coaching practices and sport ethics and integrity is warranted.

Main findings:

- Ethical tensions exist between sport as it is commonly conceived in its amateur form and the increasingly reality of sport in its commercial and elite forms.
- Alcohol sponsorship, and the resultant problems stemming from that, works to undermine sport integrity.
- Player rights to privacy may be at odds with the interests of sporting businesses and organisations.
- Ethical concerns differ across age levels and systems should favour athletes more at younger levels.
- Coaches play a significant role in maintaining sport integrity.
Section Three: Negative Attitudes, Behaviours and Values having an impact on Sporting Integrity; known influencers and drivers of shifts and changes in integrity and ethical behaviour and values in sport

What is the contemporary context and circumstances of negative attitudes, behaviours and values having an impact on integrity in sports?

The 2010 Ethical and Integrity Issues in Australian Sport survey found that issues impacting most negatively on sport (for those already involved) are: going beyond the spirit of the game, verbal abuse, negative coaching behaviours and practices, athletes being pushed too hard by coaches or parents, negative administrative behaviours and practices and negative officiating behaviours and practices (ASC 2010a). It has been argued that sport in Australia has been instrumental in forming social hierarchies based on class, race, gender and ethnicity and that these social hierarchies have perpetuated rather than alleviated social inequalities (Kell 2000, pp. 10-11). This is despite the fact that Australian sport, unlike its British derivations, has always been imagined as an egalitarian field (Zakus et al 2009, p. 994). So, even though Australia has been often celebrated as a country that “punches above its weight” in sport (Toohey and Taylor 2009, p. 837), our general participation levels are actually similar to those in the United States or New Zealand (Ward 2009a, p. 515). Research indicates that Australia’s projected ‘image of elitism’ may result in a ‘lack of inclusiveness’ within sport (Elliot 2004 cited in Green and Houlihan 2006, p. 56; Toohey 2010 p. 2722; p. 2776; Simon 2004, p. 172).

Michael Messner identifies sport as the primary institutional means supporting male domination and as a crucial site of struggle over conceptions of masculinity and femininity (2001, p. 267; p.270). In a study concerning the sport experiences of primary school aged children in Australia (Bartholomaeus 2011), it was found that sport was considered the key aspect of normative masculinity and, likewise, that sporting masculinities were most privileged from a range of masculinities (n.p.). The children also considered sport to be an activity that boys should participate or at least be interested in, but its importance as an activity was not the same for girls (Bartholomaeus 2011, n.p.). Even though women have had increasing access to sporting facilities, coaching and training – which many commentators have noticed has decreased the apparent “muscle gap” between male and female athletes – sport, particularly those involving speed, strength and/or physical contact, is still considered less appropriate for girls (Messner 2001, p. 268; Chalip 2006, p. 12). Much like the figure of the elite sportsperson, the privileged athletic identity in Australia is characterised as young, strong, capable and male (Dionigi and O’Flynn 2007, p. 360).

Together with the above-cited privileged athletic identity, certain Australian sports are specifically considered exclusive games reserved for specific groups of people. Cricket, which is – by participation, spectatorship and media coverage – Australia’s most popular “summer sport”, is one
such context where the sport is commonly seen as being an exclusively white domain (Gemmell 2007). This is supported by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's survey of cultural diversity and racism in sport (2006) which found that although Indigenous Australians have a long history with cricket dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, few Indigenous Australians now participate in the sport, particularly at first class and international levels (p. 73). The 2010 ASC Ethics and Integrity survey found that 97% of cricketers had seen or heard ―sledging‖ in their sport (2010b, p. 67), a practice of verbally insulting someone that is considered uniquely Australian in its frequency (Adair and Vamplew 1997, p. xii).

Australian Rules football, including the Australian Football League (AFL) and the state and community leagues, is the most popular sports in Australia (ABS 2010b, p. 4). It is also one of the most valorised masculine team sports where gender and sexuality are strictly regulated (ISEAL 2010, p. 14). In the first comprehensive survey of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender experiences with sport in Australia (ISEAL 2010), it was found that Australian Rules football is the most commonly cited sport of which LGBT people wish to play but from which they regularly feel excluded (p. 9). Research indicates that elite Australian Rules football engenders specific bodily performances in which ‘bodies are imagined as indestructible instruments of violence’ and athletes are ‘trained to use their bodies as weapons and not as a means of connecting with others’ (Waterhouse-Watson 2009, p. 122). This is concurrent with research which shows that as elite athletic success becomes increasingly associated with profit, visibility and entertainment, athletes are treated as ‘interchangeable parts’ (Frey and Eitzen 1991, p. 509), which results in their objectification and dehumanisation (Walsh and Giulianotti 2007, pp. 80-81). Similarly, it has been noted that although elite (male) athletes are often considered to be cultural symbols of physical health and sexual virility, paradoxically athletes often develop alienated relationships with their bodies as they’re taught to relate to them as tools, machines or even weapons to be “used up” (Dworkin and Messner 2002, p. 18).

Supporting the findings of Deb Waterhouse-Watson (2009), research has suggested that athletes ‘also use intimidation and violence to promote their careers, increase drama for spectators and enhance publicity given to their sports’, particularly in heavy-contact sports like boxing, Australian Rules Football, Rugby League and Rugby Union and ice hockey (Coakley et al 2009, p. 218). It has been suggested that the masculinities promoted in sports like AFL that are based around physicality and sexual prowess, when considered in connection with the dehumanising effects of elite sport (Walsh and Giulianotti 2007, pp. 80-81; Dworkin and Messner 2002, p. 81), create an environment ripe for sexual misconduct and violence (Waterhouse-Watson 2009, pp. 119-122). This is reflected in the negotiations performed by female football fans between their love of the game and their knowledge of player misconduct, especially off-field scandal (Mewett and Toffoletti 2008). It was found that although none of the female AFL fans interviewed condoned sexual violence, they nevertheless drew on some popular discourses – “biological drives” – together with reflections on football culture – ‘the performance of maleness, and the social influence of football culture and team bonding’ – to explain the recent reporting of sexual violence (Mewett and Toffoletti 2008, p. 177).

Recent years have seen Australian sport, particularly at elite levels, become increasingly associated with scandal and antisocial behaviours and attitudes (Trosby 2010), while research suggests sportsmanlike behaviours actually decrease with sport involvement (Hopkins and Lantz 1999 as cited in Mawson 2006, p. 26). The ways in which sport, as an institution, can be inimical to the development of integrity is considered in the following sections.
Main findings:

- Sport is a highly gendered environment where specific types of masculinity are unfairly privileged.
- Such masculinities are often predicated on a specific physicality and a willingness to “do violence”.
- Australian sport is also a racialised social space, where some sports are perceived to be exclusively white.
What are the main social and cultural behaviours and values having an impact on integrity in sports?

The Australian Sports Commission released a report identifying behaviours and values impacting negatively on the integrity and ethics of sport (ASC 2010). The main issues identified were: going beyond the spirit of the game, verbal abuse, negative coaching behaviours and practices, athletes being pushed too hard by coaches/parents, negative administrative behaviours, and practices and negative officiating behaviours and practices (ASC 2010). Underlying and in addition to these issues are a range of social and cultural values prevalent in different sporting contexts, including: harassment, racism, sexism, homophobia, problem alcohol and drug use, bullying, negative parent, spectator, officiator and coach behaviours, and negative stakeholder behaviour.

Gender discrimination and particular modes of masculinity emerge both as barriers to sport participation and as having negative impact on integrity in sport. Sport, it has been argued, operates as a crucial site for struggles over conceptions of masculinity and femininity (Messner 2001, p. 270). This is consistent with research that shows that sport, particularly ones that involve speed, strength or physical contact, is deemed inappropriate for girls (Chalip 2006, p. 12). The implicit link between sport and masculinity continues into adult and elite level sports where, for example, a North American survey shows that 57% of female athletes report that ‘society still forces a choice between being an athlete and being feminine’ (as cited in Messner 2001, p. 275). Despite Australian women being over-represented as winners at Commonwealth and Olympic Games (Burroughs and Nauright 2000), they continue to occupy a subordinate role in sport through many ways, including: the provision of sporting facilities, their rate of participation, remuneration, under-representation in decision-making roles, media coverage and corporate sponsorship (Bennett and Carter 2001, p. 234).

Gender discrimination also appears in non-playing sporting roles. Interviews with female coaches have revealed that ‘exclusionary and demarcationary strategies [operate] to limit women’s access to coaching roles’ and that ‘such strategies included gendering the coaching role as a masculine role and closing access to networks of coaches’ (West et al 2001, p. 85). A different study showed that women identified a strong “old boys” network that operated to exclude women from coaching roles (Greenhill et al 2009, p. 232; see also Welford 2011; Sibson 2010; McKay 1994). Findings from the Australian Bureau of Statistics show that women have consistently had lower sport participation in non-playing roles, particularly for roles traditionally considered masculine: coaching, instructing or teaching, and refereeing or umpiring (ABS 2010a, p. 24). Research also demonstrates that women’s representation in coaching roles decreases at higher levels and higher codes, as well as at higher levels of coaching accreditation (see Burke and Hallinan 2006; Greenhill et al 2009, p. 230).

However, Ian Wellard importantly notes that in the contemporary sporting environment which privileges traditional masculinity — where ‘competitiveness, aggression and toughness are seen as normal and necessary’ — discrimination features not only against women but also against men unable to produce the requisite displays of masculinity (2009, p. 24). In an ethnographic study of a British football (soccer) team, it was shown that coaches frequently use language containing homophobia, misogyny and sexual violence to challenge athlete’s masculinity in a punitive context (Adams et al 2010, pp. 286-287). Such language has also been documented in men’s locker rooms, where athletes resist being “put down” by espousing sexism, objectifying women, and by characterising their opponents as weak and feminine, thereby reaffirming their own masculinity (Curry 1991, p. 119’ Wenner and Jackson 2009, p. 3).

In a survey of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender experiences in sport, it was generally found that deviation from the gender and sexuality norms that exist in sporting culture resulted in punishment, especially within team sports (ISEAL 2010, p. 7). The male participants reported
frequently having their gender or sexuality questioned when they performed badly in sport, leaving many to leave the sport altogether and producing feelings of shame and hurt (ISEAL 2010, p. 7). Women participating in traditionally feminine sport who were suspected of being lesbians were singled out for their sexuality, shamed and often excluded, while women in traditionally masculine sports were all regarded as lesbians regardless of their actual sexual orientation (ISEAL 2010, p. 7). Research has shown that school and sport events are prime sites of homophobic abuse (Hemphill and Symons 2009, p. 399; Wellard 2006, p. 117; Wellard 2009; ISEAL 2010; Gill et al 2006; Burgess et al 2003, pp. 201-203; Plummer 2006).

In a qualitative study of sports experiences and homophobia, David Plummer reflects that ‘although clearly related to misogyny, antigay bias, and heterosexism, homophobia means much more. For young Australian males, homophobia is used to police the boundary between “successful manhood” and those who, according to their peers, fail to “measure up”’ (2006, p. 122). The study revealed that gay participants generally experienced difficulties with sport during childhood and adolescence which led many to feel an ‘intense antipathy toward sport as adults’ (Plummer 2006, p. 126). However, ‘a close examination of the data suggests that it is team sport (rather than sport per se) that is particularly problematic for gay adolescents and young gay men’ (p. 126). A clear association between team sports and bullying as well as bullies and team sports emerged (Plummer 2006, p. 127). A Lithuanian study has shown that sport participation is associated with greater likelihood of being a “bully” and decreased likelihood of being the victim of bullying (Jankauskiene et al 2008, p. 147). The researchers concluded that, concurrent with North American research which found an association between “jock” identity and violence (see Miller et al 2006), it was athletic identity and not sport involvement that ‘determines cruelty’ (Jankauskiene et al 2008, p. 147).

Research has shown that coaches frequently draw upon discourses of war, gender and sexuality to enhance athletic performance by facilitating violent and aggressive responses (Adams et al 2010, p. 278). Violence is not only used as a game tactic, but in ‘boxing, Australian Rules Football, Rugby League and Rugby Union, ice hockey and other heavy-contact sports, competitors also use intimidation and violence to promote their careers, increase drama for spectators and enhance the publicity given to their sports and sponsors’ (Coakley et al 2009, p. 218). Jan Boxill similarly argues that violent behaviour in sport is not curtailed by coaches or managers because the behaviour is revenue-producing (Boxill 2003b, p. 114). However, violence is also apparent in children’s sporting environments where such extrinsic (monetary) motivations do not exist. In a large study investigating the sports experiences of over a thousand children and adolescents, it was found that violent and aggressive behaviours are encouraged and rewarded in collision sports, particularly where such behaviours were seen to increase the probability of winning (Conroy et al cited in Kerr 2005, pp. 81-82). Although violent and aggressive behaviours also exist among women’s athletic experiences (see Baird 2010), the scholarly emphasis is on traditionally male sports and athletic masculinity as these are seen as especially problematic and significantly consequential. This can perhaps be illuminated by a study of youth basketball players which revealed that boys were more likely to display aggressive behaviours, be ego-involved and hold lower sportsmanship values than girls who were also more task-oriented and exhibited higher sportsmanship values (Olsen 1998 cited in Mawson 2006, p. 25).

Connected, at least in popular imagination, to sports-related violence is the relationship between sport and problem-alcohol consumption. While data from Australia is scarce, international studies suggest a positive correlation between sport participation and alcohol consumption (Mays et al 2010). A study utilising data from the (U.S.) National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health 1994-2001 found that ‘greater involvement in sports during adolescence was associated with faster average acceleration in problem alcohol use over time among youths who took part in only sports’ (Mays et al 2010, p. 491). The findings suggest that the relationship between sports participation and alcohol use is dependent on whether youth participate in sports only or sports with other extracurricular activities (Mays et al 2010, p. 491). This would seem to support the above cited research by Miller et al (2006) which indicated an association between sporting identity and
antisocial behavior rather than sport participation itself. Team sports emerged as significant to sport drinking culture (Brenner and Swanik 2007; Lawson and Evans 1992; Duff and Munro 2007; Lorente et al 2004), with a North American study showing that in addition to college athletes practicing binge drinking at higher rates than college non-athletes, this was even greater for athletes engaged in team sports (Brenner and Swanik 2007 pp. 267-269). Australian research also indicates that ‘high-risk drinking is normative at all levels in much Australian sport and particularly among male team sports’ (Duff and Munro 2007, p. 1992). A study of Australian rugby players revealed that in addition to rugby players being over-represented as binge-drinkers (76.5% of rugby players compared with 25.5% of the general male population), they also self-reported that ‘drinking alcohol was an integral part of the game’ (Lawson and Evans 1992, pp. 194-195). Alcohol sponsorship of sport in Australia has been the site of concern for researchers (see Jones 2010), as research links advertising with problem-alcohol consumption among youth (Jones 2010, p. 252). Alcohol sponsorship has also been associated with higher alcohol consumption for athletes compared to those sponsored by non-alcohol related companies (O’Brien et al 2011, p. 212).

The 2006 study conducted by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission on cultural diversity and racism in Australian sport (HREOC 2006) found that ‘incidents of discrimination and vilification are prevalent across many sporting codes, involving professional and amateur sportspeople, coaches and spectators’ (p. 5). The survey found that numerous administrative and institutional barriers exist to Indigenous participation in sport, including: difference and diversity of geographical location; the exclusiveness of the current structure of some sports; lack of financial resources; lack of role models working in and playing the game; lack of information and knowledge about the game; and the need for respect (HREOC 2006, pp. 276-277). The survey also identified institutional and administrative barriers to sports participation for people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. They were primarily identified as: coming from countries without structured community-based sport; lack of familiarity with sporting clubs and environments and available services and activities; lack of understanding of some rules of some sports or lack of confidence in their physical ability to play certain sports; absence of effective public transport; potential threat or experience of discrimination or racism; feelings of isolation; language barriers; alcohol consumption being perceived as a main activity of sports clubs; costs of activities and equipment; and family or cultural communities taking priority over sport (HREOC 2006, p. 277).

Cricket, which is Australia’s main summer sport by participants, spectators and media coverage, is often viewed as an exclusive game reserved for certain groups of Australian culture (HREOC 2006, p. 69). The HREOC survey of cultural diversity and racism in Australian sport notes that although Indigenous cricketers have a long involvement in the game dating back to the mid-nineteenth century where the first Australian cricket team to tour England was comprised of Aboriginal players (Coakley et al 2009, p. 75), few Indigenous people participate in cricket now, especially at first class and international levels (p. 73). As noted previously, in the 2010 ASC Ethics and Integrity survey 97% of cricketers reported seeing or hearing “sledging” (ASC 2010b, p. 67), a practice of verbally insulting people unique in frequency among Australian sports people (Adair and Vamplew 1997, p. xii). Unsurprisingly, research has shown that cricket is still commonly seen as being dominated by white people (Gemmell 2007). Though it has a significantly different cultural history, the “de-ethnicisation” of Australian soccer in 2005 through the introduction of the Hyundai A-League has demonstrated that white Australian’s refusal to historically embrace soccer is a reflection of a deep cultural xenophobia (Hallinan and Hughson 2009, p. 3; Danforth 2001).

Most of the research concerning racism in Australian sport focuses on Indigenous participation in the Australian Football League, where Indigenous players comprise roughly 10% of AFL players, though they are significantly underrepresented in management positions (Hallinan and Judd 2009a, p. 2359). A recent study demonstrated that because Indigenous players consistently outperform their draft numbers, they are systematically discriminated against in the AFL recruitment process (Mitchell et al 2011, p. 48). Racially based discrimination is also present among sports managers and journalists who characterise Indigenous participants and their sporting abilities as “natural”, “brilliant” and “magical” but rule out any potential for leadership and/or management roles (Hallinan
and Judd 2009b, p. 1229). Interviews with AFL recruiters show the production of similar discourses, where recruiters often attribute the abilities of Aboriginal athletes to “biologically and/or culturally programmed” talents rather than the result of agency, hard work, dedication and training (Hallinan and Judd 2009a, p. 2369).

Research has found that with increased commercialisation spectators have modified their attitudes to sport, becoming less concerned with aesthetics and skill and more concerned with heroism, daring and spectacle (Stewart 1986, p. 80). This is partially supported by a study of American college basketball spectators to gauge their ‘understanding and valuing of sportsmanship’ (Rudd and Gordon 2010, p. 466). The results of this study (n = 197) was mixed, finding that although all participants understood the notion of sportsmanship, they did not value it. For example, as previously noted, all participants felt it was acceptable to engage in “abusive cheering” and “distracting” the opposition and felt that this behaviour was an aspect of their role as spectators and supporters of their team (p. 466). The authors conclude that lack of practical understanding of sportsmanship is only partially responsible for spectator aggression and advocate the possibility of moral education as a means to conjoin the theory and practice of sporting values and sportsmanship.

In a study of “driving factors” associated with poor spectator behaviour (Nicholson and Hoye 2005), it was found that the “winning at all costs” mentality was often displayed by parents of athletes, which was particularly worrying at junior levels where players were likely to adopt these behaviours (p. 98). Such behaviour by parents was heightened during finals, again indicating a “winning at all costs” mentality (Nicholson and Hoye 2005, p. 101). This is congruent with results from the 2010 ASC survey which identified athletes being pushed too hard by coaches and parents as having significant negative impact on sport. Further, research has shown that poor spectator behaviour is associated with increased team-identification (Wann et al 2003). In a North American study, participant’s likelihood of considering anonymous acts of aggression in a sport setting was positively correlated with their level of team-identification (Wann et al 2003, p. 411). This correlation was stronger among male sport spectators than female, especially if the acts were physically hostile (p. 411). The study also revealed that, like the parents in the above cited study during finals, spectators were more likely to consider the hostile aggressive if they increased their team’s chances of sporting success (Wann et al 2011, p. 412).

Main findings:

- Sport is significantly intertwined with masculinity, resulting in gender-based discrimination (against men and women), and a significantly homophobic environment.
- Violence is used during sport not only as a (sanctioned) game tactic but to increase extrinsic rewards.
- An unclear empirical relationship between sport participation and alcohol consumption, but a strong relationship between sport and drinking culture, including alcohol sponsorship.
- Barriers to sport participation exist for Indigenous people and culturally and linguistically diverse people. These barriers are both institutional and administrative and operate as discrimination.
- Parents and spectators are complicit in espousing the “winning at all costs” mentality to adverse effects on sport integrity.
What are the main *institutional* and *administrative* behaviours and values having a negative impact on sport?

The 2010 Ethical and Integrity Issues in Australian Sport survey found that issues impacting most negatively on sport (for those already involved) are: going beyond the spirit of the game, verbal abuse, negative coaching behaviours and practices, athletes being pushed too hard by coaches or parents, negative administrative behaviours and practices and negative officiating behaviours and practices (ASC 2010a). The survey also found that while media coverage of sport often reports instances of anti-social behaviours and attitudes, these behaviours did not rate high in either frequency or impact for those involved in sport (ASC 2010a). However, a review of the literature finds that many of the anti-social behaviours and attitudes reported as infrequent and of little impact, such as: the overuse or misuse of alcohol, risky/potentially harmful sexual activity, negative attitudes towards homosexuality, negative attitudes towards men and negative attitudes towards women, are too frequent. Other values and behaviours, such as abuse and violence, inequity and harassment, and gender participation were shown to be of concern in the literature and, together with the anti-social behaviours and values listed above, were often linked to institutional and administrative values such as the emphasis placed on elite sport, the commercialisation of sport, and the particular constructions of gender and race within sport.

Michael Messner identifies sport as a crucial site of struggle over conceptions of masculinity and femininity, arguing that sport is the primary institutional means supporting male domination (2001, p. 270; 267). Women occupy a subordinate role in sport in Australia, including: the provision of sporting facilities; their rate of participation; remuneration; under-representation in decision-making roles; media coverage and corporate sponsorship (Bennett and Carter 2001, p. 234). Nevertheless, female athletes have gained greater access to coaching and training facilities which many commentators noted has reduced the degree of difference between male and female athletic performance (Messner 2001, p. 268). Australia also has a historically solid record of women athletes performing well at elite levels and consistently being over-represented as winners at Commonwealth and Olympic Games (Burroughs and Nauright 2000; Bennett and Carter 2001, p. 238). Yet, in a report published this year, even among primary school aged children sport was seen to be the key aspect of normative masculinity and, likewise, sporting masculinities were privileged above other masculinities (Bartholomaeus 2011). It is unsurprising then that the same children viewed sport as something that all boys should participate or be interested in while this was not the case for girls (Bartholomaeus 2011). This is consistent with previous studies that found sport, particularly those involving speed, strength or physical contact, is deemed less appropriate for girls (Chalip 2006, p. 12).

In research commissioned by the Government Office for Women focussing specifically on women from diverse cultural backgrounds and sport, national sports organisations identified financial impediments to implementing strategies that would engage more women from culturally diverse backgrounds, while some maintained that a mainstream approach was most beneficial to most people (Cortis 2009, pp. 95-96; p. 95). Nevertheless, the author found that women born outside of a predominately English speaking country (one in five women in Australia) were among the least likely to participate in sport or recreation activities (Cortis 2009, p. 92). Similarly, much scholarship of Australian sport funding and national sport organisations has resulted in critiques of continued emphasis on elite funding in sport (Green and Houlihan 2006; Green and Collins 2008; Toohey 2010; Simon 2004, p. 172). Research conducted over 2000-2005 involving the review of academic, governmental and national sport organisation documents and interviews with senior staff in national and government sport agencies revealed that despite the twin objectives of the Australian Sport Commission of mass participation and elite success the suggested “trickle down” effect from elite sport to mass participation has not occurred (Green and Collins 2008, p. 233). Surveys conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 2001, 2004 and 2007 measured involvement in organised...
sport as 27% across 2001-2007 yet dropping to 26% in 2010 (ABS 2010a, p. 5). Furthermore, based on research findings it has been argued that administrative and institutional emphasis on elite sport may have resulted in a lack of inclusiveness for Australian sport that detrimentally affects grassroots participation (Green and Houlihan 2006, p. 56). This is consistent with findings showing that although young people admire outstanding athletic performance, they consider it beyond the capacity of “normal” individuals like themselves (Lines 2007, p. 328). Intense media coverage of elite sport has not been seen to enhance youth involvement in sport (Lines 2007, p. 317) and there is little research supporting the notion that focusing on and/or funding elite sport increases mass participation (Toohey 2010, p. 2772).

Three of the negative behaviours/values identified by sports participants in the 2010 ASC survey as having a significant negative impact on sports were ‘going beyond the spirit of the game’, athletes being pushed too hard by coaches or parents, and negative coaching behaviours and practices. Constituting the negative coaching behaviours and practices were: a focus on winning at all costs, bias or favouritism, criticism of officials, verbal abuse, team/athlete selection and not managing players holistically (ASC 2010). Kristine Toohey (2010) found that emphasis on winning and elite participation has detrimental results for participation at the recreational level and she criticises measuring the value of sport by tallying victories (p. 2722; p. 2776). The commercialisation of elite sport means athletes are increasingly motivated by extrinsic aims (Boxill 2003a, p. 3; Walsh and Giulianotti 2007). Jan Boxill argues that money is the most significant source of problems in competitive sport as it encourages athletes to engage in, for example, violence behaviour which is not curtailed by coaches or managers because the behaviour is economically useful (Boxill 2003a, p. 3; Boxill 2003b, p. 114). This is consistent with research that found that with increased commercialisation spectators have modified their attitudes to sport, becoming less concerned with aesthetics and skill and more concerned with heroism, daring and spectacle (Stewart 1986, p. 80).

Interviews conducted with twenty women coaches showed that ‘exclusionary and demarcationary strategies operated to limit women's access to coaching roles’ and that ‘such strategies included gendering the coaching role as a masculine role and closing access to networks of coaches’ (West et al 2001, p. 85). A more recent study of women in a State Sporting Organisation (Greenhill et al 2009) similarly found that men’s informal networks may explain the higher acceptance rate of formal applications by men (p. 237). Women interviewed identified time pressures, lack of compensation (some voluntary roles), discrimination and a strong “old boys” network as common barriers to their participation in coaching roles (Greenhill et al, p. 232). However, the same study found that sports administrators identified no “old boys” network, felt the representation of women in coaching was adequate and believed gender equity grants and/or programs discriminated against men (pp. 237-238). Findings from the Australian Bureau of Statistics show that since 2001 women have consistently had lower sport participation rates than men in non-playing roles, with 9.6% and 8.4% respectively (ABS 2010a, p. 24). Further analysis shows that participant rates by gender vary greatly across different non-playing roles. While men and women participate equally in medical support roles (both 0.7%) and at similar rates in committee and administrative settings (3.1% for males and 2.9% for females), participation among coaching, instructing or teaching (4.3% for males and 3.1% for females), refereeing or umpiring (2.3% for males and 1.3% for females) and scoring or timekeeping (2.5% for males and 3% for females) shows a significant gender imbalance (ABS 2010a, p. 24). The gender imbalance among sport coaches is even greater when considering solely accredited coaches (Greenhill et al/2009). In 2006 females made up 36% of Level I accredited coaches and only 15% of Level III accredited coaches nationally (Greenhill et al/2009, p. 230). Similarly, a study of women’s leadership roles in girls’ basketball (Burke and Hallinan 2006) found that women have better representation as coaches at lower age levels and codes than they do at higher or older levels (p. 22).

Similar findings resulted from a study of women in sporting administrative roles which found that despite the implementation of affirmative action policies many sports organisations ‘appear to be designed to maintain the (male) status quo’ (Sibson 2010). This is consistent with earlier research (McKay 1994) which found that women in middle and senior sports management were
systematically disadvantaged in some of the following ways: sexual harassment; physical intimidation; informal male networks; patronage; lack of women role models and mentors; executive inaction regarding gender equity; masculine biases in recruitment, interviewing selection, development and promotion; and the ‘particularly masculine ambience of sport’ (p. 87).

The 2006 study conducted by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission on cultural diversity and racism in Australian sport (HREOC 2006) found that ‘incidents of discrimination and vilification are prevalent across many sporting codes, involving professional and amateur sportspeople, coaches and spectators’ (p. 5). The survey found that numerous administrative and institutional barriers exist to Indigenous participation in sport, including: difference and diversity of geographical location; the exclusiveness of the current structure of some sports; lack of financial resources; lack of role models working in and playing the game; lack of information and knowledge about the game; and the need for respect (HREOC 2006, pp. 276-277). Most of the literature concerning Indigenous sport participation focuses on the Australian Football League where Indigenous players comprise roughly 10% of AFL players though are significantly underrepresented in management positions (Hallinan and Judd 2009a, p. 2359). In a recent study that performed a statistical analysis of AFL draft seasons and player statistics (Mitchell et al 2011) it was demonstrated that Aboriginal AFL players consistently outperform their draft numbers and as such are systematically undervalued as players (p. 48). Though the study did not infer causation, the results indicate that there is likely another tier of slightly less talented Aboriginal footballers (than those already selected) who would make the draft if they were not Aboriginal (Mitchell et al 2011, p. 48).

Similarly, from interviews conducted with AFL recruiting staff, it was shown that recruiters often attribute the abilities of Aboriginal athletes to “biologically and/or culturally programmed” talents rather than the result of hard work, dedication and training (Hallinan and Judd 2009a, p. 2369). The researchers found that colonial discourses of biological and/or cultural determinism were deployed by recruiters and that this negates agency. They also noted that Aboriginal players were often categorised as ‘wingers’ or ‘half-forward flankers’ which is contrary to the positions Aboriginal footballers often play (Hallinan and Judd 2009a, p. 2369; pp. 2371-2372).

The 2006 HREOC survey also identified institutional and administrative barriers to sports participation for people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. They were primarily identified as: coming from countries without structured community-based sport; lack of familiarity with sporting clubs and environments and available services and activities; lack of understanding of some rules of some sports or lack of confidence in their physical ability to play certain sports; absence of effective public transport; potential threat or experience of discrimination or racism; feelings of isolation; language barriers; alcohol consumption being perceived as a main activity of sports clubs; costs of activities and equipment; and family or cultural communities taking priority over sport (HREOC 2006, p. 277).

In addition to the barriers listed above for CALD people generally, young women from CALD backgrounds have been identified as being particularly disadvantaged through barriers to sports participation (Cortis 2009; HREOC 2006, p. 277). These additional barriers may include: culturally inappropriate uniform requirements; lack of female coaches; and lack of appropriate facilities or programs to participate in (HREOC 2006, p. 277). During focus groups conducted with women from CALD backgrounds throughout Australia, issues of appropriate dress and sporting facilities continuously arose, as did language barriers, cultural priorities and roles, as well as racism, stigmatisation and exclusion (Cortis 2009, pp. 97-99).

Despite the significant impact of negative coaching practices and behaviours being identified in the 2010 ASC Ethics and Integrity survey, there is limited scholarship available, particularly from an Australian perspective, which addresses the prevalence or impact of such behaviours and values. Research on barriers facing women on entry to administrative and coaching sport roles suggests there are both structural and institutional impediments to gender equity. Similarly, barriers facing
people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds show that sporting codes, facilities and organisations themselves are operating as barriers. The findings by Mitchell et al (2011) that Aboriginal football players are systematically being discriminated against in the drafting process is significant and warrants further research. As another ASC focus area, further research needs to be conducted on the type, prevalence and frequency of negative administrative behaviours and practices in sport.

Main findings:

- Focus and disproportionate funding on elite sport in Australia likely has adverse results for wider levels of participation.
- Non-playing sport roles are highly gendered.
- Research showing racial discrimination is still prevalent within the AFL demonstrates that institutional as well as administrative reform is required to alter behaviours and attitudes that undermine sports integrity and participation.
- Young women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds are significantly disadvantaged when it comes to sport participation.
In what ways do negative attitudes have an impact on sport, including different levels, age-groups, and codes?

As noted previously, the 2010 Ethical and Integrity Issues in Australian Sport survey found that issues impacting most negatively on sport (for those already involved) are: going beyond the spirit of the game; verbal abuse; negative coaching behaviours and practices; athletes being pushed too hard by coaches or parents; negative administrative behaviours and practices and negative officiating behaviours and practices (ASC 2010a). It has been argued that sport in Australia has been instrumental in forming social hierarchies based on class, race, gender and ethnicity and that these social hierarchies have perpetuated rather than alleviated social inequalities (Kell 2000, pp. 10-11). This section will focus on how the negative attitudes and behaviours identified in the previous section have an impact on sport at the ground level.

In a study of primary school aged children and sport previously noted (Bartholomaeus 2011), sport was found to be the key aspect of normative masculinity with sporting masculinities being most privileged in relation to other masculinities (n.p.). Sport was conceived by the children as something that all boys should either participate or be interested in and was often viewed as something for boys and not for girls (Bartholomaeus 2011, n.p; see also Malcom 2006). A study detailing the construction of masculinity through football culture in Australian high schools (Burgess et al 2003) found that boys quickly become aware of the dominant forms of masculinity where displays of toughness and aggression, together with anti-female and anti-homosexual sentiment, are seen as indicative of ‘genuine masculinity’ (p. 201; p. 203). This is conclusive with studies of youth basketball players that demonstrated boys were more likely to display aggressive behaviours, be ego-involved and hold lower sportsmanship values than girls who were more task-orientated and exhibited higher sportsmanship values (Olsen 1998 cited in Mawson 2006, p. 25). It has also been found that the longer athletes are involved in sport, the lower the sportsmanship behaviours are (Hopkins and Lantz 1999 cited in Mawson 2006, p. 26).

The privileged athletic identity can be characterised as young, strong, capable and male (Dionigi and O’Flynn 2007, p. 360). In interviews conducted with older athletes participating at the 8th Australian Masters Games it was found that despite many athletes wanting to compete and perform at their best, many participants described feeling guilty, embarrassed or of wanting to avoid being competitive as they did not conform to the privileged image of athleticism (Dionigi and O’Flynn 2007, p. 367).

The “winning at all costs” mentality highlighted in the 2010 ASC survey and frequently present in sport at the elite level has been shown to permeate sport at different code levels and age groups (Reynolds 2000, p. 56). From a questionnaire delivered to North American middle school students and female high school athletes it was found that a significant population of female youth perceive high skill level to be an exclusionary criterion for sports participation (Zieff 2006, p. 261). This is consistent with research that argues emphasis on elite athletes and the marketing of elite sports has a detrimental effect on mass sport participation (Simon 2004, p. 172). In a large study investigating the sports experiences of over a thousand children and adolescents, it was found that violent and aggressive behaviours are encouraged and rewarded in collision sports, particularly where such behaviours were seen to increase the probability of winning (Conroy et al cited in Kerr 2005, pp. 81-82). The “winning at all costs” mentality thus can be seen to over-emphasise elite athletic ability and encourage violent and aggressive behaviours even at recreational and young age group levels.

A study of verbal aggression in Australian basketball and ice hockey (Kerr and Grange 2009) found that contrary to prior research, verbal aggression in these sports often followed bouts of physical aggression (p. 362). Acts of verbal aggression were most commonly directed towards sports officials within ice hockey and basketball (Kerr and Grange 2009, p. 361), whereas in AFL, findings...
were concurrent with prior research showing that verbal aggression was often retaliated with by using physical aggression (Kerr and Grange 2009, p. 367). Their study suggests that athletes often use verbal aggression to intentionally intimidate their opponent and that, additionally, such actions often produced ‘pleasurable high-arousal experiences’ for the perpetrating athlete (Kerr and Grange 2009, pp. 365-366).

The stringent policing of gender in sports means that although many female athletes are gay, an “out” one is hard to find (Galst 2003, p. 289). Lesbian athletes feel they have to keep their sexuality hidden and/or “pass” as heterosexual, especially ones wanting to become physical education teachers or involved in sports coaching (Bennett and Carter 2001, p. 238; Galst 2003, p. 292; ISEAL 2010, p. 7). A case study of print media coverage of women’s rugby supports these findings, showing that in the media female rugby players are constructed as playing a “man’s game” and reconcile the involvement of women in a “man’s game” by actively constructing the players as appropriately feminine and heterosexual in other ways so as not to threaten the masculinity of male rugby players (Wright and Clarke 1999, pp. 228-231). As noted earlier, in the first comprehensive study of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender experiences in sport (ISEAL 2010) it was found that, like previous research suggested, women were discouraged from playing by: being called lesbians; insulted; sexually assaulted and by being told they could not play (p. 7). Likewise, men had their gender or sexuality questioned when they performed badly, producing feelings of shame and hurt and causing many to leave sport because of it (p. 7). It was found that men in team sports were less likely to be “out” than men in individual sports, with many saying they either needed to “pass” as heterosexual or leave the game (p. 7). There were particular sports identified that some LGBT people (26% of males, 9.9% of females and 58.3% of transgender people) wished to play but could not (p. 9). Australian rules football was the sport highlighted by all genders as the one they were most excluded from on the grounds of their gender and/or sexuality (p. 9). It was found that women had better experiences in school sport than men and transgender people universally loathed school sports, highlighting the difficulty of participation in the two sexed/gendered sports model and ignorance and prejudice concerning transgender issues (p. 8; p. 28; p. 30).

Findings from the Australian Bureau of Statistics show that women have consistently had lower sport participation rates than men in non-playing roles, with 9.6% and 8.4% respectively (ABS 2010a, p. 24). Further analysis shows that gender participation varies greatly across different non-playing roles. While men and women participate equally in medical support roles (both 0.7%) and at similar rates in committee and administrative settings (3.1% for males and 2.9% for females), participation among coaching, instructing or teaching (4.3% for males and 3.1% for females); refereeing or umpiring (2.3% for males and 1.3% for females) and scoring or timekeeping (2.5% for males and 3% for females) show a significant gender imbalance (ABS 2010a, p. 24). This is concurrent with research focusing on sports administration and operation of lawn bowls, a sport predominately played by older athletes (Boyle and McKay 1995). The research demonstrated that like women in non-playing roles more generally, female lawn bowls participants had gendered roles within their lawn bowls organisation. Women were solely responsible for catering and did the bulk of the fundraising as well as contributing unpaid labour and money to the men’s teams while the gesture was not reciprocated (Boyle and McKay 1995, p. 564). Again, this is conclusive with wider research that shows women do an unequal share of ancillary labour in sports, such as cooking, cleaning, chauffeuring and fund-raising (Dempsey 1992; Thompson 1999 cited in Bennett and Carter 2001, p. 237).

Despite numerous sociological analyses of sexual abuse and sport, Trisha Leahy et al (2002) provide the only study documenting the prevalence of sexual abuse in organised sport in Australia. Their cross-sectional, retrospective survey design (p. 16) found that 31% of female and 21% of male athletes reported experiencing sexual abuse at some point in their lives. Of these, 41% of females and 29% of males had been sexually abused within a sports environment (p. 16). Out of the athletes who reported sexual abuse within a sports environment, 46.4% of elite athletes and 25.6% of club level athletes were abused by sports personnel (p. 16). There were higher incidences of sexual abuse for female athletes participating at an elite level whereas the opposite was true for male
Integrity in Sport Literature Review

athletes (18.8% of men and 35.7% of women at elite level versus 23.8% of men and 25.3% of women at club level) (p. 25). The authors concede that the difference in experiences between genders and sports levels may be attributed to difference in frequency and/or difference in reticence to disclose sexual abuse (p. 29). Nevertheless, the numbers are alarming and demonstrate that coaching codes of ethics and policy guidelines are necessary though not sufficient to protect athletes (p. 31).

Despite Australian Rules football having a 'long tradition of multicultural players' and often being celebrated for its ability to 'transcend cultural barriers and ethnic divides' (HREOC 2006, p. 27; p. 23), research on player positioning in the AFL (Donaghue and Walker 2007) has shown that Aboriginal players are consistently not placed in "key positions" during game play. In the 2001 football season not one of the 46 Aboriginal players occupied a key position at any point while 76 non-Aboriginal players held these positions throughout the season (Donaghue and Walker 2007, p. 776). Similar discrimination is present among sports managers and journalists who, as previously noted, ‘typify Indigenous participants as limited to “natural”, “brilliant”, “magical” playing roles but rule out potential for leadership and/or management roles’ (Hallinan and Judd 2009b, p. 1229). Interviews with AFL recruiters show the production of similar discourses, where recruiters often attribute the abilities of Aboriginal athletes to "biologically and/or culturally programmed" talents rather than the result of hard work, dedication and training (Hallinan and Judd 2009a, p. 2369).

As noted previously, cricket, which is Australia’s main summer sport by participation, spectator rates and media coverage, is often viewed as an exclusive game reserved for certain groups of Australia culture (HREOC 2006, p. 69). The HREOC survey of cultural diversity and racism in Australian sport notes that although Indigenous cricketers have a long involvement in the game dating back to the mid-nineteenth century where the first Australian cricket team to tour England was comprised of Aboriginal players (Coakley et al 2009, p. 75), few Indigenous people participate in cricket now, especially at first class and international levels (p. 73). In the 2010 ASC Ethics and Integrity survey 97% of cricketers reported seeing or hearing "sledging" (ASC 2010b, p. 67), a practice of verbally insulting people unique in frequency among Australian sports people (Adair and Vamplew 1997, p. xii). Unsurprisingly, research has shown that cricket is still commonly seen as being dominated by white people (Gemmell 2007). Though it has a significantly different cultural history, the “de-ethnicisation” of Australian soccer in 2005 through the introduction of the Hyundai A-League has demonstrated that white Australian’s refusal to historically embrace soccer is a reflection of a deep cultural xenophobia (Hallinan and Hughson 2009, p. 3; Danforth 2001).

Through much of the literature concerning sports in Australia, whiteness is an omnipresent but seemingly invisible category through which discussion is framed. Research is available that reveals racial discrimination in Australian sport and a fruitful avenue might be to investigate what role the construction of whiteness plays in sporting environments when it is clearly the privileged athletic racial identity. Of high concern is the indication from research by Leahy et al (2002) which tentatively found high prevalence of sexual abuse in sporting environments, particularly for women in elite sports. Of the one study available (Dionigi and O’Flynn 2007) investigating the experiences of older athletes in competitive sports, the desire to compete yet concurrent feelings of embarrassment elucidate a sometimes overlooked aspect of privileged athletic identity: youth. Research on elite sport is heavily concentrated around the Australian Football League; further research into other codes at the elite level is required to separate wider cultural issues from code-specific ones.
Main findings:

- The “winning at all costs” mentality over-emphasises athletic ability, leading perhaps to lower general participation rates.
- The “winning at all costs” mentality increases violence.
- Gender and sexuality “norms” are strictly reinforced in many sporting environments.
- The two sex/gender model that dominates sports means that transgender people ‘universally loathed’ sport.
What key drivers influence the development of negative behaviours and values in sport?

Much of the literature concerning negative behaviours and values in sport identifies what many refer to as ‘hegemonic masculinity’ as a key institutional driver (Bennett and Carter 2001; Bryson 1987; Curry 1991; Drummond 2002; Dworkin and Messner 2002; Messner and Sabo 1994; Messner 2001; Waterhouse-Watson 2009; Wellard 2009; Wenner and Jackson 2009). Ian Wellard summarises that ‘contemporary sporting practice produces and promotes an environment where displays of traditional masculinity, those which present competitiveness, aggressiveness and toughness, are seen as normal and necessary’ and that ‘the prioritisation of specific performances of masculinity results in the continued discrimination of women, but also those men considered unable to present the appropriate displays’ (2009, p. 14; p. 24). These forms of masculinity and gender discrimination are deeply embedded in sports culture. For example, from interviews with elite male triathletes and surf lifesavers, it was found that all men articulated support for notions of gender equity in sport, yet a common theme among men from both codes was a desire to beat women and demonstrate their “superior” strength and athleticism (Drummond 2002, pp.134-135).

Both the ‘going beyond the spirit of the game’ and negative coaching behaviours and practices were cited as having a significant negative impact on sport by the 2010 ASC survey. Research has shown that coaches frequently draw upon discourses of war, gender and sexuality to enhance athletic performance by facilitating violent and aggressive responses (Adams et al. 2010, p. 278). The behaviours constituting negative coaching behaviours in the 2010 ASC survey included a focus on ‘winning at all costs’ and verbal abuse, which is supported by the available literature. The language used by coaches frequently contains homophobia, misogyny and sexual violence, used punitively to challenge the athlete’s masculinity (Adams et al. 2010, pp. 286-287). This form of language translates to the locker room where male athletes resist being “put down” by espousing sexist attitudes, objectifying women in a way consonant with rape culture and characterising their opponents as weak and feminine to reaffirm their traditional masculinity (Curry 1991, p. 119; Wenner and Jackson 2009, p. 3).

A significant portion of the literature on Australian sport concerned behaviours and values in the Australian Football League, Australian Rules football at lower levels and rugby at elite and amateur levels, which are the first and third most popular sports in Australia by attendance (ABS 2010b, p. 4). Of particular importance to recent scholarship on AFL is violence, racism, sexism and sexual violence. Deb Waterhouse-Watson identifies that ‘elite footballers are trained to use their bodies as weapons and not as a mean of connecting with others’ and that ‘their bodies are imagined as indestructible instruments of violence’ (2009, p. 122). When physicality, which is often violence in a subverted form, and sexual prowess are integral to the construction of footballer masculinity, a propensity to sexual violence seems likely (Waterhouse-Watson 2009, p. 120; p. 122). In a study of female AFL fans it was found that although all study participants condemned sexual violence many thought “biological drives”, the performance of masculinity and the social influence of football culture and team bonding influenced football player’s sexual mistreatment of women (Mewett and Toffoletti 2008, p. 177). It has similarly been suggested despite athletic masculinity more generally being symbolised by physical health and sexual virility, athletes commonly develop alienated relationships with their bodies as they’re taught to relate to them as tools, machines or even weapons to be “used up” (Dworkin and Messner 2002, p. 18). The dehumanisation or objectification (Walsh and Giulianotti 2007, pp. 80-81) of footballers ‘excuses them for sexual assault and shields them from being held accountable’ (Waterhouse-Watson 2009, p. 119). Earlier research has suggested that the emphasis placed on winning in elite sports ‘translates into treating athletes as interchangeable parts’ as athletic success becomes associated with profit, visibility, entertainment and community/organisation prestige (Frey and Eitzen 1991, p. 509).
The restrictive modes of masculinity cultivated at the elite level in popular sports like AFL and rugby in Australia are also present in youth and recreational versions of the codes. During a study of a high school rugby team in Queensland, Australia (Light and Kirk 2000), it was observed that rugby continues to operate as a ‘social education in which turning boys into a particular type of men forms a central element of the curriculum’ (p. 174). The rugby masculinity is produced around ideals of physical domination, competitiveness, toughness, teamwork and self-restraint that comes to dominate over other, alternate ways of ‘being a man’ (Light and Kirk 2000, p. 174). Interviews with women rugby players similarly show that they understand and shape their rugby experience through pain, contact and aggression (Baird 2010, p. 214). The women were aware of their appropriation of masculine gender and enjoyed resisting traditional definitions of “woman” (Baird 2010, pp. 214-215). Yet, despite the successful resistance of these women rugby players, a North American survey shows that 57% of female athletes find that ‘society still forces a choice between being an athlete and being feminine’ (cited in Messner 2001, p. 275). In a study of men who participated in mainstream and/or gay tennis clubs (Wellard 2006) it was found that although all the men enjoyed sport and had a uniform enjoyment of engaging in physical activity in childhood, the ability to participate in certain sporting codes was predicated on specific bodily performances (p. 105). The most notable factor of participation for their childhood and adult sporting lives was gender performance, as even schools (although often unwittingly) discriminate against young people’s gendered bodily performances (Wellard 2006, p. 117).

In a study previously noted, the first comprehensive survey of the sport experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered people in Australia (ISEAL 2010), it was generally found that deviation from gender and sexuality norms is punished in sport, particularly team sport (p. 7). Men frequently had their gender or sexuality questioned when they performed badly in sport, producing feelings of shame and hurt which drove many to leave sport (ISEAL 2010, p. 7). Women in traditionally female sports who were suspected of being lesbians were singled out, shamed and excluded while women in traditionally masculine sports were all regarded as lesbians regardless of their sexual orientation (ISEAL 2010, p. 7). Some participants (26% of male, 9.9% of female and 58.3% of transgender) indicated there was a sport they would like to play but could not because of their gender and/or sexuality (ISEAL 2010, p. 9). The sport most wanted to play for but for which they were excluded for all genders was Australian Rules football, the most popular sport in Australia and also one of the valorised masculine team sports where homophobia is pervasive (ABS 2010b, p. 4; ISEAL 2010, p. 9; p. 14).

Sports motivation and enjoyment as sport becomes professionalised and commodified. Here, the focus is shifted from the player or participant to the manager and audience, which means the “spirit of the game” or intrinsic motivation is commonly replaced by monetary or extrinsic motivation (Frey and Eitzen 1991, pp. 508-509; Volkwein 1995, p. 311). In a study of youth female and male basketball players (Cumming 2007) it was found that winning was not related to athlete enjoyment and that the greatest predictor of enjoyment was the motivational, rather than ego-involved, climate established by the coach (pp. 330-331). Another study of female and male middle school students (Stuntz and Weiss 2003) found that students who rate high on ego-involvement were more likely to participate in unsportsmanlike behaviours (pp. 427-428). For male students friendship and group acceptance involvement positively correlated with the intention to commit unsportsmanlike behaviours, whether or not the friends or group condoned such behaviour (Stuntz and Weiss 2003, pp. 429-430), which the authors suggest may result from the higher frequency of physically aggressive behaviours from male students more generally (p. 431). A similar study of high school and college aged students found that participants with higher moral reasoning were less likely to practice or condone aggressive behaviour (Bredemeier et al 2003, p. 218). It was also suggested that moral norms which operate in “everyday” life are suspended during competitive sport to allow for a more ego-involved orientation, with athletes commonly externalising morality to sports officials and coaches who enforce the rules (pp. 218-219). While this “game reality” has safety-nets within sport itself the authors warn that such abdication of morality spills over into other aspects of life where such safety-nets do not exist (p. 220). However, other research on sport aggression and violence has found the opposite: that athletes construct a “bracketed” morality for sport and that
such negative behaviours which are condoned in sport do not cross over into “everyday” life (Kerr 2005, pp. 82-83). While it has not been established here that there is a causal relationship between on-field and off-field behaviour, it is widely accepted that off-field athlete transgression is seen to be a significant issue in sport (Trosby 2010, p. 49).

Representations of Aboriginal sporting ability in Australia have generally reinforced colonial attitudes of race where athletic ability is (incorrectly) attributed to physiological or anthropomorphic characteristics (Nelson 2009, p. 102; Tatz 2009). This means that the talent and skill of Aboriginal athletes are frequently portrayed as “natural” rather than the result have hard work, dedication and training (Nelson 2009, p. 102). Similarly, it has been shown that when Aboriginal athletes are successful, media and popular discourses proclaim them and their success as “Australian”, but “Aboriginal” in instances where they are not successful (Gardiner 2003, p. 31). Similarly, in a case study of the Wanderers Aboriginal basketball team in Ballarat, Victoria (Hallinan and Judd 2007), it was found that Aboriginal athletes competing at amateur level were tasked with representing not only themselves but their culture and community in a similar way to the experiences of elite Aboriginal athletes (p. 433).

As violence, sexual abuse and off-field behaviour become more and more significant in the contemporary sporting landscape, further research clarifying the relationship between “game morality” or on-field aggression and “everyday morality” or off-field aggression would be productive as current research is inconclusive. There is a continual anchoring throughout the literature between aggressive behaviours and masculinity, from school aged children through to elite athletes. The idea that athletes and coaches are increasingly supporting a “win at all costs” mentality was prevalent among the literature though never clearly defined in positive terms, though it is constructed negatively as distinct from cheating. Like notions of “fair play” or “sportsmanship”, its utility as a focus area is limited without a working or agreed upon sense of meaning. The emerging relationship between elite sports and disembodied bodily relations which is starting to suggest a propensity for, and admonishment from, forms of violence and sexual abuse requires further investigation.

**Main findings:**
- Athletes abdicate moral responsibility during sport and this may cross-over into non-sporting contexts.
- Aggressive behaviour and masculinity are linked in sport from early childhood and into professional elite levels.
- As sport involvement increases and becomes more professional athletes may develop instrumental and disembodied relationships with their bodies.
Section Four: Positive Attitudes, Behaviours and Values having an Impact on Sporting Integrity; known influences and drivers of positive shifts and changes in integrity and ethical behaviour and values in sport

What is the contemporary and historical context of positive attitudes and values influencing ethical behaviours and integrity in sport?

Much of the heritage of Australian sporting culture comes from nineteenth-century Britain, during a time when many world sports were codified and spread throughout the then Empire. Many positive values were associated with sport at this time: fair play; nobility of character, and self-control and discipline. Further traits were considered to be especially associated with team sports: loyalty; commitment; capacity to follow instructions; identification with a wider group, and care of the self and others. The connections between sporting culture and the wider empire are outlined in a range of sources (Birley 1995; Mangan 1981; Sandiford 1994; Treagus 2001). Many of these positive attributes are still considered to be self-evident benefits from sporting participation.

Yet sport in Australia has diverted somewhat from these origins. It has been noted that, ‘rightly or wrongly, Australia has been lauded as a successful, obsessive and cocky sporting nation that consistently “punches above its weight”’ (Toohey and Taylor 2009, p. 837). Australian sport, unlike its British derivations, has always been conceptualised as an egalitarian field and has served as an index of wellbeing and pride for Australian communities (Macintyre 2000, p. 7; Zakus et al. 2009, p. 994). Class based segregation that existed in Britain through sports like cricket and rowing was never as pronounced in Australia (Adair and Vamplew 1997, p. xi). Further, despite reluctance from public culture to support female physicality, both Australia and New Zealand have impressive historical records of women excelling in elite sports at international levels (Burroughs and Nauright 2000, p. 188). Although increasingly changing now, Australian sport held onto its community roots for much longer than comparable international countries, with sports organisations historically owned more by a community of directors or members rather than a board of investors (Adair and Vamplew 1997, pp. xii-xiii). In addition, although elite sport is now undoubtedly a business for administrators, promoters and even players, some research suggests that fans are yet to conceive of elite sport as a business or a commodity (Walsh and Giulianotti 2007, pp. 4-5). Commercialisation has also, despite its widely researched negative associations, brought many advantages to sport. Athletes often now have the material capacity to develop their skills through funding, increased training and increased time, as well as having access to better facilities and enjoying increased opportunities to travel (Walsh and Giulianotti 2007, p. 7).

The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity report into cultural diversity and racism in sport in Australia (2006) was hopeful that ‘sport offers opportunities to break down barriers and encourage
participation in a way that other areas of society may struggle to match’ (p. 10). This hope is met in a study of Maori sport participation in Australia (Bergin 2002) that demonstrates that while sport is often used as a vehicle for specifically Maori cultural expression and self-representation, such as the annual Taki Toa Tournaments run in New South Wales since 1983, Maoris also participate in more mainstream sporting clubs with Aboriginal and other Australians in their local communities (p. 257). Such involvement brings feelings of acceptance, respect and occasionally opportunity for economic advancement (Bergin 2002, p. 257). This is consistent with other research that shows participation in community-based sports has been shown to foster a spirit of inclusion, team building and meanings of team involvement and belonging (Mynard et al 2009, p. 266). Maori students have also discussed their enjoyment of playing football and netball with Aboriginal students which they see as a positive and constructive area of Maori-Aboriginal relations (Bergin 2002, p. 264). Similarly, research conducted with Indigenous youths around their own constructions of meaning in sport and sport participation found that there was little basis to the “saviour” myth commonly circulating about Indigenous youth and sport, and that they often viewed sport as an important site of connection with friends, family and community (Nelson 2009, pp. 105-106).

Case studies of sport participation in rural areas of Western Australia show that sport offers a significant forum for social interaction and engagement, drawing together social networks and constructing a sense of place (Tonts 2005, p. 147; Tonts and Atherley 2010, p. 394). While the studies also revealed a darker side to Australian sports that do exclude people, sport still, to some extent, performed an important bridging role between people across different class, age, and ethnic background (Tonts 2005, p. 147). Sport plays an important role in narratives of the Australian nation, with a recent survey showing that despite only 69% of people recognising sport as a significant role in their own lives, 97% of people considered sport to be important to the “Australian way of life” (Zakus et al 2009, pp. 990-991). This is reflected in national statistics that show sports and physical recreation attracts more volunteers in Australia than any other type of organisation (ABS 2006, p. 40)

Finally, through research conducted with male secondary school students in Australia, it has been suggested that investment in physical activity, the body and its sensations and meanings, might actually be more pressing considerations for sports participation than socialisation or even winning (Gard and Meyenn 2000, p. 24). The research is preliminary as the findings were unexpected and notions of desire are ethically difficult to address, particularly among children, yet the findings are promising and suggest a relatively new and certainly underdeveloped area for sports research that may further illuminate and/or address the occurrence of disembodied bodily relations in elite commercial sport.

### Main findings:
- Historically, Australia had an egalitarian sporting culture relative to the class discrimination in Britain.
- Women have consistently been over-represented as winners at international sporting events.
- Sport serves not only as an avenue for cultural expression but also fosters relationships across traditional community divides.
- Sport is an important site of sociality, especially in rural communities.
What are the identifiable positive attitudes, behaviours and values in sport?

Jay Coakley et al report that during the early twentieth century in Australia ‘new ideas about human behaviour, individual development and social life led to an emphasis on organised competitive sport as “character-building” activities’ (2009, p. 74). By the end of the twentieth century there was still ‘very strong societal support for sport participation because of the belief that sport teaches proper values such as self-discipline, sportsmanship, and an appreciation for hard work, competition, and goal attainment’, despite the fact that there is little empirical evidence for such a wide ranging evaluation (Frey and Eitzen 1991, p. 506). Nevertheless, sport has been associated with improved health (Alfano et al 2002; Carless and Douglas 2010; Orchard 2006), social acceptance (Wilhite and Shank 2009; Allen 2003), and general mental health and wellbeing (Carless and Douglas 2010). Yet, simple enjoyment consistently appears as a key motivator for sports participation (McCarthy et al 2008).

Sport participation is widely acknowledged as a protective against depression and suicidal ideation (see Babiss and Gangwisch 2009, p. 376; Taliaferro et al 2009). In a study utilising data from the United States National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health survey (1994-1996), it was found that self-esteem ratings and perceived levels of social support were significantly higher for youth who participated in sports (Babiss and Gangwisch 2011, p. 383). The multivariate analysis demonstrated that exercise in itself is not associated with lower levels of depression (p. 382), which led the authors to tentatively conclude that, concurrent with prior findings, sport participation does have a protective relationship against depression but that the enhanced social support and self-esteem gained from sport participation is the mediating factor in this relationship (Babiss and Gangwisch 2011). This is supported by a qualitative study that interviewed Canadian adult athletes (n = 40) and found that the most meaningful aspect of competitive sport participation was the expanded social network and peer interactions (Holt et al 2009, p. 167). As such, the authors found that when athletes recounted stories about their positive relationships with sport they were talking about their social experiences gained through sport and not the sports themselves (Holt et al 2009, p.166). Similarly, in a study of adolescent male athletes from Melbourne, Australia, sport was found to engender a supportive social environment for developing friendships among peers (Ricciardelli and McCabe 2006, p. 580).

Sociality has emerged as a particularly important theme for sport in rural areas of Australia, where sport has first and foremost been conceptualised by participants as a social environment that provides a forum for social engagement and community representation (Tonts 2005, p. 147; Tonts and Atherley 2010, p. 394). Similarly, a qualitative study with Indigenous youth in Australia found similarly that sport is consistently seen as a site of connection with family, friends and community (Nelson 2009, p. 105).

An ethnographic study of an Australian community-based Australian Rules football team from the RecLink league – a league that purposefully tackles the ‘social and occupational disadvantages associated with mental illness, addictions, unemployment and homelessness’ – similarly found that inclusion, team-building and team involvement were major themes of participation (Mynard et al 2009, p. 266). Although RecLink programs are specifically designed to foster positive social behaviours and tackle disadvantage, inclusion and team involvement emerge as significant themes across a number of studies. In interviews conducted with low-income Canadian families about their children’s participation, it was found that both parents and children reported positive social and developmental gains from sport participation (Holt et al 2011). Among these gains were: relationships developed with coaches and new peers; increased social skills; emotional control; academic performance; discipline, and increased confidence (Holt et al 2011). Australian research also indicates that socialisation and skill development are key motivations for child sport participation (Wearing et al 2010, p. 44). Interviews with Australian children (aged seven and eight) about sport participation revealed that, together with safety and health, positive team-work was
reported as a significant aspect of their sport and physical education experiences (Macdonald et al. 2005, pp. 202-203). In a study of adolescent competitive swimmers (Fraser-Thomas and Côté 2009), similar benefits from sport participation were reported; they included: positive challenges; meaningful adult and peer relationships; a sense of community, and cross-over life skills (p. 3). The athletes reported that sport instilled a strong work ethic due to its required commitment, discipline and perseverance in a supportive environment where coaches and parents could give constructive feedback and guide the goal-setting process (Fraser-Thomas and Côté 2009, pp. 8-12).

Challenge and goal setting also appeared in a study of adolescent male athletes from Sydney, Australia (Hall 2011). Here, athletes reported that although “winning” gave them enjoyment, of equal importance was the achievement of goals and satisfaction gained from challenging themselves (Hall 2011, p. 71). Athletes also identified the social dimension of sport as being vitally important, with many identifying a sense of “belonging” and community through engagement with sport (Hall 2011, pp. 70-71). This is consistent with prior research which shows that for adolescent males, sport participation of any kind is associated with higher levels of self-esteem (Holland and Andre 1994, as cited in Ricciardelli and McCabe 2006, p. 578). All participants described the health aspects of sport as integral to their participation, reporting that it kept them active, healthy and fit (Hall 2011, p. 70). Some participants spoke of sport giving them a “natural high” that they considered a ‘preferable replacement for other risk-taking behaviour’ (Hall 2011, p. 74). For adolescent males especially, sport is significantly conceived as a function to increasing social status and peer popularity (White, Duda and Keller 1998, as cited in Ricciardelli and McCabe 2006, p. 578).

Research widely reports that skills gained through sport participation have beneficial cross-over effects to other areas of life and the further development of life skills (Fraser-Thomas and Côté 2009, p. 14; Holt et al. 2009, p. 166; Wearing et al. 2010, p. 44). One example is a Swiss study which showed that involvement in team sports is associated with a reduction in levels of social anxiety (Schumacher et al. 2011). The positive attitudes developed towards sport in youth are also suggested to carry-over into adulthood. Longitudinal sport participation studies from the United States (Graham et al. 2011) demonstrate that adolescents who hold favourable attitudes towards sport, exercise and fitness will engage in, on average, 30-40% more physical activity in later life than those who hold unfavourable attitudes (p. 130).

Main findings:

- Sport has been associated with enhanced social support and self-esteem.
- Sport is an important site for socialisation.
- Sport can foster team involvement, team building and a spirit of inclusion.
- Sport can provide discipline, positive challenges and an enhanced work ethic.
- Sport can provide meaningful adult and peer relationships for youth.
In what ways do the identifiable positive attitudes, behaviours and values mitigate unethical attitudes, behaviours and practices?

As a social and political space, sport ‘can be both inimical and favourable to the development of integrity, sometimes both at once’ (Cox et al 2008, n.p.). Jay Coakley et al reflect that since the early twentieth century in Australia, ‘important new ideas about human behaviour, individual development and social life led to an emphasis on organised competitive sport as “character-building” activities’ (2009, p. 74). Indeed, this view is still popularly pervasive now a century later. Nevertheless, contemporary research has moved beyond such a simplistic view of sports and while there is still a wide consensus that sport teaches values (Butcher and Schneider 2003; Steenberg and Tamboer 1998; Hall 2006; Keating 2007; Morgan 2007; Festini 2011), it is also recognised that whether these values are positive or negative ‘depends on the way in which sport is played, taught, and practiced’ (Boxill 2003, p. 153).

Recent research concerned with sport participation and criminality has shown that ‘despite its long-standing popular appeal, the idea that athletic activity is a deterrent to crime and delinquency suffers from a distinct lack of empirical support’ (Hartmann and Massoglia 2007, p. 485). Specifically, research has shown that while sport participation is associated with a decrease in certain criminal behaviours, it is also associated with an increase in other criminal behaviours (Caruso 2010; Hartmann and Massoglia 2007). An Italian study revealed that sport participation is associated with a ‘robust’ reduction in property and juvenile crime, yet also revealed a slight positive correlation between sport participation and violent crime (Caruso 2010). Similarly, a North American longitudinal study found that ‘the relationship between athletic involvement and deviance varies significantly depending on the deviant behaviours examined’ (Hartmann and Massoglia 2007, p. 485). Investigating specifically any relationships between high school athletic activity and criminal deviance in early adulthood, sport participation was associated with an increase in some types of antisocial criminal behaviour (speeding, driving drunk, and angry or violent behaviour at work), but was also associated with a decrease in other criminal activities (shoplifting, work fraud, and minor citations such as parking fines) (Hartmann and Massoglia 2007, p. 495). This is concurrent with research utilising data from the 1994-2001 National [US] Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (n = 8,271) that reveals a correlation between sport participation in adolescence and ‘faster average acceleration in problem alcohol use’ (Mays et al 2010, p. 491).

However, an Australian qualitative study conducted with adolescent male high school students from Sydney, revealed that although participants identified a link between sports and drinking culture, ‘sport was clearly seen as a healthier and more civically committed alternative to anti-social risk behaviours’ (Hall 2011, p. 77). Participants spoke of sport giving them a “natural high” and preferred sport participation in this regard to other risk-taking behaviours (Hall 2011, p. 74). Research indicates that autonomous sport environments are more likely to produce positive behavioural outcomes (Spray 2006; Boardley and Kavussanu 2009). In a UK study of high school students investigating the role of self-determination in sport performance and participation, it was found, through an experimental research design, that participants allocated to an autonomous condition persisted longer at the sports task, performed better and reported greater enjoyment than participants allocated to a non-autonomous condition (Spray 2006, p. 43). These results led the researcher to conclude that ‘promoting autonomy and task involvement is likely to enhance positive affect and adaptive behaviours in sport among young people’ (Spray 2006, p. 43). This is concurrent with Australian research which recommends that youth involvement in sport program delivery and opportunities for leadership are beneficial components to positively affect personal and social development and to curtail antisocial behaviour (Morris et al 2003, p. 4). Similarly, a dual approach of “asset building” and “deficit reduction” is commonly cited as being a requisite of youth programs to reduce problem behaviours (see Fraser-Thomas et al 2005, p. 20).
Autonomy also comes up in another UK study of social behaviour and sport participation among netball and field hockey athletes (Boardley and Kavussanu 2009). Using a self-report method from 155 male athletes and 224 female athletes, it was found that the perceived sporting environment and perceived coaching attitudes bore a relationship to participants’ likelihood to engage in antisocial behaviours (Boardley and Kavussanu 2009, p. 845; pp. 851-852). It was found that athletes who perceived a “team environment” – one that promoted effort, improvement, and an important role for all players – were more likely to encourage and congratulate their team-mates and less likely to criticize and verbally abuse them’ than participants who perceived a “performance climate” (pp. 851-852). For the participants who did report a performance climate there was an increase in antisocial behaviour towards team-mates, though no significant increase in antisocial behaviour towards opponents (p. 852). Consistent with research that emphasises the role of the coach in sport’s moral climate (Hardman et al 2010; Cumming et al 2007, p. 311; Bredemeier et al 2003, pp. 218-219; Kerr 2005, p. 83; Nicholson and Hoye 2005, p. 100; Reynolds 2000; Fraser-Thomas and Côté 2009, p. 17), participants who perceived their coach as instilling ‘an attitude of fair play, moral character, respect for others, and good sportsmanship’ were less likely to engage in antisocial behaviours towards both team-mates and opponents (Boardley and Kavussanu 2009, p. 852).

The role of autonomy is also important as research has shown that a perceived loss of autonomy is significantly associated with athlete burnout and ending sport participation among adolescent athletes (Coakley et al 2009, p. 101; see also Fraser-Thomas et al 2005, p. 30). This research, like the above cited studies, indicated that the organisation of high-performance sports can prevent adolescents from ‘developing the autonomy and multiple identities that mark people as adults’ (Coakley et al 2009, p. 101).

So, while research has demonstrated that sport fosters citizenship, social success, positive peer relationships and leadership skills, sport has also been associated with an increase in eating disorders, increased risk-taking, low self-esteem and low self-confidence, increased violence and aggression, and moral disengagement (see Fraser-Thomas et al 2005 for a comprehensive overview of the literature). These seemingly contradictory findings emphasise that sport is the site for socialisation experiences, rather than [the] causes of specific socialisation outcomes’ (Coakley et al 2009, p. 109). Autonomy has emerged as a significant mediator of socialisation outcomes, though youth sport participation is over-represented in the research. What role autonomy would play at adult or elite levels and what it would look like at these levels is unclear. Research suggests that youth sport involvement increases the likelihood of engaging in violent and alcohol-related antisocial behaviour later in life, but with current concern with off-field antisocial conduct at (adult) elite levels in Australia, research concerning sport involvement at these levels is warranted.

**Main findings:**

- Sport is associated with a decrease in certain types of criminal behaviour.
- Sport may operate as an alternative to other, more dangerous, risk behaviours for adolescents.
- Autonomy is a significant variable in the relationship between participation and integrity.
- Sport is indicated to foster citizenship, social success, positive peer relationships and leaderships skills, but is also associated with increased risk-taking, low self-esteem and low-self-confidence.
Section Five: Sport Integrity and Engagement at All Levels

What is the relationship between sport integrity and social reasons for engaging in sport?

Reasons for engaging in sport differ across different age levels. Research conducted with primary school aged children in Australia shows that key motivations for sport and physical exercise participation are enjoyment and fun, socialisation and skill development (Wearing et al 2010, p. 44). Similarly, an Australian study which interviewed seven and eight year old children found that motivations and notable experiences primarily surrounded team-work and safe play, followed by sport being a fun activity (Macdonald et al 2005, pp. 202-203). Research with adult sport participants that investigated life skills associated with sport participation found that interviewees retrospectively cited peer interactions and an expanded social network as the most meaningful aspect of their former participation in youth competitive sport (Holt et al 2009, p. 167).

Studies with adolescent sport participants reveal a continued emphasis on sociality but with slightly different motivations. In a study of male high school students from Sydney, Australia, the social dimension of sport was identified as being “vitally important” to their participation, producing a sense of belonging and of generally “feeling good” (Hall 2011, pp. 70-71). Together with sociality the benefit from sport participation of keeping active, healthy and fit was identified as being important to the adolescents (Hall 2011, p. 70). The researcher was able to identify a thematic bridge between these discourses of fitness and “feeling good” in participant’s concerns about their physical appearance and the social sense of accomplishment (Hall 2011, p. 71). This is concurrent with research conducted with adolescent males from a Melbourne, Australia, high school which revealed that ‘sport gave boys an acceptable and non-threatening context for openly discussing their body-image concerns, body-change strategies and functionality’ (Ricciardelli and McCabe 2006, p. 580). The same study revealed that although many boys reported using sport as an opportunity to compare their bodies with other males and they were, if somewhat indirectly, eager to talk about their bodies, most of the boys ‘were not willing to admit they were improving their body for cosmetic reasons’ and emphasized the functionality rather than appearance of their bodies (Ricciardelli and McCabe 2006, p. 582; p. 583; pp. 581-582).

This is consistent with prior research which shows that for adolescent males, sport participation of any kind is correlated with higher levels of self-esteem (Holland and Andre 1994, as cited in Ricciardelli and McCabe 2006, p. 578). Again, for adolescent males especially, sport is significantly conceived as a means of increasing social status and peer popularity (White, Duda and Keller 1998, as cited in Ricciardelli and McCabe 2006, p. 578).

Even though the ‘functionality’ described by participants in the above cited study is referenced as a benign aspect of their sport participation, research on elite sport has commonly criticised such a utilitarian bodily relationship. It has been suggested that despite athletic masculinity more generally being symbolised by physical health and sexual virility, athletes commonly develop alienated relationships with their bodies as they’re taught to relate to them as tools, machines or even weapons to be “used up” (Dworkin and Messner 2002, p. 18). Deb Waterhouse-Watson identifies that ‘elite footballers are trained to use their bodies as weapons and not as a mean of connecting with others’ and that ‘their bodies are imagined as indestructible instruments of violence’ (2009, p. 122). She goes on to caution that when physicality, which is often violence in a subverted form, and
sexual prowess are integral to the construction of footballer masculinity, a propensity to sexual violence seems likely (Waterhouse-Watson 2009, p. 120; p. 122).

As well as suggesting an increased rate of injury (see section D2), such utilitarian relationships with bodies on behalf of athletes is potentially related to the increased risk of injury among athletes that relates not to their sport participation directly but a greater willingness to partake in risk-behaviours (Steiner et al 2000, p. 164). However, athletes have also identified their sport participation as an alternative to other antisocial risk behaviours, speaking of sport giving them a healthier and more civically minded “natural high” (Hall 2011, p. 74; p. 77).

While enjoyment, social interaction and skill development emerge as significant social motivations for participating in sport, many barriers exist that restrict or altogether exclude some people from participating in sport. An Australian study concerning the epidemiology of participation in social and civic community life, including sport, found that individual socioeconomic status significantly affects the ability to participate in sport (Baum et al 2000, p. 414). As youth sports have become increasingly professionalised, expensive, competitive and elitist, they have become increasingly inaccessible to many families (Fraser-Thomas et al 2005, p. 20). This is supported by a recent study which specifically investigated parental perceptions of barriers to children’s participation in sport in Australia which found that sporting costs, the variety available, and time commitments adversely influenced parent’s decisions about their children’s sport participation (Hardy et al 2009, p. 197). Within the study, a third of parents reported that they would be “a lot more likely” to allow their children to participate in sport if doing so was cheaper (Hardy et al 2009, p. 202). This was, unsurprisingly, a significant barrier for low-income families and, perhaps more surprisingly, a more significant barrier for families of daughters rather than sons (Hardy et al 2009, p. 202), possibly indicating a lower social priority of sport for girls.

Sport participation and associated costs have also been identified by youth themselves as barriers to participation (Wright et al 2003). In a study of female and male high school students and their engagement with sport and physical activity it was ‘clear that for some of young people interviewed their choices were highly constrained not only in terms of physical leisure but any notions of leisure as consumption. Poverty, family commitments, including the negotiation of emotionally difficult family relationships all constrained what was possible to even imagine as a “choice”’ (Wright et al 2003, p. 30). These testimonial findings support the above cited study involving parents and child sport participation in which both money and time were identified as barriers to participation.

Research has also suggested that even in the absence of structural barriers to participation, youth can still have their sporting choices highly constrained by what sports were valued ‘as contributing to the ethos of the school and the school’s purpose of producing particular kinds of citizens’ (Wright et al 2003, pp. 30-31). Gender also emerges as variable in youth sport participation. When high school student athletes were asked to recount their previous experiences with sport, primary school sports generally emerged in the stories of male athletes but were generally missing from female stories of youth sport participation (Wright et al 2003, p. 31).

The 2006 HREOC survey also identified institutional and administrative barriers to sports participation for people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. They were primarily identified as: coming from countries without structured community based sport; lack of familiarity with sporting clubs and environments and available services and activities; lack of understanding of some rules of some sports or lack of confidence in their physical ability to play certain sports; absence of effective public transport; potential threat or experience of discrimination or racism; feelings of isolation; language barriers; alcohol consumption being perceived as a main activity of sports clubs; costs of activities and equipment, and family or cultural communities taking priority over sport (HREOC 2006, p. 277). In addition to the barriers listed above for CALD people generally, young women from CALD backgrounds have been identified as being particularly disadvantaged through barriers to sports participation through: inappropriate uniform requirements;
lack of female coaches, and a lack of appropriate facilities or programs to participate in (Cortis 2009; HREOC 2006, p. 277).

These barriers elucidate one of the contradictions wrought in sports management discussed by Laurence Chalip (2006) which shows that there are five common international legitimations for sport: health; positive socialisation; economic development; community development, and national identity (p. 4). Yet, design and implementation of sports programs, events and policies often are often inconsistent if not antithetical to the five common “legitimations” (Chalip 2006, p. 4). While research demonstrates that sport participation can result in favourable social outcomes, there are structural and institutional barriers preventing participation for some members of society. These findings give salience to research that argues emphasis on elite athletes and the marketing of elite sports has had a detrimental effect on mass sport participation (Simon 2004, p. 172).

Main findings:

- Kids primarily participate in sport because it is fun.
- Adolescents also report enjoyment from sport but increasingly report socialisation, peer popularity and acceptance, and body-image as reasons for participation.
- The professionalisation of children’s sports has resulted in increased barriers to sport participation among low-income and time-pressured families.
- Social sport engagement is noted for the participation of the physical body in both individual and collective terms; different approaches to the body emerge including the body as an inviolable weapon and the body as engaged in collectivity.
- Barriers to social engagement in sport such as socioeconomic status, ethnic background and gender contradict the commonly-held legitimations for sport such as positive socialisation, community development and national or local identity.
What is the relationship between sport integrity and health reasons for engaging in sport?

It is well-documented throughout the literature that sport participation enhances physiological and psychological health (Thorlindsson et al 1990; Boiche and Sarrazin 2007) even though links between sport, health, fitness and the participants’ general well-being are sometimes treated as sufficiently self-evident or just taken for granted (Lamb et al 1988). Physical activity has been shown to improve cardiovascular fitness, increase longevity, aid in the maintenance of healthy joints, lower blood pressure, and reduce the risk of cardiovascular disease (Prichard and Tiggemann 2008). It has been documented that sport participation in youth has a positive association with health in later life, through a decreased risk of disease associated with obesity (Alfano et al 2002).

Participation in sport has been shown to protect against depression and suicidal ideation (Babiss and Gangwisch 2009, p. 376; Taliaferro et al 2009; Morris et al 2003). In a study utilising data from the United States National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health survey (1994-1996), it was found that self-esteem ratings and perceived levels of social support were significantly higher for youth who participated in sports (Babiss and Gangwisch 2011, p. 383). The multivariate analysis demonstrated that exercise in itself is not associated with lower levels of depression (p. 382), which led the authors to tentatively conclude that, concurrent with prior findings, sport participation does have a protective relationship against depression but that the enhanced social support and self-esteem gained from sport participation is the mediating factor in this relationship (Babiss and Gangwisch 2011).

In a North American longitudinal study investigating relationships between high school athletic activity and criminal deviance in early adulthood, sport participation has been associated with an increase in some types of antisocial behaviour (speeding, driving drunk, and angry or violent behaviour at work), but also associated with a decrease in other criminal activities (shoplifting, work fraud, and minor citations such as parking fines) (Hartmann and Massoglia 2007, p. 495). Research utilising data from the 1994-2001 National [US] Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (n = 8,271) reveals a correlation between sport participation in adolescence and ‘faster average acceleration in problem alcohol use’ in later life (Mays et al 2010, p. 491). However, an Australian qualitative study conducted with adolescent male high school students from Sydney, revealed that although participants identified a link between sports and drinking culture, ‘sport was clearly seen as a healthier and more civically committed alternative to anti-social risk behaviours’ (Hall 2011, p. 77). Participants spoke of sport giving them a “natural high” and preferred sport participation in this regard to other risk-taking behaviours, such as binge drinking or recreational drug use (Hall 2011, p. 74).

Sport participation has also been associated with negative health outcomes. Research has shown that ‘health benefits decline when there is a shift from self-controlled exercise to competitive sports’ (Coakley et al 2009, p. 108). Health costs for competitive sports are relatively high, primarily due to the high rate of injury (Coakley et al 2009, p. 108). This is consistent with qualitative data collected from interviews with athletes which demonstrated that ‘elite athletes’ conceptualisations of health, injury and illness are subordinated to a view of health as capacity, and the primary frame of reference in which they consider capacity is their immediate competitive careers’ (Theberge 2008, p. 206). One veteran hockey player described the relationship as follows:

"Health and performance don’t go hand in hand at all. I think they’re almost the antithesis. I would think to be at the top you’re not going to be a healthy individual. You’re gonna be overdone. You’re gonna be cooked (cited in Theberge 2008, p. 209-210)."

In addition to being “cooked”, participants reported compromised immunity and ‘fatigue beyond anything previously experienced’ as health consequences from their time in elite competitive sport
The interviews revealed that participants ‘experience their bodies as an object to which they must attend, something that is separate from themselves’ (p. 215). Such disembodied experiences have been associated with unethical violence and aggression in sport (see Waterhouse-Watson 2009). Worryingly, the researcher found that while athletes were generally aware of the immediate health impacts of their sporting practices, they were not generally aware of the long-term health implications (Theberge 2008, p. 218).

Such an emphasis on a body’s functionality has been seen in studies of adolescent male sport participants also, where research concluded that sport gave boys an acceptable and non-threatening context to explore their body-image concerns, body-change strategies and enhance their body functionality (Ricciardelli and McCabe 2006, p. 580). Research regarding youth sports also reveals a concerning prevalence of sport-related injury and an increase in eating disorders among sport participants (Fraser-Thomas et al 2005, p. 25). Injury in youth sport has been associated with training volume (Hollander et al 1995 cited in Fraser-Thomas et al 2005, p. 26), but also with an increased propensity among sport participants to partake in risk-related behaviour (see Steiner et al 2000). This is supported by an Australian study of under 18 Victorian Football League, club football and school football players (n = 103) which investigated player attitude to risk and injury (Finch et al 2002). The study showed that while only 6% believed playing with an injury was safe, 58% were willing to risk doing so (p. 151). This figure rose to 80% if participants believed that their chances of being selected for an elite team would be adversely affected if they did not play with an injury (p. 151). The study also showed that while the VFL club was shown to be most supportive of injury across the three sporting environments, players also reported feeling isolated by their VFL in the event that they were injured (p. 153). Finally, more than half of the participants thought that the media glorified injured AFL players and a large proportion of the participants admired the players for their injuries and stoicism in receiving them (p. 153).

Research suggests that youth can often feel excessive pressure to win, perceive themselves to have poor sporting ability, feel unattached to their teams and feel vulnerable in the presence of teammates (Coakley et al 2009, p. 26). This combined with the above preliminary research indicating that youth are willing to “accept” the unnecessary risk of injury at junior levels suggests that although many sports programs are designed to foster youth development they could in fact be doing the opposite (Coakley et al 2009, p. 26).

**Main findings:**

- There is limited research analysing the relationship between health motivations for sports participation and integrity.
- Sport is associated with decreased rates of depression, with suggestion that socialisation is the mediating factor in this relationship.
- Sport is associated with increased problem-alcohol consumption and antisocial behaviours.
- Elite sport is associated with poor health outcomes, in both the short and long term.
- Injury and willingness to injure in youth sports suggest an instrumental bodily relation not unlike those reported from elite sport participants.
What is the relationship between sport integrity and entertainment reasons for engaging in sport?

While there is some literature concerning the relationship between sport integrity and entertainment on the level of consumption (Carstairs 2003; Crawford 2004; Kennedy 2001), there is little that directly addresses the relationship between sport integrity and participation in sport. Despite the increasing commodification of elite sport, research suggests that sports fans still emotionally and psychologically invest in sport around notions of civic pride and communal ownership (Kennedy 2010, p. 277; p. 280). While elite sport is widely accepted to be a business for players, administrators and promoters, this is not considered the case for fans (Walsh and Giulianotti 2007, pp. 4-5). Likewise it has been found that sport plays an important role in linking individuals to a wider sense of community and belonging (Crawford 2004, p. 107). As such, spectator sport has been theorised as a “carnivalesque” outlet for emotional expression that would otherwise be socially unacceptable: embracing; kissing; shouting; swearing, and dancing in jubilation (Kennedy 2001, pp. 279-280).

However, in a study of public and media responses to doping in sport, Catherine Carstairs has argued that the joy taken from watching the physical prowess of athletes is not predicated on that prowess being “natural” (2003, p. 264). Enjoyment is derived from the fact that athletes’ abilities are out of the range of normal (Carstairs 2003, p. 264). This is supported by a study of young people’s interpretations of sport media and sport involvement (Lines 2007) which found that although youth admire outstanding athletic performance, they consider it beyond the capacity of “normal” individuals (p. 328). Carstairs further argues that doping scandals have become integral to the sports entertainment industry, perhaps attracting new viewers or readers who would ordinarily not be interested in sport but are interested in the spectacle (2003, p. 264).

Some preliminary research has suggested that contrary to the “winning at all costs” discourse that pervades contemporary sport at all levels, it is physical activity, that is the body, its sensations and meanings, that produces enjoyment in sports rather than, say, friendship or winning (Gard and Meyenn 2000, p. 24).

As is evident, further research needs to be conducted on the relationship between sport integrity and entertainment reasons for engaging in sport. Studies of fan culture or spectator behaviour are not uncommon, though these scarcely address sport integrity directly. Research by Gard and Meyenn (2000) suggests that investigations of bodily sensation and pleasure may produce alternate, positive discourses of sport participation that could further illuminate the idea of disembodied bodily relations in elite commercial sport.

Main findings:

- Sport events are still significantly important for people.
- Enjoyment from sport spectatorship is perhaps based on admiration of spectacle rather than skill.
- It is unclear whether elite players “enjoy” or derive entertainment from playing sport.
- Both spectators and players find entertainment value in sport in both civic and community pride and carnivalesque expression, complicating the production of integrity in sport.
Section Six: Processes, Programs and Initiatives influencing positive behaviours and Sport Integrity

Are there existing programs, processes and structures influencing positive behaviours and values in Australia?

The main provider of ethical education courses in Australia is the *Good Sports* organisation, which effectively (in conjunction with the Australian Drug Foundation) attempts to curb recreational substance abuse in community sports. Established in 2000, the program involved 25 football and netball clubs in a Victorian pilot program. *Good Sports* now involves 3,739 community sporting clubs nationwide. Club accreditation involves certain measures involving alcohol consumption at games and avoiding incorporating alcohol in fund raising pursuits. In the terms of this study, this program could be considered on the peripheral of the concept of “ethical courses/programs”. The program has been recognised in Finland as they, too, have alcohol-related issues in youth culture. See Kokko (2010) in section E2. Alcohol is commonly cited as a key causal factor in off-field athlete transgression (Trosby 2010, p. 50) and as such the National Alcohol Code of Conduct has, since early 2009, been adopted by the Australian Football League, National Rugby League, Football Federation Australia, Australian Rugby Union, Cricket Australia and Netball Australia (George 2009, p. 32).

‘Play by the Rules’ is a joint initiative from the Australian Sports Commission, Australian Human Rights Commission, all state and territory sport and recreation and anti-discrimination agencies and the NSW Commission for Children and Young People (official website). Play by the Rules provides resources and an online learning community to ‘prevent and deal with discrimination, harassment and child abuse, and develop inclusive and welcoming environments for participation’ (official website).

In 2005 the Australian Football League developed the ‘Respect and Responsibility’ policy that aims to create ‘a safe and inclusive environment for women at all levels of Australian Football’ (AFL website). The AFL reports that a ‘key component’ of the policy has been the development of player education regarding sexual assault, violence, harassment and abuse. The policy provides ‘practical information that assists players to understand the meaning of consent’ and ‘assist them to build and maintain social relationships with women that are healthy and successful’ (AFL website).

The National Rugby League launched a ‘Welfare and Education’ program for its players in 2010 and has continued the program in 2011. The project is based around players being able to develop within the game but also supports their ability to develop a career outside of Rugby League and ‘develop their full potential both on and off the field’ (NRL website).

The National Rugby League instituted a Reconciliation Action Plan in 2008 that signified ‘formal recognition of the support that NRL clubs, players, and various arms of the game extend to Indigenous communities’ and ‘provides direct material assistance to Indigenous communities’ (NRL website). In 2008 the league also formed an Indigenous Player Advisory Council which assists in strategic assistance and mentoring of young Indigenous athletes. The NRL followed through the following year in 2009 by becoming the first national sporting code to join the ‘Close the Gap’
campaign – Australia’s largest campaign to improve Indigenous life expectancy and health outcomes.

SportsCONNECT (Creating Opportunities Nationally through Networks in Education, Classification and Training) is an initiative by the Australian Sports Commission Disability Sport Unit which aims to ‘create greater opportunities for people with a disability to participate in sport and physical activity’ (Australian Volleyball Federation website).

The federal government initiated Multicultural Youth Sports Partnerships Program provides grants of between $5,000 and $50,000 to eligible organisations to engage multicultural youth in sport participation through such activities as: cross cultural training for sporting organisations, sport awareness training for community groups, sports coach and official training for community groups, facilitating ESL training for volunteers and facilitating linkages between school and club-based activities (ausport.gov.au). The government is offering a total of $300,000 annually for such grants.

The Western Australian Water Polo Association has taken up the model proposed by the Josephson Institute of the US (see section below on international programs) and promotes its books. No follow up studies appear to have been undertaken as to the effectiveness of the program in this Australian context.

Main findings:

- Although a range of programs and policies exist in Australia to influence the development of positive behaviours and values in sport, at this point in time they have not been empirically evaluated.
Are there existing programs, processes and structures 
influencing positive behaviours and values internationally?

Jessica Fraser-Thomas et al (2005) outline after school sports programs (UK) to develop what they call the “5 Cs”: competence; confidence; character; connections, and compassion/caring (p. 19). The authors identify that it is costly to engage in youth programs to combat obesity, substance abuse, and anti-social behaviour. The authors call such programs ‘the deficit reduction paradigm’ and present a case for sports – as a more viable alternative – taking a role in building character, engagement with self and society in an ‘asset building paradigm’ (p. 20). Earlier studies overviewed by Fraser-Thomas et al, note that sports participants (7-19 years of age) who specialise in sports at an early age (before 16 years) experience certain physiological, psychological, and social disadvantages which outweighed the benefits: over-training; depression; injury; ‘failure to develop transferable skills; decreased self-esteem, [and] increased sensitivity to stress’ (p. 28). The authors promote the development of sports camps, after school programs, and sporting clinics which incorporate a large cross section of sporting activities. The authors provide no detail as to the structure or implementation of the programs.

Romana Weber (2009) reiterates the dangers of early developmental damage to children in early sports specialisation by taking the example of elite sports with her paper subtitled ‘Some critical questions for London 2012’. Weber makes the case that over-training, parental and coaching pressures, and exploitative competitive environments is a case of human rights abuse. The argument goes further than Fraser-Thomas et al but reiterates their perspective.

The study by Sami Kokko (2010) is a substantial overview of sports clubs (youth and adult), health promotion, and coaching practices in Finland undertaken by the University of Jyvaskyla. The author states that sports club activity – especially for children and adolescents – is ‘the largest civil voluntary activity in Finnish society’ (p. 15). There is a large emphasis in Finland for sports clubs to be the focal point of public health and many clubs have extended civil roles due to expectations of parents in particular. For example, the Finnish Ice Hockey Association has stated (in their 2009 report) that apart from sporting goals, their main function is to ‘develop decent citizens with healthy self-esteem, proper social skills, and a sporty lifestyle’ (p. 15). This report – predominantly dealing with physical health - also addresses and compares the Australian initiatives of the Good Sports Program (see Section E1) in alcohol management (social character) as Finnish youth also have a prevalence of heavy drinking. Again, there was no specific detail on any courses/programs existing or implemented in Finland regarding integrity and ethics.

The Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport (CCES) has a cross code focus mainly on the issue of doping and artificial enhancements. There are programs for elite athletes (rights, responsibilities, doping, legal issues), and providing resources – including on-line education – on the same for sports organisations and groups. A government-subsidised body that works with CCES in Canada is the ‘True Sport Secretariat’. Its focuses its ‘attention on values-based sport’ (website) using the London Declaration 2002 as its foundation and is guided by the Policy Framework of the Canadian Strategy for the Ethical Conduct in Sport adopted in 2002. The CCES is a policy making body, not an educational vehicle.

Established by school principals and heads of athletic departments in California, the North Coast US School Initiatives for Ethical Programs in Sports provides professional and systematic ethics courses for school sports and related communities affiliated with school sporting interests. The group encourages community support and ethics education programs in PE. There is no study or indicators as to the effectiveness, breadth or depth of this program.
The University of Arizona's ethical “6-4-6” ethics program (2005) developed for all age groups through the Josephson Institute (see below) program ‘Pursuing Victory with Honor’. The program 6-4-6 provides lesson plans for coaches and teachers, ethical agreements to be signed and committed to by spectators, parents, players, and coaches as well as activities and “talks” that the affiliated institutions can implement. There was no study found which overviewed the results of this program.

Several private providers make available programs and resources on ethics and sport. The US based Josephson Institute of Ethics Centre for Sports Ethics provides ethics courses for various sporting and business groups at varying levels. Part of their client base are transnational companies, various US government institutions (from CIA to the American Bar Association, and US state governments), as well as cross code national associations of sports including a report prepared for the Coaching Division of the US Olympic Committee (no date was found). The Institute undertakes research into ethical behaviour and provides resources for ethical self-assessment by coaches, athletes, parents and administrators.

The National Collegiate Mascot Program (US) has ‘developed the Packy PlayFair mascot as a tool for teaching the values of sportsmanship and ethical conduct’ (webpage). The mascot is designed as a ‘visual reminder’ of ethical behaviour at sporting events. In connection with this, a ‘portsmanship “how to” curriculum’ has been developed by the overarching organisation, Always Play Fair (website). The site contains minimal detail of their actual courses.

The US-based Ethical Culture (Fieldston) School holds summer camps in USA, France, and Spain and provides programs which is essentially a commercially operated sports camp which provides a variety of sporting and outdoor activity, language immersion (French and Spanish in those respective sites), and cultural tours for American children. Ethics, per se, do not feature on their program outlines.

Similar types of consultancy organisations were found such as PSHPERD Soccer Ethics Coaching Organization (USA), RATTLETS Ethics Course (USA), and RGRY (USA). These organisations offer support material and guidance for investing clubs, schools, and sporting bodies to introduce to their particular constituencies. The RATTLETS adopt the “Six Pillars of Character” developed by the Josephson Institute. From the RATTLETS website Proclaims: ‘to enhance the character-building and sportsmanship aspects of the Rattlers sports program it is essential that administrators and coaches consciously and consistently seek to teach how to think and act in ways that develop and demonstrate the ‘Six Pillars of Character’: trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, caring and good citizenship’ (hompage).

The University Interscholastic League (Texas, USA) provides a 28 page manual for their members, but there is no indication of actual programs being implemented. The US Elite Training body for American football leagues also follows the Josephson Institute “Pursuing Victory with Honor” program. Again, there are no details of the structure of programs or follow up studies of their effectiveness.
Main findings:

- International programs designed to foster integrity and influence positive values in sports frequently involve external bodies, whereas Australian programs tend to be organised within, and are run by, governance organisations.

- Early sport specialisation has been shown to have a negative impact on young sport participants. Diversification is recommended.

- Details of further studies are unclear as they have not been empirically evaluated. More research is required.
Has the literature undertaken any comparative analysis, and what are the findings?

Most of the comparative analysis found for this study does not involve specific programs (which are rare), but questions the evidence – through both qualitative and quantitative studies – to find whether involvement in sport automatically translates to enhanced life skills. Many authors look at identifying and empirically assessing ethical behaviour in sport, creating measuring models and methodology, and suggesting areas that need to be focused on in regard to ethical education in sport.

Carwyn Jones (2005) argues there is little evidence in studies to indicate that sport and physical education builds character, and evidence that team sports ‘in particular [being effectively] utilized for moral and social development is slim’ (p. 139). The author concedes there may be methodological problems in research on the issue which leads to this conclusion as the field tends to study sport solely as an activity rather than the contextual nature of sport – the teaching thereof, fostering of ethical action, and “cultivation” of good habits.

Ian Kavussanu and Maria Boardley’s 2009 quantitative study attempts to assess three areas: 1) ‘to develop a measure of prosocial and antisocial behaviour in sport’, 2) examine consistency/inconsistency of these behaviours across gender and sports, and 3) provide evidence for 1) and 2). There were two studies involved 1) with 1,213 team athletes selected from 103 teams completing questionnaires assessing demographics and pro and antisocial behaviour in sports, and 2) 106 team athletes were assessed to determine levels of empathy and goal orientation. The authors claim they have created a ‘new scale to measure pro and antisocial behaviours in team sports’ (p. 97).

The study by Esther Rutten et al (2011) of 439 adolescent athletes from 67 teams to gauge pro and antisocial behaviour in sports found there were ‘higher levels of moral reasoning within teams’ than in non-team sports and the player-coach relationship was again highlighted as a major factor in prosocial behaviours.

Andrew Theodoulides (2003) addresses the notion of bending and breaking rules for the goal of winning in a study of semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation of three secondary schools in England. He found that in the PE curriculum – and when interviewing PE teachers – the general view was that moral behaviours would be a ‘by product’ of sporting activity with resultant ‘skill development’ (p. 141). The author also states that ‘the data suggests conflicts and contradictions between the moral values pupils learn in games lessons and those they are taught during extra-curriculum activities and competitive inter-school matches’ (p. 141). Rule-breaking in the latter instances were seen as “part of the game” and far more accepted by teachers. The outcome of the study suggests that teachers need to ‘develop an effective range of teaching and learning strategies’ in addressing adolescent skills in processing moral dilemmas and decision making relative to sporting activities (p. 155).

As a precursor to the Theodoulides (2003) study, Andrew Theodoulides and Kathleen Amour (2001) state the need for PE teacher training to include a greater focus on sporting morals, suggesting that there needs to be ‘clearer conceptual definitions and critical debate’ (p. 5) within the PE professions to enhance students’ ‘personal, social, and moral education’ relative to competitive sports, in particular, team sports. The conclusions of the study emphasise the need to have more extensive research which identifies a constructive direction towards teaching “socio-moral” (p. 19) skills to students and to make it a pivotal aspect of PE teacher training.

In the Australian study of Stewart Vella et al (2011) 22 coaches participated in semi-structured interviews to investigate whether the relationship of coach-player influenced positive youth
development. The results showed that coaches felt an influence and responsibility in eight areas: ‘competence, confidence, connection, character, life skills, climate, positive affect, and positive psychological capacities’ (p. 33). An adjunct conclusion to the study found that ‘[d]espite coaches seeing themselves as primarily responsible for positive youth development, the content of relevant coaching accreditation courses is lacking in substance’ (p. 45). The authors also identify a need for more exacting data on coaches’ behaviour and attitudinal responses in differing situations.

The Scott Wilkes and Jean Côté (2010) Canadian study explores whether there were unique developmental experiences of adolescent females in various structured basketball programs. There were 200 participants in the survey (aged between 14 and 15 years) who were enrolled either in a school, recreational, or competitive basketball program. Results revealed that there was “significantly” more positive development in school and competitive programs, as opposed to recreational programs, although there were strong indicators that in school and competitive programs the “stress levels” of the participants were higher. The “growth” experiences reported were in four main areas: time commitment; coaches’ training and background; competition, and volunteer opportunities. The authors also conclude that such surveys should be undertaken by each sporting code as the literature they cite demonstrates diversity of results across codes for similar structured programs.

Skye Arthur-Banning et al (2009), in their article titled ‘Parents behaving badly? The relationship between the sportsmanship behaviors of adults and athletes in youth basketball games’, examine adult and youth (third to sixth grade) behaviours in community recreational basketball. Data was collected on positive and negative sportsmanship behaviours from 142 basketball matches in the USA. The authors found spectators’ positive behaviours instigated the same in the players and, conversely, spectators’ negative behaviours instigated negative behaviours in the players. The research found that negative behaviours by the coaches during matches did not impact significantly on the players’ negative behaviours, and good or bad behaviour in the players was found to be influenced significantly by spectators. The authors claim that the findings of their study are limited to games where spectators are close to the action and verbal promptings can be heard by the players, as opposed to football or hockey, for example, where spectators are more distanced from play. The authors suggest that sports administrators need to be more focused on creating positive bonds between spectators and players and that the former become aware of the significant influences they have on the players for the promotion of positive sporting behaviour generally.

Martin Lee et al (2007) analyse the results of a sport questionnaire which addresses the ‘development of the attitudes in moral decisions’ of young people aged between 11 to 16 years. The study involved 375 participants of school sports programs and youth clubs of southern England. The questionnaire measured three dominant factors in youth sports: ‘acceptance of cheating, acceptance of gamesmanship, and keeping winning in proportion’ (p. 3). The authors define cheating as ‘reference to explicit rule structure of a particular sport’, and gamesmanship as an act which ‘constitutes the violation of the spirit of the contest’ and does not involve rule breaking (p. 30). ‘Winning in proportion’ was an adjunct category to keep a ‘degree of balance’ in assessing pro-social attitudes (p. 32). The conclusions were varied with females tending to keep winning in proportion more than males. The authors concluded that, on the whole, non-acceptance of cheating and intolerance of gamesmanship was high in the group surveyed, but qualified this by saying that these attitudes may shift as juniors move into senior sports and the recreational element of playing decreases and the seriousness of winning increases.
Main findings:
• The coach plays a significant role in the moral development of athletes.
• Tensions exist between sport integrity and the moral sporting climate present in some schools.
• A larger emphasis on moral development during physical education has been recommended.
Does the literature indicate measurements to value the positive impact of such programs and initiatives?

Minimal empirical research has been conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of sport policy and programs on ethics and integrity in sport. In addressing the above question, Daniel Gould and Sarah Carson (2008) give an overview of the comparative studies undertaken in both quantitative and qualitative research, development of valid life skills and their transferability (from sports to life in general), examination of different types of sports programs, evaluation research, and longitudinal studies of the same. What they found was that the “automatic” transferability of life skills and general psychosocial development which sporting bodies promote as an intrinsic aspect of participation is an assumption which has not been adequately tested, claiming that the procurement of life skills is ‘complex and influenced by a variety of factors’ (p. 75).

Sarah Wilson and Mark Lipsey (2000) undertook a quantitative analysis of organised wilderness courses for delinquent youth (USA) to ascertain impact on behaviours. The study was extensive, covering some 28 programs involving 3,000 participants between the ages of 10 to 21 years of mixed ethnicity, although the majority in the study were male caucasians of 13 to 15 years. Most of the study focused on programs of 6 weeks duration and, for longer courses, the results were negligibly different. Hence, duration of a program of this type did not have a notable impact on the statistics. The researchers found 29% of recidivism (habitual relapse into crime) occurred. Overall, the authors conclude that there are ‘strong indications that a therapeutic component enhances the delinquency effect of challenge programs’ (p. 11) and suggest therapy may enable participating individuals to process their experiential challenges and draw implications ‘for their own behaviour with more success’ (p. 11): that is, transference of life skills and enhancement of pro-social attitudes.

Richard Bailey et al (2009) undertook a comprehensive study (commissioned by Sports Coach UK and Sport Northern Ireland) of “participant development” of those involved in amateur and elite sports within three domains: biological, psychological, and sociological. Ethics were not addressed. Within the 98 page document (excluding bibliography) the word ‘ethics’ appeared only once in a cursory reference to code of ethics. The word ‘integrity’ was used only in a physiological sense.

Marten Vansteenkiste et al (2010) undertook two cross-sectional studies on the well being (study 1) and moral functioning (studies 1 & 2) of Belgium soccer players. Both studies were related to ‘performance-approach goals and to the autonomous [internal motivations] and controlling [external motivations] reasons underlying their pursuit’ (p. 217). The first study found that sportspersonship and fair play was associated with autonomous factors such as a sense of ‘vitality’ and personal performance. Controlling reasons were found to cause negative effects and, the authors claim, were ‘unrelated to indicators of morality’ (p. 217). The authors claim that “objectifying” and “tendency to depersonalize” the opponent are the key factors in a breakdown of moral functioning within the player.

In the study by Cameron Duff et al (2004) to gauge the effectiveness of the Good Sports (Australia, in conjunction with the Australian Drug Foundation) initiative of controlling recreational alcohol abuse in community clubs, a cross section of codes were selected but it is unclear whether these 213 clubs were accredited members and participants of the Good Sports program. Also, there appears to be no control groups involved in the study or an indication of before/after statistics. The second study of Good Sports (Rowland 2006) initiatives involved 882 individuals in 47 clubs (cross code) Australia wide. Unlike the 2004 study, this was a comparative study which found that the program had “some impact” on alcohol consumption within the sporting clubs surveyed but that the ‘the data does not indicate a downward trend in alcohol related violence amongst Good Sports clubs’, though there may be one (p. 21).
Main findings:

- A lack of autonomy is associated with players “objectifying” and a “tendency to depersonalize” the opponent, which are the key factors in a breakdown of moral functioning within the player.

- Skills gained through sport participation may not be transferrable to other life contexts. More research is needed to test the hypothesis.

- There is a clear need for further empirical research, both quantitative and qualitative, to evaluate the effectiveness of existing sport policy and programs designed to produce ethics and integrity in sport.
Section Seven: Implications for research and policy development

What are the implications of this literature for the field of research in sport and ethics?

An overview of the research and literature pertaining to ethics and integrity in sport reveals that while sport has many laudable social functions and consequences, these are not evenly distributed among people in society, nor evenly distributed among specific sporting environments and contexts. Much research demonstrates that sport can assist in the social, physiological and psychological development of children, youth and adults; however, sport has also been shown to have adverse relationships with these three developmental areas. Research has begun to explore what factors and contexts mediate these relationships. The role of the sports coach has consistently been shown to affect the moral climate of sports environments. The coach plays a significant role in determining the motivational climate of sports, with research indicating that this climate affects the propensity of athletes to engage in prosocial and antisocial behaviours. The issue of athletes being pushed too hard by coaches has been identified as a focus point for the Australian Sport Commission. The influence of coaches on sporting integrity is also important to consider, as research shows that athletes often “morally disengage” and abdicate their moral responsibilities to coaches and officials. Further research is required to look at the consequence of particular coaching practices so that this research can guide the production and implementation of sport training and policies.

Much research exists that criticises the professionalisation and commodification of sport, both at its elite and more recreational levels. The increasingly professionalisation of children’s sport, for example, has made the activity financially inaccessible to many families. The increased regulation that exists in more professional sporting environments often results in a loss of autonomy for the athletes. Research shows that autonomy is a key variable mediating the ethical environment of sport. Athletes’ perceived degree of autonomy has been associated with the propensity to engage in prosocial and antisocial behaviours. That is, more autonomous environments have been linked to positive effects and positive adaptive behaviours, as well as persistence and enjoyment. Decreased autonomy, on the other hand, has been linked to a greater propensity to engage in antisocial behaviours and, significantly, burnout among adolescent athletes. Research concerning autonomy relies on self-report methods from participant athletes. While this has been important in revealing the association between autonomy and sports integrity, further, perhaps observational, in conjunction with self-reporting, research is required to illuminate which coaching practices, sport environments, codes, etc., enhance or decrease the autonomy of athletes.

The professionalisation of sport also raises health issues. Elite sport has been associated with athletes developing a utilitarian relationship with their bodies. Professional sport has not only been associated with increased and problematic rates of injury, but with a suggested higher rate of willingness to injure and partake in non-sport related risk behaviours. Willingness to injure oneself for the sake of sports participation and winning has also been shown to be present at youth levels, with a particular propensity linked to athletes who wish to join elite-level sports codes. Research with adult elite athletes has shown injury to be conceived as relating to capacity and not necessarily to health, especially long-term health. Preliminary research has indicated a positive correlation between sport participation and violent or physically aggressive crime in later life. A fruitful research avenue might be to consider the relation among athletes between morality/moral development and willingness to injure selves and others. Many of the studies investigating injury and/or violence in sport exclusively consider male athletes. Further research could investigate how these relationships present among female athletes and what mediating role masculinity plays. Considering other
research documents the vast health benefits of sport participation, further investigation that can isolate what particular processes and practices – both institutional and administrative – engender these negative consequences would help guide the production and implementation of sport policy reform.

Much research criticises the suggested increasing role of extrinsic motivation in sports participation. Research concerning children and sport participation has revealed the predominating role of simple enjoyment in sport participation. Further, research suggests that children derive pleasure from the bodily sensations consequential of sport participation. The preliminary results from Gard and Meyenn (2000) deserve further research and, if supported, raise questions about what happens between the embodied enjoyment from sport for children and adult elite athletes’ conceptions of their bodies as instrumental weapons and tools. Research also suggests that unnecessary violence in sports is, at least in part, extrinsically motivated by its financial rewards. Further research into the relationship between sport spectators and sport-related violence or antisocial sport-related behaviours could shed some light on the supposed extrinsic motivation for committing such acts.

Finally, sports research emerges from many different disciplinary backgrounds: psychology, health sciences, medicine, sociology, marketing, the humanities and much more including interdisciplinary approaches. As this literature review has demonstrated, each of these disciplinary areas has made valuable contributions to the study of sport. Such cross-disciplinary studies, when viewed together, reveal significant and important relationships between disparate data and methodologies. Statistical analysis of longitudinal health data from health sciences background which shows a correlation between sport participation and problem alcohol use can be used much more productively to inform new research, sport policies and programs, when viewed in conjunction with a sociological analysis of sport and drinking culture in Australia. Sport is fortunate to attract scholarly attention from a range of disciplinary backgrounds and this should not be overlooked when formulating new avenues for sport research and reform.
What are the implications of this literature for the development of policy and programs related to mitigating negative behaviours and promoting positive behaviours that influence sport integrity?

- ‘Winning’ and ‘being competitive’ are often, perhaps problematically, seen as virtues in sport.
- Spectators understand sportsmanship but either don’t value or don’t identify with the characteristic.
- Alcohol sponsorship, and the resultant problems stemming from that, works to undermine sport integrity.
- Ethical concerns differ across age levels and systems should favour athletes more at younger levels.
- Barriers to sport participation exist for Indigenous people and culturally and linguistically diverse people. These barriers are both institutional and administrative and operate as discrimination.
- Focus and disproportionate funding on elite sport in Australia likely has adverse results for wider levels of participation.
- The two sex/gender model that dominates sports means that transgender people ‘universally loathed’ sport.
- Sport may operate as an alternative to other, more dangerous, risk behaviours for adolescents.
- Autonomy is a significant variable in the relationship between participation and integrity.
- The professionalisation of children’s sports has resulted in increased barriers to sport participation among low-income and time-pressured families.
- Sport is associated with increased problem-alcohol consumption and antisocial behaviours.
- Elite sport is associated with poor health outcomes, in both the short and long term.
- Injury and willingness to injure in youth sports suggest an instrumental bodily relation not unlike those reported from elite sport participants.
- Early sport specialisation has been shown to have a negative impact on young sport participants. Diversification is recommended.
- The coach plays a significant role in the moral development of athletes.
Section Eight: Bibliography


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