

Child Protection in Voluntary Sector Sport Organisations

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Abstract

This thesis examines the issue of child protection policy in voluntary sector organisations. More particularly it examines policies concerned with protecting children from child sexual abuse, within the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport over a period in the mid-1990s.

Using a poststructuralist theory, specifically Actor Network Theory (ANT) this thesis explores child protection policy and discussion through case studies in the contexts of one Church of England diocese and seven voluntary sector sport organisations, utilising semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis.

It is suggested that the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport have common discursive 'frames', through the historical incorporation of Christian discourses into the beginnings of modern sport in the 19th Century English Public Schools, that support sexual violence against women and children and which provide legitimate identities for abusers. This cultural support for abuse, combined with similar incoherence in the organisational structures in both the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport organisations, is identified as preventing the effective dissemination of child protection policy, where such existed. The major difference between the two areas is identified as the focus within sport organisations on an 'organisational body project' by which organisational aims are achieved. This focus on the body in sport, it is argued, provides increased access and opportunities for abuse by those, like coaches, who most immediately manage the 'organisational body project'.

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This thesis is also respectfully dedicated to the victims of sexual abuse in sport and Christianity, particularly the victims, known and unknown, of Paul Hickson.

Author's Declaration

The Work contained in this thesis is the sole effort of the author. The views expressed within are those of the author, not of the college or the University.

Diana Summers

May 2000

ESTABLISHING A UNIVERSAL VIEW

What is skillfully established will not be uprooted;
What is skillfully grasped will not slip away.
Thus it is honoured for generations.

Cultivate the inner self;
Its Power becomes real.
Cultivate the home;
Its Power becomes abundant.
Cultivate the community;
Its Power becomes greater.
Cultivate the organization;
Its Power becomes prolific.
Cultivate the world;
Its Power becomes universal.

Therefore, through the inner self,
The inner self is conceived.
Through the home,
The home is conceived.
Through the community,
The community is conceived.
Through the world,
The world is conceived.

How do I know the world?
Through this.

Lao Tzu

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the overview of the thesis, describing the context and presenting an outline of the chapters to come. This is then followed by Chapter Two, *Theory, Organisation and Corporeality*, which provides the theoretical framework for the examination of the issue of organisational response to child protection in British voluntary sector sport.

1.2 Thesis Context and Outline

The aim of this thesis is to explore the issue of protecting children from sexual abuse within voluntary sector sport organisations. More particularly, it identifies and examines the relationships between participants within voluntary sector sport organisations and their impact on child protection debates and policies. This work was intended as an exploratory piece of research to dovetail with the academic work being done by Professor Celia Brackenridge on abuse survivors. The sensitivity of the topic provided problems for access. Uncertainty, therefore, characterised the early part of the research with a real possibility that access might not be granted to voluntary sector sport organisations. This led to the seizing of an early opportunity to use a Church of England diocese as a case study because it provided an example of a comparable voluntary sector organisation dealing with child abuse. From this it was hoped to extrapolate issues which might prove useful in the analysis of voluntary sport organisations. However, in the event it proved possible to conduct seven sport case studies and, therefore, the Church of England diocese became a comparator, representing another voluntary organisation engaged in child protection policy construction.

How a problem is defined also defines the solutions or visions that will be sought to explain or change it (Callon and Latour 1981). Therefore, the theoretical basis provides a vocabulary by which to approach an issue. This thesis is set upon a poststructural theoretical basis, more specifically using Actor Network Theory (ANT), a theory most associated with people like John Law, Bruno Latour and Michel Callon amongst others. Whilst the work is not a feminist work, it does draw on what Bryson (1989) identifies as the heart of feminist theorising, a concern with domination through sexuality and gender.

According to ANT power is understood as dynamic and circulatory forces, visible in the definitions and structures that form the social world. Within such theorising morality is simply another circulation of definition amongst many (Callon 1999). However, since definition is considered as open in poststructural theorising, it is suggested here that what definitions are used are themselves acts of power in the social world and should be produced with care (Czarsinia-Joerges 1995). This thesis therefore, also draws on feminism for a moral standpoint regarding sexual violence, including child sexual abuse, as primarily an act of power rather than a sexual one. This theoretical combination is used to offset what has been described as the 'moral-blindness' often associated with atomised perspectivism of 'post' academic visions (Jackson and Jones 1998), which, it has been argued, through the focus on the subjective construction of reality, loses concepts of structure, and, consequently, structural oppression (see, for example, Weeks 1993).

ANT theorises a particular relationship between the material and the social world in which non-human actors are privileged as agents along with human actors. This is based on the uncoupling of the concept of agency from the concept of intention, as has traditionally been common in theories of power (Clegg 1989). Power is, therefore, conceptualised as a circulation, visible only in its effects, which are reciprocal effects of the material on the social world and vice versa (Mol 1999). The sum total of the inter-relationships between the material and social reality over time provide, in a given context, a 'map' that shows the passage of where power has been, the 'standing conditions' (Clegg 1994), or the 'field of force' (Clegg 1989) in which actors exist. This provides the 'frame' (Geertz 1972) from which actors' identities and future actions gain meaning, and by which they are defined as legitimate or illegitimate according to normative values within given contexts (Foucault 1977). These existent conditions become the route through which struggles take place between actors, in which actors attempt to define their life world in ways that maximise their own opportunities to achieve their ends (Wrong 1979). Macro and micro social issues are not considered as dichotomous but as simultaneously present in actions given meaning, or framed, by wider definitions, but taking place in localities (Latour 1999). Therefore, specific organisational contexts are unique but related to wider discourses presenting definitions of reality (Mills 1993). These wider social meanings may themselves, with modification, become part of the dispositions of power utilised to define reality in the organisational context. Therefore, for example, definitions about child protection in voluntary organisations exist within wider debates about the beliefs concerning children

and the regulation of sexual behaviour in general, although they may be mediated differently into different organisations.

Definitions of what constitutes child sexual abuse are both historically and culturally located. The age at which children are considered ready for sexual intimacy has varied through time and even today is not homogeneous, even amongst so called first world nations or even within the boundaries of nation states (Parton 1985). For example, within a single legal system such as English law there are indications of disparity: for example, the age-limit for legal informed heterosexual consent is sixteen but for male homosexuals is currently eighteen, although efforts are being made to change that. Such differentiation in the understanding of when children are ready for sexual intimacy inevitably affects decisions about how to protect them from too early an experience of that intimacy, whether self sought or imposed. However, as this thesis is concerned with contexts operating under, primarily, English law, for the purposes of this thesis child sexual abuse is taken to mean sexual acts with anyone under the English legal age of consent. This is not to say that abuse is not possible outside the realm of legal definition but that in terms of child protection policies these will be designed to function to protect those so legally defined.

Baudrillard (1981) argued that there was an overall crisis of meaning in the later part of the twentieth century. This crisis has affected assumptions about morality, undermining the formally taken-for-granted norms that right and wrong are notions universally understood, and questioning whether such consensus ever really existed. In the light of such a crisis of meaning, 'moral panics' have emerged in public debates taking place, for example, in the media (Cohen 1972). As such, concerns about issues such as child abuse may be interpreted as attempts to stabilise definitions in the dynamic and pluralist context that characterised late twentieth century western culture. Cohen (1972) argues that moral panics often lead to simplistic and two-dimensional representations of individuals involved, what he calls 'folk devils', in an effort to make clear the lines of right and wrong. These definitions are often linked to key events in the social world. For child sexual abuse, one such key event was the Cleveland Inquiry in 1987.

The Cleveland Inquiry was set up to examine the removal of large numbers of children from their parents and their placing in the emergency care of the local authority in Cleveland. The inquiry and subsequent report, by Lord Justice Butler-Sloss (HMSO 1988), brought

into the public domain, through media coverage of the event, the possibility of sexual abuse as an endemic social problem (Campbell 1988). Theoretical and political analyses on rape in the 1970s by so called 'second wave feminists' led to an expansion of our understanding of sexual violence by the 1980s to include child sexual abuse (Bryson 1992, Driver 1989). This feminist critique argued that patriarchal power relations were not simply sustained through men's sexual violence against women (Millet 1985) but also by male sexual violence against children (Kelly 1992). What feminist work on child sexual abuse indicated was that, in the context of the legal structure (Viinikka 1989) and in public perceptions promoted through the media (Driver 1989), abusers were believed to be identifiable and visibly different from the rest of the community. Therefore, when children's testimony suggested that seemingly 'ordinary' and 'normal' adults were responsible for their abuse, children were perceived as vindictive liars (Driver 1989). These feminist critiques questioned some of the basic beliefs about 'normal' sexuality and the Inquiry itself, Campbell (1989) argues, became a significant site over which these critiques were engaged and challenged.

The Inquiry investigated a number of diagnoses of sexual abuse by a paediatric consultant, Dr Marietta Higgs. Campbell (1988) argues that by attacking this diagnosis of so many children from what were portrayed in the media as 'normal' families, Higgs raised the issue that children, far from being in danger from strangers, might have far more to fear from those who were supposed to be their protectors, particularly so-called 'normal' fathers. In addition, the very 'normality' of such families raised questions about who were the perpetrators of sexual abuse, questioning the individual pathology which had previously characterised images of paedophilia (Driver 1989). The fathers of these families were presented as 'normal' men with 'normal' sexuality. Campbell maintains that the subsequent inquiry deliberately sought to paint Dr Higgs as a hysterical woman who had overreacted to scant evidence. This reaction, Campbell claims, arose because the enormity of what the diagnoses suggested was unthinkable. Not only did these claims present a crisis over resources for taking care of children designated 'at risk', which they did, but they also redefined the nature of so called 'normal' masculinity as potentially problematic and damaging to children. Campbell argues that these questions and re-definitions were unacceptable to the police officers engaged in this enquiry who subsequently refused to work with Higgs, as well as to those sitting on the Inquiry board, and to the tabloid journalists, who began the campaign to vindicate the fathers implicated. This is how she

accounts for the Inquiry's findings that many of Dr Higgs' diagnoses were unsafe, although subsequent journalistic enquiries in the 1990s maintained that this may not be the case.

Whether the true extent of child abuse and its implications were effectively suppressed in the Cleveland Inquiry, or whether Higgs' claims have been subsequently proven more valid than was previously believed, the Inquiry provided a watershed in public concern about child sexual abuse. By raising questions about how prevalent such behaviours were, who perpetrates such crimes, and where such acts were likely to take place, it raised the problem that if those who had the most reason to care for children (i.e. parents) could not be trusted to look after them, who could? This both created its own moral panic, about a crisis in family values, and fed into wider moral panics about social and moral decline, expressed in the New Right politics of the time. The legacy of such concerns can be seen in recent inquiries into child abuse, such as the recently published Waterhouse Report (HMSO 2000), which substantiated allegations about the sexual abuse of large numbers of children in local authority care in Wales to the extent of acknowledging that a number of abusers, known to each other, were active at the same time in the homes (Freaun 2000). Such investigations indicate that the debates and questions, or the crisis of meanings, surrounding issues of child sexual abuse and who is fit to be entrusted with the charge of children are still very much in the forefront of public consciousness.

During the years since the Cleveland Inquiry the moral panics surrounding child abuse have spread from state care into other areas of life, including the Christian Church and sports organisations. This again has focussed attention and raised questions about who can be trusted. The anxieties of senior members within the Christian church and within other voluntary sector organisations, such as those concerned with sport, have served to raise concerns about the provision for child protection within voluntary organisational contexts. This concern was expressed at governmental level with the publishing in 1993 of the 'Safe from Harm' (HMSO 1993), advisory guidelines about prevention of child abuse for voluntary organisations.

Academic feminist critique of sport began in the 1980s (Messner 1996). Questions of equal opportunities (see, for example, Brackenridge and White 1985) and constructions of gender (Messner and Sabo 1990, Scraton 1990) have formed part of that critique, as has research work into sexual abuse of children within sport (see, for example, Brackenridge

1994, 1997a, 1997b; Yorganci 1994; Kirby and Greaves 1996). This research project was intended to provide an organisational dimension to such critiques, particularly to the academic work of Professor Brackenridge, on survivors of abuse in voluntary sector sport. Chapter Two, *Theory, Organisation and Corporeality*, deals with the theoretical aspects of the organisation as frame, examining in some detail the issues of organisation, exploring poststructuralist concepts and particularly Actor Network Theory. It analyses the relationship between organisation, gender, sexuality and corporeality, suggesting that gender and sexuality are part of the enacted practices of social action that create 'organisation' and which are played out through the bodies of actors. It is also suggested that in organisations like those found in sport, where the bodies of some members are central to the aims of the organisation, this provides intimate access, through practices that mould the body, to the core of an individual's gendered and sexual identity. This provides perfect opportunities for those engaged in those organisational 'body projects' (Bourdieu 1978) to abuse. This chapter provides the theoretical framework through which the conceptualisation of the specific cases of sport and the Church are examined later.

Chapter Three, *Christianity, Sport and Sexual Abuse*, refers back to the literature in Chapter Two on organisational identity and explores the discursive framework from which legitimate sexual identities are formed in both Christianity and in sport. It is argued that British voluntary sector sport and Christianity have a common discursive foundation due to the historical combining of the two discourses in the English public schools of the 19th Century. In Section 3.2, *Christian Discourses, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*, the discursive threads are first identified through the work of Christian feminist activists working with survivors of child sexual abuse in contemporary Christianity. An outline is given of the theological tenets, which those Christian feminists argue provide definitions of legitimate sexual identities for women and children, which, because such identities are passive, make them vulnerable to those who wish to abuse them. It is then argued in Section 3.3, *Muscular Christianity; the Marriage of Religion and Sport*, that those discourses, through the Public School pedagogic discourses around Muscular Christianity and athleticism, came to form an integral part of meaning systems around modern sport during the nineteenth century, and were intimately related to bodily expressions of morality, exemplified in the bodies of young Victorian men. The last section, Section 3.4, *Mutation of Christian Discourses in Contemporary Sport, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*, then addresses the efficacy of those discourses for examining sexuality and gender

construction in contemporary sport. This section revisits the spiritual tenets outlined in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 and applies them to contemporary sport. It argues that, despite a secularisation of these discourses and the replacing of God with body as self-referent, these discourses still have strong moral imperatives attached to them. As such, they provide a form of meaning in contemporary sport that is strongly linked to bodily identity within those contexts, and, therefore, has strong sexual and gendered elements. It is maintained that the secularisation of these discourses within sport has created a morality that is no longer identified with God but with conformity to bodily controls and images, as exemplified by athletic bodies. These bodily imperatives to conformity within these contexts preference aggressive, heterosexual masculinities over other identities and provide sexually passive identities for women and children. The level of control used to produce the useful bodies needed to pursue the aims of sport both requires strong external impositions of bodily identity, exhibited through hierarchical structures of control, and a strongly internalised 'gaze' (Foucault 1977). This combination allows control to extend beyond the sporting context. It is maintained that the strong external and internal controls on the body and identity in sport, combined with use of body as a visual reference for individual conformity to organisational norms, provide opportunities for involvement by representatives of the organisation with individual projects of identity, through bodies. These opportunities are not available within other kinds of organisations where the body does not feature so directly their aims. These controls in sport can be used to justify intrusion into intimate bodily knowledge of certain organisational members, both inside and beyond the organisational context (Brackenridge and Kirby 1997).

Chapter Four, *Methodology*, explains how the theoretical underpinnings and sensitive nature of the topic indicated the use of a qualitative methodology. It is also argued that the theoretical underpinnings of the work define the objectives by which to achieve the research aim and these are:-

1. to identify the organisational 'networks' in the organisations studied
2. to determine what 'networks', if any, were formed around the discussions of child protection, both within and between organisational networks.
3. to identify the 'standing conditions' of those networks
4. to identify any overlaps or drift between policy networks and the normative organisational networks

The impact is explored of the sensitive nature of the issue under study on the research process, in terms of access and ethics, and the means by which access was secured to the organisations that took part in the research. The use of case studies is examined and then the various techniques and stages of data collection are shown. It goes on to outline how the case study information was collected through semi-structured interviews with key actors in the selected diocese and the National Governing Bodies (NGBs) of sport. It recounts how the Church and two of the sports were followed up with interviews at the local level of parish and club. The chapter also relates how understandings in ANT, of the inter-related nature of the social and material world, facilitates analysis of the relationship of the researcher to the networks under study. This research network is then represented. The chapter goes on to examine the template method of coding utilised to analyse the data collected, discussing the advantages and disadvantages of using a pre-coding data management technique.

Chapter Five, *Data Presentation and Discussion*, presents the empirical work on one Church of England diocese and its two parishes and the organisational structures of seven sports. First, the wider institutional debates within the contexts in question are outlined, dealing with the general standing conditions of the institutional networks in general and issues of sexual abuse and child protection in particular. The case studies are then explored. The standing conditions of the networks within and around the case study organisations are examined, which are then diagrammatically represented. This is followed by an exploration of the networks around discussions of child protection in the case study organisations, which are again represented in diagrammatic form. Then the relationship between the two networks is examined in a short summary at the end of the case study in question. The similarities and differences between the child protection debates in the Church of England and the British voluntary sector sport organisations are considered, as are the similarities and differences between the sport organisations. The chapter suggests organisational structures within both the Church of England and sport exhibit evidence of similar internal organisational incoherence, creating major problems for the dissemination of effective of child protection policy.

Chapter Six, *Summary and Conclusions*, then summarises the findings of the thesis and assesses the efficacy of the theoretical standpoint used for examining the issue of child protection within these organisational contexts, arguing that, whilst its wider concept of

agency enabled the theorising of both events within the social contexts and the impact of this research, there is a lack of focus on the embodied aspect of participation in the social. The chapter goes on to suggest that the embodied aspect of organisation, particularly in ‘body project’ organisations, may not only provide the element of the lived experience of the social but also may provide a means by which to examine the actions of power, through the experience of the practices by which bodies are moulded. In addition, it suggests that the discourses of gender and sexuality identified in Chapter Three are durable discourses in the practices by which those bodies are moulded. It also suggests some further research, as well as briefly discussing the contexts in question at the time of the completion of this thesis.

Chapter Seven, *Reflections on the Research Process*, then presents the self-reflexive account of the experience of the process of research.

Chapter Two, *Theory, Organisation and Corporeality*, now examines in greater detail the theoretical aspects of this thesis, as a prelude to the later chapters where the principal theoretical themes are applied to the contexts of the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport specific cases.

Chapter Two

Theory, Organisation and Corporeality

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter indicated the broad outline of this thesis. This chapter now explores in greater detail the theoretical foundations that have informed the work. It outlines the theoretical strands of poststructural thinking and feminism that have been drawn together to provide the theoretical basis used to examine the case studies presented in Chapter Five. This is done in three sections.

The first major section of the chapter, Section 2.2, *Theory*, gives a brief examination of the emergence of structuralism as a sociological school of thought. In Section 2.2.1, *Structuralism*, structuralism as a school of sociological thought is discussed in relation to its focus on the examination of language as the means of generating shared meanings, and the impact upon the groups who share those meanings is reviewed. It examines briefly how the term structuralism itself is not fixed and how it was widened, through a misunderstanding about the linguistic nature of structuralism (Lasch 1991), to include meta-theories of social grouping. These examined the nature of structure as monolithic and the location of power, representing the structural side of the structure/agency debate that has been central to sociological concerns since the late nineteenth century (Pettit 1975). Section 2.2.2, *Postmodernism and Poststructuralism*, then explores the effect of a postmodern critique upon that body of knowledge, identifying poststructural thought as the synthesis.

Section 2.2.3, *Actor Network Theory*, then goes on to examine the specifics of Actor Network Theory, providing the theoretical vocabulary with which the case studies are examined in Chapter Five. It explores how Actor Network Theory, although based in Poststructuralism, attempts to by-pass the structure/agency debate, arguing that to focus on micro or macro sociological perspectives misses the point that human interaction is always simultaneously an expression of both. The exact nature of Actor Network Theory, it is suggested, is as a method and not a theory based upon identifying and tracking social reality through the means by which meaning and definition are generated (Callon 1999). These concerns retain a poststructural foundation and examine the process of meaning generation by actors as they construct their life worlds and the resultant relationship of those meanings to the structures of power. This section also outlines how Actor Network Theory differs from many other social theories of power in its assertion that agency is not the sole

prerogative of human actors. Under Actor Network Theory, the concept of agency is extended to include objects and events within the social world. This is because the enactment of power is not, in Actor Network Theory, necessarily defined in relation to the intentional actions of actors, as is the case in the majority of earlier theories of power (Clegg 1989). This wider concept of agency implicates human actors within webs of active relations, not only with other actors but also with the environments in which they act. Power is thus conceptualised as dynamic and circulatory within social reality rather than static or objectified (Callon 1999).

Section 2.2.4, *Feminism and Poststructuralism*, goes on to identify the major criticism of Postmodern theory: that it lacks adequate conceptualisation of larger social groupings. This omission, which has been identified by feminists amongst others, enables inequalities within social systems to be perpetuated and, in addition, fails to take moral responsibility for the consequences of using such definitions (Weeks 1993). This facet of Postmodernism has been anathema to many feminists (Bryson 1989), although, as Jackson and Jones (1998) argue, it is precisely this thread of deconstructionism which Postmodern debate and feminism have in common.

Finally, Section 2.2.5, *Implications of the Use of Poststructuralist Theory*, acknowledges the implications of using a poststructuralist theoretical base. As Callon (1999) suggests, in a poststructural analysis, morality is understood as simply part of the 'circulations' of discourse within the social world. Czarniawska-Joerges (1995) argues that the open nature of definition, which results from using a poststructuralist critique, means an increased responsibility in the formation of definitions within the study and presentation of research *as part of the attempt* to change oppression. The negative nature of oppression through practices of gender and sexuality, therefore, forms a moral touchstone in this particular thesis upon which definitions and understandings identified in this thesis rest. Consequently, in this thesis, aggressive and violent sexuality is identified as a key method of disciplinary practice that helps to construct definition and provides control over bodies in the social world. Sexual violence is also considered inherent in many, seemingly unrelated, forms of hierarchical dominance. However, the poststructural nature of the thesis also means that sexual violence is considered as only one of a number of disciplinary practices and circulatory discourses that frame action. This work, therefore, is presented as a form of

poststructural analysis that draws on feminist concerns about power, violence and sexuality to provide its moral and political dimension.

Section 2.3, *Organisation*, examines the poststructuralist conceptualisation of organisation and power. In Section 2.3.1, *Organisation and Structure*, the exercise of power is understood to be the attempt to control the definition of reality (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Organisation, in consequence, is thus seen as a physical expression of the circulations of power (Clegg 1989). Then the Section 2.3.2, *Organisation and Discourse: Construction of Organisational Meaning*, examines how, prior to poststructuralist understandings about power, focus was placed on defining what were fixed and necessary dispositions for the exercise of power (Clegg 1989). It also explores the sociological debate about the location of power in structure or agency: that is, whether it lies with the individual as an agent able to effect change upon the social world, or within structures that provide the *frame* (Geertz 1973) which constrains and controls the actions of those agents. The section goes on to argue that by moving away from the perception of necessary attributes, or dispositions of power, poststructuralist conceptualisations provide a circulatory view of power located in empirical reality, without identifying *a priori* conditions necessary for its exercise within the social world (Callon 1991, Clegg 1989). By presenting power as the imposition of definition, it is suggested that dispositions are important but contingent upon the context of action. That is to say that the conditions necessary for the exercise of power are different in each given situation. As Clegg (1989:240) maintains;

at [the] centre lies the insight that Poststructuralism makes available: our irremediable entrapment within webs of meaning together with our organisational capacity to transform these. This is the dialectic of power and structure.

Actor Network Theory attempts to move beyond this dialectical understanding expressing reality as the micro- and macro- levels of society as 'folded' on themselves (Callon 1999: 18). Section 2.3.3, *Organisational Culture*, goes on to suggest that the identification of power with definition impacts on understandings about organisations, such as what constitutes an organisation, as well as on perceptions of the role of policy within them. Instead of being defined as cultural objects, organisations are perceived rather as frames (Geertz 1973) for meaning. Section 2.3.4, *Organisation and Politics: Interactions of Actors*, in consequence examines policy in relation to the frame of reference created by

those meanings as well as being part of the process through which that frame is constructed. Therefore, an inter-relationship is suggested between the constraints of existing meanings and the transformative power of new ones.

Section 2.4, *Organisation and Corporeality*, goes on to argue that part of existent meanings within organisational frames will be expressed through legitimated identities which are formed in reference to that frame; identities which are played out through the body. More particularly, Section 2.4.1, *Organisation and Identity: Creation of Subjectivities*, is concerned with examining the interrelationship between organisation and corporeality. As the thesis is concerned with sexual abuse within organisational contexts, and any attempts to prevent this through policy formation, in Section 2.4.2, *Organisation and Sexuality*, it is argued that the sexual and gendered identities of organisational participants are of primary interest. In Section 2.4.3, *The Body as an 'Organisational Project'*, it is argued that in organisations that utilise the bodies of some members for the pursuit of organisational goals, like sport, those bodies will more clearly express organisationally specific meanings than in organisations where the body is not their main focus. Because of the sexual way in which the bodies are perceived, those meanings will be intimately connected with the creation of gendered and sexual identities (Turner 1996). Section 2.4.4, *Resistance and Mediation*, examines how individuals mediate and resist these wider organisational meanings and relationship to create their unique 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1991).

This chapter as a whole, therefore, attempts to position the theoretical foundation used in this thesis within the wider field of social and cultural knowledge, examining what the specific definitions and conceptualisations used imply for the examination of social and cultural reality. It suggests that participation in organisations is understandable through the concept of organisations as frames for meaning. Under these definitions the development of policy is understood as one of the methods through which actors engage in defining the social world in which they act. The chapter suggests that these actions take place in organisations as frames of symbolism from which human actors construct identities that are, because of the corporeal nature of human life, inevitably gendered and sexualised. This chapter attempts, therefore, to articulate the theses' theoretical basis and to provide the vocabulary for the investigation of the ways in which organisation and corporeality are

expressed in the specific areas of British voluntary sector sport and in the Church of England. In addition this chapter seeks to discuss how child protection policy may be understood as both a process and product within these contexts.

2.2 Theory

This section 'positions' the theoretical framework used in this thesis in relation to the wider fields of knowledge, both historically and contemporaneously. The theoretical basis is founded in poststructuralist conceptualisations of cultural power and of organisations. Consequently, organisations are understood as the effects of the action of power over time, expressed through interactions and actions that are difficult to see and map, rather than cultural facticities visible at any given moment (Hassard 1990). The implications of poststructural theory to the examination of organisations will be addressed in more detail in Section 2.3, *Organisation*. The theoretical approach resembles more closely a poststructural *feminist* approach in that it draws upon feminism for concerns about sexuality as a key field in which the enactment of 'episodic' (Clegg 1989) and 'disciplinary' (Foucault 1977) power relations take place within social groups. The implications of the disciplinary and embodied nature of power expressed through sexuality and identity is covered in greater depth in Section 2.4, *Organisation and Corporeality*. Feminism provides here a basis for morality and politics through its concerns about gendered and sexual identity as particular conduits for repressive power relations, and the assumption that this is problematic.

To talk of 'post' anything within the academy is to apply some of the insights from postmodernism to an existing body of knowledge. Structuralism, therefore, will briefly be examined as a body of knowledge, identifying how Poststructuralism differs from it. The critique that feminism brings to these bodies of knowledge is also considered. Drawing upon feminist morality, an attempt is made to offset the perceived moral weakness of postmodern perspectives with regards to all forms of oppression (see for example Weeks 1993). Haraway (1989), however, argues that feminism itself requires the leveling which postmodern critique provides in that such critiques provoke thoughtful and responsible re-

construction of definitions which may help to prevent constructing exclusive and homogenising forms of feminism.

2.2.1 Structuralism

Structuralism is a term that first came into wide usage in the 1960s in France. Based upon the linguistic work of Saussure, written in the early decades of the twentieth century, these structuralist theories began to examine social interaction as expressed through the construction of language; what Pettit (1975) described as the 'linguistics model'. This linguistic criterion was then applied in a *post hoc* fashion to theories that had been developed prior to the emergence of structuralism in France. Lasch (1991) argues that this linguistic concern, which formed the predominant part of French structuralism as expressed in the work of theorists such as Foucault and Derrida, was overlooked outside France, where the term came to be applied to any theory which posited some kind of structural basis for social relations. The retrospective application of structuralism as a term meant that it came to be associated with diverse areas of theory. These areas included, for example, Marx's super-structural theories of politics and economics, Lacan's psychoanalytical meta-theory of the Oedipal complex, Levi Strauss' theory of myth as an expression of a fundamental human mind and Weber's meta-discourse of rationalism as underpinning modern Western thought. In consequence, the term structuralism, and what may be considered structuralist thought, incorporates theories that are in tension or conflict with each other. For example, the work of Weber, which was intended at least in part as a critique of the work of Marx, offers a conflicting theory to the super-structural theories of Marxism (Lowith 1995). The broadening of the term structuralism has led to attempts to redefine internal boundaries within the school of thought. Sturrock (1979), for example, identified two basic trends in structuralism, those using linguistics to create meta-social theory and those merely using linguistic methods as an heuristic device. Although theories considered structuralist may vary in their subject matter and methods, they are generally concerned with the structural dimension to the broader sociological concerns about the constraints of society and the extent of individual agency.

The structuralist whose work has had the greatest impact on the field of organisational theory as a subject of academic enquiry is Weber, with many contemporary works on organisations owing much of their foundation to Weber's work (Pringle 1989). Weber's belief in concepts such as rationalisation as the major force inherent in modern Western society, and his co-existent concerns with bureaucracy, provided a structural foundation for the examination of organisations (Morrison 1995). Indeed, the work of Foucault can be seen as the beginning of the post-critique of Weber's work, and indeed it owes much to Weber (Clegg 1989), even although Foucault himself is also identified by some as a structuralist (Lasch 1991). Clegg (1989) argues that the development of power theory as a theoretical trend in academic debate owes a great deal to Weber's concerns with structure and the exercise of power as an intentional act. He goes on to say that Weber's notion of the *formal* and *informal* provided a starting point from which power within structure came to be theorised and expressed increasingly in dimensional terms. This was a continuation of the structuralist metaphor for social interaction in which organisations, as social groupings, were considered cultural artefacts, unproblematically visible in the social world as a result of internal hierarchies (Hassard 1990). The extension of the idea of organisations as cultural objects was expanded from mechanistic 'one-dimensional' concepts of social structures, to two and three dimensions in attempts to 'locate' the source of power within both implicit and explicit structures (Clegg 1989). The dimensional 'picture' of organisation, therefore, was extended from organisation as the sum-total of explicit hierarchies and explored the two-dimensional implications of implicit shadow structures (Bachara and Baratz 1962). This expanded Weber's (1948) earlier concept of formal and informal hierarchies within organisations. Lukes' (1974) work on the third dimension of power extended power and structure into minds of subjects and suggested that some agents may not know their interests, because other groups of actors influence their mind which prevents their effective and intentional use of power. Clegg (1989), however, maintains that Lukes' reliance on the relationship between power and intention is flawed, on the basis that there is no way to know an agent's 'true' interests or intentions. Therefore, intention, as a prerequisite or as a criterion to assess the actions of power in pursuit of given interests, is too erratic and elusive to be a useful concept. Clegg also supports a phenomenological view of the agency of actors, asserting that structures are more nebulous than structuralists would believe.

The major criticism of structuralism, and thus of structuralist visions of organisation, as expressed for example in Clegg's work, is that a heavy focus on structure means that individual agency is lost. Indeed, Morrison (1995) argues that Foucault's work, in terms of discourses, creates a totally absent subject because it takes place without an actual interactive speech situation. Ultimately, such criticisms of structuralism arose out of phenomenological work, which stressed *perspectivism*, that is the individual as the origin of meaning creation.

2.2.2 Postmodernism and Poststructuralism

The term 'postmodernism' has now come to designate a bewilderingly diverse array of cultural practices, writers, artists, thinkers and theoretical accounts of late modernity. It also refers to a more general sense of radical change in the ways of thinking we have inherited from the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment. (Waugh 1998: 177)

During the early 1970s developments took place in linguistic theory. The 'natural' relationship that structural linguistics had implied between a word as a signifier and that which it was intended to signify was brought into question by the work of Postmodernists and poststructuralists. Deconstructionist critique from the work of writers such as Derrida (1987) was extended in postmodernist theorising to a rejection of the search for linearity and causality implicit within the European Enlightenment project (Burrell 1993). Despite the influential nature of Derrida's work on postmodernist thinking, Lasch (1991) places his work in the structuralist school. The plurality of vision and meaning which a postmodern stance posits has been seen as relativism gone mad (see, for example, Eagleton 1985), an atomisation of the social from which there is no ontological return. Alternatively, postmodernism has been identified as an essential critique for the end of the century (Hutcheon 1988) or as less of a means of seeing and more as the condition in which we live at the end of the twentieth century (Jameson 1991, Lyotard 1984). This condition is identified by Baudrillard (1983) as the disappearance of late twentieth century Western capitalist culture into the self-referencing world of media 'hyper-reality'. The chief criticism laid against such 'post' visions is that there is no sense of structural oppression and, since oppression is very real for some people, it implicitly provides support for the status quo under which such oppressive practices exist (Weeks 1993).

However, rather than repudiating all that 'post' might imply, theorists who reject a total postmodern vision may well still acknowledge many important contributions that such a critique provides (see, for example, Waugh 1998, Bryson 1992). The deconstructionist critique within postmodernism provides a means by which to break down essential categorisations and, through an acknowledgement of the socially constructed nature of what is constituted as knowledge, calls into question meta-theory formulated upon those categories.

The search for a single all-encompassing theory is therefore rejected in principle, as is the very possibility of objectivity. Western philosophy's quest for truth and certainty (described as logocentrism) is therefore abandoned and is seen as the product of a particular historical era that is becoming inappropriate in a postmodern society that is increasingly characterised by fragmentation, diversity and diffuseness in all spheres of life. Existing theories, particularly Marxism, which claim to embody certainty and objectivity are rejected as totalitarian; here it is not simply the conclusions which are rejected, but the quest for truth itself. (Bryson 1992: 225-226)

Feminists amongst others have rejected the belief in an objective 'God's eye view' inherent in Enlightenment thinking, which essentially conceptualised the scientist, as subject, as separate from the phenomenon under study, the object (Jackson and Jones 1998). However, what postmodernism offers as an alternative to located objective vision has been described as vision from everywhere creating an atomistic individualism which precludes any ability to create social change (Fraser and Nicholson 1988). The synthesis of 'post' visions and structuralist thinking has moved the gaze of researchers from meta-structures in society to more localised frames in areas such as culture and politics (Laclau and Mouffe 1985), neo-tribal groupings (Mafesoli 1996), and the disparate, localised nature of organisation (Hassard 1990).

A poststructuralist critique, rather than abandoning structure altogether, sees the interaction of human beings as predicated upon some kind of structuring or categorising of reality, but these categorisations are far less culturally monolithic or transparent than structuralist visions attempted to maintain. Poststructuralist thinking, therefore, may be said to straddle the middle ground between the determinism of the macro-structures of structuralism and the phenomenological atomism of Postmodernism. Poststructuralism, therefore, acknowledges

that human behaviour is ritualised and communal in some ways but takes place in small, localised groupings. Large conceptual groups, like states, for example, are conceived as alliances between numbers of smaller groups. The alliances that form this larger grouping are not seen as essential but are understood as part of the negotiation through politics that describe the social world. Such alliances often function antagonistically, and indeed prove not to be durable, as recent events in the Balkans have shown. The reconciliation of the active agent and the determining structure as mutually interactive has itself been expressed within other theorisations (such as Giddens's structuration theory, 1984).

2.2.3 Actor Network Theory

This thesis uses a poststructuralist theoretical basis. More specifically it uses elements of Actor Network Theory (ANT), a school of thought originated by John Law, Michel Callon and Bruno Latour, amongst others. As was suggested in Sections 2.2.1, *Structuralism*, and 2.2.2, *Postmodernism and Poststructuralism*, above, linguistics is a core element, within structuralist and poststructuralist thought, predicated upon the belief that language is never used in arbitrary ways. Patterns of language are believed to express, in some important way, the relationships that constitute the world (Sturrock 1979). Within the social sciences, the vocabulary of theory provides the same service that Wang (1992) argues the equation does in mathematics. The vocabulary, like the equation, provides a method of carrying meaning, of placing seemingly different phenomena, as with different numbers, in a relationship in order to understand something about them through comparison. The equivalent in language is the metaphor, which identifies one thing with another thing with which it is not ordinarily associated. Theory, therefore, functions as a form of metaphor, providing an approximation, through language, by which to categorise and thereby understand the world. This use of language focuses the vision of the researcher, enabling interpretation of the empirical world through categorisation in particular ways. The fundamental 'realness' of that world is an ontological question and one for which theory provides an answer, whether implicitly or explicitly: as Demaine (1981:21) states, "all theory presupposes theory". To conduct research, assumptions about reality are inevitably made (Apple 1979) but within reflexive theorising these pre-requisite foundations are 'signposted' by the theorist (Burrell 1993). Consequently, theories may be thought of as providing a means of approximating reality, although these are always limited and partial

visions of the world (Sarantakos 1993). As Weber (1949:72) states, 'all knowledge of cultural reality, as may be seen, is always knowledge from a particular point of view'.

Foucault (1980) argues that categorisations laid upon knowledge divide what is an interconnected whole into artificial categories. He goes on to suggest that these divisions are formed through the decision about the placing of boundaries between disciplines. Any categorisation is an artificial distinction laid upon reality and for Foucault (1984, 1980) the division of knowledge into disciplines is no less an expression of power within the social than are the categories of sane and insane. Within disciplines, too, the boundaries of concepts divide information into categories. Debates concerning the relationship between the determinism of macro-structures to the agency of the micro-political have been concerned with the placing of such a boundary. However, Latour (1999) argues that, unlike many theories, ANT does not attempt to reconcile the structure/agency divide, but rather attempts to bypass the question altogether (although he admits to limited success in doing this because of sociological fixation upon this particular dichotomy). This rejection is based on the belief that categorisation imposed by placing a boundary between the macro level of structure and the micro level of agency is actually not very useful (Law 1999). The macro and the micro are understood instead as "two sides of the same thing", co-existent in all interactions regardless of the scale of their concern (Latour 1999:18-19).

Actor and network, if we want to still use those terms – designates two faces of the same phenomenon, like waves and particles, the slow realization that the social is a certain type of circulation that can travel endlessly without ever encountering either the micro-level – there is never an interaction that is not framed – or the macro-level – there are only local summing up which produce either local totalities ('oligoptica') or total localities (agencies) (Latour 1999: 18-19).

Therefore, ANT advocates a metaphor which 'folds' the macro- and the micro- so that interaction is never definable as exclusively either.

ANT, as a post-structuralist theory, is concerned with language and provides a consciously constructed vocabulary. It functions to provide a method of categorising and charting the fluid and strategic nature of power in the social and physical world, as well as a means by which to express that dynamism (Callon 1991).

The concepts and language within ANT are grounded upon the theorising and defining of power as separate from the intentions of actors. It examines power through effects in the empirical world *not* against some scale of intent to create effect, which is only to be ascertained through access into the minds of actors, which is, at best, unreliable (Clegg 1989). Since power is not measured against the will of an actor to act, the concept of agency is widened to include non-human 'agents' (Callon and Latour 1981). This wider category of 'agents' can include environmental factors, cultural artefacts as well as events, as these all can affect social interaction and meaning construction (Callon 1986). The interwoven nature of the definition of the macro and micro in ANT means also that all actors are understood as the same size (Callon and Latour 1981). Actors can be 'micro-actors' (i.e. those which represent only their own interests), or as 'macro-actors' (who represent the interests of other actors). Macro-actors are, therefore, understood as micro-actors who, like some Leviathan, are at the end of a number of 'translations' of other micro-actors; that is the sum total of a number of previous social interactions (Callon and Latour 1981).

The ontology of ANT is fundamentally an empiricist one, concentrating on visible effects and actions in the social world (Law 1999). Lol (1999) argues that, rather than the multiple visions of Postmodernism or the 'God's eye view' of structuralist thinking, both of which still imply a homogenous level of reality available to be viewed, ANT's concern with only what can be *seen* in the empirical world preserves the multiplicity of the phenomena in that world. In this vein, Law (1999) argues that it is essential not to try to simplify, or be afraid to acknowledge, the complexity of interrelations that interweave between the physical and the social world. The focus on interrelations between agents and objects within ANT explores the webs that construct meaning. Actors' interactions with other actors, and within environments, provide the means by which to explore the visible expressions of power in action (Callon 1981, Clegg 1989). The objects or people who physically connect the different actors within a network are called 'intermediaries' (Callon 1991), and by their actions and/or content describe the relationships that exist between the actors between whom they move. ANT is predicated on the understanding that power is expressed through the categorisations which actors place, or attempt to place, on their milieu. Empirical phenomena are, therefore, enmeshed in the social relations of power within a contextual field through the processes of language. This interweaving of relations in the social and

material world is referred to in ANT as a 'network'. Networks can grow up around anything, for example, geographical spaces, issues or events. Whilst 'network' may seem to be too loose a definitional term to be useful, using this word implies particular understandings and comparisons. For example, seemingly dissimilar things like the social relations around an organisation can be compared with the social relations that arise around an issue. Whole networks can themselves become nodes in wider networks.

One of the criticisms laid against poststructuralist work and ANT specifically is a lack of concern with issues of morality and a tendency to see such questions as 'one more circulation' in the game of competing definitions (Latour 1999:35, Foucault 1977). In relation to the concerns of this study such poststructuralist perceptions discount the possibility of an *a priori* moral standard by which to judge sexual relations with children as unacceptable. Morality is believed, as are definitions of children and childhood, to be contextually created and specific, forming part of the struggles of actors to define their life world.

2.2.4 *Feminism and Poststructuralism*

Waugh (1998) suggests that so-called 'Second Wave' feminism, founded in the 1960s and 70s, used methods that had much in common with poststructuralist deconstructionist critique, in that feminists attempted to problematise existing categorisations, primarily around issues of sexuality and gender (Driver 1989, Campbell 1988). For example, feminism questioned the gendered nature of definitions around the public/private divide and the 'malestream' (Bryman 1989) nature of knowledge construction. Whereas early 'second wave' feminist theory was devised and expressed in the grass-roots politics of the feminist activist movement, in the twenty years since the 1970s feminist theorising has moved increasingly into the academy (Jackson and Jones 1999: 5). Within the academy there is now a diverse range of bodies of feminist knowledge and many feminists have come to recognise that there is no longer one coherent body of work which could be labelled 'feminist theory' (Waugh 1998). Rather, feminism has increasingly become the basis of a critique of existing paradigms of knowledge (Jackson and Jones 1998, Sarantakos 1993). Although there may no longer be one feminism, what feminisms hold in common is a concern with exposing and challenging domination associated with gender and sexuality

(Bryman 1989). This concern with domination, and the process of research as a mechanism of change, provides a basis of political morality. For Waugh (1998) this political project for change can create tensions between the belief in the continuing need to reconstruct homogeneity within some levels of the feminist movement in order to bring about change and the movement's own deconstructivist history. One of the influences which feminism has provided for the academy has been the greater understanding of research as a social act, raising reflexive questions about what research value structures might be (May 1993, Sarantakos 1993). Most poststructuralist feminists advocate not an abandonment of concern over the moral implication of political oppression, but a continuing resistance to all forms of essentialism, advocating instead the continuing problematisation of existing categories and reflexive construction of new ones (Jackson and Jones 1998). Whilst this might seem similar to poststructuralist perspectivism, many feminists, in common with others groups of researchers who see research as an active political tool such as, for example, Marxists, believe that more than just awareness is required (May 1993). For most feminists, and certainly for early feminists, the knowledge that research provides was generated specifically to create change (Bryman 1989). Inherent within this feminist view is an implicit morality about oppression, particularly that oppression which is enacted through sexual violence.

2.2.5 *Implications of the Use of Poststructuralist Theory*

This thesis explores the issues of child sexual abuse as an issue of policy and discourse within organisations in the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport. The case studies presented in Chapter Five are examined in relation to the theoretical insights outlined in Sections 2.3, *Organisation*, and 2.4, *Organisation and Corporeality*, of this chapter.

Using the poststructuralist vocabulary provided by Actor Network Theory, Section 2.3, *Organisation*, examines organisation as conceived as the totality of complex multiple networks that form the organisational world. This use of the term network allows different 'scale' organisational networks to be compared; for example, the network of the regional level of the Church of England with the network of the national level of the sport

organisations. These comparisons can be made through examining the circulatory process of network construction through interactions taking place within organisational contexts, rather than focussing on concerns about relative size or perceptions of structure. In addition, the concept of network enables an intra-comparison of the organisational network with networks arising out of any child protection policy discussions. What feminism provides for this particular thesis is the basic concept of sexual abuse as sexual violence and the explicit moral judgement that this is an issue that is problematic and in need of being addressed. Sexual violence is, therefore, identified as part of the practices of power deployment that categorise the social world (Millet 1985). However, this thesis also tentatively suggests that sexual violence functions as a method of deploying power which is used to sustain many other hierarchies of inequality, as well as those constructed about gender and sexuality.

This work can be conceptualised as a poststructuralist feminist analysis where sexuality is considered a fundamental part of discursive patterns of social meaning; patterns which are utilised to form, but also provide part of, the contexts and categories of organisations. However, sexuality is not privileged as the only powerful discourse of social categorisation or even the pre-eminent one. Accepting a poststructuralist concept that meaning is not fixed but mutable, and that no action is not, in some way, text within the social world, then the act of research and the presentation of research texts is part of the process of creating the social world. Methods, then, will be explored more fully in Chapter Five. Through the provision and selection of categories for data that researchers make, the vocabulary of method dictates what constitutes data (Sarantakos 1993). The values which underpin this thesis therefore represent a feminist/humanist precept of morality which identifies all research as value-constructive, especially when dealing with issues that touch directly on questions of collective moral behaviour, such as sexual violence and sexual abuse. These feminist/humanist values identify sexual violence and abuse as part of the practices through which power is deployed to frame interactions and which serves to reinforce conceptual hierarchies of oppression acted out through bodies.

The next section, Section 2.3, *Organisation*, examines in greater detail the poststructuralist definition of organisation followed by Section 2.4, *Organisation and Corporeality*, which examines the implications that organisation as social acts have for organisational subjectivity

and identity.

2.3 Organisation

2.3.1 Organisation and Structure

In this thesis the term ‘organisation’ is explored in relation to its function as a loci of meaning: that is as the sum total of signification that both provides the boundaries of the specific culture of meaning and also the arena in which activity is played out and understood. As such it is perceived as the frame within which human activities take place and from which they acquire meaning (Geertz 1973). Organisations may have a physical locus, such as a building, where its main activities take place, but it is argued that the organisation as meaning system extends beyond any physical boundaries. The physical reality of organisational life is only important in so far as it is bound in the specific webs of meaning. This identification of organisation with meaning allows interactions that may take place outside of the geographical space nominally associated with the organisation to still be considered as part of the organisational activity. These interactions are part of the circulations of meaning that are both creative of, and also defined by, the unique meaning system of the organisation. For example, a group of workers meeting in a pub to have a drink may continue to enact relationships according to frames of meaning that exist in the workplace. Similarly, a group of athletes drinking in a bar may continue to interact according to the same meaning system as that which exists on the pitch or in the locker room. Organisations in this sense, as meaning clusters, are fluid, comprised of *networks* of actors engaged in defining reality in a given situation (Callon and Latour 1981) rather than being clearly defined cultural objects (Hassard 1990). However, as was suggested in Section 2.2, *Theory*, the term network is also applicable to the inter-relations that emerge around specific social debates. Such networks created through debates over meaning can transcend organisational boundaries.

The use of the term network allows for an acknowledgement of organisational life as a dynamic process that may be impacted on by actors defined as ‘external’ to the formal structures of the organisation, impacting on internal organisational interaction.

Organisational structure, rather than being some facticity or cultural object, is itself perceived as a construction of power, and part of the means of definition within the organisational context. Silverman (1975) argued that formal pictures of organisations were no more than a portrait dictated by powerful individuals, discursive constructs defining physical reality serving to support particular understandings of 'the way things are'. Accordingly, he argued, such representations should be considered part of the repertoire of political gambits that actors use in the struggle to gain dominance. Clegg (1989) argues that these visions of organisation have little to do with the reality of organisational life. Referring to theorists like Weber (1948), Etzioni (1961) and Mintzberg (1983), he suggests that concern with obedience, and the methods by which it is achieved within the organisational structures, does not appreciate that 'recalcitrance is implicit with the intransitive processes which constitute organisational disciplinary practices in an hierarchical field' (Clegg 1989:192). He goes on to suggest that these struggles over structural definition are just one part of the 'transitive element in the production of disciplined obedience' (Clegg 1989:192). Finally, Clegg outlines that this transitive element, which he equates with authoritative externalities, has long been a major focus for organisation theory evidenced by the concern shown about the formal structure of organisation.

Meaning, and thus organisation in some substantive way, is constructed and/or fixed through the interactions of the participants within organisations. Organisations are not definite, concrete phenomena, and the organisational world is not a tangible, static facticity. On the contrary the organisational world is processual; it is based on the 'intentional' acts of creative participants. (Hassard 1990: 108)

This construction of meaning is therefore part of the continual process of creating and living out 'organisation'. As Volosinov (1981:147) argues, 'signs emerge...only in the process of interaction between one individual consciousness and another'. Thus signs are the ways in which actors understand their reality and transmit that understanding of reality, both through intended acts and through those which they do not intend to be so meaningful. Meanings, therefore, may be built subconsciously, creating implicit messages, or explicit attempts to define organisational reality. Both implicit and explicit messages may impact therefore on the web of meaning (Clegg 1989) either to fix it or to redefine it. However, Hassard's focus on intention is problematic. Intention, it has been argued, is a necessary component in the function of power. However, poststructuralist conceptualisations of

power, as discussed in Section 2.2, *Theory*, are concerned with only what is observable in the empirical world. Accordingly, any 'structure' that can be seen has to be understood as both *a cause and an effect* of the action of power. Therefore, it is the acts of agents (human or otherwise), and the observable results of those acts, intentional or otherwise, which construct organisational reality. The process of these interactions is what Gramsci (1971) called the 'war of manoeuvre' and is where actors attempt to define their role and the role of other actors and to escape such definition themselves (Wrong 1979).

2.3.2 Organisation and Discourse: Construction of Organisational Meaning

The frame of the organisation is, therefore, composed of the totality of all the forms of signification within its network: that is the totality of all that generates meaning. These significations are expressed through discourses within the organisational context. Discourses in this sense refers to text in its broadest sense as Laclau describes them:

By 'discursive' I do not mean that which refers to 'text' narrowly defined, but to the ensemble of the phenomena in and through which social production of meaning takes place, an ensemble which constitutes society as such. The discursive is not, therefore, being conceived as a level or even a dimension of the social, but rather as being co-extensive with the social as such. (Laclau 1980:87)

Organisational meaning systems, therefore, are the combination and culmination of all the forms of representation within the social world of the organisation and by which that world is understood. As the quotation from Laclau above indicates these texts are expressed in a number of different ways: for example, they can be expressed through physical environment, through written or visual texts, or through human interactions. As such texts can indicate who is an expected, or accepted, member of the culture or organisation. For example, a lack of disabled access to buildings indicates, consciously or unconsciously, that disabled people are not expected users. Such discourses, as signifiers, are subject to multi-layers of meaning that change and distort any essential meaning that they may have. Part of that multi-layering is the relationship to other discourses within the same relational field.

There is not, on the one side, a discourse of power, and opposite it another discourse that runs counter to it. Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can run different or even contradictory

discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another opposing strategy. (Foucault 1984:101-2)

As Foucault's quote suggests, the significations which discourses produce are never fully fixed. Relatively successful attempts to secure closure of definition within a field or organisation represents the local specificity of the network. Discourses are thus represented and interpreted within struggles in very particular ways in each situational world. For example, the same Biblical texts are used in Christian contexts to prove seemingly contradictory theological positions.

The specificity of discursive meaning weaves around the physical world to create the *nodal points* of a given network (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). These nodal points form the *dispositions*, the objects or techniques, around which the network of power unique to that organisation or locality is formed (Callon 1991). Where meanings assume a certain level of fixity these nodal points provide *obligatory passage points* for the flow power (Callon 1986, Callon and Latour 1981). These may be discourses through which discussions must be focussed, or be elements of the material world, including people, that are part of the dispositions that compose in the network in a given context (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Meaning provided may be relatively stable and as such may offer both language or textual discourses to which reference must be made, such as The Bible in Christianity, or the so called 'market discourse' in politics. However, meanings may also have impact on the relational and structural world, to continue the Christian example, the belief in the Priest as the obligatory passage point between the congregation and God creates both a structural relationship and enables the act of confession and absolution to take place. The interaction between specificity of meaning and structure is, as Clegg (1989:184) argues, the action of power fixing the 'terrain for its own expression', and which in form the *standing conditions* in which future action takes place (Clegg 1994).

2.3.2.1 Meaning in the Physical World

Callon and Latour (1981) have argued that the inanimate environments within organisations control bodily behaviour and give meaning to human action. Foucault (1977) saw the Panoptican prison, with its bodily control through architecture, as the ultimate

representation of this. This understanding of the control which environments have over bodies has been explored in work covering the different layers of curricula in schools (See Dodds 1985), especially at the less explicit levels of the covert and hidden curriculum. For example, as children we learn through school where we should play and where we should work, to sit at desks and where to hang our coats. As adults too we are controlled by our relationship to the inanimate world in which we work and exist: for example, working at a machine or a computer controls our bodily movement in very specific ways. Callon and Latour go on to argue that the relationship to the inanimate objects in the organisational world may also express an individual's place in its social world: for example, a supervisor is not expected to work at a machine but to oversee those who do.

2.3.2.2 Meaning and Interaction

Interactions within an organisational context also describe, and give meaning to, organisational relationships (Callon 1991): for example, who in the organisation has the right to send memos to whom, who writes policy documents that others must follow, or who demands the attendance or accountability of others. In these interactions it is the control of *intermediaries* (Callon 1991) which describe the relations of power within the social world. Intermediaries, in Callon's terms, refer to any object or person which describes the relationships between the actors using them; so, for example, a memo or an individual sent from one committee to make representation to another committee would be such an intermediary. The nature of the relationship is described by the function of the intermediary, be that to inform, or to command. Clegg (1994) describes bodies, as distinct from the body as person, as intermediaries within organisational contexts because power can be defined by how many other bodies over whom one exerts control. So, for example, a supervisor may control twenty individuals or, in a sporting context, coaches can be deemed powerful because of the number of athletes they train.

2.3.2.3 Meaning and Fixity

In identifying power as attempts to define reality, ideology, it has been argued, is a meaningless concept, simply because meaning is deemed never sufficiently fixed to be considered an ideology (Laclau 1980, Foucault 1980). However, for Laclau and Mouffe,

(1985) ideology, rather than some putative object formed to further dominant group's interests, as in early critiques of power – see for example Marx (1976), Gramsci (1971), Lukes (1974) and Abercrombie *et al.* (1980) for a critique of these – can rather be understood as the extent to which the interaction of discourses or texts succeed in foreclosing meaning within social contexts. In a similar vein Clegg (1989:115) argues that 'ideology can ... be seen as the medium of struggle over identity within which agents strive to 'secure' an identity through ... relationships they engender'. Therefore, struggles over meaning and actors' identities are closely related, an issue covered more deeply in Section 2.4, *Organisation and Corporeality*, below.

2.3.2.4 Meaning and Identity

Participation in the interaction of organisation and organisations have implications for the individuals who participate (Giddens 1981, Mills 1989), implications which influence who they believe themselves to be in relation to the group and how the group views them. Mills (1989) argues that those implications reach down to the foundation of an individual's identity. Acceptance and/or admittance to groups may depend on how those who are gatekeepers to these groups or organisations 'read' the person seeking admittance and whether they are deemed congruent with the group identity (Aherne 1994). New members of organisations become assimilated or socialised into the culture of the organisation. Clegg (1989 after Lockwood 1964) calls this 'social integration'. This integration consists of the learning of the informal rules and the methods of conducting business; 'the fixing or refixing of relations of meaning' (Clegg 1989:224). For example, in sporting contexts 'hazing' or initiation ceremonies are introductions to the hierarchy of power and a clear indication of the individual's level of power within such contexts (Dunning and Sheard 1973). This issue of identity and organisation will be considered more fully in Section 2.4, *Organisation and Corporeality*, below.

Over time members' actions and identities become routinised to some degree. This is the point at which meanings, in part, are accepted, and things take on an appearance of naturalness (Jermier *et al.* 1994). This specificity of meaning forms the culture, and, by implication, the understanding of the relationships within the organisation. The understanding of these specific meanings about a context form the boundaries within which

actors act. However, such meanings are also the target for political actions by actors to define in their favour the specific dispositions of power in a situation.

2.3.3 *Organisational Culture*

Behaviour by members within organisations are framed by history, geography and wider cultural and social issues (Oliver 1990); organisations are at the intersection of numbers of 'social fields' through individual members (Bourdieu 1991). Differences in external factors may provide a means of explaining why seemingly similar organisational memberships behave in diverse ways in similar circumstances. However, this may not be sufficient on its own to explain such differences (Clegg 1990). Accordingly, organisational culture may also be the difference in the internal mediation by members of wider cultural meanings, or 'extra-organisational' factors. (Mills 1989)

Organisational culture provides the specific frame from which action taking place within an organisational network attains meaning (Mills 1989). Geertz (1973) argued that it is only through understanding the lexicon by which members of a culture understand and interpret actions that actions themselves can be understood. He goes on to state that actions can mean different things in different places: for example, rolling ones hands on a film set means roll cameras but on a basketball court means travelling with the ball. Culture is what makes organisational activity coherent for those who participate in it. Sufficient congruence between members' understandings is necessary to form a certain level of communal and co-operative activity (Clegg 1990). However, how far such meanings are the same for all members of a culture is a question raised by the work of commentators such as Bauman (1991) and Baudrillard (1981) and discussed in Bourdieu's (1991) concept of individual 'habitus'.

Individuals may make conscious decisions to accept situations and values that are contradictory to their own understandings of value and risk (Beck 1992). In organisational terms individuals may seem to acquiesce in the meanings of organisations in which they are members because the need to earn a living may override an individual's dislike of what a particular organisation stands for. The assimilation into existing cultures and the learning of the norms and methods of an organisation epitomises what Clegg (1989 after Lockwood

1964) has called 'social integration'. Through the practice of organisational behaviour and interactions new members come to replicate existing cultures. This in turn reinforces the cultures, making the questioning of the definitions on which they are predicated more difficult. This routinisation comes to form the obligatory passage points of both inter-relationships and of meaning (Callon 1986). However, such obligatory passage points, like all forms of definition, are never completely foreclosed (Laclau and Mouffe 1985) and may themselves become the focus for the political activity of actors. (Callon 1991)

The organisational networks, constituted as the limits within which given meanings are dominant, act as the frame within which future actions attain meaning and significance (Giddens 1981, Callon 1991) and over time such social patterns and behaviours come to constitute the 'organisation' (Mills 1989). They become 'normalised' (Callon 1991). Indeed interactions may become so normalised that they become necessary conduits through which actors must pass to achieve their ends; the longer processes remain stable the more 'normal' they appear until they seem to be 'natural' and the more difficult they become to resist or overturn (Jermier *et al.* 1994). The process of the fixing of these relationships is what Clegg (1989 after Lockwood 1964) calls 'system integration'. These routinised and normalised relationships, the local 'standing conditions' (Clegg 1994), describe the culture of the network, regardless of its size.

2.3.4 *Organisation and Politics: Interactions of Actors*

Within the organisation as a 'political system', here used in its most general sense, there is likely to be a great deal of political activity.

This may involve inter-organisational politics ... it may also involve intra-organisational politics ... these political relationships will be channelled by structures and rules, which will themselves be the subject of continuous political action ... politics may both be about securing specific outcomes but also about the changing the 'rules of the game'. (Ham and Hill 1993:16)

The 'rules of the game' to which Ham and Hill refer are the routinised interactions and meanings that have come to form the culture of organisational networks; the 'standing conditions' (Clegg 1994). Those standing conditions provide the frame within which actors

seek to achieve their ends. They act as limits that constrain the way business can be conducted. Ham and Hill (1993:188) refer to these as 'strong, but not unalterable, structural forces'. Gerson (1976:276) describes it in this way:

Smaller-scale negotiations are continuously taking place in very large numbers within the context of larger-scale arrangements which are changing more slowly and less visibly to participants. The larger-scale arrangements appear to individuals at particular times and places as 'givens', the 'system', the 'natural order of things', even though a larger scale (that is macrosociological and historical) perspective shows them as changing often 'rapidly'.

Structural constraints provide the frame within which actors seek to achieve their ends. Those ends, according to Clegg (1990:7), are ones that make sense according to the 'forms of calculation which agents have available to them'. The struggle to achieve such ends, according to Wrong (1979:13), 'includes both a struggle for power and a struggle to limit, resist and escape from power'. Power, as defined in this thesis, means the imposition of definition on other actors and escaping definition oneself. Due to the mutable nature of such definitions this process is continuous (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). The action of creating and avoiding definition takes place through the interactions of participants, both those that are routinised and those which seek to change the routes by which action is channelled.

Actors do not always act independently to achieve their ends. The achievement of goals may require other actors to bring those ends into being. Therefore, through coercion or enticement actors may persuade other actors to act with them, or they may persuade those actors to let them act for them. Callon and Latour (1981) have identified this process as *translation*. Translation is a process through which the actors progress on the way to enrolling other actors as allies for their vision. At any point during this process those being translated can withdraw. Even after the translation is complete the actors who have been enrolled, or 'black boxed', can reverse the process through challenging the definition of themselves within the network, or utilising the dispositions of power (Callon 1986). However, the longer a situation exists in which an actor maintains the translation of another actor, the more the activities between them routinise the behaviour, the more *durable* the translation becomes and the harder it is to reverse (Callon 1991). However, because of the constantly changing nature of the environment in which actors act, and also because goals themselves may change, alliances created may shift and change to accommodate changing shifts in the field of power. Different situations may require different definitions of actors

within the network.

Through the interactions of participants in organisations, definition is confirmed or changed. Strategies to translate other actors are strategies to change the dispositions of power within a given context. The need to change these dispositions is part of the struggle of imposing definition.

What occurs within organisations, the ways in which work is designed, control applied, rewards and deprivations distributed, decisions made, must be seen in terms of a constant conflict of interests, now apparent, now disguised, now overt, often implicit, which is behind, and informs, the nature of work organisations within capitalist societies. (Salaman 1979:216)

These conflicts of interest are played out through the interactions of the everyday, through structurally defined interactions and through less formal systems (Clegg 1989). It is through actions, on all these levels, that actors strive to define themselves and others in ways that are advantageous to their own aims. It is through intermediaries that interactions and their meanings are played out. However, to return to Wrong's statement about imposing power and resisting power, it is also through the contestation of intermediaries that relationships are redefined.

Policy, and debates surrounding it, are part of the political activity within organisations. Intermediaries are used within such discussions, for example policy proposal documents and background information documents can be identified as intermediaries. Such intermediaries will outline existing definitions of reality and, if proposals for change are made, will indicate the new meaning of reality that is to replace the old. Therefore, the implementation of policy, if such occurs, has implications for the existing field of activity. Through new measures, if they are fully accepted, a new definition of social reality is created which will become the new standing conditions for future actions. However, not only does policy affect the field into which it is introduced, the field too will impact upon policy. The political activity which actors engage in does not necessarily end with the implementation of policy. Struggles may continue over the introduction of policy itself. In the final analysis what this means is that the existing culture, that is the existing definition and meanings within the situation, may simply render the policy initiative meaningless as actors in the situation refuse to accept the new meanings, and continue to act as they have always done.

This may be through overt rebellion and rejection or may simply be through inertia.

Within the politics that actors engage in during the everyday life of organisations, through their interactions and through the use of intermediaries, there 'is always a dialectic to power, always another agency, another set of standing conditions pertinent to the realisation of that agency's causal powers against the resistance of another' (Clegg 1994: 284). Actors struggle to improve their position. Their struggles are matched by the struggles of other actors also trying to improve their position. What all those actors draw on are important discourses, both as providers of meaning and as they are played out in structural and physical reality, to invest their intermediaries with the power of definition. Sometimes this utilisation of the dispositions of power will be successful and actors will succeed in redefining reality in their favour but sometimes actors ranged against them are able to block such definition and even replace it with their own. Indeed, within the political activities of actors, resistance and power stand in relationship to one another, and it is rare to have one without the other (Knights and Verdubakis 1994).

This section has examined the relationship between actors, interactions and the construction of meaning within organisational contexts. It has explored the issue of organisations and organisational reality with relationship to the concept of power as the imposition of definition. Policy, in these terms, is identified as part of the politics of action by and through which actors seek to dominate and control definition within the contexts of their own organisational networks. The next section examines the fact that individual actors are also constructed in relation to the frames of meaning which define a given situation. In this sense individuals taking part in organisations will construct identities that are congruent with organisational norms and values. As actors, these individuals are the building blocks from which macro-actors are made (Callon and Latour 1981). Some actors are better than others at making the most of their position (Clegg 1989). As such they may be able to redefine their role to provide a greater freedom of action but this depends on their ability to manipulate the definitions within the organisational field.

The next section deals with how and why identities are formed and how these identities, through their construction in relation to the meaning that exists within organisational networks, provide another method by which meaning structures can be investigated. With

regard to the issue of policy and its efficacy, such identities may provide part of the bedrock of definition which policy is an attempt to change. Indeed without the individuals within the organisation adopting the reality that the policy implies that new reality has no power. Successful policy will reach down through the layers of organisational action, both transitive and intransitive and, therefore, should affect the way in which actors construct themselves in an organisation.

2.4 Organisation and Corporeality

2.4.1 Organisation and Identity: Creation of Subjectivities

In the last section organisations were explored as loci of meaning where symbolic understandings form and give meaning to organisational reality. It is argued in this section that the specific structures and dispositions of an organisational network, as situational expressions of power, also form the frame from which individuals engaged in organisational life form their contextual identities. Such obligatory passage points of meaning in the organisational frame provide the means by which actors define both themselves and others in ways that are advantageous to their aims. That whilst the 'war of manoeuvre' (Gramsci 1971) between actors may change such meanings over time, at any given point in time the obligatory nature of certain meanings or definitions provide legitimate, and indeed particular, organisational identities. These identities are those on which individuals draw to create their own organisational identity. Whilst this personal identity or 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1991) is based upon the definitions available in a given network, it is a unique mediation of those definitions and meanings. It is further argued here that this unique mediation of organisational meanings is expressed through the bodies of participants or actors in the organisational network.

The physical human body has acquired increasing significance in sociological enquiry as it has come to be acknowledged that individuals experience the world, including the social world, through their bodily senses (Shilling 1993, Turner 1996). This has implications for understanding how individuals experience the organisations of which they are members and indeed how they express that experience; the body exists as the 'interface' between the

individual and the organisation (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982). Organisational actors present their bodies in ways that are visual expressions of their relationship to the pre-eminent organisational meanings and values, as an embodied acquiescence or rejection of organisational social norms (Mills 1989). Whilst it has its own essential nature or biology, the body is also a visual representation through which the individual projects his/her definition of him/herself (Featherstone 1991), in an organisational context.

Various writers have expressed the belief that the body, in the late twentieth century, has moved from being a cultural marker, to being a project in its own right (see, for example, Turner 1996, Shilling 1993, Featherstone 1991, Bourdieu 1978). This project is related to the 'narcissism' in the climate of individualism identified by Lasch (1983) and a condition of late twentieth century western culture (Featherstone 1991). Rudolfsky (1986), looking at tribal cultures, states that the body has often been used in a ritualistic way to express individual involvement with social groups. Douglas (1966) argued in her work that such ritualistic uses of the body are important in the maintenance of cultural boundaries. However, Mafesoli (1996) has argued that groups identified in earlier sociological belief as socially homogeneous groups have broken down, and a 'neo tribalism' is creating new forms of social grouping within those larger groupings, and in which individuals use their bodies to express affiliation. The body, therefore, whilst being considered an individual project in late twentieth century capitalism, continues to be an interface for the projection of the symbolic relationships and social affiliations of individuals. Rather than a change in the role of the body, it is perhaps the understanding and nature of social affiliation that has changed (see, for example, Mellor and Shilling 1997 for an in-depth discussion of this).

The focus on the body – both as group referent and as individual possession – in late twentieth century western culture raises the importance of the body as a cultural representation in itself (Bourdieu 1978), a representation which carries with it implicit understandings as well as explicit signification. Such implicit understandings include gender and sexuality at their centre (Turner 1996, Hawkes 1996). This is particularly the case, for example, in sport organisations, where the body is the focus for the organisation aims. However, bodies within such organisations are not merely methods by which organisational members communicate with each other and the wider community about their affiliations, nor are they simply individual expressions of the body project; they are both the means and

the end of the organisational goal. Extending the concept of the individual 'body project' (Bourdieu 1978), these organisations are defined in this thesis as having an *organisational body project* (this will be discussed more fully in Section 2.4.3, *The Body as an 'Organisational Project'*). It is argued, within such body oriented organisations the body becomes the focus for and the site of the contestation of power in very explicit ways that do not occur in organisations that are not centrally focussed on the body.

Featherstone (1991), amongst others, has argued that the body has become the ultimate individual project in western society, a project in which everyone is exhorted to be involved, whether at work or at leisure. In addition, he has argued that a moral censoring takes place of those who do not comply. This pressure for bodily conformity is expressed in the micro-situation of the organisational life through the clothes that are permitted or desirable, the length that hair can be for men, whether jewellery can be worn (Morgan 1990), or whether your body shape fits the job (Netz and Sagiv 1991). Bodies, therefore, come to be lived examples of the values of the organisational network's values in which individuals are required, or compelled, to participate. Such participation may be based on self-compulsion (for example, the need to earn money) or through of a legal requirement, such as a school or prison. In organisations in which those participating are volunteers, that is organisation without any compulsion to take part, acquiescence to values and bodily conformity may be embraced more freely. More will be said about this acquiescence in below.

Foucault (1977) maintained that the relationship of individuals to the collective was through the body, and through what he termed 'bio-power', i.e. the regulation and disciplining of bodies within organised contexts. The organisation to which individuals belong regulates their bodies by requiring them to be in certain places at certain times (Aherne 1994) and even, once there, prescribing the ways that they carry out their tasks within that context (Mills 1989). Mills (1993) maintains that wider social identities are decided according to relationships to organisations; for example, a pre-school child or retired person is defined negatively in relation to social institutions like school and work. Foucault (1977) regarded institutions, such as schools, as part of the wider disciplinary techniques of power which impose control and value on societies as a whole. Indeed, school is often the first time that children in an industrialised society experience organisation. Through the lived experience of the school curriculum and the rules imposed by teachers and education authorities,

children's bodies are 'schooled' and socialised (Dodds 1985); there are neo-Marxists who argue that the control of individuals is the sole reason for schooling (see for example Freire 1972, Bowles and Gintis 1976, Althusser 1971). School serves to teach children such messages as to stand in line, to sit at desks, to wait for the teacher's attention and to follow instructions rather than their own inclinations (Dodds 1985). This level of reality relates to Clegg's (1989) 'intransitive' level of organisational reality, what he calls the 'rules of the game'. It is through the sum total of the discursive messages available within the rules of the game, as symbolic representations of values within the network, that individuals are informed of who they are in relation to the organisational whole. This provides available legitimate identities and even expresses what illegitimate identities are. Through the interplay between legitimate and illegitimate identities, which symbiotically interact, the nature of meaning and thus reality is reaffirmed; deviance defines conformity (Foucault 1977). In organisational terms, illegitimate behaviour or identity serves to confirm the boundaries of permission or legitimacy.

Legitimate identities may be more or less durable. This is premised on the extent to which subjectivity, as externally imposed identity, is so powerful a definition that it is impossible for the individual to re-negotiate for themselves. Foucault (1977, 1973) has explored the creation of particular subjectivities and their relation to the historical organisation of western societies during the nineteenth century, particularly those of the prisoner and the lunatic. These represent imposed and stable subjectivities that are not responsive to re-definition by those so defined. At the other end of the continuum of identity is the mutable identity where the individual changes at will, for example, being a customer in a shop where the identity is voluntary and as momentary as the inter-change. Between those two extremes other degrees of identity exist, where, for example, identities might be powerful in context but have no efficacy beyond. The character 'The Face' in the film 'Quadraphenia' is an example; during the day constrained within a menial identity as a bell-boy but at night re-inventing himself as a cult figure in Mod sub-culture. The need to earn a living required that he participate in the context where he was a bellboy, a situationally specific identity. However, on leaving the context he was able to shed this identity and re-invent himself as something which was, in his own terms, better and more powerful.

The more total the control that the organisation has over the individual the more durable the

organisational identity, or subjectivity. The identity of prisoner, for example, is harder to resist because of the control the prison, as organisation, exerts over the body. Such durability is created through the links between the dispositions of power within the situation that creates such subjectivities. Therefore, people such as prison warders, enabled through those dispositions of power, are able to re-enforce the definition that creates the identities.

What makes the sovereign formidable and the contract solemn are the palaces from which he speaks, the well equipped armies that surround him, the scribes and the recording equipment that serve him. (Callon and Latour 1981: 284)

The dispositions, such as the locked doors and the routines of behaviour within the prison, provide the building blocks of definition which make these subjectivities durable.

In organisations where the definition of legitimate identities or subjectivities is less powerful a number of different identities may be available. In situations where organisational subjectivities are constituted around either the activities or subjectivities of others, such subjectivities might include those who either perform the activity (such as a sport), or those who are the focus for the organisation (as in an organisation to help those with disabilities). In these circumstances those who act in a supporting role within the organisational network will have another identity in relation to the organisation than do those who, for example, are the object of the organisation or those who administer the organisation. Such identities may or may not allow individuals to belong to more than one category. Therefore, a tiered level of identities may exist but these may not necessarily be mutually exclusive.

Some organisations are themselves predicated upon an identity. There, subjective definition is at the heart of their function as, for example, in self-support groups. These are constituted around a subjectivity identity; a member of a bereavement counselling group, is by definition, bereaved, as a member of Alcoholics Anonymous is, by definition, an alcoholic. The boundaries of such organisations are not permeable except through a subjective identity. Subjectivity may be created outside of the boundaries of the organisation but relationship with the organisation may reinforce it.

Externalities to organisations may also impact upon subjectivities within them. Factors may serve to make organisationally defined subjectivities problematic or stigmatised. This may

lead those outside the organisational culture to question such subjectivities. Examples might be the struggles on behalf of the Maze prisoners in Northern Ireland to change their status from criminal to political in the wider context of Northern Irish politics, or the social changes taking place over the twentieth century in Britain that mean homosexuals are no longer committed to asylums. Where external factors support the definition of those within the organisational context, identities may have greater durability and be more difficult to transcend or redefine, although, external factors can also challenge such identities.

How well the individual accepts his/her subjectivity and mediates it into his/her own 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1991), by internalising the values and meanings that support it, is the extent to which he/she internalises the values and norms of those organisations in which he/she participates. This ultimately dictates the extent to which individuals police themselves according to those norms and values outside of the organisational network.

The stability of organisational identities has another factor that relates to Foucault's term 'bio-power' (Foucault 1977). Foucault's conceptualisation of 'the gaze' suggests that the capillary networks of power not only act upon the body of the individual but also penetrate the mind so that the individual controls him/herself. The implied self-surveillance of 'the gaze' makes organisationally legitimated identity more durable; the prisoner polices him/herself in the Panopticon even when the guard in the central tower is not watching him/her. Such self-surveillance may even extend beyond organisational boundaries. So, for example, a person calling themselves a Christian may not only comply with the tenets on a Sunday but, through internalising the 'gaze' which he/she may identify as God, controls his/her own behaviour according to Christian tenets outside of the boundaries where organisational membership is practised. This compliance may be through genuine assumption of the espoused values or through fear. If it is through fear it is, to refer back to the Callon and Latour (1981) quotation about the sovereign and his armies, because of an understanding of the dispositions ranged against deviance and the consequences of non-compliance.

Access to organisations, their resources and informal structures may be dependent on how well individuals express the correct credentials for membership through their 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1984), of which bodily form is one component. In these circumstances,

acceptance of organisational identities and concomitant values may be predicated more on rationalising how to succeed, or merely to exist, within the organisational situation rather than through any genuine acceptance of 'the way things are' (Jermier *et al.* 1994). Under this process, calculation may be made in a rational way to maximise gain. Lasch (1983: 92) identifies this as linked to his conception of 'narcissism' in contemporary western culture. For Lasch this 'bureaucratic gamesman' (sic) is able to manipulate the organisational values and cultures by learning how to present an image which 'sells' in the organisational game because he knows the rules and presents a body image that gives the correct messages to powerful allies in his network. Mills (1993: 140) argues that men, particularly, mirror these embodied images 'to the point of madness' because this can secure advancement in the organisation and because failure to engage with these images can, in extreme cases, lead to expulsion from the organisation. He goes on to argue that women in organisations often suffer because such images are mostly male oriented. Morgan (1990) believes that women suffer because their female identity disbars them from instituting the same informal gambits available to men because of the male nature of such cultures; for example important interactions which take place in male-only environments such as lavatories. Those who gain positions of status within organisations are those agents who understand how to make the 'rules' work for them (Clegg 1989) and are able to produce an image of themselves that is congruent with wider organisational values (Lasch 1983). These game players are able to manipulate intermediaries, including their own bodies, in ways that facilitate their standing and their aims (Callon 1991). Organisationally legitimated identities for male and female are likely to be different and generally male identities will be imbued with more value (Mills 1989). This perception of value around male identities allows males greater access to both resources and kudos (Morgan 1990) in the struggles to define themselves as actors in the field of power.

The degree to which the individual is able to permeate organisational boundaries plays some part in the issue of identity: for example, gatekeepers may prevent individuals from simply choosing to join the organisation. Once in the context, the ability to opt out of an organisation maybe inhibited if no other options to earn money exist. Legitimate organisational identities, produced by the discursive texts of the organisation, are external to the individual him/herself and present limited available material from which individuals can construct unique organisational identities. These limited legitimate identities define the

individual, in some way, as subject. Whether individuals take part in organisations through choice or through necessity, an identity is formed that is efficacious or provides for survival within that context. This may or may not include an acceptance of the organisational values and may be more or less durable outside of the context in which it is formed.

Each individual will respond differently to an organisational situation. Rather than creating absolute relationships between all members and organisations, as was suggested earlier in the section, each individual mediates a unique 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1991). In other words, each individual, as an actor, may respond differently to the same organisational situation. One individual may accept fully their organisational identity and police him/herself both inside and outside of the organisational world. For example, an athlete chosen to represent their organisation, who is strongly committed to the pursuit of the organisation's sporting aims, and who trains outside of the organisation's auspices offers one such illustration. Opposed to that identity would be the athlete who is only contextually compliant, who represents the organisation but who eschews the values once away from the context.

Part of the nature of embodiment, that is how these identities are presented within the organisational world, is gendered and sexualised and this impinges on understandings of the social context and behaviour within it (Burrell and Hearn 1989). The lived experience of organisation is intimately gendered in its interactions because bodies, as the interface of individual and organisation, are ultimately understood in such terms; 'it is through the 'doing' of gender that gender is reproduced' (Mills 1993: 142). The embodied experience of organisation is fundamentally gendered and sexual (Burrell and Hearn 1989, Morgan 1990), and indeed entwined with other bodily aspects such as race and able-bodiedness (Mills 1993).

2.4.2 *Organisation and Sexuality*

This section deals with the issue of sexuality in organisational contexts. Sexuality is an important part of the identities available to individuals and from which they compose their situational identity. The works cited here focus on the concern about gender and sexuality as they relate to adults, particularly how gender and sexuality are used to negate women within organisational situations. These works suggest that the dominant tendencies of both

males and male values dominate what are perceived as 'public' places. Mills (1989) clearly suggests that the traits associated with leadership and control within organisations are those commonly associated with dominant forms of masculinity. Such masculinity, Alvesson (1993) argues, is most commonly referred to in organisations using the metaphors of the 'game', metaphors in which leadership qualities are identified with the physical qualities of the sportsman. Such dominant and aggressive styles of organisational behaviour, it is argued, not only disadvantage women but also any groups who can be deemed to be 'other' (De Beauvoir 1963). This would include not only less dominant forms of masculinity but would also include children. This utilisation of gender and sexuality as parts of the struggles of actors within organisational contexts may provide both the means and the camouflage for abusive behaviours such as child abuse. Therefore, although these works are discussed with reference to adults and their identities, it is to be remembered that children within organisational contexts are also subject to the pressures of the 'social field' (Bourdieu 1991) and may be expected to submit to legitimated identities with far less opportunities to resist.

Individual understandings about gender and sexuality are part of the matrix of self, formed around subjectivity and identity (Foucault 1977, Clegg 1994). Subjectivities surrounding gender are concerned with social beliefs, or external definitions, about what it means to be male and female. Each individual mediates these external subjectivities of gender and sexuality differently into their 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1991). While Shilling (1993) has argued that Bourdieu's work fails to allow fully for change to take place because of the sublimated nature of his concept of 'habitus', it is argued here that the depth of reflection about such values and their adoption is dependent on the individual. Compliance, therefore, may be more or less conscious. The possibility of resistance will be discussed in Section 2.4.4, *Resistance and Mediation*, below. Organisations exist as arenas where understandings of sexual and gendered subjectivity are encountered, decoded and played out (Mills 1989).

Mills (1993) argues that gender and sexuality cannot be understood without each other as they both are interwoven. Sheppard (1989:140) clearly states that:

Both gender and sexuality are processes of construction and articulation of meaning rather than static properties. The meaningfulness of both gender and sexuality are

both profoundly embedded in the ongoing process of social construction and self definition and cannot be understood apart from an analysis of power.

The historical development of those social processes that have created categories of gender and sexuality have been well charted elsewhere (see, for example, Hawkes 1996). At any given time wider social constructions of gender and sexuality are part of the social practices that form and give meaning to gender and sexuality within organisational contexts:

Organisation(s) and sexuality are social constructions, existing within specific and historical and spatial relations. The historical and spatial relations of organisation(s) and sexuality simultaneously act as the social frameworks or contexts within which specific sexual practices in organisations are performed. Furthermore, organisations and organisation are themselves reflections of the social organisation of sexuality, especially in the public domain. In this way the production and reproduction of organisation are part of the social organisation of sexuality (Burrell and Hearn 1989: 18).

Thus, organisational constructions of gender and sexuality both influence and are influenced by wider social formations. Some of our earliest organisational experiences in school are both gendered and sexual experiences, and emerging sexuality may be discovered and expressed there (Scraton 1990). Research has explored such gendered and sexualised messages as are acquired in schools, defining how males both dominate physical and verbal space (Spender and Sarah 1980) and indeed how sexual harassment is a feature of life at school for both female teachers and pupils (Herbert 1989).

The spaces through which we move, therefore, are not only, to some degree, organised and delineated spaces, for example, public and private, they are also gendered and indeed sexual in their nature (Rose 1993). Sexuality, as a part of organisational life, has, in the past, been perceived as something to be eradicated (Burrell 1984) or has been largely ignored by organisational theorists and rendered invisible by those managing or controlling organisational environments (Collinson and Collinson 1989). However, Sheppard (1989:140) suggests that 'the management of sexuality and gender is an essential part of the construction and enactment of organisational power'. Indeed, Burrell and Hearn (1989) maintain that the full range of sexual behaviours take place within the organisational context; from flirting and consensual sexuality to that which is coercive and abusive.

For Pringle (1989) organisational research has perpetuated the public/private divide. She argues that drawing, as much of such research does, on Weber's work on rational bureaucracy, there has been a continued association of the public with rationality and masculinity and the private with the emotional and femininity. Pringle rejects this public/private dichotomy maintaining that the 'rational' sphere of organisation is shot through with the affective and the emotional in its informal practices - practices which, it has indeed been argued, make for the more effective working of organisations (Blau and Meyer 1971). These affective practices also bring the wider social constraints and power relationships to bear in organisational contexts (Burrell and Hearn 1989, Mills 1993). Indeed Burrell and Hearn (1989) maintain that the public and private dichotomy, which identifies organisational space as public space, creates understandings of them as mutually discrete definitions. This camouflages, according to Burrell and Hearn, through denial, the existence of private interactions within the public domain, including aggressive sexual ones.

Rose (1993) drawing on Millet's (1985) work argues because of this gendered construction of the public/private divide, with the attendant association of the public with masculinity, that public spaces are deeply male oriented and, indeed, hostile to women. Millet (1985) also asserts that it is through repressive sexuality, or the threat of it, that women are clearly made to feel unsafe and alien in public spaces. It has been similarly argued that this is the role that sexual harassment, or punitive sexuality plays in organisations (Mills 1993, Di Tomasio 1989, Sheppard 1989). Sheppard (1989), in her work on women managers, found that through a variety of ways, ranging from unexpected sexual comment and innuendo, to hostile sexualised encounters, sexuality was used to curtail and control women in, what were perceived as, traditionally male spaces. She also found that when questions concerning gender were put to both male and female respondents they were answered in relation to femaleness in the organisational environment not maleness. Sheppard concluded that men and their behaviours in organisations were thus perceived as 'normality'.

Hearn (1985) identified various strategies through which men maintained their hierarchical positions utilising sexuality to reinforce their power and position. These behaviours ranged from horseplay, which reinforced the male, heterosexual culture, exploitative sexuality, using women as objects to further business, sexual harassment or punitive sexuality, to controlling women through mutual sexuality where men, usually in higher organisational

positions, were involved in sexual liaisons with women further down the hierarchy. This sexual lexicon of behaviour available to men is often ignored, or downplayed, by those in management positions, and women who complain about overt sexual behaviour are made to feel that 'if they can't stand the heat, they should get out of the kitchen' (Collinson 1994: 68). Those with alternative sexualities meet equally complex behaviour that challenges them and their place in public space (Hall 1989). It can be argued that male behaviours, such as those identified by Hearn, reinforce the nature of public and organisational space as male, heterosexual space.

In discourses surrounding sexuality men often portray themselves and are portrayed as 'sexually incontinent', and unable to control their sexual urges, whereas women are portrayed as objects of sexual attention (Hollway 1984: 232). However, when unwanted sexual attentions take place within organisational contexts women often believe that they themselves are to blame, that they should and could take control of their own behaviour to prevent such situations (Sheppard 1989). Such standing conditions or rules of interaction concerning sexuality and sexual behaviour form the discursive constructions from which the individual draws his/her own sexual 'habitus' or identity. Outside the organisation other sexual identities may be possible but it may not be possible to mediate such identities within the organisational space; thus certain forms of subjectivity are not sovereign if objective conditions do not support their existence (Clegg 1994).

Sexuality exhibited in organisational contexts is predominantly heterosexual (Hearn *et al.* 1989, Mills 1993). Organisation, according to Pringle (1989: 164) 'involves the domination of men's heterosexuality over women's heterosexuality and the subordination of all other forms of sexuality'. It is often through gendered and sexually charged behaviours that power relations are enforced and reinforced in organisational contexts. The subjectivities around gender and sexuality form part of the repertoire that individuals draw on not only to form their own identities but also to create the subjectivities available for others, sometimes in repressive ways that reinforce the wider social deployment of power. However, such gendered and sexual identities have also been used to resist disempowerment. Collinson and Collinson (1989) found that men in lower organisational positions utilised intersecting discourses of class and masculinity to reinforce their sense of identity in their powerless blue collar position. This was through placing emphasis on their hard, physical bodies as

embodiments of their working class masculinity.

2.4.3 *The Body as an 'Organisational Project'*

So far this chapter's discussions of an individual's organisational identity and its relationship to the body have been aimed at explaining theoretically general organisational experiences. Hearn and Parkin (1987) refer to organisations of the body as more obviously concerned with bodies and sexuality and cite organisations in the pornography industry as an example. This last section attempts to expand on this area and on the work cited in the previous sections to deal specifically with organisations which are engaged in the process of moulding bodies to achieve organisational ends, what is being defined in this thesis as an *organisational body project*. The intention is to examine the implications of such body orientation, within organisations, on the struggles of actors to achieve definition for themselves through their individual identity and their embodied experience of organisational life.

In organisations that are concerned with sculpting bodies, such as sport organisations, there is, consequently, an overlap between the individual body project and the organisational one. As such the explicit levels of organisational interaction will necessarily contain within them reference to the methods of achieving the bodies needed to acquire specified ends. As in all organisations 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1984), in terms of controlling bodies as intermediaries (Callon 1991), may accrue within the organisational culture to those who control the bodies of others (Clegg 1989). Bodies, as intermediaries, may therefore become the site of the struggles between actors to control definition and to improve their lot. In organisations with a body project, those who not only control those bodies but also mould those bodies, therefore, have more direct control over the achievement of the organisation's aims. This places them both in a more perilous position, in case of failure, but also provides potential access to more status and greater bargaining power in the organisation if they, and their methods, succeed. Therefore, in organisations focussed on the body, the bodies in question, as intermediaries, have increased importance in the manoeuvres that actors engage in to better their situation.

In terms of the individual identities of members of such body oriented organisations the body becomes a more crucial marker for interpreting individuals within the organisational context. Engagement in organisation which do not focus specifically on the body provide bodily identity, it is argued, primarily as a by-product of membership. In body project organisations bodily identity becomes fundamental to the construction of legitimate organisational identities, not only as a necessary requirement for membership but as a marker from which all organisational identities are referenced. Such organisations have strongly conceptualised and visual bodily identities around which, and in relation to which, all participants are created as subjects. These subjectivities will be linked to their relationship to the body project, either through administrating for it or engaged within it. Of course these may not be mutually exclusive.

It was argued in earlier sections, the body has become increasingly important as a method of expressing identity in late twentieth century capitalism, particularly through the consumption associated with bodies (Featherstone 1991). Part of the components of identity expressed visually through bodies include gender and sexuality, and are part of the ways in which such bodies are interpreted (Hawkes 1996, Turner 1996). However, the body is constantly changing, a never completed project (Frank 1991, Shilling 1993, Turner 1996) and, as such, the enactment of gender and sexuality is part of that on-going project. In body oriented organisations this implies that gender and sexuality are also part of the on-going organisational project of sculpting bodies. In such organisations actively concerned with the moulding of bodies the issues of gender and sexuality are necessarily part of the explicit means of body production, even if this is only expressed at the subliminal level of beliefs about male and female physiology. As such gendered and sexualised elements will be integral components of the techniques by which such bodies are moulded and, indeed, the texts by which they are 'read'.

In such organisations where the body is the active focus for organisational interest and pressure the body and its 'becomingness' (Franks 1991) are both the process and the ends of the organisation. This becomingness, it is argued, creates the potential for a continual struggle, or contestation, over 'ownership' of the body as project. If the body is an important intermediary in the struggles between actors who can be considered to 'own' this intermediary? Is it those who are responsible for the means by which it is created, or those

who carry out the programmes on their bodies, or the organisation as a whole which may have provided the necessary training and facilities and which has a requirement for those bodies? The implication for bodies within an organisational body project, therefore, is a designation of the body as 'no-man's land'. Research undertaken in the area of eating disorders amongst athletes suggest that the eating disorder provides a sense of control over bodies that feel in some way 'annexed' (Franseen and McCann 1996). This lack of perceived ownership of the body may undermine individual's resistance when that individual is pressured by the sexual needs of another, particularly if that individual is legitimated, and successful, in the organisational process of moulding bodies. Implicit within that enactment of the project is the passivity of those objectified. Those individuals who are the object of one who engages in the moulding of bodies will be people whose bodies have been opened to a level that would be considered an invasion of privacy in any other context. Those individuals who do the moulding will have access to bodily processes that are not available in the normal course of social interactions in other organisations (Brackenridge and Kirby 1997). Therefore, the drawing of the line between what is acceptable and unacceptable control and knowledge about the bodies of those on whom the project is focussed may become blurred. Blurred, that is, both for the individual seeking to engage in the sexual relations with the individual and also in the mind of the individual concerned. The power of definition which such individuals hold over the bodies of those they mould provides them with rarefied legitimate organisational identity, unlike those who are the material of the project. Implicit within the identity of those who form the focus of the body project is their commonness within the frame. This lack of uniqueness within the organisational frame may also make them fear being excluded if they are not acquiescent.

The contestation of ownership within such body project organisations may be exacerbated, for those whose bodies are its focus, through the use of objective methods to validate bodies. Arguably, a focus on objective criteria for success, like time and distance, provides an increasingly objectified experience of the body itself, referenced increasingly externally. For example, within sport the subjective experience of the body, that is the sensual experience of running or swimming or jumping is more likely to be subordinated to mechanistic values of measurement placed on such actions by the organisation as a whole. Such 'technocratically rational' means of understanding the experience of the body has been the subject of attack in work within physical education for some time, and has been argued

to create an alienated experience of the body for children (see, for example, Tinning 1990). Indeed, it could be argued that athletes only come to experience their bodies subjectively when injury makes this inescapable Nixon (1993). Moreover, such subjective experience of the body has implicit negative value and predicates an assumption of failure because it prevents achievement in relation to those external criteria that typify sport (Messner 1990).

Where entry into organisations is easy, such as in voluntary organisations, it is more important that embodied individuals, who form the focus of the organisational project, internalise the self discipline implied by Foucault's (1977) 'gaze' than in organisations where other forms of discipline hold individuals within the organisational context. This is because in body focussed organisations those whose bodies are utilised are able to compromise the organisational body project through letting discipline lapse outside the organisation's remit.

2.4.4 *Resistance and Mediation*

The nature of organisations, the permeability of the boundaries of admittance, or the 'social field' of the organisation (Bourdieu 1991), will have differing implications for the creating of subjectivities for those involved. The greater the permeability of the boundary, the less absolute the subjectification of the individual to the organisational definitions will be, and the less circumscribed therefore the individually mediated identity or 'habitus'. In effect, those who do not like it can 'vote with their feet'. It is less necessary for the subject under these conditions to discover and develop coping strategies than in organisations where involvement is either compulsory or necessary.

Those who stay in organisations in which membership is more or less voluntary, may stay because they accept the subjective definition of themselves within an organisational network, or because they believe they have sufficient power to impact upon the organisation's structures and meanings to influence the identities produced. They may also have more material reasons, such as financial incentives. However, apparent collusion in organisational meanings may also take place because individuals are ignorant of themselves as part of a network of power relations (Clegg 1994). Any difficulties they experience are

assumed by them to be their own problem and not part of systemic power functioning against them. This state may change over time if, for example, the individual is politicised through a particular situation (Collinson and Collinson 1989, Clegg 1994). Then the question becomes whether they can mobilise the existing power relations within the organisation to assist them and/or mobilise external organisations of 'solidarity' who support their resistance (Clegg 1994). If, however, external standing conditions promoting equity do not apply in the organisation, or repressive subjectivities are used to *outflank* the individual, or identity is imposed (Clegg 1994, 1989; Callon 1991), then it becomes harder for individuals to utilise the wider fields of power to resist, as, for example, in the case of women seeking equity within sports clubs where the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) does not apply, although this is under government review.

Organisations may be set up specifically to challenge existing relationships of subjectivities and power and these often exist within the voluntary sector (Oerton 1996). Work on the composition of voluntary sector hierarchies shows that the distribution in positions of power in such voluntary organisations is still dominated by older, white, middle-class men (Sheard 1995). As women are still identified as the primary carers of the young (Driver 1989) this dominance may be due to the fact that women have less 'free' time to offer to voluntary, or leisure, activities during their children's formative years (Green *et al.* 1990). It may also be because of career breaks, or because many women may not have the skills for which voluntary organisations are increasingly asking in the move towards greater 'managerial' style in the running of such organisations (Sheard 1995). However, Clegg (1989) suggests that organisations can also be isomorphic, in that they replicate structures through their selection processes. In addition, as Oerton's (1996) work shows, even within organisations set up to challenge existing social inequalities of power, day on day interactions often unwittingly recreate them.

Whilst organisations within the voluntary sector may be closely controlled by state legislation or external forces (Kendall and Knapp 1995) this may not always be the case. As already explained sports clubs and leisure clubs have been exempt from the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) since its entry into statute, with the attendant implications that has for equality within those organisations (Talbot 1990). The Church of England too is currently exempt from legislation pertaining to employer and employee relationships. The

work in this section has suggested that cultural rules within organisation may not favour those defined as 'other', for example, women. When external social rules do not apply within the organisational network then no resource exists on which to call, in any attempts to gain equality, unlike those organisations where such legislation has been utilised by women to change organisational structures (see, for example, Collinson and Collinson 1989). Consequently, in the voluntary sector, changes that have taken place in the 'standing conditions' outside of the voluntary sector may have little or no impact upon organisations working within this, often, deregulated area. If gender and sexuality remain significant weapons in the armoury of actor's struggles in organisations which are answerable to government legislation on equality (the work in Section 2.4.2, *Organisation and Sexuality*, suggests that they do), the implications of their repressive use in organisations outside of those rules is clearly greater.

Resistance to the relations of meaning may to some extent be possible and, ultimately, a lack of congruence with the individual's core values may mean that the individual rejects the organisation altogether and leaves (Sparkes 1987). However, such choices are dependent upon the power of the individual to effect change for themselves within or without of an organisation. For example, a sweatshop labourer may have no choice about acquiescing to the values of the sweat-shop, whereas a new head of an University department may be able to broker change in the organisation to some degree.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has explored the theoretical focus of this thesis, locating the theoretical strands used and positioning them in the wider fields of knowledge. The focus was identified as a poststructuralist feminist epistemology. It was suggested that such a theoretical perspective explored the issue of organisations, the body and sexuality using a poststructuralist concept of power as definition and grounded in the moral underpinnings of feminism.

Using the poststructuralist concept of the act of power as the act of definition, organisations were expressed as loci of meaning rather than being cultural facticities. This provided for a more fluid understanding of organisational boundaries as the limits of the spaces where

specific meaning systems hold sway. Those meaning systems, it was suggested, were composed of discourses expressed as both physical and symbolic 'texts' in the widest sense of the term, and collectively provided the organisational frame of meaning. However, it was also suggested that the power of definition is never able to attain the permanence formerly associated with ideology. Therefore, ideology, in a poststructuralist sense, was shown to be more about attempts to foreclose meaning rather than actual success in so doing. The routinisation of such discourses formed *obligatory passage points* for the flow of power. Such obligatory passage points could be actors, ways of working or discourses and in totality formed *nodal points* for the lexicon of meanings forming the specific organisational culture. Such discourses were identified as originating both locally as well as through the mediation of wider social beliefs. The term *network* was the interweaving between actors and the material environments in which existed, seen over time. Such networks could be situational or also arise around issues. The term network was used to suggest the dynamic quality of organisation and politics, or struggles, of actors. Such struggles by actors were understood as attempts to foreclose meaning; to impose definition on others and to escape definition themselves. These struggles take place within the context of existing definitions, or *standing conditions*, as they are played out in the relationships between actors and material reality, understood through locally specific meanings. It was also suggested, however, that such struggles by actors impact upon existing definitions to produce new standing conditions. *Intermediaries*, that is individuals or cultural objects that describe the inter-relationships of actors, through their movement imply the network. It was also suggested that it is through the contestation of such intermediaries that actors' conflicts take place. Policy debates, therefore, as both an activity of actors and as the act of creating intermediaries to consciously change definitions, was presented as part of that process of struggle. The success of the policy was, therefore, identified as the relative success in altering existing definitions. However, precisely because policy proposals and documents are intermediaries, they were seen as open to contestation in the struggles of actors as any other intermediary.

Part of the ways in which existing standing conditions, both of meaning and structure, were seen to be expressed was through legitimate organisational identities available for the constructing of individual organisational identities. These legitimate identities, it was suggested, are played out in the embodied life of members and may be more or less durable,

according to the organisation's capacity to impose definition upon an individual. Accordingly, the greater the disciplinary controls over the body within the organisational context the harder for the individual to redefine or resist the imposition of identity. Indeed some subjectivities, it was argued, have power beyond organisational boundaries. It was also maintained that individuals may internalise the 'gaze' based on the organisation's values expressed in the legitimate identity and police themselves in their identities even outside of the organisational context. Such individualisation of organisational meanings will be played out upon the body as interface. This may be through fear, necessity or through genuine belief in the values so expressed. It was also argued that part of the organisational identity is essentially gendered and sexual because these are part of the embodied self and the way that self is understood. Gendered and sexual organisational identities were acknowledged as part of wider social constructions of such, as well as specific organisational mediations of understandings about masculinity and femininity. The section discussed research in the area of gender and sexuality within organisations which suggests that women's identities are often less powerful within organisations because of the passive nature of such identities. This, in turn, was linked to the perceptions of organisational space as public space and therefore the natural domain of men: all of which suggested that female gender and sexuality is used to define women negatively as objects in the organisational world rather than as subjects able to participate equally in struggles with other actors.

Expanding on the ideas in the organisation and sexuality literature a difference was suggested between organisations in general and those where the bodies of some members are the means by which the organisation engages in the achieving of its aims. This difference was identified as an engagement in an *organisational body project*. Under these conditions, it was argued, the physical body achieves a greater importance as a reference for organisational identities, either in administering *for* or participating *in* the body project. Accordingly the body attains a greater significance as intermediary. This increased importance, it was suggested, create a dilemma of 'ownership' of the intermediary of the body, between the individual, whose body it is, and those who seek to mould it for the organisation's ends. This contestation, it was argued, may act to dislocate the individual whose body it is from their own embodied experience. Moreover, the methods of moulding bodies provides intimate information about individuals to those engaged in moulding, information not available in other organisational contexts. Due to the gendered and

sexualised way in which the body is interpreted and understood in contemporary society, the section maintained that the disciplinary techniques by which body projects are enacted inherently construct gender and sexuality and are fundamental to how the success of the project is understood. This combination, of the alienation of the member from their own body and the intimate, gendered and sexual nature of the techniques of discipline, was argued to create conditions in which abusive sexual demands are more difficult to resist.

This chapter has provided the framework from within which the rest of the thesis attempts to explore specific contexts in British voluntary sector sport and the Church of England. Chapter Three explores through literature the construction of sexual identity within the two institutional contexts. This is done with reference to historical discursive links between the two institutions and through contemporary work on sexual identity and abuse.

Chapter Three

Christianity, Sport and Sexual Abuse

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two, *Theory, Organisation and Corporeality*, reviewed literature on poststructural perceptions of organisations as networks and the creation of identity of individuals in relation to the discursive frame of such networks as the theoretical basis for this thesis. This chapter is also a discussion of literature, returning to the material reviewed in Section 2.4, *Organisation and Corporeality*, on discourses and identity, and applying it to the contexts of firstly, the Christian church and second sport. Specifically, this section examines how discourses inform the construction of legitimate identities in relation to, on the one hand, British voluntary sector sport and, on the other, the contemporary Christian church.

In Section 2.4, *Organisation and Corporeality*, it was suggested that hierarchies of organisational identities form, to a greater or lesser degree, in relation to discursive threads, although it was acknowledged that these are mediated uniquely into each person's 'habitus'. How powerful those organisational identities were related to the dispositions that reinforced them, and the capacity of individual actors to resist and to deploy allies to assist them. It was suggested that the behaviours legitimated through hierarchies of gendered and sexual identity in organisations, often enable those, particularly men, who wish to abuse, rather than supporting resistance to such abuse.

Section 3.2, *Christian Discourses, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*, reviews the work of Christian feminists on sexual abuse in the contemporary Christian Church. A number of discursive themes are identified in the work of these Christian feminist writers who are cross-denominational. They believe that the history and culture of Christianity form a cultural context that provides subtle justifications for sexual violence inflicted on women and children. Indeed, they argue that these discourses form part of the contextual frame from which legitimate devotional identities are formed. This arises because women and children are symbolically represented as synonymous with active disorder and sin, and are thus in need of the positive correction administered by men.

Section 3.3, *Muscular Christianity: The Marriage of Religion and Sport*, examines how these discourses came to form part of the contextual frame of modern sport during the 19th Century. It is suggested that the discursive themes identified in the previous section can

also be identified in the discursive foundations of Muscular Christianity, a pedagogic justification for sport and physical activity in the 19th Century Public Schools. The section explores how Muscular Christianity drew particularly on Protestant Christian discourses as well as classical images of athleticism to justify the centrality of physical activity in the curricula of these schools. This linking of physical activity, aesthetics and Christianity, it is argued, provided for an emphasis on muscular masculine physiques as visual embodiments of correct morality, giving the body a positive significance than was not present within more traditional Christian understandings.

The evolution of these discursive threads in the frame of contemporary sport is then discussed in Section 3.4, *Mutation of Christian Discourses in Contemporary Sport, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*. These themes are explored through the literature on gender and sexuality in contemporary sport. It is suggested that these discourses do still exist but as a secularised form of morality within contemporary sport in the voluntary sector, in which the body is no longer referenced to God but to itself as ideal, as both the aspiration of morality and a recognised exemplar of personal morality. It is also suggested that these discourses continue to associate moral rectitude with masculinity, albeit linked in contemporary sport, with aggressive, heterosexual behaviour. In consequence, it is argued, this construction of morality serves not only to ascribe morally ambiguous identities to women and children with morally ambiguous identities but also to question the probity of all less aggressive forms of masculinity and any sexual behaviour other than heterosexuality. The section goes on to suggest that privileging this form of masculinity provides similar conditions in which abuse may be condoned as those identified in the work of the Christian feminists explored in Section 3.2, *Christian Discourses, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*. In a similar way, this serves to legitimate identities that protect and support those who intend to abuse. However, unlike the church, within sport the bodies of some members, often from very early ages, are needed to fulfil the aims of sports organisations. Therefore, it is suggested that this moulding of bodies as organisational tools, provides in sport for positions of authority that engage intimately and actively with the bodies of others, and consequently greater opportunities for abuse exist than are available in other voluntary organisational contexts, like the Church. This privileged access to bodies and bodily knowledge in sport, combined with discursive messages that regard aggressive, heterosexual masculinities in positive terms, provides additional support for those who choose to abuse.

It is important, however, to remember that the discourses identified in this chapter are not presented as absolute or inescapable, although it is suggested in that they are an important part of the discursive frames of Christianity and sport. Rather, they rather should be understood as symbolic meaning systems that provide some part of the building blocks of identity for individuals within these organisational contexts. Of course, such discursive messages will be mediated in given organisational contexts in local and specific ways and individuals will be more or less able to resist such identities, as was discussed in Section 2.4.4, *Resistance and Mediation*. Therefore, the discourses explored here should be seen as a 'broad brush' context only for the organisations presented in the empirical work in Chapter Five, *Data Presentation and Discussion*.

3.2 Christian Discourses, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse

This section deals with the institutional frame of Christianity, both historically and contemporarily, as a context for the definition of legitimate sexual identities. It outlines discourses in Christianity concerning issues of gender and sexuality. These discourses, according to Christian feminist writers, contribute to a cultural frame that legitimises abuses against women and children by identifying them as more likely to commit sin and, therefore, less close to the divine than men. They suggest that these discourses have their source in theological debate and span all the major denominations, they have acquired a level of hegemony or 'naturalness' over time that has served to justify the exclusion of women from full power and participation in Christian hierarchies. It is argued in this section that the Church has made a conceptual link between sin and unreason and also between unreason and women and children. Accordingly, the historical definitions of both femininity and childhood include a belief in their deficiency in logical reasoning skill that causes them to be susceptible to sin. Furthermore, sin came to be closely related to sex and sexuality, with adult males, particularly authority figures, being defined as the epitome of reason. The section continues with the suggestion that these beliefs underpin hierarchies of identity in which women and children are defined as passive in relation to men, which facilitates their manipulation by those who choose to abuse.

3.2.1 *Theological Struggles and Constructions of Gender and Sexuality in the History of the Christian Church*

The early Christian church was founded upon belief in the redemptive sacrifice of Jesus, as the Messiah, who suffered for the sins of humanity. This, in turn, drew on earlier images of sacrificial dying and hanged gods and goddesses (Daly 1973, Campbell 1968). Haywood (1994) suggests that the suffering of Christ became reinforced by the persecution of the early Christians, creating a powerful symbolic link between suffering and a 'faithful' identity. This relationship became reinforced, she suggests, through the focus on martyrdom in the early and Medieval Church. Frend (1985) suggests that this linking of sin and suffering created a situation which, once initial persecution of the age of Martyrdom receded, had to be redefined. For Wang (1987), monasticism and asceticism, which had emerged in the deserts of the Middle East in the first two centuries A.D, provided a foundation for a discourse of self-imposed suffering as the method of opening the doorway to God. Therefore, according to Wang, suffering during the period of the early medieval church shifted from its original meaning as a God-given external testing and instead became more closely associated with self-imposed suffering (Wall 1992). The importance of asceticism in the early Christian church meant that suffering became focussed on physical repression of the body, as an important method in which to repress sin (Bovey 1989)

The first several centuries of Christianity witnessed struggles over definitions of Christian doctrine (Leclercq 1962). These can be seen in the sectarian striving for dominance between Eastern Orthodox Christianity, whose power base was centred on Constantinople, and Western Christianity, whose power base was in Rome (Prestige 1979). Theological concern with sex and sexuality, which formed part of those debates, was linked obliquely with the issue of reason, free will and rational choice and formed the centre of a particular debate, the so called Palagian Heresy. The Palagian Heresy, suggested that it was, an individual's good works and the will to be good as well as God's Grace, which brought personal salvation and a place in heaven (Frend 1985). In the counter claims, led by Augustine, later sainted by the Church, the fate of children that died before baptism became central (Clark 1994). The concern arose out of discussion on the nature of sin, and whether humanity was inexorably tainted by Adam's sin or whether individuals carried only their own.

A ninth century cleric, Augustine, based in the city of Hippo in North Africa was one of the protagonists in the Palagian debates. He Christianised a classical concept, arguing that the flesh of the body was profane and this smothered the divine spark in individuals (Louth 1992). He believed that flesh was antithetical to divinity and as such pulled the soul away from God. Thus, for Augustine, the fate of pre-baptismal children was wrapped up in their embodied state. He believed them to be born in a state of sin, what he called 'original sin'. Augustine's concept of original sin was based on the taint of sexual desire, which he believed to be the key to all sin and inherent in the state of embodiment. This was the reason for the Fall of Man and the subsequent expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. He believed that the greatest fall, that of Adam, had been brought about by sexual desire (Frend 1985). Children, therefore, because they were the result of sexual union, and thus sexual desire, were 'born with sexually transmitted sin' (Clarke 1994:25) and baptism was presented as the only method of wiping that clean. Therefore, according to Augustine, children who were not baptised could not go to heaven because they were not in a state of grace. This concept of sexually transmitted sin, linked to the story of Eve as the first to be tempted by the serpent, came to be interpreted as rendering all women guilty by association (Imbens and Jonker 1992). This association of women with Eve presented women as temptresses susceptible to disordered and unruly sexuality, and, therefore, in need therefore of men's guidance, and yet also, paradoxically, they were held responsible when men succumbed to sexual desire for them (Hawkes 1996). This identification of sin *a priori* with sexual behaviour led the full capacity to sin to become synonymous with sexual maturity (Shahar 1990). Augustine's beliefs, among other ascetic understandings about the body, sexuality, sin and children had a profound effect on Western Christians (Louth 1992) and, indeed, on secular thinking and being to the present day (Bovey 1989). These discourses, based on interpretations of biblical passages, have been used to create a theological basis for the essential guilt and unworthiness of woman in the Christian tradition (Imbens & Jonker 1992). This progressed, during the witch trials of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to emphasise an essentially demonic nature for women (Reuther 1990) and also children (Wood 1994). Men, in sharing the same sex as Jesus, were believed to be less prone to demonism.

3.2.2 *Children, Education and the Christian Church: Middle Ages to Post-Reformation*

The Middle Ages proved a time of consolidation for the Christian church. The intense heresy debates that had plagued the church for the previous few centuries had largely been settled, with many 'heretic' groups having been completely eradicated (Leclercq 1962). A new world order began to emerge, in which Christianity had an important and worldly part to play in of unifying political processes that were taking place as the concept of nation state began to emerge (Saul 1992, Clegg 1989), through mutual relations of support between Church and representatives of states (Nelson 1994). For example, the eighth century King of the Franks, Charlemagne, later Emperor of the remnants of the Roman empire, whose relationships of mutual support with the Papacy provided both divine sanction to his reign but also access to a pre-existent organisational structure to support his own consolidations. Nelson (1994) argues that the Church had a significant part to play, with its unifying message of one God, by providing a monotheistic image of the divine, as source of divine power focussed through the Emperor, as the source of secular power.

The relationship of Church and state was exemplified in the growth of infant baptism during this period. The general acceptance of the Augustinian view of original sin meant that infant baptism, rather than adult baptism, had become the norm and was the key intersection between the Church, family, and State. Leclercq (1962) believes that Charlemagne's concern with baptism and education were purely religious ones, to reinstate a true Christian education after the heresy of the preceding centuries. Nelson, however, believes his motives were less altruistic:

Charlemagne's preoccupation with baptism had an educational purpose that was at the same time a means of social control. Children were to be uniformly initiated and socialised in Christian virtues - pre-eminently the virtues of obedience and fidelity to the Carolingian regime. (Nelson 1994:98)

Nelson goes on to argue that the benefits, for Church and state, of infant baptism were two-fold: they were not only a method of indoctrination but also, through God-parents, a way of securing dynastic links without the exchange of property inherent in other forms of intra-familial exchange. The Church too was empowered by these pacts, since priests baptising children had equivalent status with the natural father, in regard to the child's

upbringing and future. Nelson also maintains that Charlemagne used Christianity to attempt to consolidate control of the peoples conquered by his armies, such as his attempts to Christianise the Saxons; a strategy later employed by both the Spaniards in South America and the British in their Empire.

The Church in the Middle Ages became actively opposed to sexual practice for its clergy in the 12th Century, yet it exhorted the laity to procreate (Shahar 1990). The ascetic trends within 1st and 2nd Century Christianity created a theological thrust in the Western Christian Church that acknowledged the role of the flesh as well as the spirit (Nelson 1994), at the same time it exhibited an ambivalence concerning procreation, extending to children as its product (Shahar 1990). The Church took an interest in the practicalities of the laity's daily life, concerns ranging from issues, such as infanticide, which it was steadfast in condemning (Meens 1994) to specifying the length of time that children should be breast-fed (Shahar 1990). It was during the Middle Ages that bodily controls came to be imposed, from an early age, on children to keep them 'pure' (Shahar 1994). The repression of unreason and sin through the control of the body also, therefore, became a justification for the use of physical punishment on children, and indeed on women, to prevent them from falling into sinful ways (Nelson 1994). Indeed, in the later Middle Ages childhood came to be the symbol of the baser parts of incarnation, representing the body and unreason (Nelson 1994, Shahar 1994). The imperfections of children were regarded as requiring physical correction, to teach children self-discipline (Nelson 1994). Young male children, however, once baptised, were considered the epitome of purity (Hayward 1994) Girls were not considered to be as pure because even from their earliest years they were associated with Eve. The education of children also came to be influenced by the relationship between Church and parents during the Middle Ages, both through the priest's relationship to a child through baptism (Nelson 1994) and also through monasteries as the main source of basic educational skills (Meens 1994). During this period, schooling and education expanded from simply being the teaching of postulant monks to teaching for the secular community. Initially this was for the poor, in the Almonary schools linked to the great Cathedrals, although over time the pupils ceased to be the poor and were primarily boys from rich families (Greatrex 1994), girls receiving, usually biblical and domestic, instruction in the home (Bottingheimer 1994).

In the post-Reformation era, Puritanism became a powerful trend in Protestantism, particularly in Britain, being practised by a number of different sects (Weber 1992). Its discursive basis consolidated ecclesiastical and secular power, particularly through the dominance of fathers in their homes, as the key focus for religious discipline for with women, children and servants (Hill 1964). Stone (1977) argues that obedience in children preoccupied people at this time, with repression expressed through physical punishment, as part of a wider social repression (Fletcher 1994). Fletcher and Stone argue that this was part of a new patriarchal order that was coming into being, epitomised in Puritan beliefs on education. Tyndale, a Puritan writing in the seventeenth century, echoed earlier Augustinian beliefs, maintained that 'the head of the house should punish his child like a judge, instruct him like a doctor and preach to him like a parson or a bishop' (Schucking 1969: 61) and for children:

yf thou mekely obeye so shalt thou grow both in the favoure of God and man and knowledge of oure lorde Christe. Yf thou wilt not obeye as at his commandemente: then are we charged to correct thee and yf thou repente not and amende they selfe God shall sley the by his officers, or punish ye everlastingly. (Tyndale quoted in Schucking 1969: 62)

A number of Puritan treatises on the education of children emerged during the 17th century, in the competitive environment for souls that characterised the post-Reformation era, that were concerned with the making sure children knew 'how to behave themselves decently in their going, in their speaking and gesture of their bodies' (Fletcher 1994:328). These directives often focussed on forms of imposed suffering of either discomfort or pain, for example, kneeling in the presence of parental authority for hours at a time was considered the epitome of childhood discipline in seventeenth century England (Schucking 1969). The breaking of a child's will through physical punishment was equated with concern for his/her welfare (Stone 1977). Such punishment for a child was to intended ensure their salvation. Logan (1994) argues that this strong focus on physical chastisement was particularly linked to Protestant theology, with its belief in predestination, a doctrine which taught of an elect and individual salvation and did not characterise European Counter-Reformation educational treatise in the 17th Century. Protestantism, but Puritanism particularly, believed strongly in the efficacy of physical repression for children because of its belief in individual salvation (Fletcher 1994). Britain was also peculiarly harsh in its use of corporal punishment (Schucking 1969). However, Stone (1977:174)

argues that fear of a general moral decline was both a Reformation and Counter-Reformation concern and 'to suppress the sinfulness of children' meant physical punishment was utilised by all denominations to some extent across Europe in the post-Reformation era. This post-Reformation period saw these treatise informing education being delivered through Grammar and Charity schools, set up to promote Protestant values (Jones 1964), many of which evolved into the Public Schools of the 19th century (Hargreaves 1986).

3.2.3 *Sexual Abuse and Contemporary Christianity*

This section draws on the literature written by women activists about their work with abuse survivors of Christian contexts. As ever, it appears to be women Church members who are particularly concerned with these issues, as it is in the wider society (Driver 1989, Campbell 1988). All of the writers cited in this section identify themselves as Christian Feminists. Some of their language is very emotive because, as Cashman (1993) suggests, in questioning these theological assumptions they are raising doubts about some fundamental understandings of Christianity and, therefore, their own faith. Indeed, Brown and Bohn (1990) question whether feminism and Christianity are not mutually exclusive categories and even suggest that their own continuing self-identification as Christians as well as feminists may itself indicate the levels of tolerance that women have for abuse cultures.

Redmond (1990) identifies five particular 'virtues' that are defined through the discourses of sexuality and gender within Christian theology that she views as contributory to the kind of identities for children that make it easier for those who would seek to abuse them sexually in Christian contexts to do so. These 'virtues' of suffering or sacrifice, redemption, forgiveness, sexual purity and obedience, she believes intersect with beliefs about sexuality to provide crucial building blocks of identity that, particularly for women and children, legitimate passive identities. Brown and Parker also suggest that these 'virtues' have important implications for identity:

Those whose lives have been deeply shaped by the Christian tradition feel that self-sacrifice and obedience are not only virtues but the definition of a faithful identity. (Brown and Bohn 1990:2)

Hunt (1994), Cashman (1993), Imbens & Jonker (1992), Brock (1990) and Ruether (1990) also believe the power of these 'virtues' as furnishing the discursive foundations of an abusive culture within Christian tradition. They suggest that these theologically based discourses form part of the bedrock on which legitimate religious faithful identities are built, *but* they also form the contextual frame in which such identities are played out and which endows them with meaning. To the discourses identified by these feminist writers has been added the discourse of competition which, it is suggested here, is an inherent part of Christian theological debates. As was suggested in section 3.2 above, these sectarian struggles were initially internal but this led eventually to schisms as, for example, with the split between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches and again in the Protestant Reformation of the 17th century (Fletcher 1994). Competition compounds the impact of the other discourses and implies a measurement of individual identities against norms through the symbolic representations of those norms, such as the saints (Reuther 1990).

Suffering whether imposed from outside or self-sought, was and still is a major theological preoccupation and discourse within Christian thinking (Redmond 1990, Cashman 1993). Cashman (1993) suggests that this belief, combined with beliefs about the essentially sinful nature of women and children, provide justification for inflicting suffering on women and children for their own good, which consequently can camouflage the behaviours of abusers. This view is supported by Brown and Parker who believe, 'women are acculturated to accept abuse. We come to believe that it is our place to suffer (Brown & Parker 1990: 4).

The portrayal of suffering as atonement for sins already committed has led survivors of abuse to explain that they believed, as children, that God wanted them to suffer the abuse because they had somehow sinned (Imbens & Jonker 1992). Cashman too describes how these beliefs are evident in the stories of survivors, often expressed as guilt for the abuse and a perception of the subsequent suffering as just punishment for their compliance. For Imbens and Jonker (1992) exhortations to emulate the saints, directed at women and girls particularly, helps victims accept abuse as instigated as 'God's will' (Imbens & Jonker 1992). This belief in the efficacy of suffering, Cashman suggests, is both a reason why children brought up in a Christian tradition might not disclose sexual abuse and also how it acts as a block to healing when they do (Cashman 1993). Brown and Parker more specifically explore the link between the discourse of suffering and child abuse:

When a theology identifies love with suffering, what resources will its culture offer ... and when parents have an image of a God righteously demanding the total obedience of 'his' son - even obedience to death - what will prevent the parent from engaging in divinely sanctioned child abuse? The image of God the Father demanding and carrying out the suffering and death of his own son has sustained a culture of abuse and led to the abandonment of victims of abuse and oppression. Until this image is shattered it will be almost impossible to create a just society
Brown and Parker. (1990: 9)

Suffering, as both an atonement for sin committed and as divine in origin, is closely related to the concept of *redemption* as the basis on which certain concepts of salvation have come to be premised. In sects which do not believe in pre-destination, that is the salvation of a pre-ordained elect, it is through suffering that past sins are paid off, including those not individually committed, such as original sin (as explored in section 3.2.2 on theological struggles in the Church). This has been particularly applied to women and children, girls especially, who have been regarded as prone to sin due to Eve's role in 'original sin' and who are therefore in need of redemption.

The myth of the sinful woman, which is propagated by Christian churches, not only brings out the male domination over women, but intensifies it". (Imbens & Jonker 1992: 273)

Female survivors of abuse have explained that this perception of their own essentially sinful and sexual natures led them to feel they were in some way responsible or guilty for the abuses perpetrated on them (Cashman 1993, Redmond 1990). This woman explains how when she was a child, Eve's sin and the abuse she was suffering became conflated:

He started abusing me when I was five years old. This was when I was beginning my religious training which taught me that women were vessels of sin. It was my sin of incest that made him [i.e., Jesus] hang on the cross. (Redmond 1990: 77)

The discourse of redemption is intimately linked to the discourse of suffering and its benefits. Brown & Bohn (1990) believe that this belief in the need for redemption, and the redemptive nature of suffering, leads victims to redefine and so to become reconciled to suffering the abuse.

Christianity has been a primary - in many women's lives the primary - force in shaping our acceptance of abuse. The central image of Christ on the cross as the saviour of the world communicates the message that suffering is redemptive ... the promise of resurrection persuades us to endure pain, humiliation, and violation of

our sacred rights to self determination, wholeness, and freedom. (Brown and Bohn 1990:2)

These discourses, therefore, are available to enable abusers to manipulate their victims (Cashman 1993). This sense of theological guilt, Cashman suggests, simply exacerbates the normal feelings of guilt experienced by survivors of abuse. According to Imbens and Jonker (1992:262-3), the discursive Christian tradition places all of the power with male figures and all of the responsibility with the female figures; 'the eternal Adam who needs a help meet and lays all blames on Eve'. They report that Catholic survivors of abuse have expressed how the images of the saints, such as Maria Goretti (who was canonised for her purity after withstanding an attempt to rape her but who was then stabbed to death), were very important sources of feeling about themselves and their abuse, generating an additional source of guilt in that they had submitted and not died.

Just as redemption is related to suffering so is *forgiveness* related to redemption. It is linked through the idea that suffering elicits God's forgiveness; therefore it portrays suffering in the light of a necessity, generating images of those who impose suffering as redeemers to be thanked, and creating confusion in the minds of children (Redmond 1990). This was clearly expressed in Puritan beliefs about beating children to keep them from sin, represented as the epitome of good parenting. Indeed some Christians who still believe and accept this idea today are prepared to fight in the Court of Human Rights for the right to beat their children (Flekkøy 1995).

Cashman (1993) and Redmond (1990) report that the survivors of abuse in Christian settings who they interviewed often felt pressured to accept positive explanations of their suffering, and to forgive its perpetrators because of the emphasis in Christian teachings on forgiveness. Some survivors who did disclose familial abuse to authority figures in their churches were actually told to just forgive and forget. This pressure to forgive is questioned ironically by Hunt's (1994) title of her work, 'Seventy times Seven?', which refers to the Gospel story of Jesus, about how many times one should forgive injury from another. An inability to forgive, for survivors brought up to value such a virtue, defines *them* as sinners rather than the abuser (Imbens & Jonker 1992). Cashman also suggests that such a tenet may be a factor leading to abusive situations remaining undisclosed because the internalisation of the tenet of forgiveness may mean that children feel coerced to continually 'forgive and forget'.

Hunt (1994) argues that, through the theology of forgiveness, the church hierarchy sometimes allow itself to forget the victims, to silence the problem and, if any issue is to be made, to focus on redeeming the perpetrators. An example of this is Chris Bain, the 'rave' vicar from the Sheffield diocese. When it was discovered in 1995 that he had been having sexual relations with young women parishioners, he was taken away for counselling whereas his victims received no counselling whatsoever (Wroe 1995). Hunt (1994: 182) also cites the case of Jill Saward of the so-called 'Ealing Vicarage Rape' who forgave the two men who raped her (although her father had already publicly declared his own forgiveness of them). The judge in the case 'implied ... he was able to give them lighter sentences because [Jill Saward] had been able to forgive them'. This meant that each of the men received higher sentences for burglary than for the rape.

Hawkes (1996) argues that the textual writings, in the Book of Genesis and the writings of St Paul, have formed the basis for beliefs about feminine sexuality, particularly their *sexual purity*, not only within the Christian church but also more widely (Hawkes 1996). These perceptions about sexual purity create perception of genetically inherited guilt, while not necessarily still believed by all Christians, has obvious implications for the victims of sexual abuse. It provides a reason why the seemingly innocent suffer:

Eve was the cause of humanity's fall from grace, the bringer of lust into the world. And in this children's Bible, she looks no older than twelve. The message is simple. If I look like Eve, I too must bring about lust. I must have caused this man to do this to me. (Redmond 1990:77)

The imagery present in the story of the Garden of Eden lays the blame very squarely on the shoulders of Eve who eats of the fruit of the tree of knowledge (Reuther 1990). This is reflected in abusive sexual encounters where the blame is often placed, both through media presentation and through the comments of judges in legal cases, on the child or woman (Driver 1989).

Imben and Jonker (1992:242) identify the symbolic imagery in the marriage service as representing female sexual purity. Symbolic purity, as expressed in the virginal white wedding gown, is presented as the ideal until one enters a state of matrimony when a woman is 'given' by her father to her husband. They argue that the imagery inherent in the marriage ceremony presents those who are married as 'blessed', in contrast whoremongers

and adulterers are judged and punished. They believe that this provides an image of 'proper womanhood', the ideal to be striven for, from which ideal flesh and blood will, the suggest, inevitably fall short because these are identities are myths.

The notion of an Eve created by God and given by him to Adam to be a mate has been used to support the view that women and children are 'the property of men and hence subject to man's power'. Therefore, *obedience* continues to be a strong part of the Christian tradition.

I believe that patriarchy is the encompassing social system that sanctions child abuse. Theologically, the patriarchal family has been and continues to be a cornerstone for Christological doctrines, especially in father-son imagery and in the unquestioned acceptance of benign paternalism as the norm of divine power. (Bohn 1990:105)

Christianity teaches obedience to parental and quasi-parental figures (Redmond 1990). The Father of the family is depicted as the head of the household as Christ is head of the Church. This symbolic construction in religious reality led to men being able to treat their women and children as their property, those over whom they had dominion as God had dominion over the earth (Hawkes 1996) and this was recognised in law until the late 19th century (Parton 1986). Such strong and exclusive imagery and discourse, Redmond argues, helps to create the hierarchical relationships that (together with the expected obedience of children) are ripe for abuse. 'Crying about or resisting sexual abuse by Father is seen as rebellion against Father..., therefore sinful, and as rebellion against or defying God' (Imbens & Jonker 1992:194-5). The imagery within these Christian discourses provides men with a connection with the divine that equates the will of male authority figures with God's will, which works to silence women and children and subordinate men (Imbens & Jonker 1992). Paternalistic imager is also creates difficulties for Christian survivors trying to re-establish a relationship with God, after the abuse, as it may remind them that it was a priest or father figure who abused them (Cashman 1993).

Competition has been a powerful discourse in Christian contexts from the beginnings of the early Church but became more fundamental to Protestant imagery in the post-Reformation 'battle' for souls, where education came to be seen as a key arena in that battle (Fletcher 1994, Stone 1977). The this competition is expressed in the schools that grew out of this, both Catholic convent schooling and Protestant grammar schools. Within

Catholic contexts women and girls are presented with the image of saints against which they must compete, most notably in Catholic Christian imagery in which Mary, the virgin mother of Christ is a symbol of purity, obedience and patient suffering and through the convent education system, although Hunt (1994) argues that these images have power within Protestant contexts too. This urge for women to compete with these saintly images remains an important discourse in Catholicism, as the Pope's message to women for the new Millennium was to continue to use Mary as their role model (Lomax 1999). This competition for Christianity, however, is no longer just with other Christian sects but also with various religious, quasi-religious and philosophical beliefs (Birely 1985).

3.2.4 Summary

This section has argued that Christianity has historically constructed negative images of femininity and childhood, through associating them image with unreason and thus with personal and collective sin. These beliefs are played out through powerful discourses that both provided and place pressure on women and young people to conform to contextual identities that are both negative and passive. Founded in historical theological debates, the discourses identified in this section, were argued over time to have acquired a 'naturalness', a level of hegemony that has limited debate over their efficacy and meaning within Christian traditions and which have been argued to both legitimate and condone abuse.

The next Section, 3.3, *Muscular Christianity: The Marriage of Religion and Sport*, argues that these Christian discourses, and the implicit identities they engender, came to form part of the discursive justification for modern sport in the 19th century, although there is little Biblical textual support for this inter-relationship between sport and Christianity. Many of the 19th Century Public Schools developed out of the schools created in response to educational concerns of the Protestants in the post-Reformation period. The control of boys through the control of their bodies eventually emerged as the central pedagogic discourse of Muscular Christianity, which was entirely compatible with earlier concerns of the bodily control of the young in the post-Reformation Protestant treaties on education. However, it is argued that because Muscular Christianity also drew on classical images of athleticism the identities created were positive and aesthetically pleasing bodily identities which were regarded as appropriate for young Victorian males and were also considered

visual indicators of morality. The emergence of these discourses within the 19th Century Public Schools formed part of a wider concern about gender, especially in the face of the rapid social change which typified the early 19th century. This promoted a moral standard, for men, which was expressed in and through the body, and implied negative moral images for feminine physicality through its focus on the physique and muscularity of masculinity as the benchmark of moral rectitude. It is also suggested that as part of the roots of contemporary voluntary sector sport in Britain can be traced to the former pupils of the public schools, these discourses continue to provide important discursive references within contemporary sport.

3.3 Muscular Christianity: The Marriage of Religion and Sport

The previous section outlined the discourses that provide for negative feminine identities within Christianity and briefly discussed the possible theological foundation for those discourses. This section examines how those discourses came to form part of the 'frame' of modern sport. It explores the relationship of the Public Schools to the creation of a 'new order' in the 19th Century and how the discourses came to provide a positive bodily image of Victorian masculinity. The creation of this positive physical image of masculinity conversely also implied images of femininity which were the antithesis of them. Therefore, this section explores the role of the Public Schools in the evangelising of Protestantism and the new economic order that emerged with the Industrial Revolution in the 19th Century, and the role of the discourses and sport within them in the creation of new gendered and sexual identities.

3.3.1 Secularisation of Religious Discourses

Weber (1992) argued that a crucial change took place in the interrelationship of the Church and the individual with the Reformation. He saw the Reformation as the beginning of that time when religion became embedded in the everyday lives of people in ways that had not existed before. Although the Church had, since the Middle Ages, been binding itself to the daily lives and rituals of the newly emerging states (Nelson 1994), with the Reformation a new individualism emerged which focussed on controlling the minds and bodies of individual subjects (Foucault 1977, Mellor and Shilling 1997, Fletcher 1994).

The Reformation meant not the elimination of the Church's control over everyday life, but rather the substitution of a new form of control for the previous one. It meant the repudiation of a control which was very lax, at that time hardly perceptible in practice, and hardly more than formal, in favour of a regulation of the whole of conduct which, penetrating to all departments of private and public life, was infinitely burdensome and earnestly reinforced. (Weber 1992:37)

The symbolic linking between secular and religious life repudiated Catholic concept of a distinct separation of the spiritual realms and the 'base' material, and led to what Weber called a 'worldly asceticism' (1992:88). An individual and continuous focus for asceticism and restraint within the world replaced separated communal activities of religious denial (Mellor and Shilling 1997). As such, religious activity took place within the world and the individual and his/her body became the vehicle for such striving.

For Weber the new Protestant ideology paved the way for capitalism. Through religious sanction, which hallowed an, albeit restrained, individual striving for achievement, the new bourgeois could justify their endeavours of accumulation within the world (Giddens 1992).

3.3.2 *Institutionalisation of Protestantism*

A competition for souls, between Catholics and the Protestants, emerged with the Reformation (Fletcher 1994). This competition led evangelical Protestants, mostly successful businessmen, to decide that education was the best way to secure those souls.

The threat of religious, intellectual and political chaos triggered off by the Reformation, induced moral theologians ... to agree that the only hope of preserving social order was to concentrate on the right disciplining and education of children. (Stone 1977:174)

In both Catholic and Protestant traditions new and more austere forms of religion became increasingly secularised (Schucking 1969). The family began to be seen as the focus for religious endeavour, the replica of God's order (Hill 1964). Children's bodies continued to be seen as places of potential possession (Wood 1994) and education, in the face of the apparent disintegration of society, was seen as the key to social stability.

The key concepts at the centre of Protestantism, especially Puritanism, were moderation, discipline and self control in all things but exhibited especially through the body (Jones 1964). In the post-Reformation era numerous treatises emerged dealing with the education of children (Fletcher 1994). These treatises were often concerned with the breaking of the will of the individual child, and soon schools were provided for those who felt unable to discipline their own children (Stone 1977). Thus after the Reformation there emerged a proliferation of schools both to provide this discipline and to do battle for souls (Fletcher 1994).

Grammar and Charity schools were founded to educate both rich and poor at this time, with the view that it was 'wise to form the child instead of reforming the man' (Jones 1964:9). Both of these types of schools had strong religious emphases on the teaching of Protestant Christian values. (Jacob 1994). 'Both the grammar and Charity schools taught an ethic which not only permitted the pursuit of wealth but encouraged it as a religious duty, ... an immeasurably important factor in the change from the medieval to the modern economic system' (Jones 1964:7).

Religious beliefs about children at this time likened them to beasts, with physical correction posited as the only way to drive out evil; the bodily nature of sin was to be controlled through control of the body. Flogging was an essential part of these schools mechanisms of control, as was religious instruction (Jones 1964). The curricula of these schools also taught the religious significance of bodily acts, for example, cleaning the self was identified with cleaning the soul and eating was identified with feeding the spirit (Schucking 1969).

Foucault (1977) argues that in the 19th Century rationalist tendencies began to regulate the organisation of both space, time and technology. Perceptions of physical space delineated it for specific purposes, such as work and leisure, public and private. The worker was required to interact with new machines and new methods of production; bodies were needed that were strong, and able enough to become part of the mechanisms of production. Foucault maintains that it was through institutions, such as prisons, hospitals and schools that a new technology of the 'subject' was created. This new 'bio-power', as part of this creation and control of the subject, used physical activity and the organisation of bodies in space as the method by which the disciplining of bodies was enforced. Part of the means

for the dissemination of these rationalist beliefs were the Public Schools (Hargreaves 1986).

Many of the Protestant Grammar schools founded in the sixteenth century became the Public Schools of the 19th Century. These schools began flogging first as a disciplinary activity, and continued the practice the longest, believing the object of education was to quell the will of the child (Stone 1977). As such the schools formed part of the network of a wider asceticism for the production of useful and docile bodies (Foucault 1977). It was into this Protestant educational context that sport began to be introduced and, through the amalgam of the two, became the discourse of *Muscular Christianity*.

By postulating that disciplining the young through exercise left less energy for sin, (particularly sexual sin), Muscular Christianity perpetuated traditional beliefs concerning the inability of the young to control themselves but offered the solution of formalised exercise as a solution. Such beliefs fed on, and formed part of, the individualistic and missionary zeal of the day. Such concern with the body and its control through formalised activity also provided external, bodily images that conveyed messages about compliance to order and rules and, ultimately, it expressed, according to its advocates like the Reverend Charles Kingsley, a colonisation of the body for God.

Crosset (1990), however, argues that sport grew during the 19th Century, not simply because it was part of this rationalising of life, or of mechanisation, but because it enabled embodied images of gender and sexuality to be constructed in the light of the emerging industrialised society. With the coming of the new social order sexual identities had to be defined in relation to the social changes, sport provided part of the method of that definition. The Public Schools provided a 'hyper-masculine' environment in which 'nurturing' relationships with women were replaced by the brutality of the all male school in which boys learned how to be 'men' (White and Vagi 1990). Sport became a crucial part of the way in which that masculinity was taught (Dunning 1986), because sport, particularly rugby and football, allowed for an aggression which was being rationalised out of existence in other spheres of life (Dunning and Sheard (1973).

3.3.3 Sport and Public Schools in the 19th Century

The development of athleticism itself changed the traditional sociology of public schools in ways that have some interest for the issue of sexual abuse. The introduction of sport began to bring the masters into contact with the boys outside of the classroom, something that had been anathema in the public schools of the past, where the boy's leisure had been their own affair (Mangan 1981). J.A. Symonds (cited in Holt 1989) indicates that at Harrow the intense condition of the public school created an atmosphere ripe for sexual acts, and says that the dormitories were often places where onanism, mutual masturbation and other sexual acts took place between the boys. With the increasing interaction between the masters and boys the greater degree of access may also have created similar inter-generational situations. Symonds writes of an illicit love affair between Vaughan, the Headmaster of Harrow, and an ex-pupil, that is alleged to have led to Vaughan's resignation. Almond too, although nothing of a sexual nature is suggested, often took boys off to the Highlands of Scotland 'to get to know them better' (Mangan 1981:54). He also kept records of the measurements of boys' chest size, biceps, height and weight that implied a regime of physical contact as a norm. These examples illustrate that a greater degree of access, at the same time as an increased focus on the physicality of boys, was therefore being created in these schools.

Mangan (1981) argues that sport became a force in the English public schools before any discursive justification arose for its existence. He argues that, despite the attribution of Muscular Christianity, as an ideology, to Malcolm Arnold, the first case of structured athleticism was Harrow's Philathletic Club. Mangan believes this club to have been conceived by the Headmaster, Vaughan, to impose order on the boys, and to consequently restore the credibility of the school within the local community. It was only later that Cotton, the Headmaster at Marlborough, outlined a pedagogic rationale for games and physical activity in a circular to parents:

The argument was very straightforward. God was the creator of our bodies as well as our minds, His workmanship included physical as well as mental powers and faculties. In developing both we served Him who made us, no less surely than when we knelt in prayer. Cotton was careful to emphasise the correct moral imperative implicit in physical effort. Only when such striving reflected religious goodness was it blessed. (Mangan 1981:27)

In the cult of athleticism, Victorian Romanticism, the Graeco-Renaissance revival and social Darwinism had an uneasy alliance (Holt 1989). This new discourse of athleticism included a pantheistic view of the countryside, a worship of the body as an aesthetic project in its own right and the belief in the survival of the race through its 'strongest' members. Each of these ideals was blended into a justificatory discourse for the cult of the athlete. Hargreaves (1986:39-40) argues athleticism 'became the dominant ideological motif of the cultural integration process that was going on in these [public] schools and on other levels'. This effected the integration of the new bourgeois classes into the existing social framework, facilitated through the education of the children of the *nouveau riche* with the children of the aristocracy, thus forming them into a cohesive unit, to create a new elite (Lowerson 1993, Holt 1989, Hargreaves 1986.)

Generally the emphasis was on purity in the development of the individual, physically, mentally and, hopefully, spiritually. This lent itself readily to a secular Christian model for a society obsessed with the ideal individual. (Lowerson 1993:64)

Lowerson argues that the concern with the individual as an important influence on the growth of sport at that time. He argues that British Victorian society was the first industrialised society to concern itself with the making of good citizens in and for the new social order and that sport became a discursive component in the creation of such individual or citizen identities.

According to Holt (1989), it was the growth and needs of servicing the Empire that were to give athleticism its major credibility boost. He argues that pseudo-Christian ethics had been absorbed and superseded by social Darwinism by the closing decades of the 19th Century. The resultant hybrid discourse was used to advocate the epitome of the pioneer Empire man; a man with a strong body, dedicated to the 'civilisation' of the heathen world. The discourses of Christianity in this discourse had become subsumed into the doctrine of Empire as the concept of 'the conversion of the heathen masses'. As such the theological discourses expounded by Muscular Christians, like Charles Kingsley, came to form part of the rationale of an expansive imperialism.

It was the new imperialism of late-Victorian Britain which produced the precarious fusion of Christian gentility and social Darwinism, the God-granted right of the

white man to rule, civilise and baptise the inferior coloured races... in this amalgam Christianity came out second best. (Mangan 1981:136)

Jesuit schools, such as Stonyhurst, did not accept athleticism so readily. Jesuit pedagogical philosophy, first developed in 1599 by Ignatius Loyola, was too well established simply to give way to the new Protestant pedagogy (Mangan 1981). Jesuit schools had athletics run by the masters some sixty years before the other public schools, but did not compete with other schools on a large scale nor did they have a pedagogical philosophy underpinning such physical activity. Mangan states that it was only when they sought admittance to being one of the elite of the public schools, at the end of the 19th Century, that they began to treat games in a similar fashion because conformity to the standard was the price of acceptance. This was also true, Mangan argues, for smaller public schools, such as Lancing, which emulated the famous. In order to be accepted as public schools by the parents of prospective students, they had to accept athleticism, thus bringing the movement to a wider audience and reinforcing the general acceptance of the discourses.

3.3.4 *Christian Discourses in 19th Century Public School Sport*

As outlined above, the discourses of Christianity (identified in Section 3.2, *Christian Discourses, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*), came to be utilised as part of the new pedagogic discourse which was exemplified by the Public Schools. From its inception this pedagogic discourse borrowed from Christian doctrines as part of its justification inextricably entwining them with the rationalisation of sporting culture. At the outset this culture had overt Christian values. However, the pedagogy was rationalised later to produce a new corporeal Christian man where the body was the indicator of the spiritual value of the individual (Crosset 1990).

Perhaps the greatest individual pedagogue who believed in the value of *suffering and self-sacrifice* was Almond, the Headmaster at Loretto school, whose stated aim was to produce a group of 'evangelical schoolboys' (Mangan 1981:50). Almond used St. Paul as his theological support for the desirability of manliness and spiritual self-discipline. Mangan says:

Lorettonianism...constituted an elaborate and systematic programme of health education covering food, clothes, physical exercise, sleep, fresh air and cold baths. (Mangan 1981: 57)

It also meant engaging in physical exercise under all weather conditions, and Mangan cites original sources talking of runs during snowstorms, battling with the elements. Edward Thring, talking of his own schooldays and the benefits he acquired, said 'the more I suffered, the less I cared. The longer I stayed, the harder I grew' (Holt 1989:94).

As Headmaster at Uppingham, Thring himself exhorted that bodily exercise created 'character', which in the language of the period equated to manliness (Mangan 1981). Holt says of all public school teaching:

Games were the most potent weapon in the armoury of public school stoicism, along with meagre rations and freezing dormitories that kept down overheads and included a Spartan contempt for comfort. Suffering was synonymous with an educational experience. (Holt 1989:94)

In the Philathletic Club at Harrow, sport began as an activity in which the boys were encouraged to take part. Eventually, sport became part of the compulsory curriculum. This took place on the basis of its pedagogical rationale through which the claim was made that sport and its physical hardships created 'character', or 'manliness' (Mangan 1981). This notion of character centred around physical courage as an exemplar of spiritual courage. Sport came, therefore, to be a requirement for all boys. What had started as a method of controlling boys came, through its post hoc rationalisation by Cotton, to be an integral part of the Public School curriculum (Mangan 1981). The image of masculinity produced, centred on hard physical bodies that visually displayed the nature of the individual. Indeed any form of unwillingness to perform on the sporting field was considered by Muscular Christians, to indicate either effeminacy or Catholic leanings (Lowerson 1993, Crosset 1990).

As Hargreaves (1993) argues, girls' boarding schools also took on board the beliefs about games and their. However, she goes on to say that the major differences in the pedagogic underpinnings lay in the gendered images of men and women. Over-exertion was constructed as a bad thing for girls because medical beliefs, current at the time, portrayed women as physically frail (Yorganci 1994). There were, therefore, different motives

behind the adoption of games in the girl's schools; rather than being seen as a method of control, sport was an attempt to prove that girls could endure far more physical exertion than was thought, so that greater intellectual opportunities would be made available to them.

Their sensitivity to health was a way of dealing with medical opposition to female education and helped to alleviate anxiety about the undue strain of academic work upon the female constitution. (Hargreaves 1993: 65)

Games, therefore, were part of the means by which the boys' public schools were forming the image of a new hard, physical masculinity (Crosset 1990); meanwhile the girls' schools were using it to create a new educated femininity (Hargreaves 1994).

Redemption was intimately linked to the concept of suffering. The implication that lay at the base of this discourse of redemption echoed a view, widely held at the time, that children were essentially morally degenerate (Nelson 1994). It was believed that through the control of the body the individual could be saved, and made into a good citizen (Foucault 1977, Schucking 1969). That it was indeed "wise to form the child instead of reforming the man" (Jones 1964:9). As such the perceived moral attributes of physical exercise became ideological justifications for the theory of physical activity (Lowerson 1993, Holt 1989). It was through the act of physical suffering that the redemption took place. Through hard work physical work and the attendant 'pain' growth of character occurred, which was exhibited through the body. The body, therefore, came to be the physical signification of the achievement of the ideal.

Pedagogy, by providing a discursive justification for the brutality of the regimes within the Public Schools, fostered an image of manhood that was extolled in school songs (Mangan 1981). This all round discursive construction of manhood promoted came to be believed by a sufficient number of the Public School boys that physical exercise was promoted by expupils, both as Masters in other Public Schools themselves (Mangan 1996, Holt 1989) and eventually for the masses (Hargreaves 1986, Hargreaves 1993). An acceptance of the values upon which such regimes were predicated was suggested by this 'evangelical' response to sport. Such internalisation of the values promoted *forgiving* attitude, both about the regimes endured and the individuals who had promoted them. Thring's quote above about becoming harder through his school experience suggests that while he may not have

liked the Masters who inflicted such physical brutality at the time, eventually he saw the benefit of them doing so, and in his turn he then promoted similar regimes in his schools. Sport and sex were seen as polar opposite activities affecting the character of young men. Weak, intellectual boys were thought to suffer from perverse thought and actions. Strong athletic boys were thought to be in control of their passion (Crosset 1990:52). Part of the new sciences of sexuality in the Victorian era believed that a man had only finite amounts of sperm and that judicious use of such sperm was essential (Crosset 1990). This meant that images of *sexual purity* equated to young men exercising their potency in other non-sexual ways, such as rowing or athletic pursuit (Lowerson 1993). Games may also have been an essentially pragmatic way of making boys so tired that they would not have energy to pursue 'impure' acts. Raymond, the games master at Lancing, denounced 'the enormous evil of impurity' (Holt 1989:91).

Manliness was emphatically not to be confused with sexuality; manliness was to be an antidote to the precocious development of adult male sexuality by providing a new moral and physical definition of what masculinity was. True manliness was held to reside in the harmonious growth of the physique and the character side by side. A 'manly' boy was strong of body and pure in heart. The Victorian public school was the forcing-house of a new kind of masculinity in which the distinguishing characteristics of the male sex were not intellectual or genital but physical and moral. (Holt 1989:90)

Denial of sexual appetite, therefore, came conversely to indicate virility and healthiness was equated with purity (Lowerson 1993). Moreover, moral health was equated with purity and was visible through the body.

Sexual purity was also associated with Protestant notions of theology, masculinity and sexuality. Mangan (1981) describes the problems at Lancing. The school was part of the Woodard system of education and in the early 1850s talk began to circulate about 'Popish practices' in the Woodard system which 'had given the schools an undesirable image as places of womanish piety and effeminate Puseyism' (Mangan 1981: 40). Woodard had signed up to the High Church, neo-Catholic aspirations of the Oxford Movement and thus the taint had affected the schools: it took the appointment of Walford, the epitome of the Muscular Christian, as Headmaster of Lancing in 1858, by Woodard, to dispel this image.

For girls, as Hargreaves (1993) argues, too much physical activity or over enthusiasm was conceived of as hoydenish behaviour. So women had to develop behaviours for on and off the field; to play like 'gentlemen' but to act at all time like 'ladies'. Certain activities remained sexually provocative, such as riding astride or any activity that meant opening the legs wide and as such those pursuits were to be avoided. Therefore, while the use of sport was liberating women in one area, that of intellectual pursuit, it continued to reinforce images of passive femininity. Women were not permitted to enter into sport in the same way as men because the ideology of sport was founded on the construction of masculinity (Crossett 1990). Therefore, for women to pursue sport in the same way would have undermined that masculinity.

Crossett (1990) identifies the issue of purity at this time as more to do with the creation of a normative gender specific sexuality rather than about purity itself. This meant dichotomous and heterosexual views of gender and sexuality which, as they were constructed, eventually came to make other conceptions of gender and sexuality morally and legally bankrupt (Hawkes 1996).

Although games was originally conceived as a voluntary activity early on compulsory 'fagging', the carrying of seniors' sports kit, was brought in by the boys themselves at Harrow (Mangan 1981). This was later followed by a period where games were in fact compulsory in all but name, until they were eventually made so formally, despite some initial resistance (Holt 1989). This use of fagging, according to Sheard and Dunning (1973) used its compulsion and the physical force of flogging to express the inherent power relationships within the schools. The use of sport by headmasters for controlling the leisure time of the boys in their care meant that it was, from its inception, a method of inciting *obedience* through conformity. Its use and its organisation, for example, in team games and competition, utilised the discourses, such as self-sacrifice and suffering to ensure that the individual identified with and was compliant with the aims of the institution.

Physical exercise was taken, considerably and compulsorily, in the sincere belief of many, however romantic, misplaced or myopic, that it was a highly effective means of inculcating valuable instrumental and impressive educational goals: physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to both command and obey. (Mangan 1981:9)

The aims and values of the Schools, and sport's role in their creation and maintenance were extolled and affirmed through the use of other symbolic constructs like school songs and school colours for sporting success.

Tis' there in friendly rivalry
 School meets with neighbouring school
 And English boys all 'play the game'
 And learn to keep the rule. (Ellis cited in Mangan 1981:201)

House systems were introduced to create intra-school rivalries and to give groups competing identities within the school system; as such they a method of control (Holt 1989). Added to this were the prefect system that gave power to the few in order to control the many: senior boys were given power over the junior boys but were answerable to the masters; resulting in a neat systemic hierarchy based on 'divide and rule' principles. These measures were adopted wholesale by the girls public schools, although the focus on competition was removed (Hargreaves 1993)

Obedience in these schools, therefore, was inculcated along with the concern for following the rules; learning to follow the rules in one sphere was believed to help to condition individuals to follow rules in another. Obedience to the hierarchy was encouraged and the overall system was strongly related to behaviour in games (Mangan 1981).

Perceptions about *winning and competition* were also part of the Public School ethos, although Holt argues that:

[t]he Victorians would never have subscribed to the contemporary orthodoxy that 'winning isn't the most important thing, it's the only thing'. Their philosophy of competition was altogether more subtle, emphasising the value of victory much less than the utility of failure. The downgrading of the mere 'winning' of games in favour of simply 'taking part' lay in the impetus this gave widespread participation and to the idea of life as a constant struggle. By teaching boys how to lose as well as how to win with dignity, the wider competitive principle was strengthened. (Holt 1989:97)

This view of winning was closer to the discourse of social Darwinism that identified life as struggle. Engels indeed, described the discourse of competition as a cornerstone of the capitalist project:

Competition is the completest expression of the battle of all against all which rules in modern civil society. This battle, a battle for life, for existence, for everything, in case of need, a battle of life and death, is fought not between the classes of society only, but also between the individual members of these classes. Each is in the way of the other, and each seeks to crowd out all who are in his way, and to put himself in their place. (Engles 1987: 111)

For Engels (1987.) competition this was 'the sharpest weapon ... in the hands of the bourgeoisie'. Marx (1976) also mentions sport as fostering an ideology of competition.

Hargreaves (1994: 64) states that competitiveness and competition were widely held to enhance masculinity and therefore early pioneers of women's games in day schools, like Miss Beale at Cheltenham, allowed games but were opposed 'athletic rivalries'. Indeed, Hargreaves argues, that right up until the early twentieth century:

Sports were still overwhelmingly a symbol of masculinity - the core manly virtues of courage, aggression and the competitive instinct were still intimately associated with them. (Hargreaves 1993: 108)

This association of competitiveness with masculinity meant that women who indulged in sport, or were too aggressive, were considered in danger of compromising their femininity.

3.3.5 *Secularisation of Muscular Christian Discourses*

Protestant educational beliefs were predicated upon commonly held premise about the need to control the disorder of children through the ordering of their bodies. The Public Schools of the 19th Century grew out of the earlier grammar schools endowed to enact this vision. Therefore, it may be argued that the use of sport to control the bodies of the young was entirely concomitant with the underlying principles of existing Protestant education. The creation of Muscular Christianity provided the inter-weaving of sport into the Protestant educational rationale. However, its uses were acknowledged by those who had experienced them as of value in a wider sphere than simply Public Schools, and ex-pupils, the new leaders of society, began to take this understandings of sport and its uses into wider social arenas (Mangan 1996). The disciplinary nature of sport in controlling the bodies of pupils within the Public Schools and the later passage into society of such disciplinary techniques (Foucault 1977) acted to confirm the disciplinary nature of the sport's rationale.

In time the pupils from the Public Schools became the founders of the majority of the National Governing Bodies (NGBs) of sport in the latter part of the 19th Century as they attempted to continue their sporting exploits beyond school, taking the beliefs and discourses into the voluntary organisations set up for sport. The discourses, of morality and athleticism, were also taken up by the mid-Victorian Church, anxious to make contact with the new industrial classes (Holt 1989). Hargreaves (1986) argues that these ideas functioned as a method of control imposed upon the working classes in an attempt to promote social order. Whilst this may have been the reason for its use then Holt (1989) suggests, the working classes took the forms of sport presented to them and re-defined them in ways which had meaning for them; for example, they used them as methods of expressing territory, in the same way the old parish games of football had. This suggests that the visual bodily images involved were, as Hargreaves (1986) believes, class based images of gender and morality but the re-interpretation to which Holt refers indicates that hierarchies of such images located around class were also being produced. Thus came about the diffusion of the disciplinary practices from institutions, like the Public Schools, that Foucault (1977) suggests. The hierarchies of bodily image, which were gender specific and class related, also intersected with the hierarchy of sexuality. The hierarchy of sexuality and gender thus produced resulted in forms of sexuality other than productive heterosexuality being progressively outlawed (Hawkes 1996).

The body-centredness of sexuality and the emphasis on its desirable or undesirable physical consequences was consistent with a rationalising project, where the rational was contiguous with the controlled and contained, the sensual asceticism increasingly associated with civilisation; the irrational with the surrender to disorderly sexual desires. (Hawkes 1996:49)

Increasingly, other symbolic dichotomies were associated with constructions surrounding gender; the concepts of public and private space, and rationality and irrationality all came to be associated with masculinity and femininity (Hearn and Parkin 1989). Thus the physical body came also to represent these dichotomies.

Mangan (1996) argues that by the end of the 19th Century, the religious overtones of sporting prowess were being lost in militaristic symbolism.

The school of Darwinian realists, who embraced 'muscularity' as a moral ideal ... were not greatly exercised if it lacked a religious component. (Mangan 1996:30)

He goes on to argue that the focus moved from a 'pure' Muscular Christian discourse, about the glory of the individual and a relationship with God, to a focus on the individual as symbolically part of a team, school or country. The discourses of Empire in Britain utilised Christian evangelism, Muscular Christian theology and social Darwinism to provide a justification for expansionism (Holt 1989, Lowerson 1993). Specifically, blended the discourses of physicality inherent within Muscular Christianity, and the eugenicist theories of Sir Francis Galton were blended to produce a visual representation of the racially superior Englishman, personified in picture of the Englishman who set out to civilise the Empire with a cricket bat under one arm and an umbrella under the other (Holt 1989).

By the early twentieth century sport, was beginning to emerge as a battleground for questions of national identity, patriotic superiority and arguments over a perceived racial and spiritual decline fuelled the preparations for war (Lowerson 1993: 261). Although the actual number of international sporting encounters was small, as were English defeats, they attracted a growing amount of press dissection because of the symbolism attached to sport in terms of national self respect (Lowerson 1993:264). In response to the industrial struggle of British world prominence, which seemed to be reflected in the health of the nation and its sporting results, the Committee on Physical Deterioration was set up in 1903 (McNair 1976, Birley 1995).

As the century progressed, the use of sport as a tool of social order was not confined to Britain. Other countries began to utilise the physical activity of sport as a semiotic construction for transferring messages about the social order within their own boundaries, and to express national identity outside them, particularly the Nazis in the 1930s (Mandell 1971). The Nazis, through their use of sport as a vehicle for constructing exclusive identity both individual and national, added a new, more brutal, edge to the masculine ideals of the late Victorian British Empire (Thewleit 1987). Mandell (1971) argues that the use by the Nazis of sport and the physical body as a symbol introduced a new era, post-1945. This was one in which records and measurement of achievement became far more important and related more to national status than to individual status. Purity, whilst still creating the binary constructions of gender, had also come to represent racial and national boundaries, with sport becoming an iconographic representation of national images, with sportsmen, particularly, the bearers of the myth (Mandell 1971).

The image of aggressive masculinity has entered into the sporting lexicon of cultural imagery that has proliferated in the post-war period. In the late twentieth century sport has become part of the cultural myth making produced by the mass media (Holt and Mangan 1996) and indeed of global images through which identities, particularly gendered identities, are constructed in the late twentieth century (Turner 1996). As with the Muscular Christianity of the British Public Schools, images in contemporary sport continue to carry discursive messages and constructs about the nature of gender and of social grouping (Mandell 1971, Messner 1990). The nature of sport makes such semiotic messages intrinsically visual in an age where, as Featherstone (1991) argues, the visual image has come to dominate, and in a time when the body has come to acquire the centrality to cultural aspirations that it has (Turner 1996). As the twentieth century has progressed, the religious associations of bodily forms, which the discourses of Muscular Christianity provided for the body project of sport, have gradually rescinded, leaving a focus on the body itself as project (Shilling 1993, Bourdieu 1978).

3.3.6 Summary

This section has discussed how the Christian discourses, discussed in Section 3.2, *Christian Discourses, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*, came to form part of modern organised sport at its inception in the Public Schools of the 19th Century. It was suggested in this section that the relationship between these Christian discourses and aesthetic discourses of athleticism, drawn from classical discourses, created a homoerotic and positive vision of the body which supplanted the negative and suppressive tendencies in relation to the body, inherent within Christian discourses on gender and sexuality. The next section, Section 3.4, *Mutation of Christian Discourses in Contemporary Sport, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*, discusses how these discourses have become secularised in contemporary sport and how the morality associated with Muscular Christianity has become a morality of the body, in which the body is self-referential as a visual marker.

3.4 Mutation of Christian Discourses in Contemporary Sport, Sexual identity and Sexual Abuse

The previous section discussed how sport was originally used for its disciplinary potential in the Public Schools of 19th Century Britain. How, once it was already being used, a discursive justification was built around it which utilised Protestant theology and which ultimately came to be exemplified by Muscular Christianity. The section then argued how the discourse of Muscular Christianity provided a embodied image of Victorian masculinity and morality that helped to establish a new hierarchy of gender and sexuality because the major social changes in the century had brought the existing definitions into question. In addition it was argued that whilst the disciplinary nature of sport was used initially to control, what were perceived as, the disordered bodies of Protestant schoolboys, eventually it was perceived to have a wider application for the ordering of disordered citizenry. It was suggested that the initial religious justifications were lost over time and thus by the late twentieth century the body, as project, within society has become a self referencing one; bodies have come to be judged not against some spiritual project but against other bodies. In this following section it is argued that as such the disciplinary techniques implicit within the Muscular Christian body project have become the techniques of the self referencing body project in contemporary sport. Furthermore; it is posited Christian discourses, albeit secularised, continue to provide in contemporary sport for positive embodied images of particular masculinities and, by comparison, to question the involvement and achievements of women and subordinate masculinities in that area. Over the intervening century and a half since they were first used, these discourses have served to provide an, often, undeserved aura of morality around sporting activity which attest to these religious origins.

3.4.1 Contemporary Sport and Sexual Identity

Sport remains as important a symbolic representation of 'maleness' in the late twentieth century (Whitson 1990, Messner 1996) as it was in the nineteenth. Connell (1990) argues that the representation of maleness within sport has come to affirm, not only those who take part, but also those who spectate; vicarious confirmation of manhood is given through the exploits of the symbolic few (Messner 1996). Although Rowe (1994) suggests that with the increasing fragmentation of identity that is taking place in the late twentieth century

and the pressures to produce new markets that sport as a symbolic representation of masculinity could be changing. However, Burton Nelson (1994) argues that despite the challenges that women, for example, have made to assumptions of specific gender roles in society, sport continues to provide symbolic affirmation of the boundaries between masculinity and femininity. Whitson (1990: 24) goes further and suggests that because gender and sexuality are embodied parts of existence sport is crucial in the structuring of gender within western societies.

It may be suggested that masculinising and feminising practices associated with the body are at the heart of social constructions of masculinity and femininity and that this is precisely why sport matters in the total structure of gender relations. As such sport provides a key area in which social constructions of meaning, which include gender and sexuality, are constructed about embodied states in late twentieth century western culture (Turner 1996).

Dunning and Sheard (1973) argue that it is through physical dominance within sport that masculinity is asserted. Indeed Connell (1983) describes sport as the celebration of male superiority exhibited through physical superiority; men 'embody force, to embody competence' (Connell 1987: 27). This celebration of masculinity through sporting culture is, however, not self-referencing but demands a repudiation of women and homosexual men (Messner 1996) or for, the pre-adolescent male, girls and younger children (Fine 1987). As such, the forms of masculinity most celebrated are those associated with aggressive heterosexuality (Messner 1992). Kidd (1990) goes so far as to suggest that behaviour in the locker room is training for rape and, indeed, research has shown that there is a correlation between competitive, male bonding scenarios and sexual attacks upon women and girls (Welch 1997, Crosset 1995, Kidd 1990). For women taking part in sport, as Messner points out, sport does not affirm but rather contradicts their sexual and gendered identity.

Sport offers a normalising equation for men:

Athleticism=masculinity=heterosexuality

For women athletes the equation has nearly always been more paradoxical

Athleticism? Femininity? Heterosexuality? (Messner 1996: 215)

This contradiction for women provides a quandary. To be an athlete, one must either assert one's heterosexuality or accept the questioning of one's sexuality. Therefore women athletes often are presented and/or attempt to present themselves as heterosexual and feminine (Hargreaves 1993). This need within the media to present sportswomen, or to have those sportswomen present themselves in these ways, may well be part of the need to reassert the symbolically masculine nature of sport and the continued existence of the gender divide in late twentieth century western culture (Burton Nelson 1994).

3.4.2 Secularised Christian Discourses and Child Abuse in Contemporary Sport

Messner (1996) argues we should 'study up' in matters of sexuality, that is look at what constitutes the normative identity rather than examine the marginalised identities of those 'othered' by norms. With regard to the discourses in contemporary sport perhaps they may tell us as much about abuser identities as they do about the difficulties that women, girls and subordinate males face in sporting situations. It is suggested here that the discourses of Muscular Christianity, albeit in a secularised form, continue to provide the building blocks of meaning in the construction of dominant forms of masculinity in sport. As such, these discourses are affirmations of the physical capability of men which has come to be expressed symbolically at a time when it has ceased to be part of most men's everyday work (Whitson 1990, Boscagli 1996).

The experience, therefore, of the discourses for women, girls and subordinate men will be different from those affirming or seeking to affirm the dominant adult, male, heterosexual identity; what Whitson (1990: 23) describes as learning 'to project a physical presence that speaks of latent power'. For men seeking or affirming that identity, the discourses continue through reference to physicality and courage to provide a visual referent for 'real' men. Therefore, the discourses, whilst they may affect women and subordinate masculinities in physical ways, are more likely to be experienced as symbolic criteria to which they neither should nor can ever match up (Dewar 1993).

If it is through the physicality of the discourses that the normative expressions of masculinity are produced, so consequently are the boundaries of 'other'. For those defined as 'other' through the normative values of sport to experience the discourses in the same way as men, that is to fulfil the physical criteria they express, inherently undermines

definitions of masculinity based on such criteria. That is not to say that these subordinate groups do not themselves experience the physical pressures of the discourses. For example, for homosexual men taking part in sport may be about affirming their masculinity through physical courage *because* of their sexuality (Klein 1990). However women's physical engagement with the discourses, is less likely to be about affirmations of their gender or sexuality (indeed it is more likely to compromise those) than about attempting to be taken seriously as athletes. At the point where women and girls or subordinate males do colonise the physicality of the discourse, that is at the point when they display the physicality which is considered symbolic of heterosexual masculinity, then other methods, for example visual representations or references to their sexuality, are used to re-assign them to subordinate categories, thus allowing the divisions of gender order to be maintained (Burton Nelson 1994, Hargreaves 1993, Klein 1990). These methods, it is argued here, include sexual harassment and abuse to control women and subordinate men in the same way as in other public situations (Hearn and Parkin 1987).

With such a strong imperative within sport for men to assert their masculinity through physicality, when that physicality is in some way compromised, through age or injury, then physicality is no longer available to them as a means of expressing and asserting their difference from women and homosexual males (Messner 1992). It is suggested here that when sustaining masculinity through the physical in sport for men becomes problematic, the context provides the possibility of re-negotiating and re-asserting masculinity based on the control of the bodies of others as intermediaries within the contextual frame, for example, in coaching relationships. This may provide the links with Brackenridge's (1994) paedophile and predator model, where she outlines that sexual abusers in sport do not exhibit the lack of social skills that those who abuse often display, on the contrary, those who abuse in sport are often the most confident, and skilful social actors.

For paedophiles, whose concern is with sexual access to very young children, sport may simply provide opportunity. For Brackenridge's sexual predator the issues of masculinity may be paramount. As Messner (1996) states, gender is always something under construction, it is never fully achieved and as for athletes, their achievements are transitory they can be destroyed by one failure to live up to the image of masculine identity. For the predatory sporting abuser the abuse may be the affirmation of self and the maintenance of the boundary that Messner, in his work (1990, 1992, 1996) discusses, that male athletes

have to maintain between encroaching femininity and homosexual identity. The value of the body as intermediary (Callon 1991, Clegg 1994) in sport organisations may enable the to re-establishment of that boundary of masculinity through the kudos gained in the vicarious success gained by controlling others bodies. As Brackenridge (1994) indicates, it is not unusual for such predatory abusers to have more than one sexual relationship at any one time. The predator may control women, girls or young men. The importance is to be the initiator, the subject rather than the object in the sexual equation.

For those designated as 'other' within sport to be taken seriously as athletes may mean not only the need to fulfil all the physical pressures of the discourses but also that the discourses may also have another dimension. This may cause a mental dissonance through the need to accept a subordinate identity, as for women, or the necessity to hide ones real identity, as for homosexual men (Klein 1990) as the discourses undermine the value of self in relation to the normative values. The discourses in sport for those 'othered', therefore, are experienced at two levels; the conceptual and the physical. The physical affirms the pinnacle of sporting achievement – the image of the 'real' man – and in so doing the conceptual creates the hierarchies of images connected to 'other'. These are the referents in relation to which individuals in sport attempt to create their identities.

In the contemporary world of sport, there are now other important discourses not related to religion that influence sport; Holt (1989:335) talks about the 'late entry of capitalism into sport' in Britain. These influences, arguably, also affect sport in a potentially detrimental way. However, it is argued that the influence of the discourses identified is still there, albeit secularised through time. These discourses continue to produce visual images of gender and sexuality that have impact for those engaging in sport and sporting organisations. In addition to these discourses, the images produced by the mass media, have power beyond their context and are integrally involved in producing images of gender and sexuality which impact on the body projects of individuals in western cultures (Fine 1987).

Engagement in sporting contexts in Britain is usually through choice and once within such contexts the acceptance of the dominant values in the institution of sport by individuals, as stated in Section 2.4.4 , *Resistance and Mediation*, resistance, is not pre-determined. Once within sport the ability to exercise choice in the acceptance or rejection of its criteria may

be dependent on contextually specific things. For example, one of the ways that lesbians have attempted to work round misogynist and homophobic values in sport is to create their own sporting spaces; this policy has been very successful (see Lenskji 1995). However, as Messner (1996) points out the construction of new spaces in sport where different value systems are played out does not change the normative values but in some senses strengthens them by moving outside of existing structures. For those who remain in mainstream contexts rather than challenge existing values those 'othered' by the dominant values there will be those who accept harassment or compromise as the price for involvement (Kirby and Greaves 1996). For example, homosexual men may engage in the dominant homophobic culture that exists in the locker room to disguise their own sexuality (Messner 1996).

For younger men and women, whose sense of identity may be more vulnerable, the ability to resist the dominant culture may be even more difficult. For example, accepting attention from the coach may help young girls affirm their own heterosexual identity compromised through their taking part in sport (Brackenridge and Kirby 1997), or the 'state of immanent achievement' may mean that such athletes have too much invested in their sporting identity to feel able to leave, which may make them particularly vulnerable to abuse (Brackenridge and Kirby 1997). It is important to acknowledge at this point that most of the studies of harassment and abuse in sport have focussed on athletes at the elite level. However, the lack of control that children can exercise over their own decisions and lives in British society currently as a norm (Franklin 1995) may also provide barriers for children in participant levels of sport from leaving difficult or abusive situations.

Whether resistance within sporting contexts is possible, or whether individuals can exercise the ability to leave such contexts, or even whether new and liberation contexts of sport are constructed does not affect those discourses as definitions within sporting contexts. It is suggested that the secularised Christian discourses provide the definitions within and in relation to which identity within British sport is constructed. These discourses continue to provide particular constructions of gender and sexuality from which individuals within sporting contexts construct their own individual habitus (Bourdieu 1991). Wider constructs of gender and sexuality are also affected indirectly by these discourses through sport as a generator images of embodiment. Such images provide

stimulus for the body project in which individuals in late twentieth century western culture are exhorted to engage.

Sport has an image of being liberatory because it pushes back the edges of physical achievement (Kirby & Greaves 1996). To move beyond such limits the body itself must be taken to its limits. Such expressions as 'no pain, no gain' or for an athlete to talk of a training session as a 'beasting' indicate an acceptance of *suffering* as an acceptable part of sport. This reflects the same respect for physical courage admired in the 19th Century Public Schools. This focus on 'courage' or the ability to push such physical limits is equated with 'real' men:

to exhibit such traits as competitiveness, aggression, assertiveness and courage...to be good at sport is to 'be a man', and conversely, to dislike or to be uninterested in sport is to be 'less of a man'. (Hargreaves 1993: 127)

The discourses on a physical level, therefore, provide an image of masculine courage. Nixon (1993) in his work identified a culture within sport that not only tolerates but encourages playing through injury. Indeed Messner (1990) goes so far as to describe sport as the use of men's bodies as weapons. The legitimisation of violence and the acceptance of injury providing two sides of what Kaufman (1986: 2) calls the 'triad of men's violence', against women, other men and themselves. Acceptance of pain, as Messner (1990) points out, is part of the male mythology of sport, what Sabo (1986) identified as the 'pain principle'. However, Messner (1990) in his work also found that no masculine credit is accrued through playing through injury, each situation places the athlete's masculinity in question. Not participating through injury, despite having done so in the past, is instantly perceived pejoratively and the language used to describe it is often aggressive and feminised.

By taking part despite pain, men are provided with a heroic status (Holt 1996, Messner 1990). This affirms the image of self-sacrifice and the concept of suffering, where the individual is sacrificed to the principle of the team, or to wider mythologies of nationalism (Mandell 1971). The social activities and uniforms associated with sport provide methods of creating such conformity that the individual comes to be identified through the collective (Dunning and Sheard 1973). Messner (1990) argues that the acceptance by athletes of the 'pain principle' also provides a wider semiotic of the athlete as

representative of masculinity in a broader way. As such, he believes it is no coincidence that the particularly aggressive sports and the particularly vulnerable positions in those sports are often filled by minority groups. This may be to do with available choices of career but he argues that for most white, middle class men the assertion of masculinity is made with the bodies of others. They reap the benefits of the physicality of those symbolically represented.

Consider the words of a thirty-two year old white professional-class male whom I interviewed:

A woman can do the same job as I can do – maybe even be my boss. But I'll be damned if she can go out on the field and take a hit from Ronnie Lott.

...it is significant that this man was quite aware that he (and perhaps 99% of the male population of the U.S.) were probably equally incapable of taking a 'hit' from the likes of Lott and living to tell of it. (Messner 1990: 213 *italics in the original*)

For women in sport, however, cultural beliefs concerning the limitations of their biology and its frailty, prevalent a century ago, still retain discursive power (Yorganci 1994). The sex tests, which are still used at the Olympics, were brought in for women after the 1968 Olympics in response to the East German women's team's achievements on the athletics field. These achievements by the East German women were considered impossible for women, hence the fact they were tested to discover if they were, indeed, women and not men. The initiation of these tests was prompted, primarily, by perceived and normative assumptions about the limitation of women's biology and thus the possible limits to women's achievements (Coakely 1993). To be taken seriously as athletes, or simply to be accepted in sporting contexts, women often take on male strictures (Flintoff 1992), including Sabo's 'pain principle': for example, Kerri Shrug, at the Atlanta Olympics in 1996 vaulted despite a broken ankle so that her team could obtain a place. However, representations of women athletes are more likely to portray them not as physical 'heroines' but as either sexualised women, or as 'wife', or 'mother of two' (Hargreaves 1993). Indeed, in order to achieve sponsorship, women themselves may have to acquiesce to such images (Messner 1996). Therefore, whilst women acquiesce and accept the discourse of physical courage and pain, their sexuality is not affirmed by such acquiescence but is instead brought into question (Brackenridge 1994). Furthermore, the suffering may also have a less physical side for those with subordinated identities: for example Kirby & Greaves (1996) in their study show that women athletes are more likely

to be verbally and physically abused than male athletes and some were even pressured into sexual relations by others within their sporting context. The findings of Kirby and Greave's Canadian work supported Brackenridge's (1994) findings about British sporting contexts. In the event of harassment Kirby and Greaves (1996) also found that women were less likely to confront an harasser or to attempt redress. The reasons given for not confronting such behaviour in part the fear that such complaints would sully the image of the country they felt themselves to be ambassadors for. As such these women athletes suffered harassment and abuse in silence. Those with subordinated masculinities also seem to suffer alienation silently as, for example, already stated action of gay men involving themselves in homophobic behaviours to camouflage themselves.

Staying quiet in the face of harassment or behaviour that is negating to one's sense of self constitutes a sacrifice of the self. Such sacrifice of the self, however, can be seen as an extension of the expected level of suffering within sport. Brackenridge (1994) describes an incident in which an athlete 'blew the whistle' on an abusing coach, only to find herself isolated by the other athletes who felt that the coach had been the foundation of the team's success. When one breaks the code of self-sacrifice for the team then the team exacts a price. The expectation was that she should have kept quiet for the sake of the team's success. These examples demonstrate that it is through the internalisation of the discourse of sacrifice and suffering that the athlete learns to place his/her own needs as secondary to those of the collective.

For the issue of child abuse in sport, suffering has an added extra dimension. Some child athletes reported in Yorganci (1994), Brackenridge (1994) Kirby & Greaves (1996) that they had had sexual relations with an authority figure in their sports. Some of those athletes stated that they did not tell anyone because they thought they would not be believed, others felt that such disclosures would upset people (Yorganci 1994.). Brackenridge and Kirby (1997) have identified the 'state of imminent achievement' as a point in the sporting life of elite athletes when they may be particularly vulnerable to abuse. The aspirations of such young athletes may, therefore, make them more likely to accept their abuses as a 'trade off' against their sporting dreams.

From these examples given above it would appear that what is potentially a liberating experience in sport is often, in actuality, a subjugating one (Yorganci 1994). For example,

the normative levels of physical and verbal harassment that, particularly, women and girls accept as simply part of the context (Volkwein *et al.* 1997, Crosset 1995, Lockey 1990) and also for subordinate males if they are identified as such (Messner 1996, Whitson 1990). Therefore, whilst the discourse provides for an association of sport with pain, linked especially with symbolic constructions of masculinity, for women, girls and subordinate males suffering may also mean enduring the dominant values expressed through language which devalues them and their sense of identity. The creation of alternative spaces does nothing to contest this view (Messner 1996). With such a discourse in operation the implication is that women, girls and subordinate males should 'put up and shut up'.

This is, as in pure Christian discourse, closely connected to suffering. Pain, and the ability to tolerate it, is the road that leads to *redemption*. The male athlete learns that through suffering come the rewards; to run faster, to jump higher means selection for the team or the country, in effect success and the attendant adulation (Messner 1996). Messner argues that to deviate from this can be an immediate loss of all that has been gained. To see the 'trade off' one has only to look at the National Football League in America and the list of the injured in Saturday soccer in England to realise that sport exacts a high price from all its participants (Sabo 1986).

Women and young girls too may experience physical pain to achieve the redemption of success. Indeed, Ryan (1995) in her book outlines the abusive regimes often experienced by child gymnasts and figure skaters, abuses that are tolerated, by the athletes and their parents, because they are successful. She examines particularly the coach Bela Karolyi who, despite the fact that his training regime would be called harsh, at best, and abusive at worst, is sought by many young hopefuls.

For those who are marginalised by the symbolic representations within and around sport the cost of 'blowing the whistle' or questioning the existing systems of discrimination can be a personally costly process (Burton Nelson 1994). Therefore, the redemption experienced through suffering for those 'othered' through the symbolic activities and values may simply be being allowed to participate. Furthermore, that may well mean simply being tolerated but not accepted except as a pseudo-male (Burton Nelson 1994). Participation and success for all athletes is achieved at a cost; the price, as indeed do the

rewards, differ for different groups. Indeed, for some the price is too high and they simply leave the sport altogether (Brackenridge 1994).

In terms of sexual abuse this redemption of success still applies. Franklin (1995) argues that very young children are capable of making 'trade-offs' in their own minds about sexual abuse; they discover that compliance often offers an 'easier' option than resistance, or provides them with affection denied elsewhere. Upon examining the sexual abuse of subordinate groups in sport, including children, those 'trade offs' are clear: team selection, individual coach attention, or the promise of success, may all be weighed against the dislike of the sexual abuse when such vulnerable individuals are placed in compromising situations by authority figures in their sport (Kirby & Greaves 1996, Brackenridge 1994, Yorganci 1994). As with Karolyi's gymnasts they make the decision that success, or even on the possibility of success, is worth the cost.

The relationship between coach and athletes is often intense. Ryan (1995) in her work describes how both parents and child athletes were both happy to submit to incredibly harsh regimes to achieve success: *forgiveness* is integral, therefore, to those regimes. However, forgiveness has another dimension related to the alienation of athlete from their own bodies.

Messner (1990), discussing elite male athletes who had been excluded from sport due to an injury caused by another player, found that these men did not perceive the other individual player as responsible for their injury. On the contrary, he found that such athlete's felt pride that the other player had been playing at full potential and instead perceived the reason for their injury as simply 'the game'. The internalisation of the discourse of suffering, the acceptance of the cost of involvement in sport, seems to allow those injured in this way to remove the other player as the subjective source of the injury and instead to see the bodies of those players as intentionless objects. The absence of a subject, therefore, removes the need to forgive. Messner (1996) also found that those who had inflicted such injuries on others felt no responsibility. Through the premise of accepting the cost of sport the body seems to become de-identified with the athlete's subjective self.

Those who are 'othered' within sport may also feel able to accept such a trade off with regard to pain, in that they may accept and forgive those who train them or who inflict

injury on them. However, for women, particularly, to accept such physical pain can be problematic for others. For example, recent concern has been expressed over women and girls wishing to box in competitions and males within the sport have been reluctant (Varley 1997).

The conceptual side of this discourse is the acceptance by those 'othered' of the dominant culture. Their acceptance of the naturalness of abusive language or behaviours, as with the players and injury, removes the perpetrators as responsible for that language or behaviours. Lockey (1990), reported in his study that women overall tolerated abusive language and sexually harassing behaviour in sport, although for some it was deeply upsetting, without considering it necessarily as harassment or unusual. This was also supported by the findings of Volkwein *et al.* (1997). The level of generally abusive behaviour was not a problem for a significant number of the women in Lockey's (1990) study and Yorganci (1994) found that many women had developed coping strategies which included whistling and using sexual innuendo back to the men, without any feeling that the original behaviour was problematic. Furthermore Brackenridge (1997b) found that some women athletes who had suffered sexual abuse for years often found the cycle of their dependency on those who committed the abuse hard to break. Despite the unpleasant feelings that surrounded abuse either the victim felt she was to blame, or the feelings about the individual who had committed the crime were overlaid with feelings of affection.

In the Public Schools of the 19th Century situation, virility was conversely equated with abstention (Crosset 1990). Contemporary sport continues to provide boundaries of sexual identity through its heroes, its language, songs and the rituals that are associated with it (Rowe 1994, Whitson 1990, Messner 1990, Dunning and Sheard 1973). However, *sexual purity* is no longer about abstention necessarily but about the celebration through sporting rituals of predatory, aggressive, heterosexuality (Messner 1996). These rituals reinforce the boundaries between men on one side and homo-eroticism and women on the other (Burton Nelson 1994, Whitson 1990). Messner (1996) discusses an incident in his own sporting 'his-story' where he injured another player. An incident which he interprets as one in which the boundaries between himself and his homo-erotic tendencies were established, through sporting aggression, and the distance created between himself and the object of his homo-erotic gaze. Whitson (1990) argues that these symbolic means of asserting masculinity become more important as women take greater roles in public life. A fact

reiterated in Burton Nelson's book title, *The Stronger Women get, the More Men Love Football*.

Burton Nelson (1994) argues that the heterosexual, masculine sexuality that is produced necessarily portrays men as the subjects who initiate sexual encounters. This is reinforced through the language of sport itself that asserts the penetrative and active nature of sport, particularly masculine sport. She discusses the ways in which, for example, women are discussed and portrayed in locker rooms as the depersonalised objects of male sexual desire and how 'real' women, such as reporters who enter the locker room who are not two-dimensional, are viewed as a threat. As such sexual harassment becomes a method of re-assigning them back into, what is perceived, as their proper place. All the women reporters she talked to had encountered some kind of sexual harassment whilst doing their job. The coping strategies varied but included the players talking about them and accepting them as 'honorary' men.

It is the necessity for this androgyny with which women athletes are faced; either that or accept that their active status lays them open to description of them as lesbians. As Messner states (1996) the dilemma of gender and sexuality has always been more problematic for women involved in sport and women have had to work hard to reinforce the images of their heterosexuality through the careful maintenance of their public images (Messner 1996, Hargreaves 1993).

The predatory nature of masculine sexuality, and its implications for abuses against women and subordinate males, was considered in Section 3.4.1, *Contemporary Sport And Sexual Identity*, above. Beyond the obvious means by which sex can itself become a weapon within sporting contexts, sex is often posited as a distraction, particularly for high achieving athletes, which may deflect from the true goal of sport. Kirby & Greaves (1996), found that athletes who were sexually active tend to have partners who are involved in their sport or sport in general. As such, they argue, an aura of 'domesticity' is constructed to ensure athletes can meet all their social emotional/intimacy and physical needs from within. They also found that many young athletes' coaches, particularly girl's coaches, often have control over all aspects of their athletes lives, including sexual partners (Kirby & Greaves 1996). Coaches also may see 'servicing' the needs of their young athletes as a way of preventing them becoming 'side tracked' by their emerging sexuality as other

youngsters are perceived to be and thus be prevented from succeeding and bringing kudos to the coach.

Sport at its inception in the public schools was about control and conformity (see section 3.3). It is not surprising, therefore, to find that its structure still reflects a high degree of coach dependence within training (Kirby & Greaves 1996, Brackenridge 1994, 1996, Yorganci 1994). However, *obedience* as a discourse is exhibited not only through such coach dependence but also through the patriotic importance of sport both for athletes themselves and through media creation (Kirby & Greaves 1996). Sport exhibits a patriarchal structure (Kirby & Greaves 1996, Yorganci 1996, Brackenridge & White 1985) in which women and children are subordinated (Dewar 1993). Yorganci (1994: 224) sees this as relating to the issue of self sacrifice; 'the subordination of the individual self to the will of the dictator (or the head of the clan...)'. Kirby & Greaves (1996) also see the training unit as a patriarchal one at national level, where the head is almost always male and the family roles are 'scripted'. They argue that 'Familism' is used in sport, as it is in Christianity, to create a sense of community and within this context, loyalty and self-sacrifice are encouraged. Holt (1989) refers to sport as a 'total institution', like the barracks or the prison. This totality is not necessarily geographically based, like the above examples, but is created by relationships as well as geography and keeps the athlete contained as completely as fences or wire in the other contexts, by events such as training and socials. This 'familism' is what in Brackenridge's (1994) opinion makes sexual abuse in sport virtual incest.

In terms of those controlling the hierarchical structures Kirby & Greaves (1996) found that the majority of top-level women athletes in Canada had male coaches. Over 80% of their time was controlled by men, or combinations of men and women. Male athletes had just over 10% of their time controlled by males and females together with under 2% of male athletes having female coaches. This reflects the structural inequalities that Brackenridge & White (1985) outlined in their work on British sport, indicating that little appears to have changed. Kirby & Greaves (1996) also found that many of the athletes still training did not have families or partners of their own and many had lived at the family home during much of their competitive careers.

Coakley discussing the issue of obedience and the control of athletes states that Christianity is increasingly being brought back into sport to reassert control over teams and team cohesion. In the light of the subject of this thesis this appears somewhat ironic. He has this to say about Christianity in sport and Christian sporting organisations:

Christian organisations with sport ministries have paid little attention to what might be identified as moral and ethical problems in sports ... their emphasis has been on playing hard for the glory of God, using athletic performances as indicators of moral worth and as tools for giving Christian witness, uniting team mates into cohesive organisational units, and being obedient to the rules and recommendations of the coach. (Coakley 1993: 442)

Brackenridge (1994) argues that the issue of coaching style may well be contributory in sexual abuse in sport. Harassment has been shown to be more prevalent where hierarchical styles of leadership exist (Volkwein *et al.* 1997, Crosset 1995). Indeed, the extent of intimate knowledge that, for example, a coach routinely has of their athletes (Brackenridge and Kirby 1997) would cross normal barriers of privacy. One athlete interviewed by Brackenridge (1997b) talked about her relationship with her coach as him 'owning' her, another that her relationship with her coach was closer than with her parents. Yorganci (1994) and Kirby & Greaves (1996) found that women allowed coaches to dictate them more than did male athletes.

Obedience means that young athletes are compliant with authority figures, particularly those they may see more of than their parents, such as their coaches. If obedience is the core of the coaching, or of the culture in which a young athlete trains and they have been socialised to conform to such a culture, then how much harder will it be to say 'no' to someone they have been schooled to respect? Not only do all children face problems when confronting adults who have abused them sexually (Franklin 1995), when the abuse is exacerbated by the pressures of other hierarchical structures, child athletes are subject to even greater pressures which make refusal even more difficult.

Winning and competition have become increasingly important in sport as the financial incentives and pressures increase in contemporary sport (Holt 1989). Tinning (1990) argues that a 'cult of winning' has come to pervade not only elite sport but also physical education as it is taught in schools. Kirby and Greaves (1996) argue that this overwhelming pressure within sport to win is part of the capitalist discourse that underpins

modern sport and physical education. Winning brings not only kudos for those involved in sport, but also very real material benefits through sponsorship (Messner 1996).

It also seems that much can be forgiven to those who win, provide they also display the right identity. Rowe (1994: 126) discusses the case of 'Magic' Johnson, who tested HIV positive and how his affirmation that he acquired it through heterosexual relations meant that the press coverage constructed him 'as the victim of ungovernable female sexuality'. Rowe discusses how Johnson was cheered on chat shows for asserting his heterosexuality. However, Connell (1990) in his work discusses 'Steve' whose identity as a strong man champion required that he was a winner but whose personal drive was not the winning but the identity that was constructed around his champion's status.

Government interest in the success of national teams has been there since the beginning of the twentieth century (Birley 1995). Most recently the Conservative Government, under John Major, very clearly aligned itself with the sport as a political and economic tool with the paper 'Sport: Raising The Game' (HMSO 1995). This focussed on sports that John Major considered 'national' games, advocating the promotion of competitive games as the foundation stone of physical education in an attempt to teach teamwork, and the ethic of competition, which was defined by John Major as learning to win and to lose. It has been argued that prior to the Education Reform Act (1988), sport was symbolically linked to the issue of economic competitiveness. Certainly the continuing emphasis of the advice to teachers associated with Physical Education in the National Curriculum has been on competitive games (Evans and Davies 1988).

With social pressures still tending to regard women as 'naturally' subservient and men as dominant, males react in sport as they do outside (Yorganci 1994). However, the discourses cited above are integral to sport, and it is argued here that their residual Christian element has left sport with an appearance of morality which camouflages abuses. Although, Rowe (1994) believes that the fragmentation of identities and the pressure for new markets may mean that sport may not remain a largely male preserve for long, at present its dominant values are still heterosexual masculine ones. Thus women and subordinate men either have to deny their identity or construct an identity that does not challenge accepted views of heterosexual masculinity and femininity. Sport also retains a high profile in the wider society and young adults and children involved in the institution

of sport, even as spectators, are at an age when their understanding of themselves is still malleable, since they also form their identities in relation to the dominant images that they receive, the nature of these images within sport represents a potent force.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has suggested that the discursive contexts of voluntary sector sport and the Church of England have thematic similarities around issues of sexual morality; and that these themes provide hierarchies of identities around gender and sexuality in which heterosexual masculinity is preferenced. It is, however, suggested that these discursive themes have a more aggressive and embodied nature in sport because of the use of bodies as essential dispositions in circuits of power, giving physical expressions of identities greater significance in sporting contexts than in Christian ones. This concern with embodiment makes legitimate intimate knowledge of the bodies of those who are the focus of the organisational body project, creating through the intense personal relationships which sports training can produce, enhanced opportunities for those wishing to abuse to do so with relative impunity. It is also suggested that despite similar moral imperatives toward conforming to gender and sexual stereotypes in both contexts, sport creates both increased opportunities for intimate relations and powerful legitimate identities for those who wish to abuse, through the legitimising, preferencing and sculpting of aggressive, male heterosexual bodies and behaviours.

It was argued in Section 2.4, *Organisation and Corporeality*, that individual's construct identity with reference to the contextually specific mediations of meaning which form the 'frame' of an organisation. This chapter has argued that Christianity and sport as symbolic systems have a common discursive element. By tracking the discourses identified within contemporary Christian contexts by feminist Christians working with survivors of abuse this chapter has suggested the means by which such Christian discourses came to form part of the frame of contemporary sport.

Feminist Christian writers working with victims of abuse in contemporary Christian contexts identified certain discourses as providing frames within and through which gendered identities were created and passed on to children exemplifying Christian virtues.

These writers argue that the identities such frames provide for women and children render them essentially powerless. These discourses therefore have provided abusers with the means by which to justify their own behaviour, as well as creating a veil that obscures over the true extent of the problem within Christian contexts, and has brought about the silencing of those who have been abused. Theological arguments about the nature of sin and its ultimate conflation with sex have meant that women, through Eve, have come to be identified as weak and more prone to sin. Biblical passages which identify women as the more susceptible to sin provided the basis of what have come to be perceived as natural assumptions about women and their sexuality. Children too, have been perceived as the fruit of sin, and thus tainted from birth until cleansed through baptism. Flogging and bodily discipline were seen as the ways of ensuring that the disordered bodies of children did not lead them into the ways of evil. On the basis of these doctrinal beliefs the laws of churches have legitimised violence against women and children because of this supposedly essentially sinful nature and made the rights of man, more particularly heterosexual men, unassailable as expressions of divine will. Imagery and theology have been crucial ingredients that have functioned to legitimise existing structures and to idealise relationships. Symbolic underpinnings that, according to Christian feminist writers, have been ideal environmental conditions to support and sanction child abuse.

The 19th Century in the Public Schools saw sport and religion become combined in a new symbiotic relationship. The discourses became part of the discursive foundations of modern sport through their use to justify sport in the Public Schools. Whilst little Biblical support existed for engagement in sport, the focus on its use as a form of control of the bodies of school boys was entirely consistent with existent Protestant theories of education. The relationship between sport and Christianity was one in which sport produced bodies that provided physical expressions of religious ideals; visual referents for morality. This physical expression produced a new vision of masculinity at a time when rapid social change challenged cultural formations that had gone before. The discursive combining of sport and religion was, however, a post hoc rationalisation for the use of sport within the Public Schools, as sport was being used for social control within the schools before a coherent pedagogy sanctioned it. The visual ideal of Victorian manliness was created as a by-product. The attribution of the introduction of sport into the Public Schools to Matthew Arnold is a simplification of a much broader cultural phenomenon. Those using sport within the Public Schools utilised the discourses of Christianity as their justification while

they used sport as a method of creating physical and social conformity. This conformity was focussed on the body. It was the body that was the tool of the new industrialisation, the sexuality expounded by the new society and the body which was to fulfil the harsh demands of winning and running a new Empire. Although women too won some advances in this century, some of them through sport, these were contained and controlled by the patriarchal discourse in Christianity, sport and later through the new 'scientific' discourses, all of which combined to define women's physicality as essentially weak. Sport, although it offered a form of subversion of some beliefs concerning women's frailty, because of its strong male imagery, in other ways served to compound and contain images of women and women's sport.

Whilst Christian discourse was only part of the discursive project built around sport in the 19th Century, it can be seen that the discourses identified by the writers on sexual abuse in the church have survived in sport in remarkably robust forms. Those theological discourses help to create, together with the growing commercial and economic pressures in sport, a culture that not only tolerates but sanctions abusive behaviours. The situation in which many athletes find themselves is that they are 'expendable'; if they do not conform to the pressures in their sports then there are many who will. The discourses provide the means with which individual's identities are drawn within religious contexts. The secularisation of these discourses within sport now provides the symbolic means by which to impose identities not only athlete's minds but also upon their bodies. However, whilst in Christianity these discourses provided negative identities for women, with the implication of positive identities for men, in sport this equation is reversed. The discourses have come to provide a positive and physical affirmation of aggressive, heterosexual masculinity and provide an implied negative identity for women, other masculinities and other sexualities in sport.

The sport and the Church of England as institutions, therefore, have similarities within their symbolic systems. Moreover the discourses in sport have become increasingly secularised, with the body becoming self-referencing and replacing Muscular Christianity's referencing the of the body to God. Furthermore, the discourses have retained an element of morality which has provided sport with an image of ethical purity which has only recently begun to be questioned. The discourses in both areas continue to provide symbolic disempowerment for some of those who participate in organisations within the institutions

of sport and the Church of England. These discourses are important to issues of sexual abuse because they also provide evidence of a priori meaning systems that may be resistant to policies which imply change.

The next chapter, Chapter Four, *Methodology*, explores the theoretical underpinnings in relation to the specific methodology used to gather the empirical work was gathered. Chapter Five, *Data Presentation and Discussion*, then presents the empirical work. This examines the actions surrounding child protection and child protection policies within a Church of England diocese and seven voluntary sport organisations. These case studies are examined primarily in relation to the work in Sections 2.2 and 2.3, *Theory* and *Organisation*, exploring the interactions between organisational actors and policy as part of the means which actors negotiate meanings.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Three, *Christianity, Sport and Sexual Abuse*, examined the wider discursive context of sport and its relationship to Christianity. This chapter describes and justifies the methodology that informed this research. As expressed in Chapter One, *Introduction*, the aim of this research was to examine how, if at all, organisations within voluntary sector sport were engaging with the issue of protecting children from sexual abuse, in comparison with the Church of England. This project was intended to complement the research work of Professor Celia Brackenridge on survivors of abuse in voluntary sector sport. This chapter explores the means by which the process of research took place, how data were collected and analysed for the case studies presented and discussed in Chapter Five.

It has been proposed that the use of a methodology chapter in the presentation of social science research represents an attempt to provide 'scientific' legitimation for the process of social research by reference to textual conventions within natural sciences (Usher 1997). However, such textual conventions may not be suited to or relevant for the presentation of interpretive forms of social science (Burrell 19993). As Demaine (1981) points out, all theory presupposes theory. May (1993: 23), too, states that 'whether research is 'pure' or 'applied' ... interests have guided our decisions before the research itself is conducted'. The philosophy that underpins research, therefore, explains the relationship of the researcher to the phenomena they research which has a fundamental impact on the ways in which data are identified and studied. Despite the post-structural theory that underpins this research, which it could be argued, renders it inappropriate and irrelevant it was decided to present a methodology chapter as part of the reflexive presentation of qualitative data but also, particularly, to make explicit the means by which this very sensitive subject was theorised and studied. This chapter, therefore, together with Chapter Seven, *Reflections on the Research Process*, examines the discrete stages of the research process and articulates how the theorisation of this work influenced the research process.

Section 4.2, *The Social Research Process*, explores the implications of conceptual underpinnings for research in general, and specifically in relation to the choices about the use of quantitative and qualitative research techniques. Since this research used qualitative technique, the section examines the issues of 'validity' and 'reliability' with regard to their use.

Section 4.3, *Research Design and Philosophy in Present Work*, explains how the realist/idealist philosophical underpinnings of poststructural Actor Network Theory, with its interpretive focus on language as opaque and value-laden, underpin the research strategy, and informed the qualitative techniques used in the three stages of data collection. The data collection is then outlined in relation to the research aim as a set of objectives, indicating how language impacts on knowledge and ways of knowing. Finally, the research network is presented showing the interwoven nature of the material and the symbolic and the implications of my own presence, as researcher, in the life world of the networks under scrutiny. The actual methods of data collection are reviewed, as are the ethical issues concerning research into a sensitive topic, including securing access to informants. The process and methods are discussed by which the information gained was analysed, outlining the interpretive nature of qualitative analysis. This describes the use of a template method of coding which utilises *a priori* coding structures, generated from the theoretical literature, to facilitate data management and analysis within the research. Section 4.4, *Critical Reflections on the Research Methodology*, then reflects upon the limitations of the methodological techniques used during the process of the research. A summary of the chapter in Section 4.5.

4.2 The Social Research Process

Dixon *et al.* 1(1987) describe research as a triphasic process, comprising a conceptual phase, a data collection phase and an analysis phase. Although according to May (1993), social research is rarely so clear-cut, this provides a useful model for understanding the process of research. This section adopts the use of these three phases, a framework that is then echoed in Section 4.3, *Research Design and Philosophy in Present Work*, where the specific process of research for this study is examined.

4.2.1 Conceptual Phase: Implications of Research Philosophy for Research Strategy

Social research is an act of reflection upon social reality, seeking to experience and understand it. Different research philosophies imply different beliefs about the relationship between the subject and the object, that is the researcher and the researched, and offer different perspectives on the way that reality can be known. The basis of each research

philosophy is a difference in the way the world is perceived; its ontological basis. The knowledges, or epistemologies, that are conceived around this ontology imply the ways in which it is possible to know reality. Those epistemologies are constructed around the central question of the definition of the subject and the object; the relationship between the knower and that which is known. The defining of that relationship identifies how that reality can be understood and implies ways of categorising which enable explication. Sayer (1992) maintains that, at this crucial conceptual phase of research, epistemological decisions dictate how research can be conducted by defining what constitutes data.

Bryman (1989) classifies the methodologies of social science into two schools of research: *positivist*, which treats the natural and the social world as the same; and *interpretive*, which is concerned with meaning construction in and through the social. May (1993), however, outlines a number of discrete research philosophies that further explore the relationship of subject and object within social science research. The various ontologies that underpin these philosophies are premised on the relationship of the knower to that which is known. How this relationship is understood, May argues, fundamentally affects what is considered to be data, which in turn has implications for how research is carried out.

In *positivism* the subject and object are seen as separate, so phenomena can be observed from an objective, Archimedean Point. Data are observable phenomena and the methods of collection are those used in natural science. The research is used to define 'laws' and 'generalisations'.

In *empiricism* there is a belief that there is an objective reality to be known. Facts are available that can be gathered independently of the ways in which people know them. It resembles positivism except that positivism is theory driven and empiricism is concerned only with observable 'fact'.

Realism is concerned with structures. Its adherents believe that to focus on the micro-cosmic investigations of conversation and interaction detracts from the structures implied by those interactions. Realism is concerned with the wider mechanisms of the social world. How the researcher conceptualises the social world is understood to affect their relationship to it but their view of it is necessarily partial and incomplete.

Subjectivity is concerned with people's understandings and interpretations of the world, which are believed to be the only available ways in which reality can be understood. Any objective reality is unknowable except through the subjective understandings of participants.

In *idealism* reality is created through conceptualisation; so how people conceive reality structures it. To explore this reality social action is perceived as 'text', the creation of which produces meanings which, in turn, structures reality. Therefore, it is through inter-subjectivity, that is how people interpret and interact with the world and each other, that the world is conceived. Such a view relies on hermeneutic principles of knowledge, which interpret social actions as texts through which the social world is constructed.

May discusses '*feminisms*', seeing them as part of the critique of idealism in that language is opaque and part of the processes of constructing social reality. May identifies at the heart of the feminist critique the acceptance of the indissoluble relationship between subject and object.

Whilst May's (1993) categories of research philosophies are not definitive, they highlight the question of the subject/object relationship in social research. This relationship, according to Sarantakos (1993) not only defines what counts as knowledge but also implies the different methods for collecting information. For example, using Bryman's broad categories of positivist and interpretive schools of social science, more positivist social research is usually associated with quantitative methods of data collection, which attempt to measure an objective reality. More interpretive social research tends to use qualitative methods, which are concerned with generating and interpreting the complex 'texts' of the social world. Research, however, rarely employs a 'pure' methodology or philosophy; there is no one 'cookbook' (Silverman 1993). Indeed, social scientists often use combinations of theories and employ both qualitative and quantitative methods in complementary ways (Sarantakos 1993). May (1993) gives the example of qualitative researcher's using quantitative methods, like surveys, to gain broad contextual data to help generate broad patterns, which may subsequently be explored using qualitative techniques. Conversely, quantitative researchers may use qualitative means to generate hypotheses. The table below (adapted from May 1993, Sarantakos 1993 and Silverman 1993), in a

simplification of complex research reality, provides some basic comparisons of the two principal approaches in the social sciences.

Characteristics of Positivist Research	Characteristics of Interpretive Research
A belief in an objective reality that can be known	Reality is only accessible through socially constructed meanings
No distinction is made between the natural and social world	Believes that meaning in the social world is constructed through social texts that are not reducible to quantities.
Talks about the <i>subjects</i>	Engages with <i>participants</i>
Uses quantitative methods to provide reliable and valid measures of social life.	Uses qualitative methods and questions the possibility of reliable and valid data but seeks 'trustworthy' and 'rigorous' research
Uses experimental methods like those of the natural sciences	Seeks to be 'naturalistic' and collects data in situ in the social world
Seeks to make generalisations and predict	Seeks to interpret and understand

Adapted from May (1993), Sarantakos (1993), Silverman (1993) and Hammersley (1992).

4.2.2 Collection and Analysis Phases: Selection of Methods

Once the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of research are identified, the selection of appropriate data collection methods becomes easier because the way in which data are conceptualised suggests appropriate ways of accessing them (Sarantakos 1993).

Methods are the means by which information is gathered and are intimately related to the philosophical position taken at the beginning of the research. Like theory, they are not right or wrong, but simply more or less useful in particular circumstances (Silverman 1993).

As was shown in the table on the previous page, quantitative methods are experimental methods that provide measurements, for example, survey data and statistical analysis of such data. These are used to attempt to generalise and to predict and are predicated upon an objective reality produced by 'reliable' techniques that generate 'valid' data (May 1993). In contrast, qualitative methods are concerned with generating information beyond that which can be measured. Here the social world is represented as texts which are interpreted through the individual 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1991) of the researcher (Usher 1997). Qualitative methods have been described as 'a particular tradition in the social sciences that fundamentally depends on watching people in their own territory' (Kirk and Miller 1986:9).

Silverman (1993) outlines the following four as specific methods of gathering qualitative data:

- Observation
- Analysing texts and documents
- Interviews
- Recording and Transcribing.

Although the latter may be used to generate quantitative data, they are an essential means of generating texts in qualitative data. Each of these methods imply specific associated techniques, for example field notes representing observations, which generate texts, in the broadest sense of that which constructs the social (Laclau 1980). Qualitative researchers hope to interpret these texts and, through the construction of their own texts, to re-present new understandings of the social world (Hammersley 1992).

In quantitative methods *reliability* refers to the consistency of a test to provide the same results, whilst *validity* is related to the accuracy of what is recorded to illuminate objective reality (May 1993). Since qualitative research seeks to understanding how meanings about reality are constructed, concepts of reliability and validity have different meanings

from their use in experimental research (Silverman 1993). Hammersley suggests these definitions:

[Reliable] refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer at different times (Hammersley 1992: 67)

By validity, I mean truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers (Hammersley 1990: 57)

However, Marshall and Rossman (1989: 147) suggest that '[p]ositivist notions of reliability assume an underlying universe where inquiry could, quite logically, be replicated. This assumption of an unchanging social world is in direct contrast to the qualitative/interpretive assumption that the social world is always changing and the concept of replication is itself problematic'.

In interpretive forms of social science texts are not expected to provide access to an essential reality (Sarantakos 1993). Silverman (1993), however, suggests that to accept the world in the way that Marshall and Rossman suggest is to accept a social world as dynamic and nebulous, undermining the possibility of systematic inquiry. Van Maanen (1983) argues that qualitative research *is* more particular and ambiguous than replicable and clearly defined, because it trades in linguistic symbols and, consequently, it *is* difficult to assess the soundness of qualitative work. Usher (1997) suggests that there are no research recipes, only research stories, and it is through 'intertextuality' (the reference to other texts) that we construct validity and reliability. Research, therefore, has to be understood as an act of textual production that seeks its own legitimacy and dominance, within the social world. This is what Eco (1984) and Sparkes (1992) refer to as constructed 'narratives of persuasion'.

One of the ways of understanding reliability within social science has been the concept of triangulation through which the qualitative researcher attempts to provide checks and balances in relation to data collection (Kirk and Miller 1986). Denzin (1970) has suggested that triangulation using methods of data collection provides a more complete picture of social reality; in the same way as geographical triangulation locates us in spatial terms, so the positioning through methods provides multiple perspectives that provide a deeper understanding of social reality. Silverman (1993) argues, however, that using methods in this way does not necessarily compensate for the drawbacks of any given technique to

provide a more complete picture. Lol (1999) goes so far as to suggest that even the most atomised perspectivist concepts in social science imply some aggregated knowledge that, in turn, implies access to an essential social reality. She argues that the multiplicity of empirical phenomena does not aggregate to an essential underlying reality, nor can phenomena be compared, except through the properties they display. Creating categories and assigning data to those categories does not provide access to objective reality but enables the construction of *representations* of reality, metaphors that facilitate understanding but which should not be mistaken for the reality they represent (Hammersley 1992).

Despite these debates about the possibility of generating reliable and valid texts and what that means, if social science is to perceive itself as scientific, Silverman (1993) argues that it is the internal rigour of the research process that requires attention. After Popper (1959), he defines rigour as the principle of refutation: trying to disprove correlations rather than confirm them in order to avoid confirming pre-existent hypotheses. Hammersley (1992) defines this as simply reflexivity, both of theory and method. Czarniawska-Joerges (1995) also suggests rigour through reflexivity, not just of method but of the whole act of textual production. She maintains the power inherent in the act of research places two obligations upon the researcher. The first is to acknowledge the impact of the researcher's theoretical stance on the identification and collection of data. The second is a moral responsibility to those whose polyphony is subsumed within the finished text. Accordingly, reflexive research, Gilchrist (1992) suggests, rather than being 'valid' or 'reliable', is 'trustworthy' research. Trustworthy research is achieved through:

- member checks – using respondents to check information
- searching for disconfirming evidence
- triangulation – multiple data sources
 - multiple methods of collection
 - theoretical triangulation
- 'thick' description – describing all processes in detail

Silverman (1993) maintains that triangulation can assist reflexivity and thus rigour in the process of creating and analysing texts. Accordingly, he argues for the use of multiple methods and a number of respondents to generate texts at the collection phase. In the

analysis stage he argues for re-visiting texts in the process of editing and using other researchers, through literature review, and through personal feedback, to assist with the process of textual creation.

4.3 Research Design and Philosophy in Present Work

This research was theorised around the literature explored in Chapter Two, *Theory, Organisation and Corporeality*, specifically Actor Network Theory. Like all theories, this provides a vocabulary and way of seeing and understanding the world. Thus, language is not transparent but opaque and affects the social and material world through the struggles of actors to define their life world (Clegg 1989). Actor Network Theory is, therefore, interpretive because it is concerned with the politics of actors as struggles over the creation of 'texts' that themselves are believed to help in defining social structures that are more or less durable. The research process, therefore, drew on qualitative methods as the most appropriate way of generating access to those texts, for case studies explored in Chapter Five, *Data Presentation and Discussion*.

4.3.1 Phase 1: Conceptual Phase

Work from Brackenridge (1997, 1996, 1994) and Yorganci (1994) suggested that sexual abuse and harassment were taking place within voluntary sector sport in Britain, with some victims being under the legal age of sexual consent. Part of the problem of conducting such research, as was discussed in Chapter One, *Introduction*, is in the culturally constructed nature of definitions of abuse (Parton 1985) and, therefore, the choice of definitions for such research. These definitions can be understood as points on a continuum from objective measures of abuse to subjective perceptions of abuse in the behaviours of others (Driver 1989). In addition (as will be discussed more fully later in this section, in relation to sensitivity, research and method), difficulties in the systematic collection of such sensitive data makes predictions about the extent of sexual abuse problematic. Subsequent research in North America (see, for example, Volkwein *et al.* 1997, Kirby and Greaves 1996, Crosset *et al.* 1995, Lockey 1990) suggests that sexual abuse and harassment in sport is not confined to the British context. This project seeks to complement the research work of Professor Brackenridge on abuse survivors by exploring the issue of child sexual abuse

in voluntary sector sport in Britain. The research aim, therefore, was to generate broad contextual information about voluntary sector sport as a 'frame' for child sexual abuse and, indirectly, to provide reference points by which the survivor accounts in Brackenridge's work could be understood. The question was then how to discuss a sensitive subject like child sexual abuse? And where to collect the 'texts' that would provide the information on the standing conditions of voluntary sector sport?

Eight initial exploratory interviews with key respondents early in the research process (see later Section 4.3.2.2 *Stage Two*, for a more detailed discussion of key respondents) in voluntary sector sport organisations indicated that no child protection policies existed within sport at that time. During the course of this research, however, the political sensitivity of child sexual abuse as an issue in voluntary sector sport increased with the media coverage of the trial and conviction of an Olympic swimming coach, Paul Hickson, for raping several young athletes whom he was coaching. This made topical the issue of child sexual abuse and provided the means to discuss it through talking about child protection. The sensitive nature of the subject had always raised questions not only about how to talk about the subject but also of access. During the final processes of Paul Hickson's trial, however, seven organisations agreed to participate in the research, using contacts set up by one of the initial informants. In order to establish any particularities of sport, it was decided to accept an opportunity to study a Church of England diocese, which was then in the process of producing its own child protection procedures, to provide a means of comparison.

Having identified the broad research questions and their underpinning theory, specific research objectives were formulated to achieve the aim of understanding voluntary sector sport as a context for child sexual abuse. Using the language provided by Actor Network Theory (ANT) (discussed in detail in Chapter Two), four objectives were formed to examine the case studies.

1. to identify the organisational 'networks' in the organisations studied
2. to determine what 'networks', if any, were formed around the discussions of child protection, both within and between organisational networks.

3. to identify the 'standing conditions' of those networks
4. to identify any overlaps or drift between policy networks and the normative organisational networks

The concept of networks provided a theoretical basis for comparing various organisations through case studies. The theoretical framework and the sensitivity of the subject matter both implied the use of qualitative methods of data collection. The dynamic and interactive nature of politics within ANT implicates the researcher in the webs of meaning surrounding the issues they investigate. The figure below illustrates the research network and shows the inter-relationship of myself to the political field of voluntary sector sport in which the participants in the research functioned:

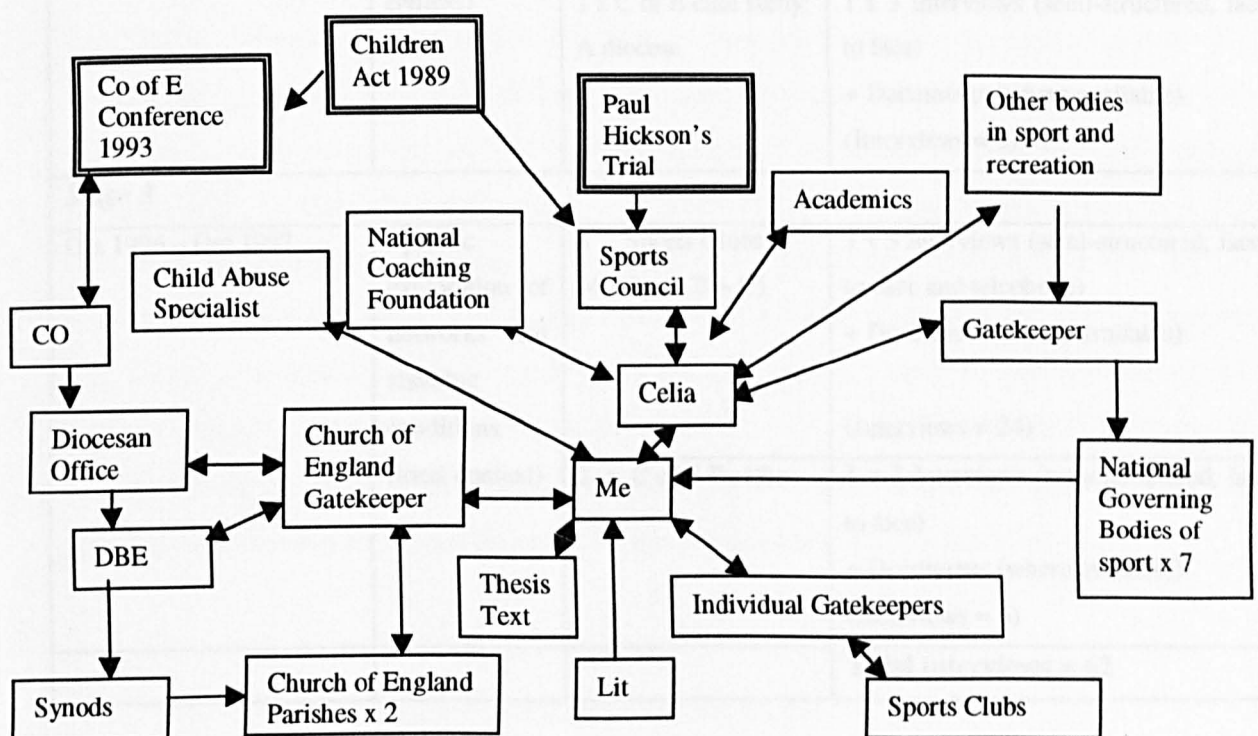


Figure 4.1 The Research Network

The data collection took place in the three stages outlined in the table below:-

Timescale	Objective	No.of Case Studies	Methods of Data collection
<i>Stage 1</i>			
Sept 1994 – Oct 1995	Exploratory	n/a	1 x 8 Interviews (Unstructured, face-to-face) Literature (Interviews = 8)
<i>Stage 2</i>			
Oct 1995 – Oct 1996	Specific exploration of networks and standing conditions (broad context)	7 x National Governing Bodies of Sport	1 x 3 Interviews (Semi-structured, face to face) + Documents (where available) (Interviews = 21)
		1 x C of E case study: A diocese	1 x 3 Interviews (semi-structured, face to face) + Documents (where available) (Interviews = 3)
<i>Stage 3</i>			
Oct 1996 – Oct 1997	Specific exploration of networks and standing conditions (local context)	8 Sports Clubs (4 x Sport B + C)	1 x 3 Interviews (semi-structured, face-to-face and telephone) + Documents (where available) (Interviews = 24)
		2 x C of E Parishes	1 x 3 Interviews (semi-structured, face to face) + Documents (where available) (Interviews = 6)
			Total interviews = 62

4.3.1.1 Researching Sensitive Topics

Researching a subject as sensitive as sexual abuse has inherent difficulties. There is no way to ensure that the participants tell the 'truth' in any situation. Indeed, McNeill (1985) argues that in talking about difficult subjects that may embarrass or incriminate them it is unlikely that informants will be entirely truthful. Lee (1993) concurs that interviewing on

such sensitive subjects creates problems for collecting data. However, Clegg (1989) argues that, as it is impossible to discern the intentions of actors under any circumstances, even if they maintain they are expressing the truth, there is no means by which such 'truth' can be verified beyond doubt. Therefore, he argues that what is presented as 'truth' should be accepted but interpreted in the wider context in which it is collected or exists. This relates to the concept of 'agnosticism' outlined by Callon and Latour (1981) which privileges no piece of information as more relevant or more true than any other. They maintain that it is only through the relationships within the data that information can be interpreted, rather than 'truth' be ascertained. Alasuutari (1993) agrees that there is no 'truth' to which the facts give access. Instead he argues that what is important are the meanings and understandings that the participants give to their social reality. McNeill (1985) suggests that the promise of confidentiality may increase the likelihood of more honest answers.

Lee (1993) defines a subject that is sensitive as that which deals with a subject normally considered 'taboo'. Sieber and Stanley (1988) describe sensitive research as that where the participants have something to lose – either through fear of bad presentation, or through the disclosure of damaging information. Alasuutari (1993) suggests that issues that are perceived to have moral dimensions can often make participants reluctant to take part in research because of their fear of transgressing moral boundaries. He goes on to suggest that those participants who do speak to researchers usually wish to present themselves within boundaries that they perceive as 'acceptable'. This raises doubts about the veracity of actor's reports about their social world (Dingwall 1980). Silverman (1993) identifies four kinds of sensitivity *within* research which complement subject sensitivity:

- Historical – the situational nature of knowledge and of events
- Cultural – the reference even local knowledge makes to wider social meanings
- Contextual – the locally specific meanings
- Political – the impact of wider political trends

Researching a sensitive topic therefore implies the reflexive use of methods (Lee 1993). It raises questions about: the kinds of data available; how to negotiate access to, and secure the co-operation of, research participants; and the ethical responsibilities and duties of the

researcher. Lee (1993) suggests reflexive qualitative techniques are most appropriate because of the concern with the generation and interpretation of texts; *what* is said is less important in these circumstances than *why* or *how* it is said.

As sporting organisations tend to deal reactively with problems (Hedley 1995), it was not immediately apparent how their involvement in this project could be secured, in Actor Network terminology, how to 'interest' these organisations. Accordingly, the process of 'translation' of actors into the research network was what May (1993) calls 'opportunistic', based on the organisations to which individuals already translated as allies into the research network could provide access. As May (1993: 48) argues:

As feminists and radical critics have pointed out, simply 'knowing about' the issues of values and ethics is not a sufficient basis upon which to conduct research; they also need to form part of research practice. Values and the researcher's experiences are not then something to be bracketed away as if ashamed by their entry into the process. On the contrary, many now argue that an examination of the basis of these values and their relationship to decisions and stages of the research is required for the foundations of good social research.

As was suggested in Chapter Two, *Theory, Organisation and Coporeality*, this research drew on feminist principles for its ethical and moral base, particularly in the concept of the personal as political, both in regard to the judgement of child sexual abuse as an important problem but also for my conduct of the research itself. My concern with my own attitudes and behaviour led me to a stance which saw the participants of the research as human subjects first and as representatives of their organisations second. Rather than regarding them simply as organisational actors, and consequently as well able to protect themselves (Scraton and Flintoff 1992), I chose to see them as individuals with an unknown history, engaged in the process of dealing with a difficult subject, in which they might have more than a disinterested, representative stake. For example, MORI (1984) estimates one in twelve boys and one in six girls will have been sexually abused in some way by the age of sixteen. If these estimates are accepted, and evidence suggests that they are probably under-estimates (Driver 1989), then a significant proportion of the interviewees could be, or could have friends who were, survivors of abuse. In fact, two participants did disclose their own sexual abuse from their childhood and another discussed the sexual abuse his wife had suffered in sport. Accordingly, the methods of contact, the confidentiality of the

information secured and the protection of the participant themselves, in so far as I was enabled to control this, were primary concerns.

All the contacts I made with the assumption that the subjects had the right to refuse to participate in the research. Therefore, the contact was made and often my name and number were left with the organisation in the hope that the specific individual sought would return my call. This provided problems for access at the Stage Three case studies, because several individual contacts for clubs were contacted over a period of time, and many did not return my calls, raising questions about sufficient clubs. Having gained entry into the organisations, only two participants out of all those approached refused to be interviewed and did not return the several calls made. No attempt was made to force these individuals to participate.

At the outset the possibility was considered of potential ethical dilemmas in relation to both the types of information that people might provide, with respect to naming individuals as abusers and, should that be so, what my response to this information should be. Prior to any interviews I sought advice about these issues from a number of sources, including a Police Child Protection Unit and was told that whilst hearsay evidence was not admissible, a statutory obligation existed on all citizens, under the Children Act (1989), to disclose any information about possible harm being perpetrated to children. Since confidentiality for participants is key to the successful use of qualitative techniques in social research (Sarantakos 1993) any breach of that could have raised questions about my credibility as a researcher and, ultimately, jeopardised future access to participants, both for myself and others. However, the conflicts between my statutory obligations and the obligations of confidentiality in social research suggested that sometimes there are equally legitimate, but conflicting, ethical principles relevant to the subjects and processes of research. Therefore, to minimise the potential for such ethical dilemmas, at my request names were never used during discussions about specific allegations of abuse cases with organisational representatives (some of whom were collating information about allegations within their sport, in order to pass such information to the social services). The issue of *whose* ethics should predominate became pressing when one of informants from the stage two case

studies was arrested, but subsequently released due to lack of evidence, on charges that included having sex with an athlete below the age of consent. I had to address whether the transcript of the interview constituted evidence and, if it was, whether I should surrender it. In fact the transcript provided only hearsay evidence not relevant to any particular case, and therefore it was neither admissible in legal action nor relevant. What this did do for the research, however, was create another interpretive dimension to the interview text itself. But the dilemma itself provided an example of the possibility that during sensitive research, as Alasuutari (1993) suggests, people may well present themselves as morally acceptable when their actions outside the interview situation may belie that.

4.3.2 Phase 2: Data Collection

Three stages of data collection took place. Stage One related to the conceptual phase of the process and consisted of eight fact-finding, unstructured interviews with key respondents as well as a study of various areas of literature. Stage Two explored specific case studies of seven voluntary sector sport organisations and one Church of England diocese. These were examined through semi-structured, face-to face interviews with three key respondents in each organisational structure and the analysis of documents on organisational structure and their child protection policies (if any). Stage Three replicated the collection methods of stage two but in eight sports club organisations in two separate sports and two Church of England parishes.

4.3.2.1 Stage One

Stage One consisted of eight unstructured interviews with key respondents. These individuals were drawn from the national networks of voluntary sector sport and, with one exception, academics known for their research in this sector. The 'exception' specialised in issues around child abuse. Of these key respondents all but two were known personally to Professor Brackenridge and were primed to my contact. Those who were not known personally to Professor Brackenridge I made an approach to by letter, written on college headed paper, explaining my work in relation to that of Professor Brackenridge. The hope was that the organisational backing plus Professor Brackenridge's academic credentials

would increase the legitimacy of my request, which seemed born out by these informants agreeing to take part in the research. All the interviews took place during the period between September 1994 and October 1995 and each lasted between 1 and 3 hours. All but one (due to machine operation failure) were recorded.

Gilchrist (1992) likens the use of key respondents to the use of interpreters, who translate culture for the researcher. Unstructured interviews allow participants to provide their own unique perspective on a research subject (Hutchinson and Wilson 1994). The interviews were intended to provide insights into the inter-relationships of actors in the network of voluntary sector sport and their attempts, both formal and informal, to generate debate about child protection issues. This was explored through the 'stories' about the network that the key respondents narrated. Crabtree and Miller (1992) refer to such unstructured interviews as guided conversations. The difficulty of such unstructured dialogues is the breadth of information that they provided (May 1993) and the sheer volume of data can be difficult to manage and analyse (Hammersley 1992). However, these interviews were intended to provide a complementary method to the literature study of generating broad information, in order to help formulate both the focus and the process of the research. Specific case study research on organisations was considered the most appropriate next stage to elicit further information.

4.3.2.2 Stage Two

Stage Two consisted of organisational case studies in seven voluntary sector sport National Governing Bodies and one Church of England diocese. Each case study comprised three interviews with key respondents, which were semi-structured, face-to-face and one-off. These interviews were conducted between September 1995 and December 1996. In addition, documents were used to elicit information on organisational structures and politics, with specific reference to child protection issues. A research diary was also used to assist the reflexive nature of the process. This was used to provide observational information and keep the time line information and supplemented the empirical data with information not available on audio recordings.

One participant from Stage One agreed to commend me to individuals in seven National Governing Bodies in sport. Brackenridge (1994) identified various risk factors that grew

out of the information that she had gathered through the stories of survivors. These risk factors, such as for example greater degrees of undress necessary to conduct the sport, individual coaching methods and the degree of touch necessary to train athletes were, she felt, factors that may well make some sports more likely contexts for abuse than others. Accordingly, in so far as was possible the request was made to the gatekeeper to try to secure access to a range of individuals representing sports organisations; individual and team, mixed and single gendered.

The conviction of Olympic swimming coach, Paul Hickson, in October 1995, heightened the political sensitivity of the issue within voluntary sport organisations which certainly had some effect on the decisions of both the gatekeeper and the actors within the sport organisations to negotiate access. Access was negotiated with senior members of the diocese through a contact from my own personal social network. I was provided with what McNeill (1988) describes as ‘an insider identity’ through my strongly Christian familial background, known to all these Church respondents. These case studies were intended as the means of fulfilling the research objectives:

1. to identify the organisational ‘networks’ in the organisations studied
2. to determine what networks, if any, were formed to deal with the issue of child protection in relation to the organisation
3. to identify the ‘standing conditions’ of those networks
4. to identify any overlaps or drift between policy networks and the normative organisational networks

These objectives were pursued through *Case Studies*.

Case studies (Merriam 1988; Yin 1984) examine most or all of the potential aspects of a particular distinctly bounded unit or case (or series of cases). A case may be an individual, a family, a community health centre, a nursing home, or an organisation (Crabtree and Miller 1992: 5)

Arguments against case study work centre on the issue of representativeness, on the premise that work collected this way cannot be applied to wider populations (Sarantakos 1993). However, it is the particularist nature of the case study that is of most interest in the

interpretive theory used in this research. Yin (1984) argues that case studies, and indeed qualitative work in general, are not concerned with wider representations but with engendering patterns and establishing linkages of theoretical importance. The urge to find broader inferences has often generated research covering large numbers of case studies, but Bryman (1989) suggests that research with more than ten case studies may lose the contextual quality which is the benefit of this kind of qualitative work. Sarantakos (1993: 261 after Lamneck 1988) suggests four characteristics of qualitative case study research:

1. openness with no pre-determined research goals;
2. communicativity in that reality is perceived as emerging in interaction between actors where 'action and communication constitute reality';
3. naturalism because the research takes place in the natural setting, and not in artificially created arenas;
4. interpretivity in that 'only interpreted reality becomes meaningful and significant for the research'.

As this research project was intended to be an exploratory piece of work the field case study approach was deemed appropriate. As was suggested earlier in Section 4.2, *The Social Research Process*, which assessed quantitative and qualitative research, the generation of different types of texts in qualitative work, both through a range of participant's viewpoints and the use of different techniques to generate such texts, provides richly varied understandings. The techniques of text generation used in the case studies in Stage Two and Three of the research comprised, interviews with key respondents within the case study organisations and the analysis of documents showing organisational structures and concerned with child protection. Both the interviews and the documents provide insights into places where the interviewer (metaphorically) cannot go, both temporally and situationally (May 1993; Crabtree and Miller 1992). Within both kinds of data language is not transparent but is itself part of the construction of social reality (Sarantakos 1993). With the documents, their passage and reception in the network, as intermediaries, are also matters of interest.

The aim of the research was ultimately to establish more broad contextual information about the standing conditions within voluntary sector sport and its organisations and the effects of those conditions on any child protection policy networks that formed. Three

single-occasion, semi-structured, face-to-face *interviews* were undertaken with individuals in each organisation, both at Stages Two and Three of the data collection, to provide a means to analyse the extent to which internal coherence existed within such networks. These individuals were intended to be from coaching, administration and either a participant or someone involved in participation, for example, regional development officers. This was in order to sample a number of varying actors' viewpoints about the wider field in which they all acted, rather than seeking in-depth information about particular cases. Bryman (1989:159), however, warns that 'developing common themes across a number of cases often entails a sacrificing of the contextual nuances' that other more participative forms of qualitative research provide. He suggests that this creates a greater distance from the research, so that the interviewer's perceptions and schedule structure the perception of the interview as social action and how it is subsequently analysed and understood. This is what Van Maanen (1988) calls the 'outsider's' perspective. This distanced form of analysis Schutz (1967) calls the 'second-order constructs' of the researcher's perception of situations. However, for Miles and Huberman (1984: 19) this level of construct is not devalued in any way. They argue;

[e]ven if people [in research contexts] do not themselves apprehend the same analytical constructs as those derived by the researchers, this does not make such constructs invalid or 'contrived'.

The interviews were semi-structured and were based on the interview schedule laid out in Appendix B. According to McNeill (1985) the use of a schedule enables the researcher to guide conversation to the areas in which they are interested in order to facilitate the identification of the subject under study. Bryman (1989), however, suggests that the schedule should be no more than an 'aide memoire'.

A schedule also functions as one of a number of intermediaries that create and define the relationship between interviewer and the interviewee. It is in the episodic relations in the locality of the interview that the inter-relationship of the researcher with the networks they study takes place (refer to Section 4.3.1, *Phase 1: Conceptual Phase*, above). Even macro-actors, who act as representatives for others, are interviewed in localities. Oakley (1981) refers to the 'interview effect', where the act of asking people questions may change both their perceptions of the subject and the answers that they give. McNeill (1985) too,

identifies this impact of the researcher, identifying non-verbal messages as signifiers; issues such as race, ethnicity and gender. Dress, too, helps to structure the relationship of the researcher and interviewer (Oakley 1981). These non-verbal cues, however, are only relevant if face-to-face interviews are used.

Within interviews not only the interviewer and the interviewee have agency. As was discussed in Chapter Two, *Theory, Organisation and Corporeality*, non-human actors also have an impact on social relations and situations. Within the interview situation this can be seen in what May (1993) refers to, as 'the tape recorder effect'. The use of tape recorders may inhibit individuals from talking freely (McNeill 1985), particularly when discussing sensitive topics (Lee 1993). However, mechanical devices can also fail (Silverman 1993) and the result can be the loss of direct access to an important narrative. This is where the back-up of the research diary can provide some help (Sarantakos 1993). However, these notes will be the interviewer's memory of such an event that is pre-structured by the focus of the research (Bryman 1989). Since the issue was so sensitive it was a deliberate policy not to engage in note taking activities, which can have implications for rapport, not to say accuracy and completeness.

Documents form part of the negotiations of power (Salaman 1988), that is they are themselves contested 'intermediaries'. They do, however, provide access to accounts of events and places where the interviewer may otherwise have none (Silverman 1993). The interview data complemented documentation collected in the case studies. This documentation included draft child protection policies and other materials documents that the interviewees deemed relevant, for example, handbooks that showed the structure of the sport organisation. Ericson *et al.* (1991) maintain that documents refer from themselves to other documents and/or to elements in the social order. May (1993: 138) goes further and suggests that document 'production is yet another method by which people accomplish social order', that 'they do not simply reflect, but also construct social reality'. In this way, actors seek to put forward their own vision of reality. May (1993: 138) sums up this view by suggesting that 'documents are now viewed as mediums through which social power is expressed'.

ANT is concerned with the contextual nature of meanings; that is the ways in which actors construct their reality. The combination of the documentation available and the interviews

was intended to provide a means to explore the meaning 'frame' of voluntary sector sport and the Church of England diocese through the analysis of these as actors' texts.

4.3.2.3 Stage Three

Stage Three consisted of three semi-structured, single-occasion, face-to-face or telephone interviews in eight sports clubs in two sports and in two Church of England parishes in the case study diocese. The sports were chosen from the original seven using Brackenridge's (1994) model of risk factors adapted by rating the perceived risks associated with those sports (see Appendix C). Using the method that Crabtree and Miller (1992) refer to as a 'panel of experts', in this case sports academics, a number of individuals were asked to grade the study's sports (excluding the women-only sport) using the adapted risk factors. This method was used in order to ascertain perceptions of the most at risk and least at risk sports in order to decide which sports to explore further. The interviews took place between September 1996 and September 1997. In addition, any documents relating to structure and any specific to child protection were collected. The purpose of this stage of the data collection was to achieve a detailed exploration of the organisational level of sports clubs and parishes, to provide another perspective on the institutional networks of the Church of England and voluntary sector sport. Interviews were conducted around the same schedule as was used for the Stage Two interviews. The primary differences between the case studies at Stage Two and Three were the increased difficulty in access to sports clubs and the scarcity of documents.

The same individual who provided access to the diocesan level of the Church of England was able to provide access to the parishes, but access to each individual sports club had to be negotiated through a separate gatekeeper, usually a personal friend of mine. Since the officers of several clubs in both sports either refused to take part or simply did not return my calls, the process of 'interesting' clubs into the research took a great deal of time and effort. This took place primarily during evenings and weekends due to the voluntary status of most actors within sports club networks, so that they mainly operate during other people's leisure time.

4.3.3 Data Analysis

Crabtree and Miller (1992) maintain that strategies of analysis, as was said about methodologies in general in section 4.2.1, are as many and varied as the researchers who use them. The collection and analysis phases of research are rarely distinct (Addison 1992). The various techniques of data collection generate specific types of texts for interpretation (Hammersley 1992), for example, the degree of pre-categorisation caused by use of any interview schedule (Bryman 1989).

Crabtree and Miller suggest four approaches to the analysis of qualitative data: quasi-statistical; immersion/crystallisation; editing; and template. This study used a template style, which, as the figure below shows, uses an *a priori* coding structure. The transcripts were categorised according to the modified codes that had originally informed the schedules' construction, which had arisen through the combination of the literature and the key informants interviewed during the first, conceptual phase, of the research.

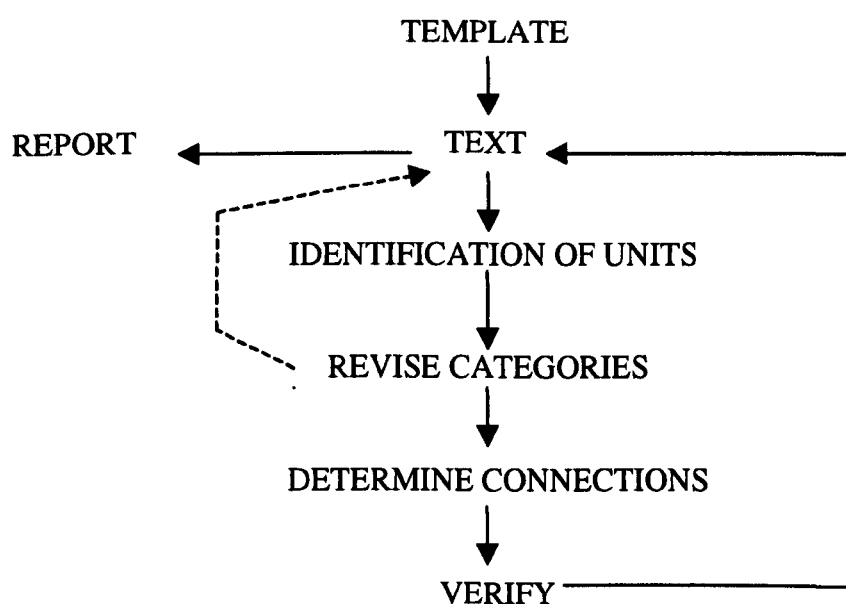


Figure 4.2 The Template Coding Process (Source: Crabtree and Miller 1992)

What Crabtree and Miller (1992: 19) say of the template style of analysis is, that whilst it is less subjective than the cut and paste editing style of textual analysis:

[t]he basic pattern of template underlying all template analytic styles is distinguished from the codebook of quasi-statistics in that the template is more open-ended and undergoes revision after encountering the text. In addition the generation of themes, patterns and interrelationships is an interpretive rather than statistical process. The template derives from theory, research tradition, pre-existing knowledge, and/or summary reading of the text.

The codes that underpinned the interview schedule had been derived from the theoretical literature presented in Chapter Two. Template analysis differs from the grounded hermeneutic analysis of the editing style, according to Addison (1992), only in the use of the *a priori* coding system. He maintains that the textual editing which typifies the editing style of analysis is an essential part of the template analysis also. However, the initial codes, he suggests, whilst providing useful data management tools may also limit more creative interpretations by pre-categorising data. In both editing and template analysis the interaction between codes and text changes the coding structure (Addison 1992, Crabtree and Miller 1992). (See Appendix A for the details of the Code Book)

Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest that the problem for the lone researcher in the process of analysis is a degree of objectivity from the data which, when put up for scrutiny by others, cannot be sustained, although, as Section 4.3, *Research Design and Philosophy in Present Work*, above suggested, issues of validity and reliability are less relevant to qualitative research than is the concept of reflexive rigour. The linearity implied by outlining methods by which texts are analysed does not reflect the circular nature of the process which is implied in the figure above. 'It should be remembered that, in qualitative research, data analysis proceeds simultaneously with data collection' (Crabtree and Miller 1992: 96). Addison (1992: 116), discussing hermeneutic analysis, maintains it is 'a necessarily circular procedure'. He goes on to say:

[e]ven now as I attempt to describe this process by writing words, sentences and paragraphs that follow one another in linear fashion, I am aware of the difficulty of communicating the circular feel of my research procedure.

Czarniawska-Joerges (1995) also maintains that what she describes as the messy nature of the process of research is often lost in the linearity with which it is presented. Crabtree and Miller (1992), however, suggest a distinct shift between analysis and the representation of the final texts as the step 'in which the units are connected into an explanatory framework

consistent with the text. It is these final connections that form the reported outcomes'. Usher (1997) refers to this constructed narrative as 'storytelling'. He argues that the construction of narratives or stories is itself an act of definition, thus representing attempt to mobilise power in the social world. The cases presented in Chapter Five are, therefore, told as 'stories' of the networks of the case study organisation and of the networks around child protection within those organisations.

4.4 Critical Reflections on the Research Methodology

As part of the self-reflective process of 'trustworthy' research, this section assesses the problems and limitations of the methods used in this research in relation to triangulation in the use of methods and examination of the texts created. Limitations, however, have to be assessed in relation to the original aim of the research. This was to explore voluntary sector sport as a 'frame' for child sexual abuse. As was suggested in Section 4.3.1.1, *Researching Sensitive Topics*, the sensitivity of a subject has important implications both for access, and for ethics in data collection which, in turn, have implications for the findings and what can be presented in the final text.

The voluntary sector of sport has been described as a 'loose and baggy monster' (Kendall and Knapp 1995). The difficulties here lay in trying to sample the 'frame' created by such a 'monster'. In addition the sensitivity of the subject suggested the use of qualitative data collection techniques and analysis, particularly the use of interviews, were more appropriate tools in order to elicit *any* information about sensitive issues (Lee 1993). The problems of using such qualitative techniques for such a wide job is, as Hammersley (1992) suggests, the generation of a great deal of complicated data, with the attendant problems for analysis, and the superficial nature of information obtained about important personal issues, such as issues of sexuality, through single interviews (Sparkes (1992).

The three stages of data collection encompassed the broadest institutional networks of sport and the Church of England to the local networks of sports clubs and parishes, and generated 62 single interviews. Information gathered through such encounters is rarely in-depth material because to dig below the 'public' face of an individual requires the creation of a relationship with the participant (Sparkes 1992). Therefore, the use of such unique

interviews, combined with the difficulties which Lee (1993) associates with sensitive research, suggests that the information given by the organisational representatives was unlikely to be anything beyond the 'official' organisational versions of events and issues (Silverman 1993). In addition the interviews were conducted with only three people from organisational networks that extended to hundreds of members. Although, those individuals were key participants, this still suggests limits to the actor perspectives presented.

The use of single interviews also meant that each interview had to be set up through a process of initial contact. The numbers of telephone calls and letters generated plus attendance at 62 meetings demanded a great deal of time for one researcher. This problem of the sheer number of interviews was compounded by complications in terms of access at Stage Three because of the fragmented and local nature of the sport's networks at this level. This increased the amount of work necessary to elicit one interview, as negotiation had to be conducted with gatekeepers from each club separately. The difficulties of access at Stage Three slowed down the overall collection phase of the research, which in turn pushed back completion of the interview transcription and the analysis phase. Eventually a programme of selective transcription had to be undertaken with the Stage Three material because of time constraints. Such quantities of data to manage in turn created difficulties in terms of self-triangulation, that is multiple attempts to refine analysis with texts, as Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest. The use of the *a priori* coding structure, whilst this assisted the analysis by acting as a data management tool, can mean that interesting information that might have arisen out of the data is lost because of pre-categorisation (Addison 1992).

The research has in one sense used a magnifying glass to try to understand an elephant because no other appropriate methods of discovering this information seemed possible, given the sensitive nature of the topic. Despite this problem, discussed in the details above, the thesis is presented as a 'trustworthy' narrative that fulfils its exploratory remit because of the self-reflexive processes of construction.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has examined how the philosophic underpinnings of research impact upon the subsequent processes of research, especially data gathering and interpretation. Several schools of research philosophy in social science were identified which, it was suggested, were premised upon the relationship of the researcher to the phenomena they research. Those which theorised social reality from an objective viewpoint were identified as positivist, and those that perceived social reality as constructed through meaning were identified as interpretive, with social reality seen as text, in its broadest sense. Qualitative methods created social reality as texts, through observation, spoken texts and through interview transcripts. It was suggested that positivist concepts of social 'science' and its use of criteria for scientific legitimacy were themselves constructed definitions of knowledge. Such positivist 'science' bases its legitimacy on experimental techniques taken directly from the natural sciences. Interpretive philosophies question whether experimental terms like 'reliability' and 'validity' have any legitimacy or relevance for qualitative techniques. It was suggested that instead qualitative work should be examined for its self-reflexive textual production and that such reflexive work should be considered 'trustworthy' qualitative research, rather than judged as reliable or valid work. An adaption of the concept of triangulation was suggested, which moved from a perception that this could provide an aggregated view of social reality through 'locating' social spaces, to furnish a checklist for the collection and creation of texts, as well as through their analysis.

The chapter then went on to examine the theoretical underpinnings of this particular research project, exploring the implications of the sensitivity of its subject matter on research collection, ethical concerns and implications for access and confidentiality. The use of Actor Network Theory to provide the theoretical underpinning of this work was described, and the implications for methods of collection of its interpretive style were explored. This was described as idealist/realist philosophy, its interpretive basis suggesting the need for qualitative methods of collection. The research process was examined in three phases: conceptual, data collection and analysis.

The relationship of this work to that of Professor Celia Brackenridge was considered and the aim of the research stated as the exploration of voluntary sector sport as a frame for

child sexual abuse. The vocabulary of Actor Network Theory was used to translate the aim into a set of objectives. A diagram representing the research network represented the inter-relationship of the researcher with the networks under study. The rationale was presented for the use of the qualitative methods of case studies through interviews and documents. Then the use of the template coding techniques to analysis the texts generated was discussed.

The limitations of that work were also explored in relation to the research aim of exploring the frame of voluntary sector sport for the issue of child sexual abuse. The sensitive nature of the work plus the more interpretive theoretical underpinnings meant that qualitative data collection techniques, specifically interviews, were used to gather broad contextual information. It was suggested that qualitative techniques generate large quantities of 'thick' data that is not always relevant to the issue under study, which can prove difficult to manipulate and analyse without at least some form of data management. Such management techniques, like *a priori* coding structures assist in manipulating data but can prevent interesting information from arising because of pre-categorisation. Due to the problems with access, in part because of the sensitive nature of the subject but also because of the fragmented nature of local levels of sport, time constraints meant that transcription of interview data was done selectively at the final stage of data. In addition the use of single interviews was suggested to have provided only superficial access to the issue albeit across a number of organisational environments. However, since the work had been intended as exploratory work its reflexive basis was considered sufficient to warrant its consideration as trustworthy qualitative research.

This chapter has explored the methods by which the data in this work was collected and assessed. The next chapter, Chapter Five, *Data Presentation and Discussion*, presents and discusses the data collected using the methods explored in this, presenting the case studies as narratives using the language of ANT identified in the theoretical chapter. The case studies are, therefore, presented as stories, of the networks and of their approaches to child protection.

Chapter Five

Data Presentation and Discussion

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Four, *Methodology*, discussed the specific methodology used in the collection of data for this work. This next chapter presents and discusses those data. Section 5.2, *Child Protection within the Church of England and British Voluntary Sector Sport*, examines the wider national networks of the Church of England and British Voluntary Sector sport. Section 5.3, *Case Studies*, then presents the individual case studies that are compared in Section 5.4, *Cross-Case Analysis*, both between the sports cases and the Church diocese and then within the sports case studies themselves.

As was suggested in Chapter Four, *Methodology*, theory implies vocabulary; therefore, these case studies are set out as narratives, or ‘stories’, that describe the existing context and the new networks formed about the issue of child protection. The vocabulary, taken from Actor Network Theory (ANT), is formulated upon a philosophical foundation that presumes that intention is not *necessarily* part of the enactment of power. Power is itself understood as the ability of agents to effect the social and/or material world. The use of ANT as a theoretical basis, therefore, focusses attention on the two-way effect, both intentional and unintentional, at the interface where the social world interacts, defines, and moulds the material world and is, in turn, itself affected. Its realist underpinnings mean that understanding the exercise of power and action within a given context means looking for the effects of power. Power, therefore, is understood as a circulation that cannot be seen directly. ANT, because it does not equate power with intention allows for the agency of non-human actors, which provides a subtle tool for analysing the inter-relationship of social and material conditions in given contexts, including organisational ones. Each context is conceived as a *network*, therefore, a composite of its *dispositions* (the material nodes of the network), its *actors* (human agents), its *intermediaries* (objects or people that define the relationships between actors), and events that have impacted on the social world; the *standing conditions* of a given networks are, therefore, the sum of the known effects of power circulating, in a given social and material context, over the time examined. Where discourses, actors’ relationships or ways of working acquire stability over time, or (in ANT vocabulary) they are *durable*, then they become understood as *obligatory passage points* through which power is required to flow. Although these standing conditions form the circuit through which power has flowed, they are also the focus for the struggles between

actors within those networks to define the field of force, or inter-related social and material terrain, in which they act.

This view of the social world that ANT provides is what Mol (1999) describes as ontological politics:

Ontological politics is a composite term. It talks of *ontology* – which in standard philosophical parlance defines what belongs to the real, the conditions of possibility we live with. If the term ‘ontology’ is combined with that of ‘politics’ then this suggests that the conditions of possibility are not given. That reality does not precede the mundane practices in which we interact with it, but is rather shaped within these practices. So the term *politics* works to underline this active mode, this process of shaping, and the fact that its character is both open and contested (Mol 1999: 75 *emphasis in the original*)

The conceptual framework of ANT allows for the effect of the fourth contextual dimension, the temporal, to be acknowledged as part of the enactment of the social. This dimension provides a greater appreciation of the dynamic nature of the ‘frames’ in which the actions of actors take place. The concept of a network can also be visually represented, although the resultant images are only two dimensional topographical renderings of the four dimensional life worlds in and with which agents and actors interact.

The first four diagrams of networks shown, in Section 5.2, *Child Protection within the Church of England and British Voluntary Sector Sport*, explore some of the major parts of the composite network of Church of England and British voluntary sector sport at national level in the mid-1990s. These are intended to be representations of the standing conditions of these networks prior to the issue of child protection being raised. The child protection network for each institutional area is also shown. The Sports Council, one of the major actors in sport underwent a major re-organisation during the period of the research. However, since the effects of the re-organisation were not visible at the time of the research in the case study contexts of the national governing body networks, the term ‘Sports Council’ refers to the more composite Sports Council for England that existed prior to the re-organisation, not Sport England the body which has subsequently replaced it. The micro-politics of the Sports Council are not the focus of this research. It is the role that it plays as bridge between the State and British voluntary sector sport that is the main in this

study. Therefore, the national and regional bodies of the Sports Council are not distinguished, and are both referred to in the case studies simply as the 'Sports Council'.

In Section 5.3 the *Case Studies* first explore the standing conditions of the networks of the case studies, one in the Church of England and seven in voluntary sector sport. The standing conditions of the case study networks are first discussed and represented, followed by the discussion and presentation of the child protection network. The inter-relationship between these networks is then discussed.

In Section 5.4, *Cross-Case Analysis*, the similarities and differences in the cases is discussed, first between the Church of England and voluntary sector sport and then within the context of voluntary sector sport only.

5.2 Child Protection within the Institutional Context of the Church of England and British Voluntary Sector Sport

The Children Act (1989) attempted to collate legislation concerning children together in one Act (Lyon and Parton 1995). It included statutory controls on some forms of childcare. This had implications for some forms of voluntary organisations. However, the voluntary sector, as Kendall and Knapp (1995) suggest, is a 'loose and baggy monster' whose activities can be very hard to define or survey. In 1993 government advisory guidelines on child protection were published for voluntary organisations, in a pamphlet 'Safe from Harm' (HMSO 1993). This suggests that organisations dealing with children had moral, if not statutory, responsibilities to those children in their care.

The case studies presented in this chapter took place in this wider national context of debate about the protection of children from all forms of abuse, not just sexual abuse. The two institutions under scrutiny here, the church and sport, occupy the same position in relation to state control and voluntary status. For sport, however, concerns voiced by organisations claiming to represent the voluntary sector, for example the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR), have argued against the desirability of *increased* state involvement, whereas for the Church of England the debate centres around *reduced* state intervention in the Church. The next two sections explore the wider political networks of

the institutions of sport and the Church of England in Britain, as well as examining specific organisational frames with regard to child protection within these contexts.

5.2.1 *The Church of England*

5.2.1.1 Standing Conditions in the National Network

The major defining factor of the Church of England network at national level is its relationship to the state. At its foundation in the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, it was created as an established church with the ruling monarch as its head. It was, therefore, an integral part of the structures of the state. Parliament, and particularly the Prime Minister, retains the right of ratification over crucial liturgical and matters of appointment, a relic of the greater and more central importance that religion played historically in creation of the networks of nation state (as discussed in Section 3.2, *Christian Discourses, Sexual Identity, and Sexual Abuse*). Accordingly, Prime Ministerial endorsement is still required for appointments to Bishopsrics and for confirmation of clergy appointments. During the early 1990s the financial collapse of the Church Commissioners the state trustees of the Church's assets, changed the financial basis of the relationship between government and the Church (Bradley 1992). Subsequent re-negotiation has created a new national actor, the Archbishop's Council, to act as an executive for the Church. This has left the Church Commissioners only the Church's endowments to administer.

The relationship between Church and State has been, from the Church's point of view, under review for some time (Warren 1992b). This relationship has proved inconvenient and obstructive to internal Church business and problematic in the defining of the Church's theological mission. 'Flanking' manoeuvres by actors within the national leadership of the Church of England have been used to prevent obstruction of internal organisational objectives set by the Church for itself, for example, over the issue of changing liturgy. Attempts in 1928 to change the liturgical obligatory passage point of 1662 Book of Common Prayer, the statutorily defined book of national worship, were blocked by Parliament. Many actors in the Church felt that this obstruction was from largely non-Church goers who were more interested in the 'traditional' value of the Book of Common Prayer than its spiritual one (Paul 1973). When another attempt to change liturgy took place in 1980, instead of trying to change the statutes, actors within the Church

circumvented the parliamentary process by simply creating a new intermediary for liturgy through the 'licensing' of an Alternative Service Book (ASB). Its subsequent use has made it a durable conduit, making it an obligatory passage point for mediating the fundamental meanings of Christianity to the members of the church .

The efficacy, desirability and definition of the relationship between the Church of England and the State has continued to be questioned by actors within the network of the Church. The Church, through its Bishops in the House of Lords, has its own actors active in the networks of parliamentary governance. During the 1980s Bishops and other Church leaders brought the Church of England into direct conflict with a crucial actor in the legislature, the then-Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. Church of England reports on urban decay and poverty were deeply critical of the government at this time and were cited by the media as authoritative statements of criticism (Warren 1992a), indicating the enduring symbolic power of the Church (Lee and Stanford 1990). This led to widespread speculation that the Prime Minister subsequently sought to control the appointment Bishops in the Church in order to pursue her political agenda, through her chosen actors. This was through her 'advice' to the Queen, the Defender of the Faith and head of the Church of England, whose formal responsibility this was, within the Church leadership. Since then questions have been asked inside the Church about the desirability of the present relationship between Church and State, and also about the legitimacy of its claims to be a 'national' Church, given that only approximately 5 per cent of the population of England, primarily located in suburban and rural areas, ever attend Church of England services (Bradley 1992).

The relationship between Church and state meshes through a number of other networks of governance not just through the legislative network. The Church of England is a major actor in both national and local educational networks, through their grant-aided schools. In addition the Church, through related voluntary and charity organisations, plays a voluntary role in social service delivery. At the parish levels priests interface with local governance through the registration of the marriages and burials of the individuals in the communities in which they work.

Internally, the Church network has undergone major changes in the last thirty years. Warren (1992b) argues that if the Church of England were able to determine its role in an

increasingly secular society, structural issues would take care of themselves. In the 1970s a form of representative, parliamentary style governance was introduced which moved the Church away from its traditional, authoritarian structure (Paul 1973), to a more representative style of governance. However, the creation of the General Synod, has also been seen as engendering factionalism and politicking (Warren 1992a), rather than the 'reconciled diversity' that is sometimes suggested (Edwards 1987:447). These debates about theology and structure within the Church, according to the Jennings (1992), centre on the question of how to make a Christian institution relevant, in a predominantly non-Christian, and largely secular, society.

This process has also entailed re-shaping the relationship between the clergy and the diocesan structure through the gradual suspension of 'freehold' parishes, and the re-definition of serving clergy as 'priests-in-charge'. Clergy 'freeholds' lie outside the diocesan structures of accountability and are very difficult to move or to censure, except in cases of gross misconduct, whereas priests-in-charge are answerable, through diocesan structures, to the Bishops. However, the right of freehold vociferously protected by clergy, up to the 1970s (Paul 1973) was debated in General Synod as late as 1996 by small numbers of clergy wishing to retain this right. However, the falling number of candidates for priesthood, and increases in the numbers of parishes for which priests are responsible, has created a demand within the network for a more mobile priesthood. In contrast to this increasing centralisation of the management of the Church, parishes are carrying a greater proportion of the financial burden for the administration of the Church. For example, the 'parish share', the amount each parish is required to send for the central administration of the Church, has increased, since the problems in the mid-1990s by an average 25 per cent each year.

Some have argued that factionalism has turned the Church leadership inward in its attempt to manage in-fighting at the very time when it needed to be looking outwards and deciding how it should proceed into the new millennium (Stevenson 1992). The Crockford's Preface is the book listing serving clergy, published annually. The preface in the 1987/8 copy was written by priest called Gary Bennett, who raised questions regarding the capacity of a Church led by privileged middle-class men to bring spiritual sustenance to the average person in Britain. This was a contentious piece and, despite the preface usually being printed anonymously, Bennett's identity became known. Unable to deal with the ferocity

of the debates raised, he committed suicide. Warren (1992b) says of the preface that Bennet believed that the majority of people in England were lapsed Christians who simply needed the call to come home, a view that he regarded as simplistic and outdated. Tucker (1992) concurs, arguing that the crisis facing the Church was how to reach and talk to a secular population and how to meet spiritual rather than sectarian needs. Thus, the Church of England faces an internal crisis of meaning through questions about whether to become a private concern, to disestablish, or to renew itself to meet the needs of a 'post-Christian' society (Warren 1992b:149).

The next page shows the standing conditions of the national network of the Church of England discussed in this section.

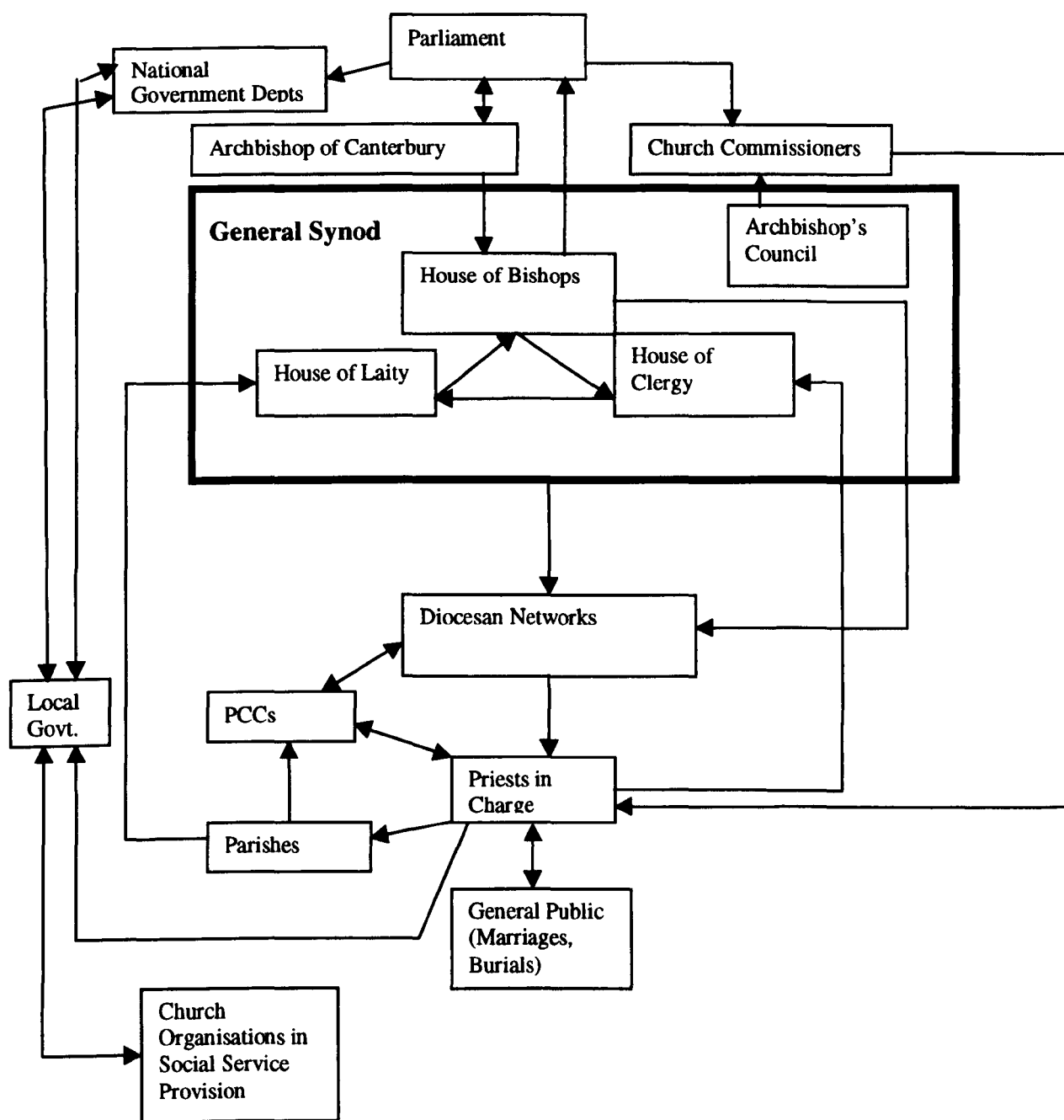


Figure 5.1 The Standing Conditions in the National Network of the Church of England

5.2.1.2 National Child Protection Policy Network

The Church, as one of the national institutions that provide activities for children, was placed under pressure by the Children Act (1989) to examine the applicability of the legislation for its delivery of those activities. However, since many of the Church's

activities were not conducted with children under the age of eight or for two or more hours, they fell outside the scope of the legislation. Even so, by 1993 many dioceses in the Church of England had produced initial child protection guidelines. No major public cases of sexual abuse of children by clergy in the Church of England are known. Most publicity about the sexual abuse of children in Christian settings remains on priests in the Roman Catholic Church (Bunting 1996). Nonetheless, its insurance company began to exert pressure on the Church of England suggesting that it would not meet the legal costs for clergy accused of committing abuse if guidelines either did not exist, or had not been observed (Hunt 1994). In addition, issues about the sexual misconduct of priests have since been raised within the Church of England because of the case of Chris Bain, and the so called 'Nine O'Clock Service, in the Sheffield diocese in 1995 (mentioned in Section 3.2, *Christian Discourses, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*).

Debates around issues of sexuality and gender often create great struggles in the Church, for example, the intense debates around women becoming priests and recent debates over Christian teachings on homosexuality (Church Times, 16 January 2000). These struggles over these issues Warren (1992a: 34) describes as having 'demeaned the Church, despite the episcopate's valiant attempts at damage limitation'. Work with children has been an important element in debates about meaning within the Church because it has been seen as the key to the Church's survival (see, for example 'Youth A Part: Young People and the Church, 1996). The 1993 conference, hosted by the Church's own National Children's Officers, was poorly attended, as many dioceses had already produced guidelines in the wake of insurance company pressure. Those Children's Officers who did attend, however, collectively composed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, stating that they felt that a response to child protection as a specific issue was necessary from the leadership in the Church. The production of 'Safe from Harm', the government advisory guidelines to the voluntary sector in 1993, may well have provided extra pressure upon the Church leadership, as a responsible organisation, to address this issue. A document on child protection was subsequently produced in July of 1995 by the House of Bishops, which referred to the Church's moral responsibility to the children in their care.

The document described new actors and relationships at diocesan level, including the Bishop's Advisor, through which to report abuses against children. It also offered guidance about how parishes might use vetting in the recruitment of volunteers for Church work

with children. Certain of the proposals were mandatory, for example, the appointment of the Bishop's Representative. Others were advisory only.

The alterations to the standing conditions of the national network were small, the new relationships were conceptual only and would only be activated to respond to a specific case of abuse. The document created in the House of Bishops served to deflect the moral and legal responsibility down to the diocesan levels. The network created around the issue of child protection, therefore, was a transitory one that left no relationships that could become durable through use, only abstract ones.

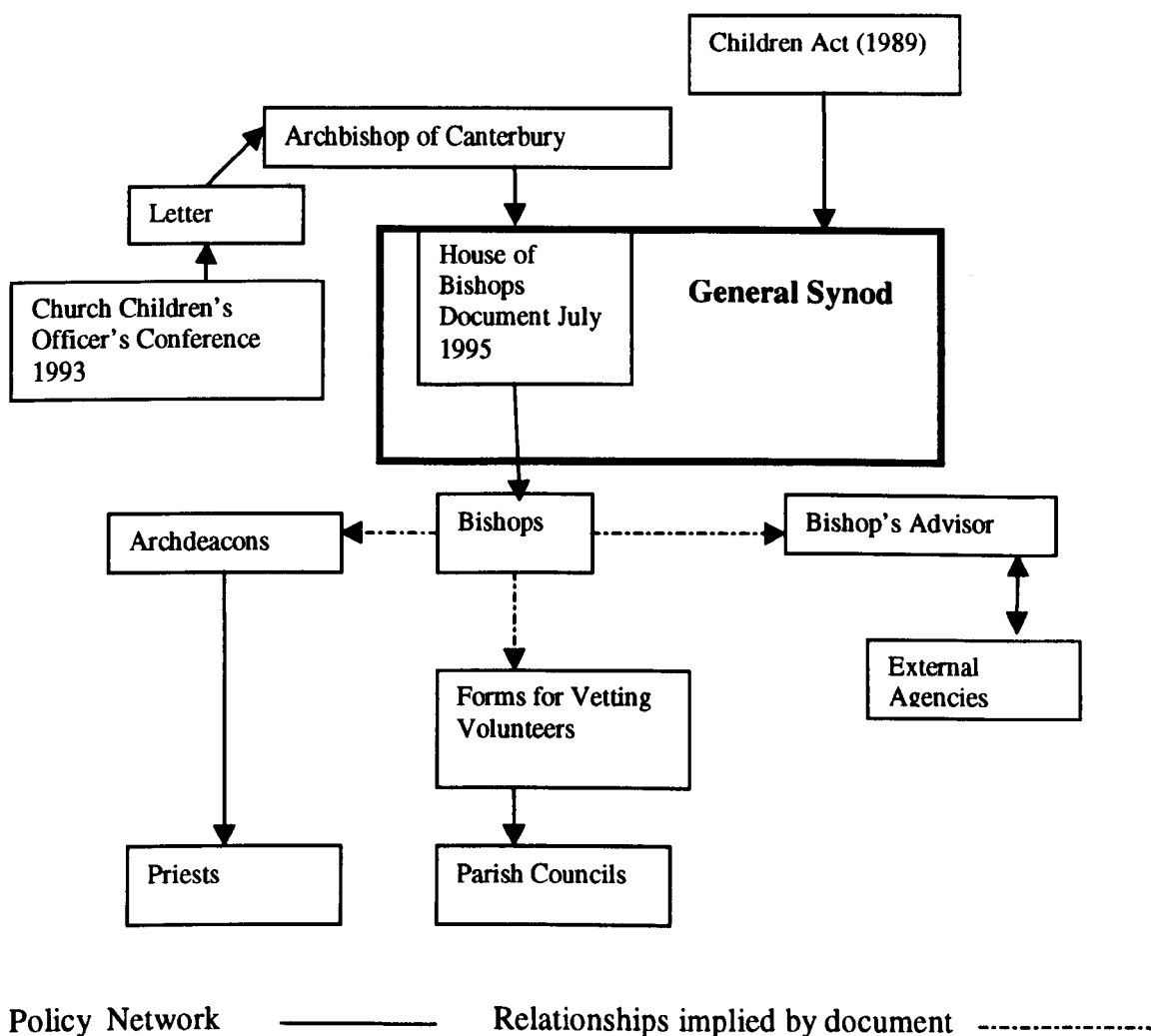


Figure 5.2. Church of England National Child Protection Policy Network

5.2.2 British Voluntary Sector Sport

5.2.2.1 Standing Conditions in the Network

1960 marked a watershed for sport organisation. Prior to 1960 the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR) had acted as the main voice for voluntary sport. The Wolfenden Report (1960), resulted in the creation of the Sports Council and associated regional structures, initiating a relationship between government and voluntary sector sport whereby public money began to be channelled systematically into sport (Coghlan and Webb 1990). This relationship has provided, over the forty years since the Wolfenden Report, a major discursive basis on which struggles over the definition and ownership of British sport have taken place.

The creation of the Sports Council created a major network of actors able to negotiate legislative power and provide resources. The relationship between the government and voluntary sector sport had been envisaged, reflected in the its creation by Royal Charter rather than simple Act of Parliament (Coghlan and Webb 1990). However, since the elevation in 1974 of sport as a matter to warrant a cabinet position, the level of State intervention in sports provision has waxed and waned, according to the interest of the governmental actors. (For example, in 1995 the then-Prime Minister, John Major, was instrumental in the production of a government paper on sport, 'Raising the Game', in which he suggested a return to the playing of national games, which he outlined, and which should be a compulsory element to the teaching of PE in the national curriculum at all ages (HMSO 1995). His aim was to promote national interest and identity through a return to the competitive element of those sports defined as 'British'. The sport networks intersect with the network of government through various Whitehall departments, and are not confined to the Minister for Sport. The Sports Council remains the major provider of funding for sports bodies, although actual provision of sport still lies, primarily, with local authorities (McIntosh and Charlton 1985).

The debates about government involvement in sport have been located in discussions about what the aims of government are with regard to intervention. The CCPR (although itself now primarily funded by the Sports Council) has continued to prove a vocal advocate in sport for a return to traditional non-state interventionist visions of sport. Consequently, the

CCPR has been seen as most distrustful of the organisations of the Sports Council, believing them to be a 'tool' of over zealous government (Coghlan and Webb 1990). The relationship between the government, through the Sport Council, and the CCPR, therefore, has come to symbolise the extremes of the debate about the extent to which government could or should be involved in sport, despite very real sympathy from some in the Sports Council for the voluntary nature of British sport organisations (Pickup 1996, Coghlan and Webb 1990). In addition to these debates around State intervention, other debates have concerned where funding should be targeted. For example, some favoured the promotion of elite sport, as part of the modern myth-making tools of nations (Mandell 1971). Whereas others favoured funding grass-roots, participatory sport, through the 'Sport For All' policy, which brought wider social benefits, such as improved levels of national health care and fitness. (McIntosh and Charlton 1985).

Some of the informants in this study detect a greater concern for elite performance rather than grass-roots participation in recent government initiatives, and expect no change despite the transition from Conservative to Labour government in 1997. The white paper, 'Raising The Game', championed by John Major, was a particular 'intermediary' through which government attempted to utilise the influence of the government network to define the future of British sport. The discourses of 'Britishness' expressed in this paper, was linked into wider discourse of the success/media coverage/sponsorship triad in sport. Success, simply measured, as it has come to be in sport, means winning and high international rankings. One of my academic informants suggested that this greater concern with success was also expressed through distribution of Sports Council funding for research to projects concerned with the improvement of performance rather than wider participation in sport. This informant also suggested that social research that they had completed for the Sports Council had not been published because it was critical of the establishment. Another element in the creation of the vision of John Major, in 'Raising the Game', led to the creation of geographical dispositions within sport, the UK Sports Institution Network, through which to create smoother pathways for elite athletes.

Since 1960 other new organisational actors have become part of the network of British voluntary sector sport. Some, like the National Coaching Foundation (NCF), were created at the instigation of the Sports Council but have a distanced relationship, and are expected to be, to some degree, self-financing. However, the Sports Aid Foundation was formed by

businesses to channel private sponsorship into sports development. The NCF was established as part of the Sports Council structure but, in 1983, through a variety of pressures it evolved to achieve the semi-independent status of an educational charity and trading company. Allegations of a conflict of interest between the administration of the Sports Council and the NCF were made in National Audit Officer report in 1994, suggesting that a more distant relationship between these organisations was desirable. During the early 1990s the size of the NCF's board of directors was drastically cut in order to reduce the 'conflicts of interests'. By 1995, although the Sports Council continued to provide 25 per cent of the NCF's budget, the NCF Foundation was being defined as a 'company'. However, the expansion of the NCF to the status of a macro-actor in its own right did not take place without opposition from within its own networks. During the period of the early 1990s the coaching membership arm of the network attempted to reverse their translation into the network of the NCF and redefine themselves as an independent organisation for coaches. Despite some very bitter personal struggles the coaching arm was unable to mobilise sufficient allies or resources and subsequently this manoeuvre failed.

The relationship between the Sports Council and the sports governing bodies has been described as carrying 'a heavy legacy of Victorian and Edwardian enterprise' that makes it difficult to achieve accountable relationships and 'leaves much to be desired' in terms of a good working relationship (Pickup 1996: 171). The rejection of the regular stream of funding, however, has promoted the professionalisation of sports administration over the last forty years, although its extent differs greatly between sports (Welch *et al.* 1995). Most still rely heavily on voluntary support for some part of their administration and management. The creation of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ) for sports coaching reflects this drive to professionalise and achieve consistency of management and service. The national governing bodies have continued to provide training for coaches, often in partnership with the NCF which provides the teaching materials and/or validates the awards. However, the administration of the NVQ in sport has proved, according to one informant, to have been very difficult to co-ordinate properly, dogging the project with one problem after another.

Actors in networks engage in struggles to extend and maintain their positions and to impose their definition upon the standing conditions of those networks. Those standing

conditions affect the ways in which future struggles are engaged. Networks are comprised not only of the material environment but also exist the discursive material by which the life-world of actors within the network is defined. The composition of this sporting network, which includes the national governing bodies of sport, was described by one informant as full of “Machiavellian characters” who “learn to play around the rules” (1:7:2/714). They saw the Sports Council as necessary to act as an organisational “referee”, in order to overcome the organisational self-interest that they perceived characterised actors in the national network of sport.

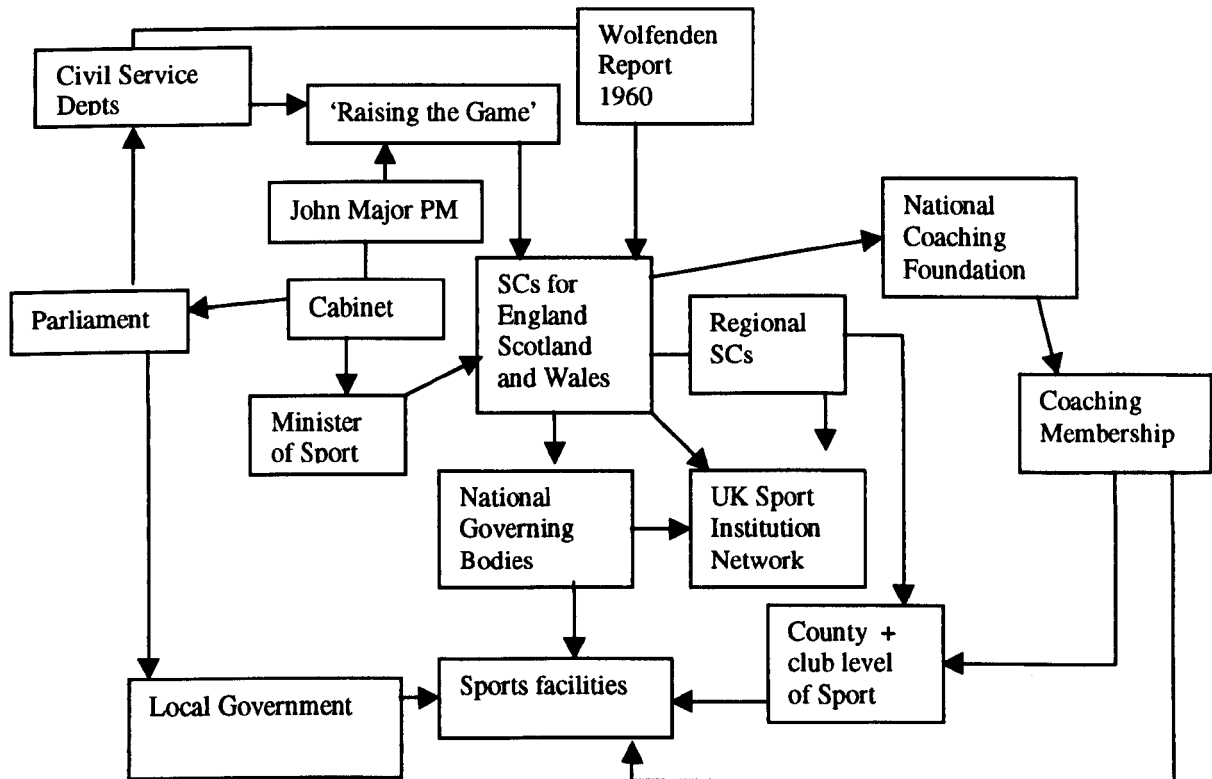


Figure 5.3 The Standing Conditions in the National Network of British Voluntary Sector Sport

5.2.2.2 Child Protection Policy Network

The Children Act (1989) had little effect on the way in which children experience organised sport outside school. The National Council for Play and Recreation, which was part of the network of the national Sports Council in 1990, produced and disseminated guidelines about the effects of the Children Act discussing what implications the Act might

have for sports clubs. In practice few sports clubs cater for children under the age of eight; those that do are usually exempted through the minimum time limit (two hours) that applies before restrictions are enforceable. The CCPR, however, because of its wide remit and concern for recreation, and possibly because of its leadership's famously anti-regulation stance with regard to recreation and sport, supported an amendment to the Children Act (1989), suggesting a return to the deregulated conditions prior to its implementation. This amendment was colloquially known, by those opposed to the return to de-regulation, as the 'paedophile charter'. The case for regulation was reinforced much later, in 1994, by the Paul Hickson affair.

Professor Brackenridge has been conducting unfunded research with survivors of abuse in sport in the 1990s as part of her own feminist agenda for sport. She has experienced difficulties in gaining funding from bodies like the Sports Council. One informant suggested that research, such as that conducted by Professor Brackenridge, was potentially problematic because of what it could imply for legal and financial responsibility.

In 1992, Paul Hickson, the then Olympic Swimming Coach for England, was charged with the rape of a number of female under-age athletes in his care over a period of twenty years. Subsequently, George Gibney, the Irish Olympic Swimming coach, was also arrested and charged with similar offences. Both men independently jumped bail and fled to the continent. Within the wider network of sport, initially there seemed to be little reaction to the arrests of Hickson and Gibney. However, the English Amateur Swimming Association, through their Teachers' Association, began to provide a few small scale seminars on the issue of child abuse and child protection. The arrest and subsequent flight of Paul Hickson had not at this point received much publicity.

In response to a 1993 a court case, in which a sailing instructor was convicted of abusing children under his care, an individual from the national governing body of sailing decided to try to raise awareness of child protection issues within his sport. He approached the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty for Children (NSPCC) for help in setting up seminars backed by training material for coaches. At the last minute sailing's governing body deemed the likely level of interest within the sport to be insufficient to justify the expense of this education programme. The individual subsequently withdrew from the governing body but by then had established contact between the NSPCC with the National

Coaching Foundation (NCF). As the staff at the NSPCC had by now prepared the seminars, the actor from the NSPCC, contacted the NCF. As the provision of coaching materials is part of the remit and purpose of the NCF, the work was edited and produced as a distance learning booklet, 'Protecting Children: a guide for sportspeople', to meet the requirements for the optional unit, H4, for NVQ Level 2 coaching award. This use of distance learning for this issue was not considered, by the NSPCC, to be the perfect method of disseminating such information but certainly it was considered a move in the right direction.

H4 is an optional unit within the NVQs for coaching, dealing specifically with the issue of child abuse. It remains optional because not all coaches teach children and therefore, it is considered superfluous to their needs. Furthermore one informant suggested that the booklet itself does not deal very clearly with the problems of coaches as potential abusers, while another informant suggested that personal behaviour for coaches could only be regulated indirectly through an advisory codes of ethics. This latter informant also suggested that the booklet put emphasis on an issue that many coaches regarded as irrelevant, and feared created an atmosphere of hysteria in which they could be falsely accused.

By October 1995 the NCF had re-produced their code of ethics for coaching and the distance learning pack for NVQ module H4, which they considered to be the limit of their involvement with the subject of child protection at that time. However, in 1994 Paul Hickson had returned to Britain and been re-arrested; his trial also ended in October 1995, and he was sentenced to seventeen years in prison. The story, which was covered by a number of the broadsheet papers, was also picked up by, 'Radio Five Live', which focussed media attention on other sports' governing bodies responses to child protection.

The Amateur Swimming Association (ASA) had been adversely affected by the publicity surrounding the case, reportedly losing over a million pounds in sponsorship as a result. This raised concerns for other national governing bodies of sport whose representatives, in turn, placed pressure on the Sports Council and on the NCF to provide information about the issue of child sexual abuse and how to deal with it as a management issue. My research project, which was also taking place at this time, appeared to represent both a further source of pressure concerning this issue, and a possible source of information for the

governing bodies taking part which might help them to deflect media attention. In the light of this widespread level of interest from the media, national governing bodies and the academic community, a meeting was called in January 1996 at the Sports Council for an invited group of actors. These included representatives from invited governing bodies, the NCF and Professor Brackenridge. The representatives of the Sports Council made it clear that they were was not prepared to fund research or education concerning this issue, although a small amount of money was provided to fund a conference on child protection, held at Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education in June 1996. The conference was to include an ASA-developed generic child protection policy document for sport, which was under production at that time.

The slow response by the Sports Council and the NCF to Hickson's arrest and subsequent trial was attributed, by a number of informants, to internal problems in both organisations, although for different reasons. The Sports Council underwent re-organisation in 1994/5, which, one informant argued, had turned their thoughts inward as jobs, and positions became uncertain. The NCF, on the other hand, was involved in its own "internecine war" (1:8:68) with their own coaching membership who wished to become an independent organisation. Therefore, at the point at which child protection was beginning to emerge as an issue in voluntary sport it "got lost" (1:8:68) within the internal politics of the actors in these two major organisational networks. The NCF, having been handed the brief by the Sports Council then produced a number of training courses that were aimed at raising awareness.

Although the Sports Council and, to lesser extent, the NCF were turned inwards the CCPR, maintaining its habitual non-interventionist stance, believed that national governing bodies should be left to decide themselves what action to take regarding child protection. The national governing bodies, in the face of media enquiries, placed pressure on both the organisational networks of the Sports Council and on the NCF to help them to solve these problems which they felt ill-equipped to face. The Sports Council reiterated its stance that no resources would be made available for this issue, beyond the funding for the June 1996 conference. Through its 25 per cent funding for the NCF and its definition of child sexual abuse as a coaching issue, the Sports Council was able to re-direct the moral and policy responsibility onto the NCF.

By 1997 the pressure from the sports governing bodies on the NCF had gained momentum. The NCF, responding to the demands, commissioned a series of policy awareness child protection seminars, which they employed Professor Brackenridge to deliver. A similar meeting took place to that of January 1996 took place at the Sports Council in early 1997. This time Professor Brackenridge, now delivering the NCF's seminar series, was no longer treated as an independent actor, possibly because she was now perceived as part of the NCF network. She was therefore not invited to this meeting as she had been to the first.

By this time research projects in both North America and Europe had begun to appear on the subject of harassment and abuse in sport (see for example, Kirby and Greaves 1996, Volkwein *et al.* 1997, Crosset *et al.* 1995). Professor Brackenridge submitted a bid for funding to the Economic and Social Research Council, to support a survey of the incidence of sexual abuse among elite athletes. This was designed to replicate the work done abroad, and was supported by the British Olympic Association (BOA). However, the BOA withdrew its support in May 1998, after having been party to the bidding process of over two years. An unofficial source indicated that the potentially explosive nature of such research work was the cause, although official arguments centred on the impossibility of granting access because of athletes' privacy.

However, concern about child sexual abuse in sport has gathered momentum since Paul Hickson's conviction, and cases continue to be reported. For example, in January 1998, the Irish Olympic Swimming Coach, Derry O' Rourke, was sentenced to several years in prison following his conviction for having sex with his under-age athletes whom he was coaching. George Gibney, arrested originally in 1992 at the same time as Paul Hickson, remains a fugitive from justice. Other cases have attracted less publicity, for example the case of the badminton coach in the Gloucester area convicted in 1998 for sex with under-age athletes. In January 2000, the former England coach, Glen Hoddle, replaced the manager of Southampton Football Club, who is suspended pending trial for charges of sexual misconduct with minors.

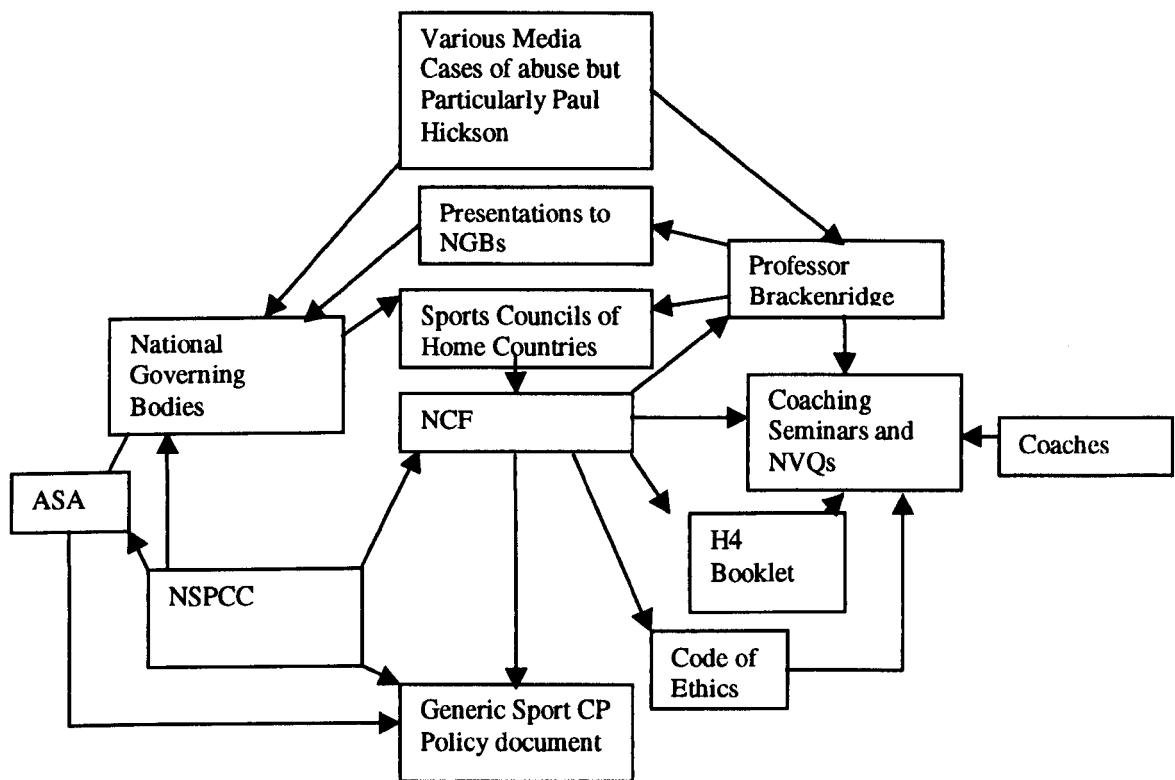


Figure 5.4 British Voluntary Sector Sport National Child Protection Policy Network

This section has explored the broad context of the national levels of the Church of England and voluntary sector sport. The standing conditions in each area were discussed and represented and then the issue of the child protection policy was presented in the light of those standing conditions. The next section discusses the individual cases of the Church of England diocese and seven voluntary sector sports.

5.3 Case Studies

The last section discussed the broader national contexts of both the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport. This section presents the specific case studies of one Church of England diocese and two of its parishes and seven national governing bodies of sport, and eight grass-roots clubs in two of them.

5.3.1 *A Church of England Diocese*

This is the examination of the Church of England diocese and its parishes. The first section will explore the standing conditions of the diocesan network, which existed prior to the raising of child protection as an issue. These standing conditions are represented in figure 5.3 and then the discussions regarding child protection and the production of the diocesan policy document is discussed and presented in figure 5.4.

5.3.1.1 Standing Conditions of the Diocesan Network

The diocesan network was located in the material world of the region through its cathedral and churches of the diocese, which had been in existence for over one thousand years at the time of the research. Despite the influx of clergy associated with the creation of women priests in the mid-1990s, recruitment problems towards the end of the decade suggested that total numbers of clergy would continue to fall. A diocesan strategy had been drawn up to deal with this anticipated drop in clergy that included the suspension of freeholds, making individual priests responsible for more parishes and placing increasing reliance on geographically fixed non-stipendary ministry drawn from the localities to support those priests.

All the informants acknowledged that there was a difficulty in managing an organisation with a spiritual tenet because this created problems for accountability within the network. For some actors belonging to the church network provided them with the legitimacy of divine sanction, removing any right for temporal accountability of their personal behaviour. This was mirrored in the network as a whole in reluctance by some actors to accept the need for external structures of surveillance for the church.

The sensitive nature of spiritual beliefs also made negotiations within this network very difficult. Spiritual definitions and beliefs are enacted in the empirical world through the dispositions and the obligatory passage points of structure and meaning. One participant described how individuals ‘build faith on structures; buildings, people, doctrinal positions’ and if you ‘take away part of that structure people become insecure’ (C2:3:27). Such insecurity often led to intense and bitter struggles in decision making processes and, inevitably, to pockets of resistance within the network. For example, the issue of women in the priesthood was still a difficult issue in this diocese, as in others. This had led to behaviours of resistance where particular clergy had resisted receiving intermediaries produced by women in management positions, either ignoring their letters, or having their wives reply.

Concern about such struggles within the network made some informants unwilling to face uncomfortable issues unless absolutely necessary. One of the church wardens described this in these terms “that we are supposed to love each other”, but it was difficult “to actually acknowledge that some people don’t” (C3:2:2:51). One informant further suggested that the vision of unity at all costs led to “hidden values seep[ing] up through the floorboards because underneath is [a] seething mass of aggression and conflict and nastiness” (C2:1:3/94).

The connecting force within the diocesan network was the Archdeacon. Individual actors fill particular roles in unique ways and the Archdeacon was a persuasive, calm individual who perceived his own role as one of connecting the nodes of the Church network. Consequently, he acted as an intermediary between various committees, the diocesan leadership and clergy, and between the diocese, clergy and churchwardens, representing these various actors to each other. The value of the Archdeacon as an intermediary was his ability to argue for a given definition and his physical presence to reinforce the links between the various actors of the network, somewhat like the symbolic walking of parish boundaries to identify them. The Archdeacon recognised his importance in creating the diocesan network, through being an intermediary capable of conceptualising the network itself; “instead of sending a lot of paper backwards and forwards they send someone to carry it in his head” (C2:3:1).

The major inter-relationship between the diocese and the parishes was through the Archdeacon's relationship to clergy and churchwardens. With reference to clergy, he identified his role as defending them from unfair attack, but also as part of the diocesan disciplinary structures. Other such conflicts of definition existed in the relationships within the networks. For example, within the spiritual relationships of the Church, priests minister to the spiritual and pastoral needs of their congregation but those same individuals, through structures of management, are also actors in the political field of the parish networks.

The parish priests interviewed were viewed by their churchwardens, and perceived themselves, to be representatives of the wider church network in the locality, although little surveillance of clergy in parishes took place. One of the priests, for example, had been appraised only once in ten years. Beyond the registration of marriages and burials, little external validation of parish work is required. If priests as actors were able to mobilise relationships in the parishes in which they worked, for their particular vision of Christian worship and activity, then they could act with little reference to any one else. If, however, priests failed to negotiate successfully with other parish actors, then the Archdeacon's role might well be to mediate between clergy and other actors in the parish. A number of informants acknowledged that the level of isolation for priests within the wider diocesan networks was problematic, both in terms of providing support mechanisms for clergy in the face of rising pastoral need and workload, and because of the increased risk that such stress might engender inappropriate behaviour within that pastoral role.

The other connection of the diocese to the parish was through the Archdeacon's relationship to the churchwardens. The Archdeacon identified that relationship as both pragmatic, through the custodianship of the building of the church, and also spiritual in lifting their "vision" to the wider church (C2:3:20). He feared that churchwardens were in danger of becoming no more than conservation officers, looking after the ageing dispositions of the church. The financial burden for the upkeep of such buildings was falling increasingly on individual parishes, although monies were available in the form of grants from the Historic Churches Trust and through the National Lottery. The Archdeacon acknowledged that it was often difficult in the face of such immediate heavy demands to prevent insularity in parishes. To help to keep the wider church represented to the parishes, and to justify the expenditure born by the parishes for the central

administration, the Archdeacon visited and sent out intermediaries to explain the broader concerns. However, far from being welcomed as symbols of their membership of the wider church community, these papers and visits were often perceived by the churchwardens as imposing more worries and obligations on them.

Although, according to the Archdeacon, the Church's electoral roll showed that church attendance in the diocese had not dropped over the previous twenty years, the lack of new volunteers to assist in the administration of the parish networks exacerbated their insularity. The same, often elderly, people rotated jobs with little self-surveillance and with so few volunteers, no offer of help could afford to be turned down. However, even when rare new volunteers came, traditional ways of doing things were sometimes imposed on them. All churchwardens interviewed would have been glad to retire, and many had poor health but all felt that, with no one to take over, they could not give up their work. Below is a diagram of the standing conditions in the network, the darker boxes show the organisational network of diocese administration.

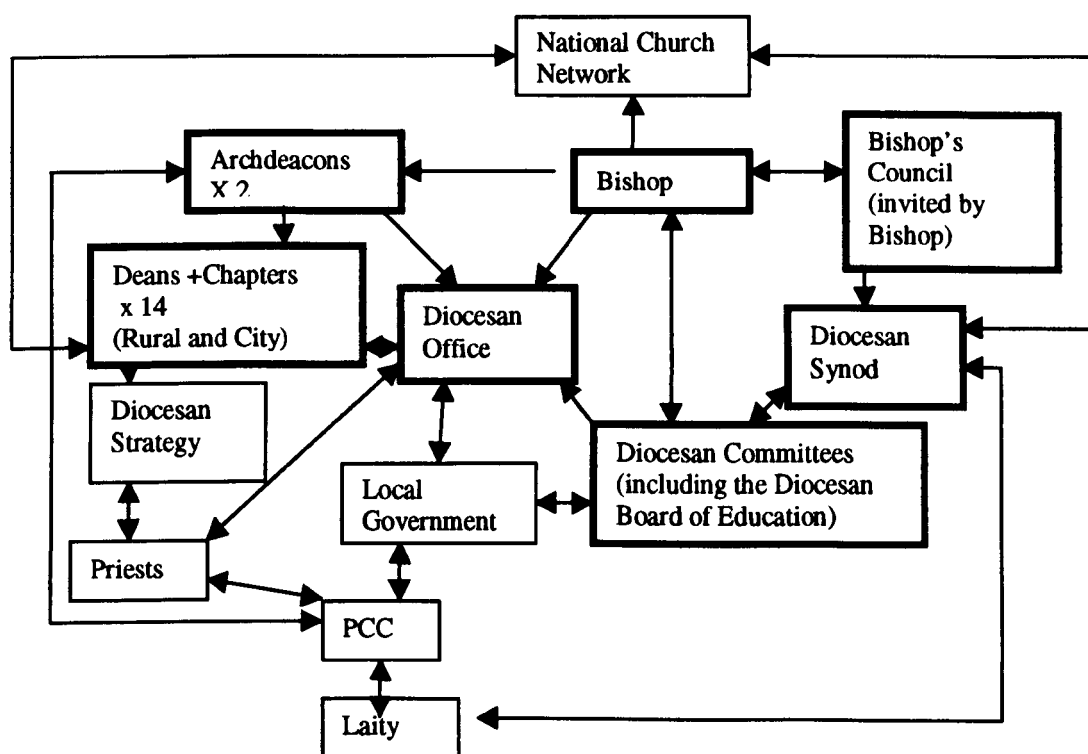


Figure 5.5 The Standing Conditions in a Diocesan Network

5.3.1.2 Child Protection Policy Network

In the wake of the Children Act (1989) the Church at national level placed a requirement on all dioceses to provide some response and guidelines for their parishes. The Children's Officer (CO) of this particular diocese, therefore, was placed in the position of having to provide the diocesan response. The CO discussed how work with children had been presented as unimportant by other diocesan actors in the past who tried to prevent scarce resources being diverted into such work. The CO, therefore, saw the need for a diocesan response to the legislation as a means by which to further both children's work in the diocese, and his own inclusive theology.

Due to an illness, it was 1993 before the CO was able to begin this work. In preparation he attended a meeting called by the Church's National Children's Officers to assess responses to the Children Act (1989) throughout the church. After examining the texts from other dioceses, the CO conceived his document with the intent of promoting an inclusive theology. He planned his document as a deliberate bid for definition for this inclusive theology in the diocesan network, through the production of a single document of good practice for work with children. The idea of drawing together a number of issues in one document provide a discursive expression of the holistic nature of caring for children and, through a process of making reference to broader church issues, the importance of children's work within wider parish concerns.

Using the current concerns of other actors, the CO was able at an early stage to 'translate' other actors in the diocesan network as allies for his intermediary. In the main, these were the Diocesan Board of Education, through the Director of Education, and the Bishop, (the latter because of child protection being discussed in the House of Bishops at that time). Through the Director of Education, a working party was formed from the Board of Education committee, to assist the CO in the creation of the document. The CO had suggested a working party as a deliberate attempt to control the inter-action of the document within the network of the committee itself. The CO, who defined himself as a liberal educationalist, was relieved, therefore, to find that those who offered to work with him held views relatively sympathetic to his own. The compatibility of the views of the working party enabled the CO to 'translate' and speak for the other individual actors within the working party with little dissent about the overall vision for the document. Each person

was allocated topics by alphabetical letter and asked to compile sections of text about issues as diverse as parish councils and loos. These were then brought together and edited by the CO himself, as a reference book that used alphabetical cross-referencing for all aspects of the Church's work with children and its place in parish life.

In April 1995, the two year period allotted for the Working Party was coming to an end. Rather than go through the full democratic diocesan structures in order to get the report approved, which all the working party agreed would take far too long, a decision was made to circumvent these processes using the Board of Education and the Bishop's Council. The plan was to enrol the Bishop's Council as agenda setters for the Diocesan Synod. Presenting the document to the smaller committee would short-circuit the long-drawn-out process of its consideration at Synod, where it was feared that members might attack the discursive foundations of the document and prevent its dissemination in its current form. By circumventing the formal processes of adoption, the process of the documents dissemination was intended to be simplified.

In July 1995, two months before the diocesan document was due to be presented to the Board of Education, national guidelines for child protection were produced from the House of Bishops. Two of the working party members acquired copies and worked to integrate its procedural section on reporting structures into their own diocesan document.

The revised document was then presented to an extraordinary meeting of the Board of Education, with the Bishop in attendance. The CO began by informing those present of the document's positive reception by actors external to the diocese, including the Church's own publishers. The document deliberately contained short biblical texts about children, in order to validate it. The Board of Education's members were then invited to comment on parts of the document, although its sheer size prevented a full re-assessment in the time available for the meeting. Its size also posed financial problems for the Board of Education who, were they to have published it, would have spent all the money available for diocesan voluntary educational projects for a single year on this one venture. The committee was sufficiently committed to the document for two members to offer to find external sponsors, in order for each parish to receive one free copy. Further copies would be available for sale in order to recoup some of the cost. The Bishop agreed to write a frontispiece to the document commending it to the priests in the parishes, an important

political endorsement. The following two months saw the CO and his secretary finish compiling the document and its legal status was checked by the diocesan legal representative. During this time sponsorship was secured from a paper manufacturer and from the Ecclesiastical Insurance Company, enabling publication to take place.

It was in the dissemination stage where the tight political work of the first part of the process began to fail. The CO, anticipating that clergy were often resistant to diocesan intermediaries, decided that the document was so complex that it needed explanations and, accordingly, should not simply be sent to clergy. A number of launch meetings were planned during February and March 1996, enabling some of the issues raised in the document, chiefly child protection ones, to be discussed. In practice this move antagonised an already overloaded clergy, many of whom did not come to hear about the document. Indeed, out of a possible 1,000/1,200 people, priests and laity, only 250 attended the various launches. Consequently, the document was, perforce, sent out blind. Nor was this partial clergy boycott the end of the resistance to the document. By July of 1996 concerns were raised by a number of priests, at the Archdeacon's Pastoral Sub-Committee, about the use of 'must' and 'should' within the document. Since little surveillance takes place within the parishes it would have been easy enough for clergy to ignore this document had they so chosen. The decision, therefore, by some clergy to dispute this intermediary drew it into existing struggles between the clergy and the diocesan leadership, about the former's increased workload.

Another intermediary, a letter, was sent out by the Board of Education in August 1996 to clarify the status of the document. This letter re-stated what the insurance position would be if the guidelines were ignored presenting this as subtle coercion to promote compliance. This coercion centred on insurance and the suggestion that the Church's insurance companies (one of whom was sponsoring the document) would not cover litigation costs, should accusation of sexual abuse be made against a priest, if these guidelines had been ignored. Regret was expressed by a number of informants in the diocesan level of the network, that such overtly threatening tactics were necessary. The initial letter was followed in September 1996 by a letter from the Bishop. This again attempted to clarify 'must' and 'should' for the purposes of the document. Although acceptance or rejection lay entirely at the discretion of the clergy involved as they were the only actors to receive free copies and, therefore, they controlled the document as intermediaries within the parish

networks. However, other concerned parties such as Sunday School Teachers were able to buy copies at £10 each.

If the allegations of abuse were made against members of the clergy themselves, the document identified the Archdeacon as the means of by-passing those clergy to report to the wider church structures. The document, therefore, provided a number of implications for re-definition within the diocesan network, through the creation of a new actor and the extension of the Archdeacon's role. However, the lack of clarity, about the expectations concerning these roles, and the fact that they would only be activated if an abuse case occurred, left the Archdeacon unsure of exactly what would be expected of him beyond what his current role entailed.

The document, as policy, could not be implemented because of the standing conditions of the network between the diocese and the parishes. The role of the diocese was only able to be advisory and certainly no surveillance was available through which to police uptake in the localities. In one of the parishes studied, very little interest was taken in the document because the priest himself believed to be unnecessary: he felt that his control over work done with children would enable him to identify any problems. In the other parish, children's work continued to be closely monitored and seen as a central feature of the church's work within the parishes. In this case the priest himself had suffered sexual abuse by a clergyman as a child, and his partner had sat on the working party.

The majority of informants at all levels expressed a belief in their own ability to identify someone who would abuse, or at least to spot incidents of abuse. This belief was often combined with a belief that children were essentially vindictive and mendacious, and that adults were put in danger of false accusation by discussing such issues. The particular priest informant, who had been abused, reacted strongly to beliefs about both abusers and children, to the extent of a heated condemnation of such beliefs at one of the document launches.

The fear of false accusation emerged in all the negotiations around the document. Whereas at the initial stages this could be countered in the close inter-personal politics of the meeting environments, the lack of control or interaction with parishes meant that this issue could not be countered at this level with the same process that had characterised the early

politics around the document. The major allies supporting the document within the network remained those who advocated the importance of children’s work and/or those who had experienced abuse themselves. The CO and the other working party members, as well as those who supported the document, were aware that despite all their work the documents ability to affect children’s work and the safety of children in the parishes depended entirely on the discretion of clergy and parishes.

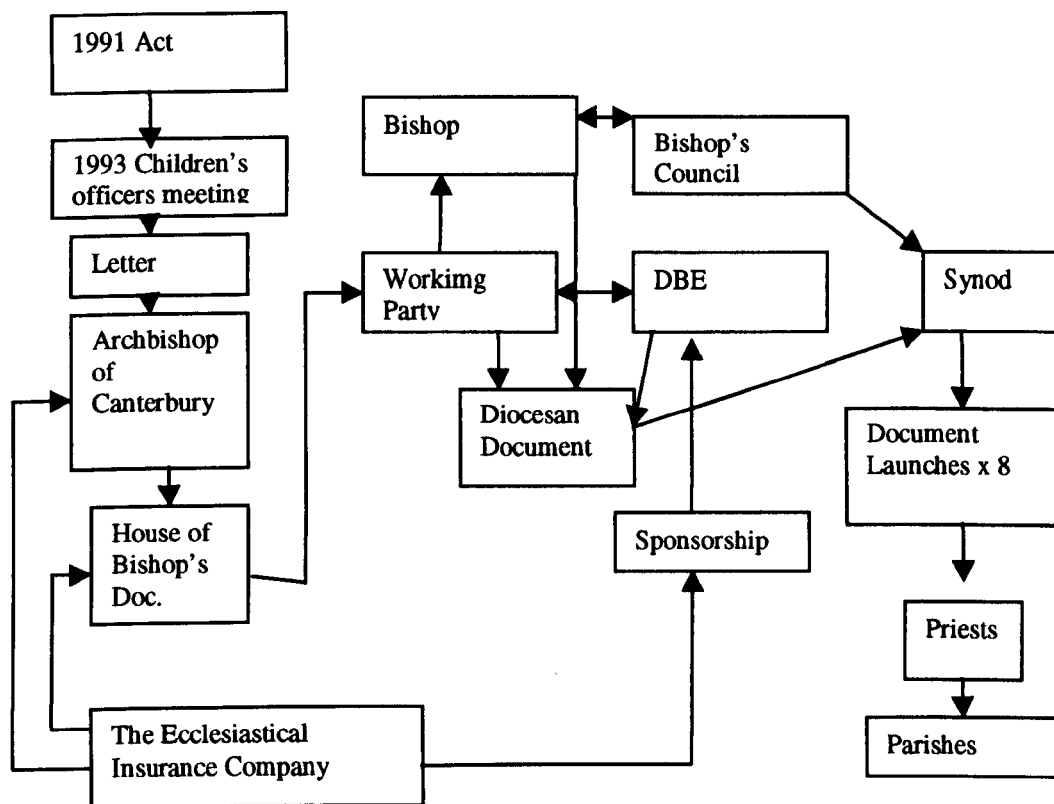


Figure 5.6 A Diocesan Child Protection Policy Network.

5.3.2 Sport A

This section examines the issue of child protection in the network of Sport A. The informants primarily came from the English National Governing body and its club-level networks. However, one of the clubs, a men's clubs under the Welsh governing body, were included because of the difficulties of access. The English National Governing Body comprised a small professional group of administrators in its network and a large number of voluntary committees. The actors and standing conditions of the network of the sport are discussed and then represented in diagrammatic form in Figure 5.3. As no child protection policy existed in this particular sport at the time of the interviews, the network arising around discussion of the issue is explored and represented in Figure 5.4.

5.3.2.1 Standing Conditions of the Network

The English National Governing Body of Sport A had relationships with external actors both at national and international levels but these had little impact on the domestic running of the sport, except with regard to rule governance. Relationships with other national level actors, like the Sports Council and the NCF, however, were the major avenue through which the National Governing Body network interacted. The relationship with the National Coaching Foundation was a mutual one through which coaching materials were created. However, the relationship with the Sport Council was crucial to the sport's continued existence, since it provided over half of the sport's funding. Its low level of media exposure made it virtually impossible to secure sponsorship. The Senior Administrator was clear that the only foreseeable development that would change the National Governing Body being financially dependent on the Sports Council would be "major international success" (2:A:1:12), as this would bring media coverage and hence sponsorship. The relationship between the Sports Council and the National Governing Body network was cemented with an intermediary, in the form of a Sports Council Liaison officer, working in the National Governing Body network.

The funding for the sport was given on the basis of the development plan for which the Sports Council provided resources. This development plan promoted a definition of the sport for the future. This resource role provided the Sports Council with sufficient agency within the National Governing Body network to pressure for the men's and women's

associations to amalgamate. The Senior Administrator argued in favour of the merger, suggesting that this would increase the overall agency of the sport as it would be enabled to “speak with one voice” (2:A:1:6). However, the President admitted that very real fears existed within the women’s association that this amalgamation would almost inevitably spell its death in the light of other amalgamations pushed by the Sports Council, where women’s organisations had been almost completely subsumed in the process. She argued that the networks of both the men’s and women’s associations had strong identities and traditions behind them, neither of which wanted to be lost and which fuelled member’s fears of amalgamation. Despite these concerns all the informants at National Governing Body level were clear that pressure from the Sports Council would prevail and the amalgamation would go ahead. This belief was summed up by the Senior Administrator:

There is a fairly clear push now from the Sports Council for there to be one association to govern the sport in England and so, I think that pressure is coming. I think that will force the hand of the sport, kicking or screaming or welcoming it, depending which way it goes, and I seriously hope it welcomes it pro-actively (2:A:1:117)

The coaching department, where the Senior Administrator was employed, had already pre-empted the amalgamation by working as a joint department while negotiations continued. This amalgamation would consolidate the two networks of the men and women’s associations as one node in the Sports Council’s network. This consolidation was also already pre-empted in the major disposition of the sport, in that both the governing bodies of the men’s and women’s associations had already moved to a new joint facility funded by a lottery grant.

The workload of both the professional administrators and the volunteer officers throughout the sport was increasing. For the professional administrators, although contractually employed, their responsibilities often extended beyond their initial remit, as the Senior Administrator explained, “whilst I’m Head of Coaching ... what actually happens is that most areas of development of the sport seem to fall on me” (2:A:1:2). The volunteers too found that the demands on their time and commitment were also rising. The President explained that she had taken early retirement from her job as a teacher, in order to fulfil her voluntary role for the National Governing Body. Both she and the Director of Coaching, who was also a volunteer, agreed that increasing professionalisation of the administration was the direction that voluntary sector sport was heading and was the most appropriate

response to the increasing workload. The total reliance on volunteers to provide administration of the sport at regional level was now changing too, as small numbers of professional development officers were being appointed at regional level, funded by the Sports Council. The Senior Administrator acknowledged that the women's sport had decreasing numbers of volunteers just at the time when more were needed. He saw this fall as due to the increasing time pressures affecting individuals in all aspects of their lives.

The Senior Administrator, as a professional in a primarily voluntary network, maintained that his relationship with the volunteers was a process of negotiation that held "unique challenges" because his own definition of the aims of the sport had to be negotiated through the volunteer-professional relationship (2:A:1:4). He acknowledged that his decisions could be overruled by volunteers, through the voting networks of the National Governing Body, who frequently did not have the level understanding that he had of the issues involved. The Director of Coaching, as his direct line manager, expressed the belief that the professional administrators should be left to do their job. She expressed confidence in the Senior Administrator but also indicated that she scrutinised his work closely to try to ensure some element of accountability. As the Sports Council provided the funding for the existing professional administration, it was well placed to exert pressure for the amalgamation of the men's and women's organisations. However, the President expressed doubts about the Sports Council's willingness to make long term financial commitments to the sport, especially with no success in competition, even after the amalgamation.

The Women's National Governing Body had implemented a policy which focussed on creating regional 'centres of excellence' for the sport, based in regional facilities. This mirrored the decision by the Sports Council to create the UK Institutional Network, to improve training pathways for elite athletes. Clubs then operated within the regional structure in order to provide pathways for elite performers to achieve the international success sought by the actors in the National Governing Body. The development plan had outlined regional centres of excellence, in order to make the fostering of new talent within the sport easier and more rational. Competition was closely linked to the allocation of resources so the need for success was predicated upon the subsequent ability of the sport to draw greater media coverage and, consequently, sponsorship. This need for competitive success, however, was argued to be "natural" by the President (2:A:3:1/91), while the Director of Coaching stated "you can't say that winning is not important because that is

sport, that *is* sport” (2:A:2:57). However, one club coach from the women’s sport suggested that this drive for success that had started to characterise the sport would certainly cause greater pressures to be placed on children to achieve that success, describing the process as bound to leave “some wreckage on the way” (3:C:4:3:6).

The Senior Administrator acknowledged that a tension and frustration existed between the Women’s National Governing Body the regional, county and local level organisations. What was apparent in the attitudes of the informants in the local clubs was an attitude of indifference to the National Governing Body. As one coach said stated that nobody took “a blind bit of notice” (3:A:4:1:23) of what the National Governing Body said. Another administrator argued that the indifference was because “apart from paying your fees, you don't get anything out of it, to be honest” (3:A:1:1:1/113). When questioned about the forthcoming amalgamation most informants in clubs did not see things changing particularly. As one informant stated, “it won't really affect me ... [the National Governing Body] its just there, isn't it?” (3:A:2:14). Another administrator, active in the sport’s county and regional networks, doubted that any benefit would come out of the amalgamation for the women's association. Already at regional level, she argued, joint meetings with the men's network had been called at the convenience of the men involved, excluding women with job or family commitments. This lack of accommodation for women, she felt, would be likely to be reflected at all levels of the sport, damaging the communication between women at all levels of the sport, consequently affecting the agency of women to defend the needs of the women and women’s sport. Her feelings were influenced by the actions of the actors in the local men’s club who, ignoring the existing women’s club, had set up a rival women’s club. The other mixed clubs felt that the amalgamation would make little difference to their usual functioning and that there was little overlap.

The sport at club level now mainly used facilities that had been built over the previous decade, through lottery grants. These facilities were shared by a number of different users, often resulting in different sections of the club using the facilities at different times. This change of the standing conditions within which the sport was conducted had, according to one club administrator, fundamentally changed the micro-social interactions of the club, as much work of the work of administering it had previously been done “over the washing up” in club houses, which no longer existed, and the result of this change to the sport was that “club spirit ha[d] taken a dive” (3:A:1:24). The change that these new facilities

brought to sport were also cited by another administrator as a reason why young married women with children dropped out of the sport, as their children could no longer be looked after collectively during participation because of staggered use of facilities meant that different groups were there at different times. The lack of routine times for conducting the sport also meant that external childcare was also hard to arrange.

In this sport administrative professionalisation was not the source of tension as it was in other sports as all the organisational networks studied were amateur-run. However, each of the clubs exhibited a different culture. The greatest contrast was between the one male club studied, and the other, women's clubs. The actors in the men's club were more concerned with competition at the top levels of the sport and winning sponsorship, describing the club as a "business" in its own right (3:A:2:1/62). The actors in the women's clubs all discussed the difficulty of obtaining any kind of sponsorship but for them the social aspect of the sport was the principal attraction, anyway. They were concerned with the clubs' "survival" (3:A:1:20). In one of the mixed clubs, the women's section sport had enough young participants to establish female junior club but it struggled in the wider club network to secure resources, including having officials taken away from their activities in order to officiate for the men's sport. This seemed to add weight to the fears that the amalgamation would the undervaluing of women's sport would remain, if not worsen.

Few youth facilities existed for girls in mixed or women only clubs, because it was assumed that girls were having opportunities to participate through school. Women's clubs often, therefore, only catered for adult women. The opposite was true for boys in that the sport was not one that boys necessarily did in schools and therefore youth sections of clubs were more common. The men's club had a large youth section, as did one of the women's part of the mixed club. However, in the women's clubs individual youngsters took part, playing in their senior teams, rather than having their own section.

Only one of the clubs in the research had a woman coach, and she was a volunteer who had now largely given up coaching. In all the other clubs the coaches were men. A number of informants, including both men and women, believed that women could not coach because they lacked the competitive aggression deemed necessary. One coach explained it as women not being "assertive" enough and in still being "happy if they lose", so the men's club coached the women as they "always have done" (3:A:3:2:1/102). The men's club

coach, however, discussed the difficulty of getting men to coach the juniors without feeling that they had to beat the children when coaching them.

Pressure of administrative work on volunteers at club and regional level was also increasing, so much so that an administrator active in those networks described the need for volunteers at that level to “live and breathe the sport” (3:A:1:15). Volunteers within the overall women's sport, in both the National Governing Body and lower level networks, were often portrayed as remaining in their roles over many years. The Director of Coaching explained this by saying that those involved had time and commitment, which often meant they were retired from their jobs and so “not quite so in touch with the modern sport” (2:A:2:25). This was substantiated by the administrator who worked in the regional network, who indicated that most of those she worked with in the regional structure were over the age of forty and were what the coach of her club described as “well-meaning amateurs” (3:A:4:3:14). The Senior Administrator believed that the association might “benefit from a bit of new blood on some of [the] committees” (2:A:1:45). However, a number of women informants argued that younger women within the sport increasingly worked and often had families and, therefore, did not have the time to give to administration of the sport. Elderly volunteers also dominated in the county networks above the clubs and were referred to variously as “elder statesmen” (3:A:3:2:32) and as the “Old School” by one administrator (3:A:1:1:1/148).

The diagram below represents the standing conditions of this sport, discussed in this section. The darker outlined boxes refers to the limits of the National Governing Body network.

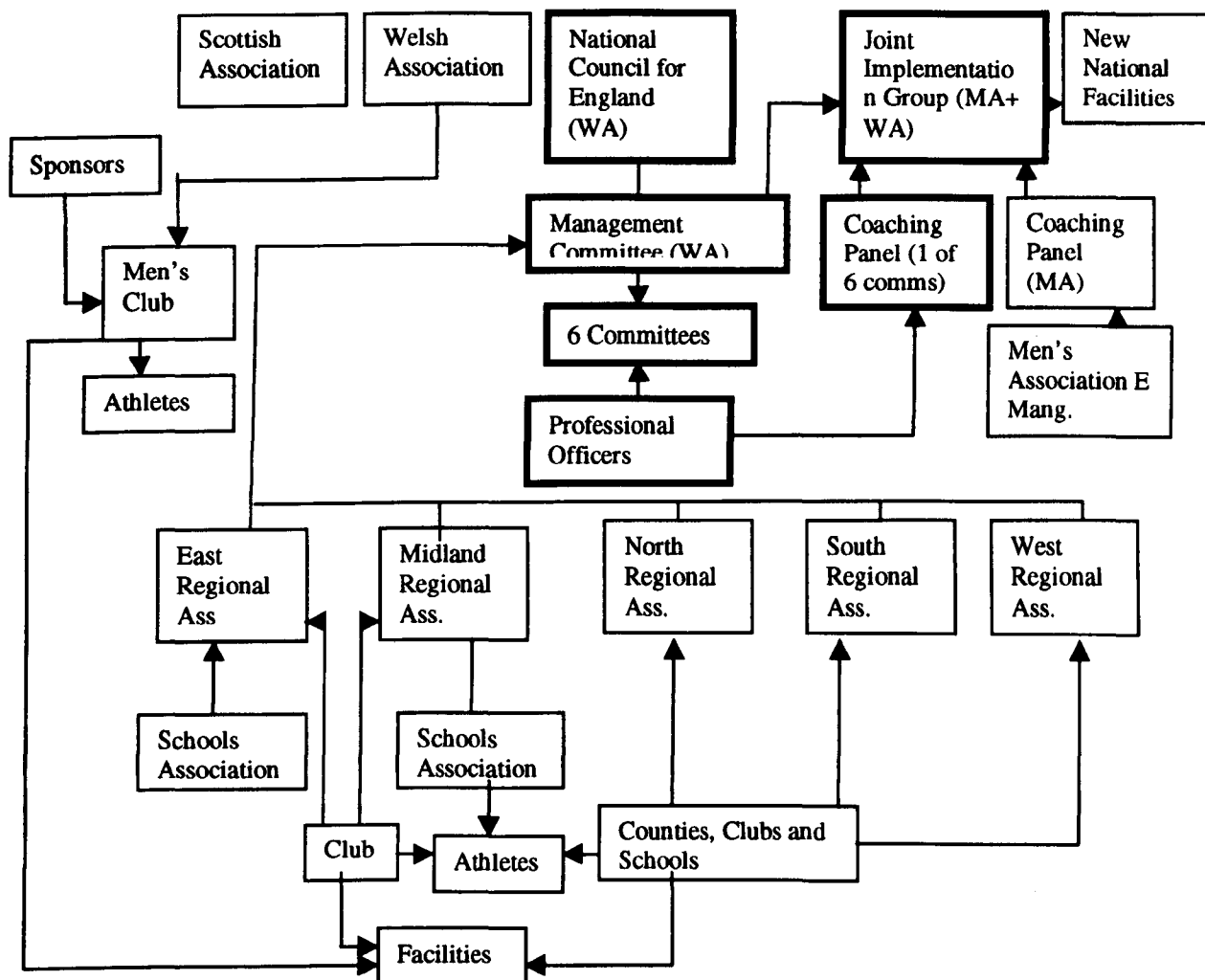


Figure 5.7 The Standing Conditions in the Network of Sport A

5.3.2.2 Child Protection Policy Network

No policy existed or was planned within the sport's organisation at any level at the point of the initial interview with the Senior Administrator. He believed that child protection had not been discussed in the sport because:

It's been an issue that hasn't raised its head within the women's side of the sport sufficiently to attract the attention it would, could merit. So I think that if an issue had arisen or been brought to the attention of the association territorially or nationally, then I think a policy would have been more forthcoming (2:A:1:72).

He stressed that simply because it had not emerged as an issue did not mean that there had been no problems, but that no problems had surfaced. The President, however, did admit that complaints about coaches' behaviour had been made, although not sexual ones, and she disclosed one allegation of sexual abuse in the sport but the individual had subsequently been cleared. Had an allegation of sexual abuse in the sport become publicly known then the National Governing Body would have acted, she affirmed.

The Senior Administrator and the Director of Coaching both believed that a collaboration between the Sports Council and of all the national governing bodies of sport was the most sensible method to approach the issue. The Senior Administrator, however, acknowledged the Sports Council's relationship with the national governing bodies of sport had in the past been defined as intrusive by some, so any action would have to be "sensitively handled" (2:A:1:107). The Senior Administrator made clear that he believed that the Sports Council had only responded to the issue because of the intervention of the National Coaching Foundation. His position as an informal actor in the larger national network was demonstrated by his knowledge, during his interview in January 1996, of the outcome of the meeting on child protection held by the Sports Council, literally days after.

No significant resource is to be given to that area, is what I heard informally, but that's not a decision that has been released publicly. (2:A:1:102)

He felt that this sent "very poor messages" to those involved in sport about the importance of child protection as an issue (2:A:1:104). He argued that it should be another cross-sport issue such as drug testing which should be the responsibility of the Sports Council. However, he believed that the Sports Council would do very little because individual actors within it were more concerned about maintaining their own position in the internal organisational network of the organisation, in the process of its re-organisation than in child protection. In the end he felt that it would only be through setting a good example, like the vetting and checking of their own staff to make sure they had no convictions for any crimes against children, that the Sports Council would lead, hoping that the national governing bodies and other sport organisations would follow.

The Senior Administrator had himself raised the issue for discussion within the network of the National Governing Body, “subsequent to recent events”, (a reference to the Hickson case) (2:A:1:89).

I have no doubt that following that meeting, what actually will happen is that I will be left to come up with some hard and fast proposals (2:A:1:92).

The President was clear that the need for the National Governing Body to produce guidelines was primarily to protect itself.

We have now decided that we should protect ourselves as much as anything, as we're going to take very simple precautions and this is being done through the coaching, rather than through the main body of the association (2:C:3:2/609).

The Director of Coaching admitted the possibility of a case like the Hickson case “worried any sport to death” (2:C:2:62) Through his previous work at the NCF, the Senior Administrator had seen the NCF’s document 'Protecting Children: a guide for sportspeople'. Excerpts from it had been utilised to provide information within the coaching courses offered by the National Governing Body at the equivalent of NVQ level 2, although the coaching structures of Sport A were not yet fully integrated into the NVQ structures.

The Senior Administrator had, through contact with actors at the NSPCC, received advice about proposals about appropriate action to take in this sport. Although he approved of them he maintained that that was “from a theoretical perspective” (2:A:1:97). The specific recommendation to check volunteers he did not believe would have any effect at club level, in a climate where clubs were “desperate to get anyone” (2:A:1:77). The President too was unsure what this checking would achieve. She was concerned that “It'll stop the wrong people. It won't stop the people who are in there for the wrong reasons because they find a way round” (2:A:3:2/664). The President was also very concerned about the resource implications of any such recommendations, because the governing body was not wealthy. The commitment to checking those working for the National Governing Body was felt to be the limit of what the organisation could reasonably expect to achieve.

The Senior Administrator also acknowledged the inability of the National Governing Body to enforce any such guidelines, arguing that even statutory proposals, such as the Children Act (1989), had “limited effect in terms of what actually happens at club level, at county level, at national level, out there ... on Sunday or Tuesday evenings” (2:A:1:69). Any guidelines “would be recommended advice, [but] it would be hard to say that's policy because we are not really in a position to control that” (2:A:1:76). The difficulties of translating the rest of the sport as allies for proposals from the National Governing Body, even concerning qualifications, were acknowledged by the Director of Coaching. She saw the role of the governing body over this issue as to give “warnings” (2:A:3:2/721), although it would be “very difficult to monitor” (2:A:1:94) their local impact. The only sanction open to the governing body was to refuse a club's affiliation but this had never been done, to his knowledge.

The concern about discussing this issue was evidenced by the initial reluctance of the two volunteers to be interviewed on this subject, certainly until they had been fully briefed by the Senior Administrator on this issue. Also, by the time they agreed to be interviewed for this research, the Senior Administrator had policy proposals under construction. The President, however, was unable to give any details regarding the nature of those proposals at her interview, indicating that it was an initiative from the coaching section of the National Governing Body network. She did indicate that child protection guidelines might become an issue again with the new 'feeder club' scheme, which was part of the national development plan. These feeder clubs were related to the regional centres of excellence discussed earlier, where the sport would be coached at elite level. The Director of Coaching, however, outlined a number of recommendations including the National Governing Body not employing coaches unless they had been checked for a police record of offences with children, either through the police or through List 99, the Department of Health list of those considered unfit to take charge of children. Other recommendations were being examined by the Senior Administrator, linking disciplinary procedures to a National Governing Body coach licensing scheme. However, the Director of Coaching

When the club level interviews took place it was necessary to discuss these matters hypothetically because the issue of child protection had not been raised formally at this level. Only one administrator had heard of any guidelines and she explained that at regional level the proposals from the National Governing Body had already been disputed

by actors sufficiently to prevent their dissemination to county and club organisations. In addition, she argued, part of these proposals relied on placing information in clubhouses, which no longer existed since the sport now used the new facilities. These recommendations received in this region were also difficult to understand because they referred to the other documents, of which the actors in the region had no knowledge.

A number of informants indicated that they did not believe that child sexual abuse happened at all in their sport. This disbelief and the associated reaction to the topic of this research was summed up by one coach:

you've given me some thought now here tonight. Be checking all our coaches! It is interesting, it is worrying but I hopefully don't see it as a problem in our sport because it's so open. (3:A:3:1/206).

One administrator argued that implementing the guidelines at club level was “probably not high on anyone's agenda until something happens within their club” (3:A:1:1:1/457). She also raised the problem of monitoring: “how you ensure that clubs sort of stick to those guidelines?” (3:A:1:2:1/378). She felt that clubs were unlikely to comply with regulations from the National Governing Body because “even if the county says you've got to do something, the clubs still don't do them” (3:C:1:2:1/489). Another administrator pointed out that clubs themselves generate paperwork “which nobody reads” (3:C:3:1:1/14). Other informants confirmed this by their assumption that their own clubs had policies about issues such as, for example, disciplinary procedures even though they had never seen them. The Administrator in the men's club expressed an extreme view that there should not be any special protection for children because any situation should be played “off the cuff” (3:A:3:1:1/80). He said that there were “too many laws, I'm afraid ... in my view” (3:A:3:1:1/88).

Several of the informants referred to the sexually charged culture of the sport with relationships between adult members as commonplace. An acknowledged strong lesbian element within the sport also existed. Indeed, one former club had divided into two clubs, allegedly over issues of homosexuality within it. One Administrator suggested that these high levels of sexual activity created ample opportunity for abuse in the sport if an individual was so inclined. In a rural area it was commonplace to drive players to events the sport was commonplace, she admitted “if someone had [abuse] in mind it would be

very easy” because the sport is “wide open” (3:A:4:1:41). Although she had only heard of sexual relationships in the sport between people aged over sixteen, she felt that the range of ages and sexes involved made the sport ‘risky’. This view of the vulnerability of players in the sport was not supported by the males interviewed in the male club who, despite their acknowledgement of the commonplace nature of sexual behaviours, did not equate them with abuse and they believed they would know if abuse was taking place in their club. All three of the male interviewees expressed their view that the club was ‘safe’, although the coach was more prepared than the others to consider the issues involved. They felt that these issues impinged on their enjoyment of the sport, regarding the guidelines as unnecessary and intrusive. One administrator identified the club as “where we go to enjoy ourselves, not to get involved in legal wrangles” (3:A:3:2:1/200). This was echoed by another, who expressed the opinion that it was not feasible to impose restrictions, like checking volunteers, because those involved were “just there for a social thing, really” (3:A:1:1:1/134).

The proposals created by this National Governing Body had little chance of changing practices at the club level. The pressure on the sport to achieve success placed greater emphasis on the utilising of young talent, expressed in the development plan and enacted through the centres of excellence, rather than on their protection. The inability of the National Governing Body to impose policy meant that little was likely to change in the life worlds of clubs, where children primarily were. The common conceptions about knowing who abusers were combined with the belief in the ‘open’ nature of their sport served to render the possibility of sexual abuse as irrelevant in an open context. This level of sexuality that seemed to be evident in this sport confirmed that there were opportunities within this allegedly public environment for private interactions to be camouflaged. The proposals, as intermediary, were both intended and functioned to protect the organisation of the Women’s National Governing Body from bad publicity, in the short term in response to the Hickson case, in the longer term, if any cases of abuse should arise from within the sport.

This National Governing Body interacted more closely with external actors in the wider national network of voluntary sector sport, rather than with their own lower geographical level networks. Accordingly, their proposals for child protection was prompted by activity in the wider national network of sport but were unlikely to change the standing

conditions in the lower level networks, where children actually were involved with the sport other than through collating the names of coaches on a database.

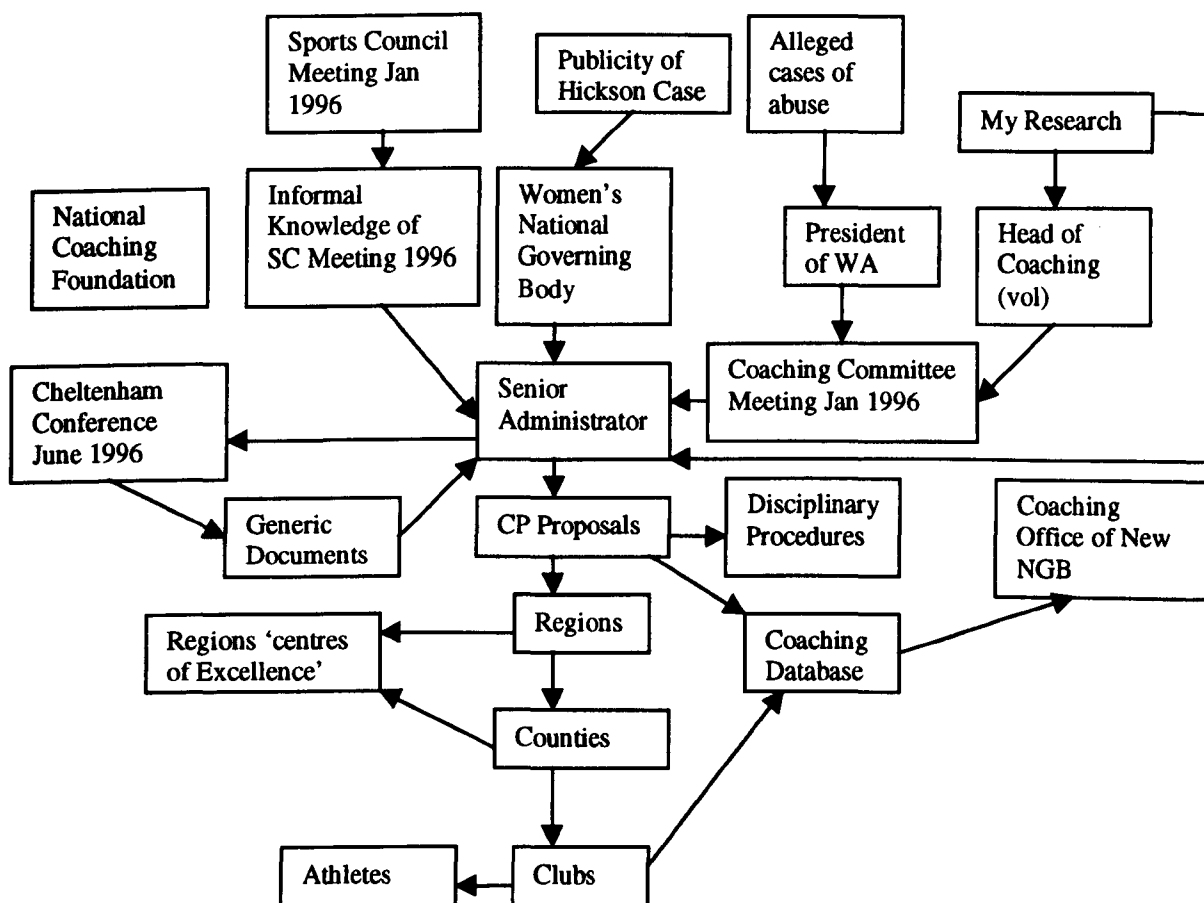


Figure 5.8 The Child Protection Policy Network of Sport A

5.3.3 Sport B

This section provides an analysis of cases in Sport B. Its organisations operate at a number of different levels from the overall GB Governing Body, through the governing bodies of the Home Countries, down through sub-disciplines, regions, counties and finally local clubs. The informants came from a number of different networks in this sport including; the English National Governing Body and Executive Committee of a sub-discipline striving for independence (in what is referred to in this study as Sport B1). The relationships between these actors in the network are discussed and then represented diagrammatically in Figure 5.7. Since a child protection policy did exist in this sport at the time of the research, its progression through the policy network is examined. This is then shown in Figure 5.8.

5.3.3.1 Standing Conditions of the Network

At the national level, disputes over meaning within the network of sport B were centred on the future direction of the sport. The English National Governing Body was attempting to impose its own definition of the future on the sport, though various activities including exerting pressure through the representatives of the English National Governing body in the GB Governing Body network. The English National Governing body had the most professionalised administration of the Home Countries governing bodies and it was, therefore, the professional administrators from the English National Governing Body who attempted to control this definition. However, the lower levels in this sport functioned relatively autonomously. A connecting thread through the sport at all levels was the guidelines for competition. At all levels the sport was organised around the different disciplines within the sport. It was through these discipline committees, at national level, that the Executive Committee of sport B1 was related to the wider network of sport B.

The definition that the professional administrators in the English National Governing Body was attempting to impose the Senior Administrator described as a “national corporate approach ... we're very much trying, to, I think 'dictate' is the word, in a nice way” (2:B:1:79). Struggles existed however, within the different disciplines of the sport, over this perception of the sport's future and the English National Governing Body's self-

definition as the obligatory passage point into both their own network but also for the wider sport, represented by the GB Governing Body.

The Executive Committee of one of the disciplines represented within the national network of the sport had been struggling to break away to form an independent governing body. The Sports Council, however, together with other external European and international bodies, had refused to recognise the Executive Committee for sport B 1 as a separate organisation. Only the Central Council for Physical Recreation had agreed to do so. However, through independent funding and the refusal of the Sports Council to allow the GB Governing Body to withhold Sport Council funding from this discipline, the Executive Committee actors of sport B1 were able to perceive themselves as a relatively autonomous network. The official recognition of this relative independence was the description of the relationship as a 'partnership' in the Annual Report from the GB Governing Body.

The self-definition of the actors in the Executive Committee network of their own organisation for administering their sport constituted a deliberate rejection of the structure and culture of the English National Governing Body, emphasising instead a "grass-roots organisation" (2:B 1:2:73) with no professional officers, run entirely by "enthusiasts" (2:B 1:2:21) but on sound business principles. This perception that the informants presented of their organisation was presented in contrast to the English National Governing Body, whom they perceived as corrupt. They dismissed as unimportant any interaction which described the relationship between the two organisations, placing the Executive Committee in a hierarchical relationship to the English Governing Body, such as the financial relationship. They also disputed intermediaries, like the coaching materials provided by the English National Governing Body that had been re-written. The financial relationship, was however, considered by other actors, like the President of the English National Governing Body, to indicate that the Executive Committee for Sport B 1 would not be able to resist being re-translated back into their 'proper' relationship to the English National Governing Body. Whilst he sympathised with their desire for autonomy he believed that they had not behaved like 'gentlemen' to achieve this. However, the impossibility of the reversal of this process of independence was agreed by all the informants from sport B1. This attitude of resistance was summed up by the Director of Coaching, "[the English National Governing Body] try to rule over us but you can't govern a group of people that don't want to be governed" (2:B 1:1:4).

The struggles between the English National Governing Body and the Executive Committee of sport B 1, waged over the definition of sport B1 as a 'discipline' or a 'sport', brought into question the definition of all the actors in the network of the sport. The actions of the external actors prevented B1's full independence being won but a partial re-definition had been possible. Their access to independent resources was based on the visual quality of this sport for media, and the attendant sponsorship. This enabled sponsorship to be gained, which provided a level of resource independence from the English National Governing Body.

Other struggles within the network included: those between the professionals administrators and volunteers; those within the level of professional administration; and those within coaching. The level of professionalisation in the sport's administration was not high, with primarily part-time administrative staff serving even the English National Governing Body, the most professionalised administration of all the sport's governing bodies. The Senior Administrator in the English National Governing Body evidenced frustration with the need to constantly translate the volunteers as allies for each new vision. He argued that whilst he realised that politics was about persuasion and compromise, volunteers often had little understanding of the broad issues, both within the sport and in the wider context of sport, of which they as professionals were acutely aware. He felt that the issues that volunteers focussed on as important were often meaningless. He identified those issues as not "necessarily ... policy, they raise trivia. They raise things that are so crap they're not worth discussing" (2:B:1:53). These included issues which the Senior Administrator described as 'sacrosanct', such as who would be Olympic judges, issues the professionals left well alone (2:B:1:74). Methods of by-passing the voluntary structure for the normative running of the organisation had been developed, and the President clearly saw his role, as a volunteer in the national network as being to monitor those normative activities of the professionals. The tension for the professional administrators was their inability to stabilise their working environment because of the need to refer constantly to the volunteer voting structure. The Senior Administrator admitted to feeling "exposed" and "vulnerable² in the structure because decisions taken by the professionals could be reversed in the volunteer committee voting structure (2:B:1:37). This meant that a degree of lobbying was necessary to mobilise the volunteers but he boasted that the professionals in this administration "very rarely los[t] them" (2:B:1:55) when trying to acquire validation for decisions taken.

The relationship between the English National Governing Body and the GB Governing Body to the lower level networks of the sport was expressed, if at all, through paper intermediaries. Struggles over the direction of the sport, epitomised in the struggles between the networks of the English Governing Body and the Executive Committee of sport B1, were meaningless in the wider context of the sport over which these organisations had little real control. Even the connecting link of competition guidelines, an obligatory passage point for clubs intending to compete, was administered by the county networks. Consequently none of the informants in the club level felt any interest or concern for the governing bodies of the sport and some believed the English National Governing Body to be inherently corrupt with its actors only out to enhance their own position. Within the club networks themselves the actors tended to be the parents of children. The President maintained that this narrowed the vision of these actors to such an extent that they concentrated on their own child, sometimes to the detriment of the club as a whole. Indeed, the President, despite his function in the national networks of the sport, spent more time in the interview discussing his own district and club than the sport as a whole. There were also tensions between professional coaches and volunteers officers at club level. One informant summed up the attitude of a number of volunteers to his club's professional coach: 'he's an employee of ours, although you wouldn't think so sometimes' (3:B:1:1/95). For professional coaches at the club level the difficulties in controlling their network were centred on the long hours they worked. The National Coach, for example, indicated that he regularly worked a seventy hour week. This limited the effectiveness of these professional coaches as actors in their local networks. However, if the coach was enabled to mobilise enough of the club to his vision of the club then it was possible for the coach to completely dominate the club networks, especially if that individual was able to mobilise actors in other networks.

The diagram below shows the standing conditions of the network of sport B. The dark squares represent the English National Governing Body and the dotted squares the Executive Committee of sport B1.

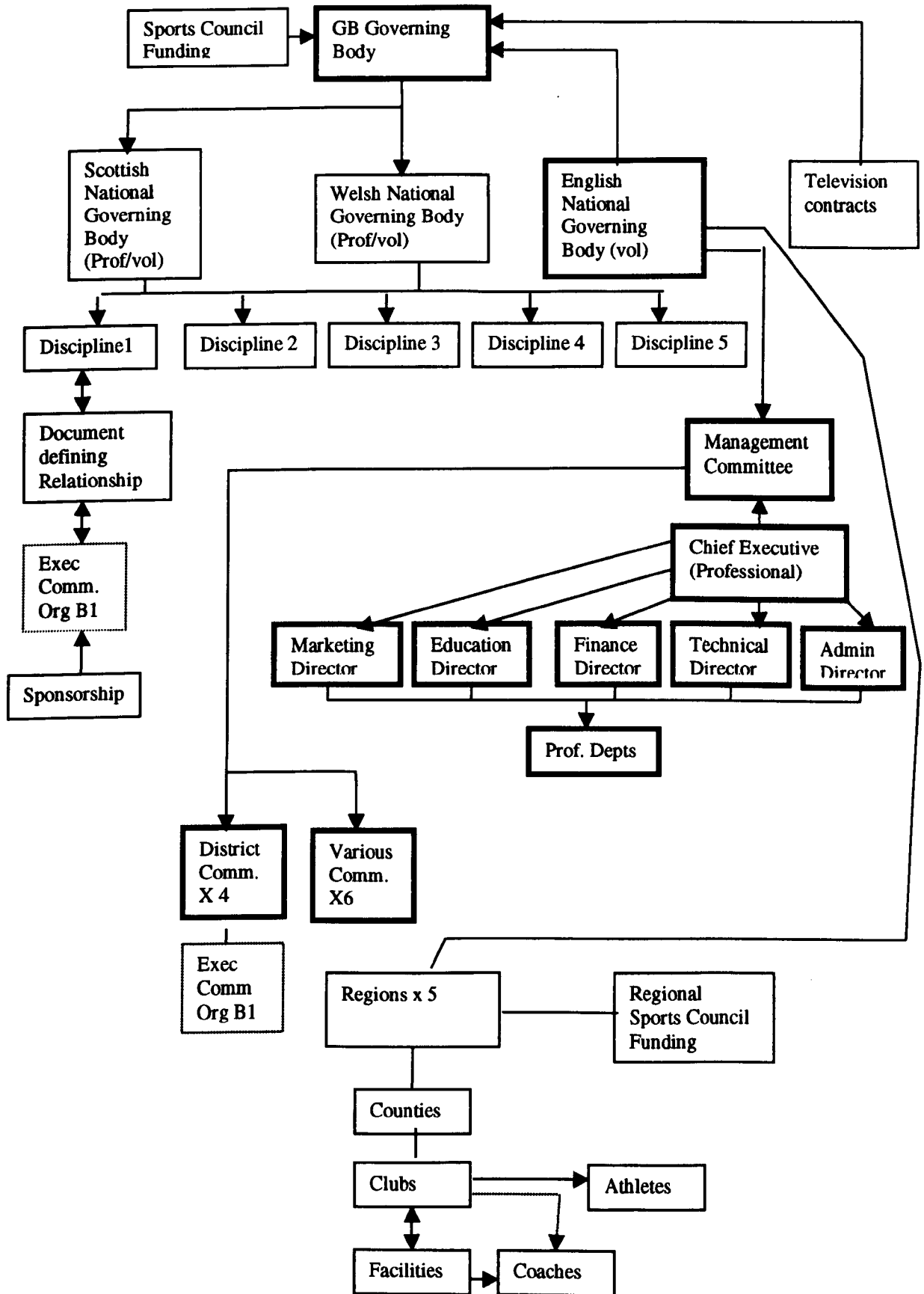


Figure 5.9 The Standing Conditions of the Network of Sport B and B1

5.3.3.2 Child Protection Policy Network

Child protection in this network had originally been raised, according to one club coach, through the coaching material in the early 1990s. However, it was the publicity surrounding Paul Hickson's trial that finally led to the production of child protection policy. The Senior Administrator of the English National Governing Body maintained that the child protection policy that existed in this sport had been planned before the publicity surrounding Paul Hickson but acknowledged that the issue of child protection was still a new issue for the sport: 'two years ago it didn't receive the same profile, it didn't ten years ago did it?' (2:B:1:99). He also suggested that informal methods of child protection had been in place within the sport for some time, although when pressed it became apparent that this simply meant women chaperones for mixed teams. Pressure to respond to the issue had increased with the publicity around Paul Hickson's case and high profile cases in their own sport. The imperative was deemed sufficiently important to channel money into the policy proposals and, since money was scarce, this indicated the high priority attached to this matter by the organisational actors in the English National Governing Body, who controlled the majority of the sport's resources..

The prime mover in the English National Governing Body for developing its child protection policy was the professional Chief Executive who, with help from the Senior Administrator, liaised with a number of pertinent outside agencies. The policy that emerged was an amalgam of the work of all the actors involved. This formation stage of the policy took place between 1995/6 with the policy document being launched by the professional office of the English National Governing Body in June 1996, just prior to the Sports Council conference in Cheltenham. The English National Governing Body's own document was disseminated to their clubs in late July/August of 1996.

The ability of the English National Governing Body to impose the proposals within the document on the lower networks of the sport, however, was negligible. The Senior Administrator argued that the governing body could only offer advice to the clubs and, indeed that the volunteers would almost certainly resist being instructed to do anything, as would the Executive Committee of Sport B1. Therefore, having produced the document the English National Governing Body could not impose the policy it implied.

This limited agency of the English National Governing Body, with regard to activity at club level, were also manifested in connection with possible sanctions to be imposed on those found to be guilty of abuse. The Senior Administrator recognised that the removal of qualifications for a coach, although possible, was difficult unless a court had ruled on an individual's guilt. Anyway, this was not an effective sanction since qualifications were merely desirable rather than compulsory for coaches. Indeed, one club had no qualified coaches.

The child protection policy guidelines covered educational issues, such as information on how to recognise abuse, information that was included in the coaching manuals, as well as examples of reporting procedures for organisations, and vetting forms and good practice guidelines in the appointment of volunteers. Other proposals included a sport-specific telephone helpline run by sports people, although practical difficulties of finding staff to service it were acknowledged, and the re-writing of the coaches' code of ethics. These proposals, the Senior Administrator indicated, were as much as the sport could reasonably expect to achieve at that time.

I think that (*indicates policy*) is all we can bite off initially because the problem is you can bite off sometimes far too much ... I mean to actually put this in place, the resources that will be required are astronomical, in time resources but also in cost (2:B:1:1 19).

The translation of the external allies outside of the sport, attested to in the document, acted to legitimate the document, endowing it with more weight as an intermediary within the sporting network. The governing body's engagement with the external agencies enabled the professional administrators to manoeuvre in a seemingly difficult situation, by providing an intermediary to define the governing body as aware of the responsibility of the children in their care.

The struggles implicit at national level, such as those between the English National Governing Body and Executive Committee of B1, indicated the impossibility of imposing this policy, or even promoting it. Responses to the document in Sport B 1 and in the clubs was, as expected, less than enthusiastic. Activists in Sport B1, as part of their general rejection of intermediaries from the English National Governing Body, set about providing their own response to the issue. By disputing the English National Governing Body's child

protection policy, as such an intermediary, the Executive Board sought to establish its own credentials as the governing body of Sport B 1. The National Director of Coaching and the Executive Board Member of Sport B1 maintained that a number of sexual abuse incidents had occurred while Sport B1 was fully under the jurisdiction of the English National Governing Body, but these cases had been kept out of the public eye at the time. This repudiation of the definition of the problem presented by the English Governing Body led to the Executive Board of sport B1 inviting Professor Celia Brackenridge to give a presentation to the annual conference of sport B1, in Autumn 1995, and define the problem for the sport.

The issue of child sexual abuse was described by the Chief Executive of sport B1 as “a burning issue for us that needed to be dealt with” (2:B 1:1:20). The Executive Board Member acknowledged the impact of the publicity surrounding Paul Hickson’s trial and sentencing, describing it as a “catalyst” that had accelerated the issue of sexual abuse in sport because of Hickson’s status as an Olympic coach (2:B1:1:25). The negotiations that had led to the Executive Board first taking child sexual abuse in their sport seriously as a managerial issue were spearheaded by the Executive Board Member, comprising part of his definition for the sport, located around controlling the behaviour of coaches. In the interview he admitted that his main reason for being so concerned, and also his basis for that definition, was that his partner had been abused in the sport.

I think that's the main reason, that's a good motivator and there are a few other people who actually feel very strongly and they either know or have known somebody that has been abused (2:B1:1:71).

He went so far as to say that the levels of sexual abuse in his sport were endemic. He went as far as to allege:

I think our sport is high risk and if you look at our Executive Board alone there are three possible people on there that have, either in the past or are continuing to, abuse their athletes ... so out of the eight people on the Executive Board its a pretty bad result (2:B 1:1:80).

In addition, the previous Finance Director for the Executive Committee had been charged with sexual assault on an under-age performer. Through these concerns the Executive Board Member had translated other actors, including the Chief Executive, into allies for a

code of ethics and to promote the control of coaches' behaviour. This concern with child protection, through defining appropriate behaviour for coaches, formed part of an internal struggle between the Executive Board actors, as did the invitation issued to Professor Brackenridge. According to the Executive Board Member, some members deemed her advice to be unnecessary and were abusive about her personally. Several individuals also walked out of her presentation at the conference. These struggles within the network of Sport B1 were concurrent with the work on the document undertaken in the English National Governing Body.

Within the clubs, some informants felt that the document produced by the English National Governing Body was both an undesirable attempt to impose policy and impractical because the governing body were so remote, with little understanding of their reality in clubs. However, no real resentment was evidenced. Only one informant, a club coach, argued that the governing body could and should choose to insist on policy statements about child protection as part of the affiliation arrangements but this was more because of general anger at the inactivity of the actors in the English National Governing Body.

If they're going to do something, they should just grab it by the neck and do something about it rather than fart-arse about like they normally do about everything. Handing out a set of guidelines is not enough (3:B:3:2:2/643).

The volunteers in the clubs were very clear that the proposals for vetting volunteers were impractical in a context where help was difficult to find. One club did indicate that if payment for vetting was required, then they would fulfil that obligation. However, the number of volunteers they used was only between two and three a year. Other clubs simply did not see the relevance of vetting volunteers when those volunteers were primarily parents. All the informants at club level believed that the policy document would impact very little on their practices.

The actors at club level believed that abuse could exist within their clubs without them knowing about it. Even in those clubs where incidents of sexual abuse had taken place, there was a disbelief. Because everyone was known in the club they could not be abusers and, if anyone was, most informants believed in their own ability to identify such behaviours. In one club a former coach had been convicted of sexual assault upon an athlete during the last ten years, and another club the administrator's grand-daughter had

complained about the behaviour of Paul Hickson, long before his arrest, when she had trained as a swimmer at Swansea University. One administrator summed it up, “we still think here, we’re a nice tight family, we’re quite self-protected against anything like, well, say that, happening” (3:B:4:2:1/156). Only one club coach, a female, who had disclosed abuse in her childhood to me, taught her coaches but she was as concerned for her volunteer coaches as much as for the children in her care. This fear was echoed by a number of different informants at all levels of the sport, including the President.

If you put an adult in the changing room and say, ‘look after these kids’, next thing you know, someone’s accusing that person of being the person whose assaulting them. It’s a vicious circle (2:B:2:2/514)

These fears were related to the concept of children who would “want to get their own back” (3:B:3:2:1/155). However, the power relations at club level favoured adult coaches, not children. All coaches interviewed, including the National Coach, acknowledged the power they had over their performers. The National Coach argued, however, that this level of intensity was necessary for high level achievement. One coach admitted he had even been approached by an athlete’s parents, to intervene in a relationship that they considered unsuitable, although he had declined to take action. The coaches who participated recognised the degree of power they had and the unlikely possibility of children being able to stand up against them as a major actor in the club networks.

A sixteen year old kid's going to come up against me?! I'm going to eat him for breakfast! So I have to be very careful about that (3:B:4:1:1/342).

This was echoed by one of the athletes:

A lot would depend on the age and maturity of the child in question but I think it would be quite difficult because, like, for instance if it were your coach, he's your coach, what he says, what he does is right and who are you to question it? It think it would be quite difficult, it would be hard to say something (3:B:3:3:1/45).

The athletes interviewed also agreed that, in their opinion, it was unlikely that children would feel able to disclose abuse. One female performer, a seventeen-year-old, summed up her own probable response to a situation of abuse or harassment thus:

I'm one of the oldest and probably quite an extrovert person, I'd say, but if something like that happened, I wouldn't have the confidence to go and tell anyone ... If I suspected it was happening to other people, maybe ... if there were two of us, I'd feel a lot more comfortable saying something (3:B:2:3:1/93).

All the performers stated that they perceived the coach as someone with immense power. The National Coach argued that the greater the desire for success, the more willing were performers likely to be to tolerate abuse, citing the athletes that Paul Hickson had been abusing for so long to support his assertion.

Within this sport the standing conditions of the network of Sport B involved contestation between actors at national level and lack of any real relationship between national and club levels. The media pressure around the Paul Hickson case created a situation in which the English National Governing Body was obliged to respond, as the major actor in the national network, in order to prevent potential bad publicity in the future. Since struggles characterised the relationships between actors in this sport, through disputes over intermediaries like the child protection policy, the possibility of full acceptance of the policy was unlikely. This concern proved well-founded with the rejection by Sport B1 of the English Governing Body's right to create such an intermediary for their sport. The responses from informants in local club networks also indicated that the policy was unlikely to change existing practices. Since most children in the sport are active in the club level networks, where they are outside the national network of control, this policy would function to protect the GB Governing Body and the English National Governing Body from media attack but would have little effect on the life-world of its child athletes in the sport. The resistance to the child protection policy document within the network was compounded by the beliefs in the clubs that abusers would be identifiable. Therefore, although a degree of resource was provided within this sport, the club environments remained unaffected by the changes that the document implied.

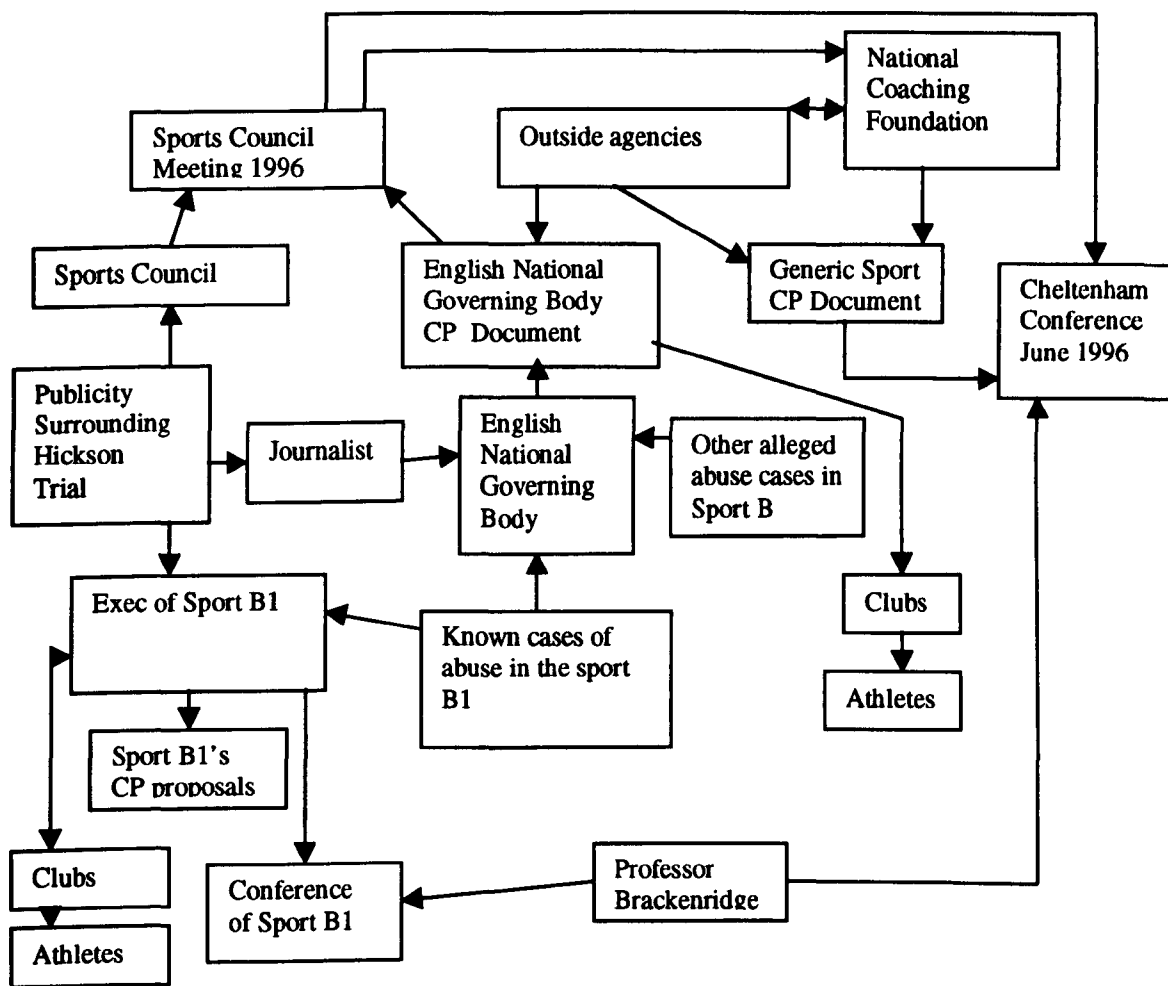


Figure 5.10 The Child Protection Policy Network of Sport B and B1

5.3.4 Sport C

This section discusses the case of sport C. The informants came from the English National Governing Body network of the sport. The standing conditions of that network are explored and then represented in Figure 5.11. Since no child protection policy existed in this sport at the time of the research, what is explored is the network of discussion that formulated around the issue. This is then presented in Figure 5.12.

5.3.4.1 Standing Conditions of the Network

The foundations of this network were formed by the men's association in the later half of the nineteenth century, with various subsequent networks had arisen over the following fifty years. By the 1990s the professionalisation of the sport's administrative networks was well advanced, with divisions of professional administrators at national level in areas such as, for example, coaching, development and international sport, which mirrored the voluntary committee voting structures. Various individual professionals administrators also existed in the regions administering the sport.

Four years previous to the research, the network of this sport had undergone major redefinition and subsequent relational changes. In 1991, the professional administrators of numbers of different organisational networks were pressured by the Sports Council to amalgamate, under a new macro-actor; a GB National Governing Body. Pressure to amalgamate had come from the Sports Council, as part of their drive to define obligatory passage points through which to rationalise their processes of funding into a given sport. This external pressure had been supported by a number of internal actors within the network, who possibly imagined that this creation of the new network might provide an opportunity for them as actors, to improve their position in the overall network of the sport. Prior to this amalgamation, each of the networks involved had been entirely independent the resultant new network had, according to one of the informants destroyed some networks in the process, particularly the old women's sport network. The new network inherited the aggressive political culture that had characterised the old men's organisation networks. This culture was manifested, therefore, by considerable resistance to the new organisation, which rendered the newly-created network highly unstable and left the definitions of actors within it open to dispute.

An attempt was made, shortly after the amalgamation, to stabilise the rivalries within the network through the creation of a consultation document written by the professional Chief Executive of the newly created GB National Governing Body in 1995. This intermediary was a discursive attempt to interest other actors in the network and to try to build a coalition between them all. It attempted to make explicit the problems associated with the political conflicts within the network, in the hope that the new national governing body could move beyond them in the pursuit of common goals. The difficulty of pulling together the disparate actors of this sport was acknowledged in the document:

Perhaps there are still too many organisations jostling for power; perhaps too many of these are continuing to operate semi-independently to the detriment of the sport as a whole; perhaps the new structure still encourages too much 'political' activity within the sport (C:1: 28)

By the time this research took place in 1996, it was widely agreed that the document had failed in its mission. No single actor was able to translate sufficient allies to impose a definition on the network regarding what would be for good of the sport. The Head of Administration described it this way.

There's too many conflicts from all the people; from the regions, from the commissions, from the honorary people, from the professional staff. Just nobody's working together in the same direction and maybe none of us know what direction we're meant to be working in anyway. (2:A:3:2/075)

The failure to secure the translation of the representatives of these organisational networks into the new GB National Governing Body failed at the point of reinforcing the translations. The initial phase of interesting the representatives of these networks had been successful, as had the second phase of enrolment of these networks into the new relationships as nodes within the newly formed network of the GB National Governing Body. However, at the point where repetition of the social interactions describing the new relationships should have confirmed and consolidated the new organisational network, the political struggles that epitomised the composite organisations created a climate of rivalry that prevented these new relationships from acquiring the durability necessary. Therefore, these organisations did not become stable nodes in the wider network of the GB National Governing Body. The widespread resistance to translation into the new network of relationships was epitomised by constant political activity and attempts to outflank and

out-maneuvre other actors within the new network. Interactions between actors, instead of confirming and consolidating their relative positions, were the focus for continuing political activity on the part of those seeking more power and dominant positions. For example, the Regional Development Officer felt under attack within her own regional association to such an extent that she felt unable to conduct business from her own office but instead was working from home because she felt safer there. Her expressed reluctance to initiate what would have been legitimate disciplinary procedures against the volunteers in her region, was predicated upon a belief that her case would not be heard sympathetically in the wider networks of the sport. Both she and the Head of Administration acknowledged that they faced constant efforts to outflank them in the networks because they were women in the predominantly male culture of the administrative networks and they were younger, professional administrators amongst predominantly elderly volunteers. As the Regional Development Officer would have had to argue her case in the national disciplinary structure, itself comprised of elderly, male volunteers, she did not expect to be heard sympathetically and risked losing her job altogether, which she felt was what was being pressed for.

This inability of any one actor to impose definition on this GB National Governing Body network meant that contentious behaviour continued to characterise the relationships across the sport. Any intermediaries that attempted to define the relative relationships of actors, such as policy documents, inevitably became the subject of resistance, redefinition and dispute. The struggle over the strategic document brought into question the legitimacy of the actors from whom the document, as intermediary, originated, that is the professional office. The Regional Development Officer and the Head of Administration acknowledged this would probably have been true for any intermediary or document, but was especially true for anything from the professionals administrators. With such tension and disputation within the network the ability to place meaning and direction upon the sport was almost impossible. No actor appeared able to translate successfully sufficient allies to impose any vision over the whole network. Consequently struggle and dispute remained the norm. In the figure below are shown the standing conditions of Sport C, the darker lines indicate the network of the GB National Governing Body.

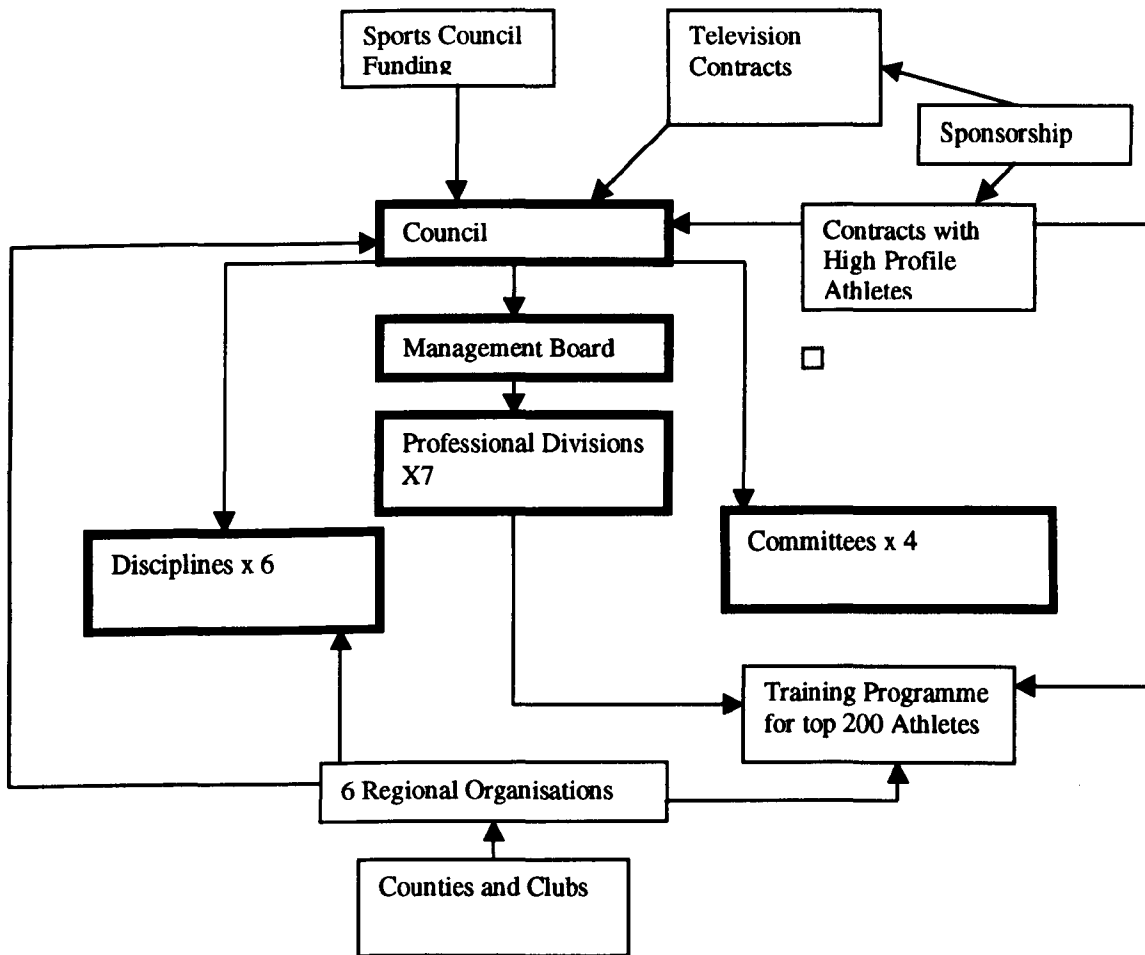


Figure 5.11 The Standing Conditions of the Network of Sport C

5.3.4.2 Child Protection Discussion Network

The Head of Coaching in the National Governing Body had dealt with one case of sexual abuse of an athlete by a coach since joining the professional coaching division in 1994. Prior to this, a few cases of child sexual abuse in the sport had been known over the previous decade but each had been addressed at club level, with no coherent policy developed for dealing with them. It was only the conviction of Paul Hickson and the subsequent press interest that brought the issue to prominence within the professional divisions of the National Governing Body network.

In the twelve months before Paul Hickson's case came into the public domain, the sport had already experienced a series of problems of negative publicity, with acrimonious exchanges between performers and the GB National Governing Body representatives over payments for athletes appearances, all taking place in the full glare of the media. This had negatively affected the flow of television contracts and, consequently, the level of sponsorship for the sport. This reduction in independent revenue for the sport coupled with the reduced grants from the Sports Council made what had been a fairly financially stable environment within the National Governing Body network into one characterised by diminishing resources, exacerbating the struggles between actors competing for those resources.

The Director of Coaching and Development was contacted personally by a reporter demanding to know what the National Governing Body of the sport was doing, or going to do, in light of Paul Hickson's case. The Director of Coaching described this contact as comprising "monstrous threats" (2:A:2:64) and he condemned the press interest as malicious and mischievous. However, he later acknowledged that such press interest had raised the issue to such a level as to demand attention. This threat of possible further bad publicity, associated with the media demands for a response to Hickson's case, and the potential for further negative press attention should a case in the sport ever come into the public domain, provoked the Director of Coaching to act.

He insisted that child protection had been conducted within the elite levels of the sport in an informal way for some time prior to the Paul Hickson case. He tried to stress that it was "not a case of suddenly we're aware of the Hickson case and we're panicking" (2:1:2:75). However, these informal child protection procedures consisted simply of starting the practice of sending women managers away to escort younger teams because they were perceived as 'good with the children', and moving those suspected of perpetrating abuse on. The Director of Coaching admitted having done this with an alleged abuser. The fear of bad publicity served not only to mobilise the Director of Coaching around this issue but also provided him with the means to translate other members of network into allies to the idea of providing some kind of policy response to the issue of child protection.

The Director of Coaching contacted a commercially run vetting agency, staffed by former policemen and probation officers, who problematised the situation to the Director of

Coaching as one of monitoring known paedophiles, “very devious people” (2:A:2:66), who might infiltrate the sport. The Director of Coaching admitted that the interview with the company had left him frightened of what could happen. The commercial agency offered itself as the solution to this problem, as an obligatory passage point for the vetting of all volunteers coming into the sport. However, the price was prohibitive, the National Governing Body could not absorb such costs, and it seemed unlikely that the volunteers would agree to pay for their own background checks to be done. So the possibilities of enrolling any actors within the networks for the vetting scheme were very slight.

The Director of Coaching then passed the problem of writing the document to a Regional Development Officer, who felt that this was not a process of fair delegation.

I've been landed in it. I felt (pause) because, I mean, the Director of Coaching will meet all the people at the national level and then will dump it on somebody to see it through. He will set up the meeting ... and then suddenly I get the file, saying, 'will you go to this meeting at the Sports Council', and that's it, that's my baby now. That's how it works in this sport ... its not delegation, it's dumping. (2:1:1:36/37).

Despite this withdrawal, the Director of Coaching continued to be the obligatory passage point for this issue in the voting structures of the National Governing Body, even after he had passed the job of document creation to the Regional Development Officer, as his subordinate, to handle.

The file was passed to the Regional Development Officer with instructions to attend the meeting at the Sports Council in January 1996 on the subject of child protection, where they were amongst the small number of national governing bodies invited. The Regional Development Officer attended the meeting and met Professor Brackenridge, whom she invited to speak on the issue of child protection at the sport's annual conference in February 1996, as an external actor who could help define the issue. Both external actors, the vetting agency and Professor Brackenridge were invited, although the vetting agency speaker did not attend. These external actors functioned to provide legitimation for the discussion of this issue, as well as meeting short- and long-term concerns about child protection. In the short-term these relationships could be used to defend the sport from press attack, should such a situation arise, until a policy could be written. In the long term they could be used to vindicate any policy procedures created, should that prove necessary

in the future. Taking part in my research also had the added benefit of impressing the gatekeeper used to gain access, a potential source of money for the sport.

The vetting agency and Professor Brackenridge offered different definitions of the problem of child sexual abuse, thus requiring different answers. For the Director of Coaching, the vetting agency had led him to see the problem as one 'others', those who are not like everyone else, which is a common perception about sexual abusers.

[It's] a small number of people in the sport, these evil people in the sport, who are exploiting the situation. It's a damn nuisance really, we wish they'd go away but we know very well that they won't (2:A:2:69).

Professor Brackenridge's definition, accepted by the Regional Development Officer, defined the problem as cultural that needed to be addressed through education. The Regional Development Officer accepted the cultural explanation and planned her proposals to be educational.

It's hidden, it's happening but it's not happening up front, it's not happening in view. We all suspect that it's happening but we haven't got any facts, we don't know it's happening because nobody tells us it's happening so we quietly ignore the signs, if you like (2:A:1:110).

Once the conference was over, the Regional Development Officer set about reading documents on child protection, acquired from a number of different governmental and voluntary agencies, with a view to producing a specific policy for her sport. She hoped, through this inter-textuality, to provide an authoritative intermediary, that would neither become lost in the politics of the sport, nor become the focus for an further attacks upon her own unstable political base.

At a residential course concerned with the sport, a week after the conference, child protection was briefly discussed at one of the meetings. This led to a direct approach to the Regional Development Officer, as 'expert', to write a piece for the sport's coaching manuals, literally overnight. The Regional Development Officer reluctantly complied. It was during this residential course she acquired an ally, another development officer, who

offered to assist her in the writing of the document. She accepted, as the writing of the document was still in its formulation phase.

In June 1996 the Sports Council conference on child protection in sport, organised by Professor Brackenridge, took place in Cheltenham. At this conference the generic sport policy document was launched. The GB National Governing Body had professional representatives at this conference. The Regional Development Officer had expressed a belief that a generic sport document was the most desirable way forward in dealing with this issue.

The proposals that the Regional Development Officer had discussed during her interview, prior to the generic policy, even though they might have been superseded by that generic policy, were of interest because they were conceived around contractualisation. A trend of contractual relationships existed in this sport as actors attempted to stabilise their relationships. However, the extent to which any such proposals or document could provide effective protection for children in club situations was acknowledged to be entirely dependent upon the self-surveillance of the clubs. The Regional Development Officer said this about the process of the document.

We're going through this whole business of trying to protect the child. It's going to be hard as a sport to do that, when you can't get right down as low as the clubs and the actual day-to-day training and day-to-day relationships of the coach and the athletes, it's going to be hard to make any changes there. (2:A:1:121)

The Head of Administration explained that these limitations of the professional officers' power extended to all the policy statements they issued. Effective surveillance was impossible. It was often only by chance that they ever found out about clubs or regions contravening policies or rules at all. The Regional Development Officer also expressed doubts that the clubs would ever give child protection cases greater priority than their concern for protecting the club's reputation. The struggles for dominance within the network discussed by the informants were acknowledged by them as very likely to compromise any policy document, either produced or introduced by the GB National Governing Body, no matter what its content. This diagram below expresses the discussion network for sport C.

The effects of the policy work on the existent standing conditions of this sport were, therefore, small. The level of dispute that characterised this network rendered any proposals from the professional administrators open to attack. This was not mitigated by any moral implications that attended this issue. Accordingly, the document served to protect the National Governing Body from media challenge but was likely to have little impact in the clubs where children engaged in the sport.

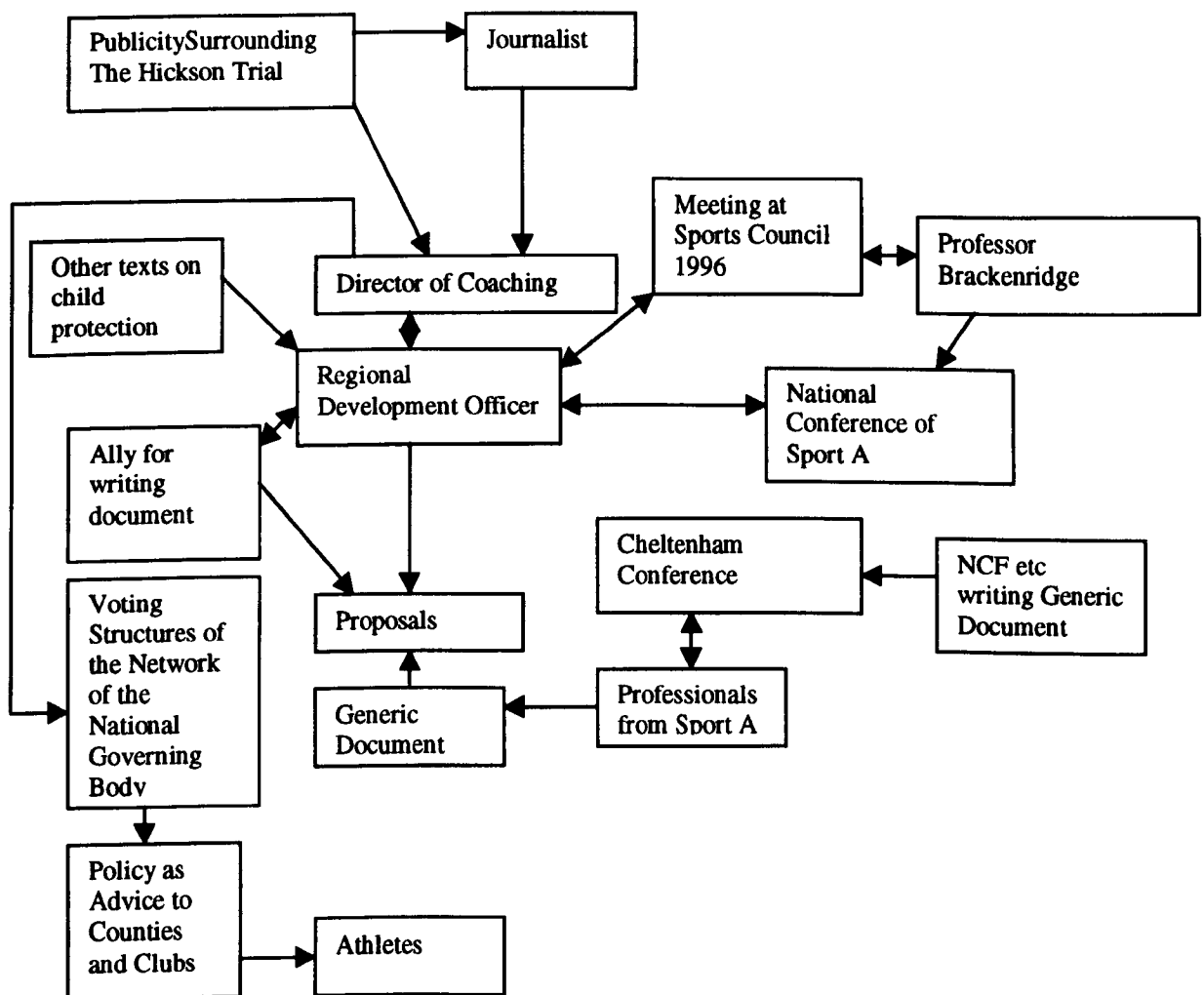


Figure 5.12 The Child Protection Discussion Network in Sport C.

5.3.5 Sport D

This section explores the context of sport D. The informants in this sport came from the English National Governing Body. Firstly the standing conditions of the network of Sport D are explored and then represented diagrammatically in Figure 5.13. Since child protection policy did not exist in this organisation at the time of the research, the network arising around the discussions of child protection are explored and then represented in Figure 5.14.

5.3.5.1 The Standing Conditions of the Network of Sport D

This sport had a highly professionalised administrative and coaching element, right down to club level. As this National Governing Body was self-funded, through media events and sponsorship, their own revenue enabled them, as actors, to provide resource to the lower levels of networks and to make durable, to some degree, those connections. However, connections between the various professional networks were not in a direct management relationship except between the English National Governing Body and the Regional officers, each professional club being independently run. These club networks, which included a high number of self-employed coaches, were outside the structures of management, and thus accountability, of the National Governing Body.

The National Governing Body's capacity for self-financing placed it in relationship to other actors in the wider national networks of sport, like the Sports Council and the NCF, as one of partnership. In fact joint-funded projects between this governing body and other actors, such as for example the NCF, were common and these jointly produced materials were usually made available for all governing bodies.

The Senior Administrator discussed the strong pressure from within the sport and from the media to produce a men's champion within the sport, and to a lesser extent, a women's one too. This desire within the networks of the National Governing Body, particularly the voluntary aspects of the network, to achieve this had been harnessed by the professionals administrators to promote structural changes in the relationships with the National Governing Body network itself, and between the networks further down the sport.

At National Governing Body level the professionals within the organisation had little contact with the voluntary parts of the networks. A *modus operandi* had developed by which most decisions were taken in departments and only later taken to the volunteer committees for validation. However, major changes like the re-structuring of the National Governing Body network itself were still negotiated by all actors, although the agenda was set by the professionals.

The structural changes, promoted and controlled by the professional administrators of the sport, formed three new actors within the network of the National Governing Body by formalising new professional divisions to mirror the existing volunteer committees. This restructuring was linked to monitoring the corporate strategy for development of the sport. The National Development Officer had been 'headhunted' from another sporting organisation in order to produce this strategy. This had been created in a document, which had been consulted on widely, through presentations by the National Development Officer, at the lower level networks.

As an intermediary, the document presented a definition which drew on the desire for a champion and which presented the proposed structural relationships, between the National Governing Body and the county development officers, as the means by which control could be exerted on the bringing on of talent in the sport. This extension of the professional administration down to county level, funded by the National Governing Body, was also intended to make the county levels of the sport accountable for money funded to them. In order to minimise the resistance in the networks, the National Development Officer had proceeded to promote his strategy through presentations to the groups of actors from the counties. This action combined with his ability to mobilise other actors external to the sport to support his strategy, he believed, would consolidate the National Governing Body as the obligatory passage point for the development of the sport. The National Development Officer perceived these county professionals as a method by which to change the standing conditions in the lower networks by providing a means for the National Governing Bodies to monitor the counties in relation to the national corporate plan. However, the National Coach, having herself served as a professional at these levels, was less sanguine about the ability to control those networks, arguing that many counties would take any resources going and then resist any attempts to control those resources.

The volunteers' ability to voice dissent was derived from their strongly middle-class profile. Accordingly the National Development Officer acknowledged that he had used current management "jargon" (2:D:1:1/115) in order to attempt to translate into allies the volunteers in those networks, reasoning that many volunteers would respond to them because they recognised them from their own working environments. The Director of Coaching, however, suggested that such volunteers were also skilled organisational players with strong views about the direction of the sport and well able to find methods to subvert the intended flow of power. The figure below examines the standing conditions of the the network of Sport D. The darker squares indicate the extent of the National Governing Body network.

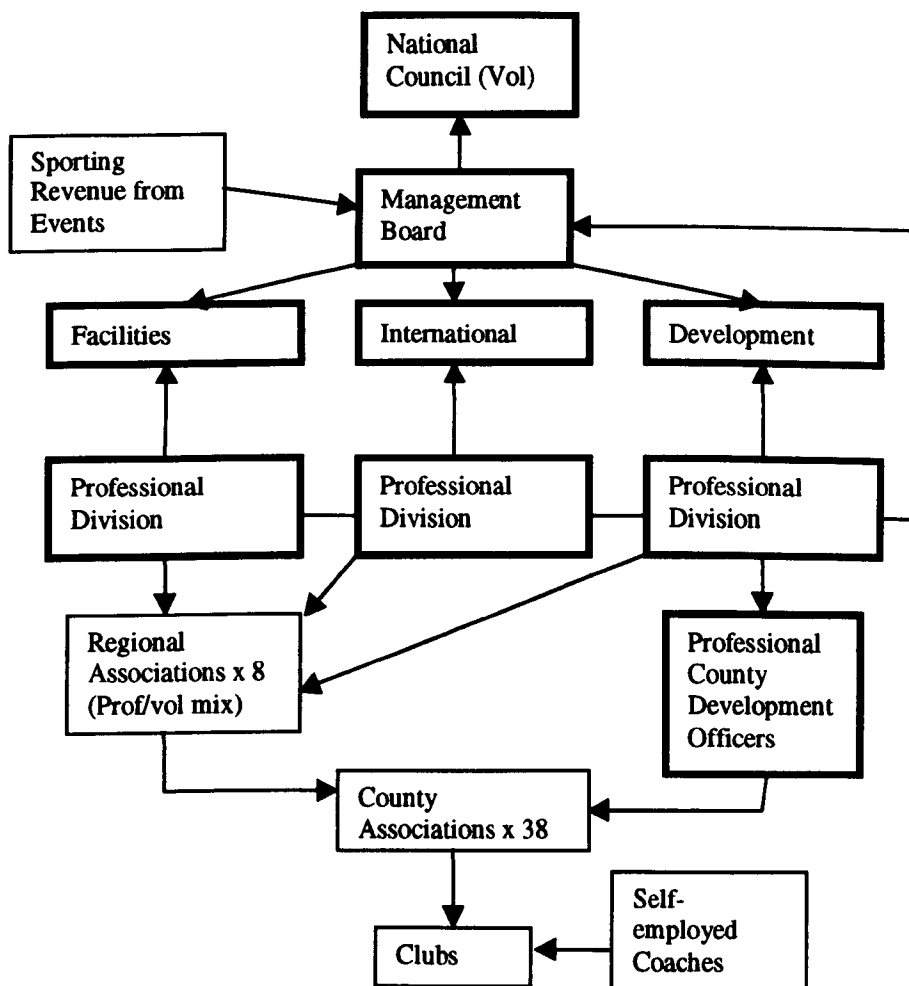


Figure 5.13 The Standing Conditions of the Network of Sport D

5.3.5.2 Child Protection Policy Network

Guidelines on child protection were disseminated to coaches by the Director of Coaching in the aftermath of Paul Hickson's sentencing. She indicated that the Hickson trial and the cases of suspected abuse by coaches in their own sport had raised the possibility of a high profile case within the sport and had provided the impetus for her to create her some kind of policy to prevent any external challenge for the organisation.

Hickson was in gaol on the Friday, that (*indicates piece of A4 paper*) was written by Tuesday. (2:D:2:108)

These guidelines had existed in draft form, to fulfil the element on child protection (H4) of the National Vocational Qualification level 2 award in this particular sport. The paper described the signs to look for that indicated that a child might be being abused, and included some reference to coaches' responsibilities towards the children in their care. It formed one of a number of documents produced by the coaching division on coaching. The document was sent to every coach on the databases of the National Governing Body and as information to the regional offices of the network in the week following Hickson's sentencing.

The National Coaching Officer maintained that, although suspected cases of sexual abuse by coaches had come to light in the sport, the male volunteers and professionals who comprised most of the networks in the sport were more concerned about being sued for libel by coaches they had wrongly branded accusers than about the well-being of children involved.

I'll tell you the reason. Well, first of all, dare I say it, it was dealt with by men. It had come up several times and there are three coaches of our sport in gaol ... [the] automatic reaction is to ring the NGB solicitor, who is more concerned with libel than anything else, and that's why I say 'men!' (2:D:2:87).

This both intimated the dominance of male actors in the network and that, in her opinion, these actors lacked an ethic of care. Her beliefs about the wider male-dominated culture were coloured by her own struggles with her immediate line manager, who she maintained, had bullied her to the extent that her husband had finally spoken to the individual about his behaviour. She had acknowledged that she had been unwilling to use any of the wider

actors in the network to support her resistance to his behaviour, although she did not explain why.

The National Coaching Officer was committed to producing guidelines for child protection for the sport, although she admitted to ignorance about the managerial issues involved. Her hope was that the Sports Council conference would provide her with the knowledge she required on which to form the base for her strategy and proposals. The reason for her commitment had emerged while she was struggling to persuade her difficult line-manager of the need for such guidelines.

You see. I actually get very upset about it. I mean I was abused as a child so I know, I have a very strong...and I got very, very angry over this coach ... in the end I had to say, 'I know a bit more about it than you think I do, and these people don't go away and they don't stop and they do keep on doing it and it isn't a one off. [My boss] was so concerned with the livelihood of the coach, which I can understand (2:D:2:87).

Her honesty about her abuse, however, was used against her in the politics of the National Governing Body network: "trouble is, I then [got] branded as being reactionary and obsessive and that is a danger, the down side to that [honesty]" (2:D:2:120). She admitted that she felt a conflict of ethics over the issue because she felt her professional commitment to coaches clashed with her own personal concern for children being abused. In addition, she did consider that she might be over-reacting because, she suggested, middle-class volunteers within the sport were less likely to be abusers than working class people were.

Her belief in the need for guidelines had crystallised when working on a recent allegation of sexual abuse in the sport where she had only discovered by accident the reporting procedures for Social Services departments and the police. Since this case had come to her attention after Paul Hickson's sentencing, the National Coaching Officer expressed disgust that individual governing bodies were still having to discover these processes. She believed that the Sports Council had responded very late to the issue of child protection, representing a failure in their advisory role. It had only been through a chance telephone conversation with the National Coaching Foundation that she had discovered the social service reporting structures. Not only did she feel that the Sports Council response was late in coming but when she had spoken to a particular individual actor from a regional

Sports Council, who had contacted her about one of the alleged cases of abuse in her sport, they had annoyed her by being more concerned about the implications of a false accusation for the coach than about the welfare of the children involved.

The Sports Council were the biggest draggers of their feet. I mean, I had the most ridiculous phone call from the regional bloke the other day asking me all about this business [problems with a particular coach] about how was I going to protect the coach? And I said, 'don't keep asking me about the bloody coach. ask me about the kids out there', you know, 'and what guidelines are YOU putting out?' (2:D:2:1 10).

This concern with the issue of false accusations made against coaches concerned both the Senior Administrator and the National Development Officer. The National Coaching Officer felt if this National Governing Body, as a reasonably affluent body, found this issue difficult to deal with, then such problems were likely to be even more acute in other less affluent governing bodies.

She acknowledged that once she had found some firm proposals the lack of interaction between the voluntary parts of the network and the professional officers that characterised the National Governing Body network meant she would have to only convince her own line manager in order to disseminate these proposals

The proposals suggested creating structures for reporting rumours and for collecting information on coaches over whose conduct question marks had been raised, although collecting such unsubstantiated information could be considered a breach of natural justice. The concept was to collate information and pass it to local authority Social Services Departments when appropriate. However, the major concern for the National Coaching Officer concerning coaches not found guilty within the legal process, was the governing body's position if they refused to allow such individuals to continue to work for them. This related to a case she was currently dealing with, where an individual involved had not been found guilty in the legal processes but she felt sufficient doubt existed to preclude allowing this coach access to children. However, rather than using the real issue for his exclusion, she used other reasons to work with the individual involved. Despite her awareness that this compromised natural justice she stated that both on a personal and professional level she would not have been able to live with herself if she had employed him and he had abused a child under his care.

The link to the club levels of the sport she acknowledged were slight and many of the self-employed coaches at that level were outside her jurisdiction and only contacted through mail shots. She maintained that “There's an awful lot [of clubs and coaches] that I physically can't get at, whatever policy statement I put out” (2:D:2:94). In addition, any attempt on behalf of the National Governing Body to prevent such individuals from coaching could be considered a restraint of trade if allegations could not, subsequently, be proven.

The Director of Coaching was confident of her ability to implement her proposals with the regional offices because they were a part of the professional administrative structure and closely related to the National Governing Body. However, her own commitment to this issue, once her history became known, had been labelled as ‘obsessive’, this undermined her political position within network of the National Governing Body organisation. There was also little chance that her work would make any impression on the club environments, since many clubs had no relationship to the National Governing Body at all. Therefore, the limit that the Director of Coaching could do, without having to mobilise actors outside of her immediate network, was to mail shot clubs and coaches and alert them to the danger. Therefore, despite the commitment of the individual actor in this sport, and her apparent ability to disseminate information and policy to the regions, there was little possibility that the standing conditions of the networks within this sport would be unduly affected, particularly the clubs level where children primarily take part in the sport. In addition, whilst this actor was aware, through her own experience, that sexual abuse could take place, she nevertheless, believed that abusers would be visible because of the middle-class profile of the sport would make abusers ‘visible’. This was, however, based upon a mistaken assumption as evidence suggests that sexual abuse is not the prerogative of any particular social class (Driver 1989).

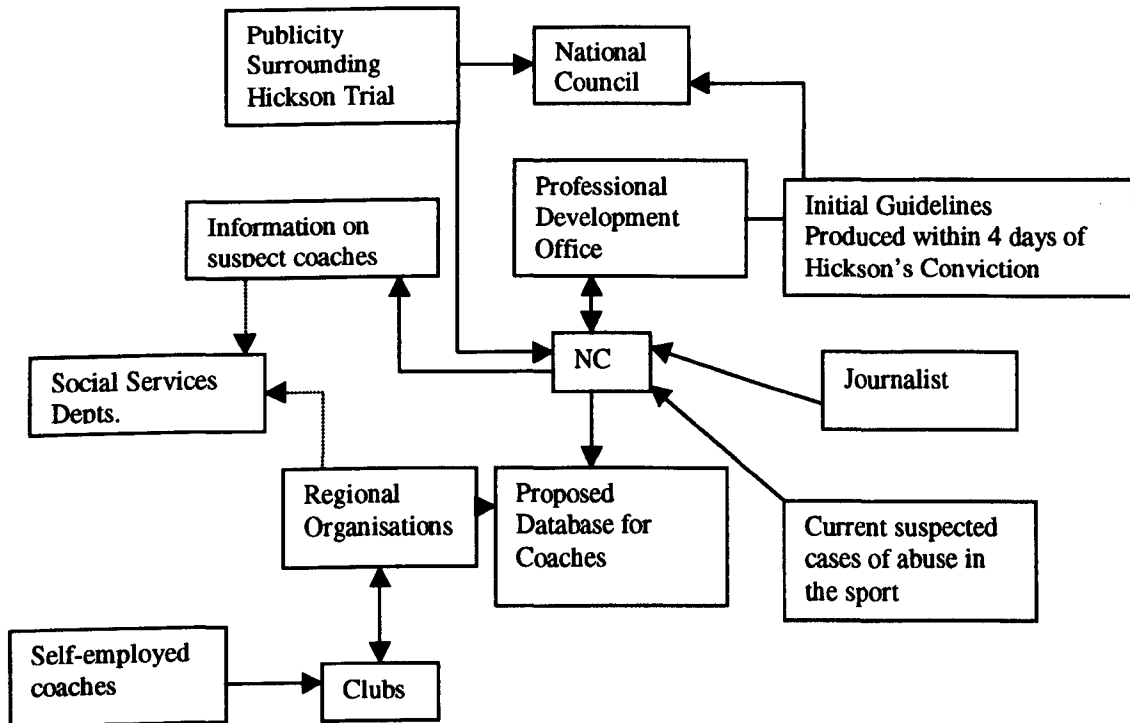


Figure 5.14 The Child Protection Policy Network in Sport D

5.3.6 Sport E

This section discusses the particular network surrounding the National Governing Body of Sport E. The Section below examines the major actors and the negotiations in the network of Sport E. These relationships are then presented diagrammatically in Figure 5.15. Although no child protection policy existed in this sport, issues around child protection were discussed with informants, and the potential for policy proposals is assessed in the light of these discussions and the standing conditions within the sport. The inter-relation of the child protection network is then presented in figure 5.16.

5.3.6.1 Standing Conditions of the Network

The network of the National Governing Body of Sport E had its foundation in the late 19th century. During the 1990s the National Governing Body was restructured to a limited company, with limited liabilities, owned and controlled by the voting interests of full members. An associate membership also existed, which did not entitle the member to vote. All members had to be over the age of eighteen. Through these full and associate members of the company of the National Governing Body, links therefore existed down to local levels. These links were, however, primarily with coaches and officials. Although details were kept on these members and associate members, other participants' details were collated only as numerical information on clubs. These clubs were affiliated directly to the National Governing Body and only had to register with their regional organisation if they wished to engage in competition. The regions were, however, provided with funds from the National Governing Body according to the membership in their area, irrespective of whether those members or clubs affiliated to the regional level organisation or not.

The relationship of the National Governing Body to the wider network of national sport was primarily through the funding received from the Sports Council, based on the submission of a national development plan for the sport. The accounting procedures for this funding had been reviewed by representatives of the Public Accounts Committee to examining the accountability required by the Sports Council. The Senior Administrator indicated that the representatives of the Accounts Committee had been happy with the National Governing Body's procedures but had declared that the level of accountability required by the Sports Council was itself inadequate. The Senior Administrator asserted, for himself as the representative for finance in the National Governing Body, the methods of accounting for monies from the Sport Council had become less complex, having changed from legally verified sets of accounts to a document simply setting out expenditure against income.

At the time of the research the Senior Administrator argued that the single most important definition for the sport concerned the decision, at national level, of whether to have one national academy for elite sports training for youngsters, or a number of regional academies. These academies were proposals in the white paper, 'Raising the Game' (HMSO 1995). The Senior Administrator argued that this decision could deeply affect the

future of the sport because a single national academy would, almost certainly, include Sport E and its provision would remove the burden of the elite training from the National Governing Body, leaving the governing body only grass-roots participation to fund. However, regional academies would not reduce in expenditure for the National Governing Body but for the regional associations instead.

Internal struggles over definition were also impacting on the direction of the sport. These struggles were around the increasing professionalisation, in both administration and participation, at all levels of the sport. The Senior Administrator believed this professionalisation of performance athletes was inevitable for the future and was already beginning to creep in through the prize money given for competitions. For the Senior Administrator, any reluctance by other participants to see the professionalisation of athletes as desirable was contradictory in a sport with a highly professionalised governing body and increasing numbers of professional clubs. The Regional Development Officer saw the issue of being paid providing a greater commitment to their activity, both from coaches and from performers.

Within his own network the Senior Administrator, as an accountant, associated the control of definition within the network with the control of the finance. Therefore, under his auspices, the financial structures of the National Governing Body had been overhauled (hence its formation as a limited company) and new, more strategic, budgeting procedures, he argued, had contributed to a culture of longer term planning. This strategic approach had attempted to remove rivalry between actors in the National Governing Body network over finances, by committing funds to each of five committees over a number of years. These funds were guaranteed to that committee and would not be taken away in favour of other if they suffered a shortfall, as had happened in the past.

The grant aid provided to the National Governing Body by the Sport Council was dependent upon the submission of a satisfactory future definition for the sport, through a national development plan. This intermediary was supposed to outline the proposals for development in order to monitor whether such funding was fulfilling that plan. This plan was understood as a corporate vision of the sport in the future. This corporate vision was possible, the Senior Administrator argued, because a new generation of young people, both

professionals and volunteers, was coming into the network of Sport E and who provided a change of culture. He maintained that they were “not cocooned, shall we say, in an educational environment, without being disrespectful” (2:E:1:32). This change, he felt, had led to a more business-like attitude on the part of volunteers and a recognition that they were “heavily dependent, obviously, on their professional advisors” (2:E:1:34), like himself. The Senior Administrator asserted that he did not lobby the volunteers to support his ideas so “there [was] not a vast amount of input from the volunteers” (2:E:1:40). The changes that had been made to the structure and finances of the governing body tended to support this view of a professional administration led network.

Although they received funding from the National Governing Body each region within the network applied for funding to their own regional Sports Council, and accordingly each region was acknowledged by the Senior Administrator to function as a totally autonomous network. Each region had “its own regional structure, its own management committee, they manage their own finances, its own committees and its own competition structure” (2:E:1:21). These regions were run by a professional/volunteer mix and although their development plans were intended to refer to the national development plan, the Senior Administrator admitted there were “local variations” (2:E:1:50). These plans enabled the regions to approach their own regional sports councils directly for funding. With little external surveillance from any other actors, the Regional Development Officer stated that she was left pretty much alone to develop the sport as she saw fit. Direct funding from the Regional Sports Councils meant that the National Governing Body of the Sport was not an obligatory passage point for funding between the external actors and the regional associations.

The Regional Development Officer discussed the struggles taking place between the younger people in the sport, both professional and volunteer, and the older volunteers in the network. Within the voluntary structures of the sport in the region she was part of coalition of actors trying to remove these older individuals who, she and others felt, had to make way for the younger individuals like themselves. She talked of an “uprising” (2:E:3:1/163) and “standing against these people” (2:E:1:1/165), although she acknowledged that the struggle would be difficult as some of the individuals were considered formidable actors; for example, one individual who had been around for a very long time, “everyone does what she says anyway, I mean within the region she’s such a

strong personality, within the region and the British association” (2:E:3:1/158). Relationships in sport in general, but in this sport in particular, the Regional Development Officer described as very “incestuous ... everybody knows everybody nationally and locally” (2:E:3:1/216).

Within the network of the wider sport the Senior Administrator admitted that there was some feeling at the local levels of the sport of “them and us”, and that decisions were made by “those people at the National Governing Body” (2:E:1:33). The relationship between the National Governing Body and the club level of the sport was a direct one because of the direct affiliation of clubs to the National Governing Body. However, a consultancy firm employed in 1994 had reported that despite this close relationship, communication with clubs remained a problem. Increasing numbers of those clubs were professionally administered, placing greater limits on any control exercised over them without contravening issues around restraint of trade.

The diagram below shows the standing conditions in the network of Sport E. The darker squares are those within the National Governing Body network.

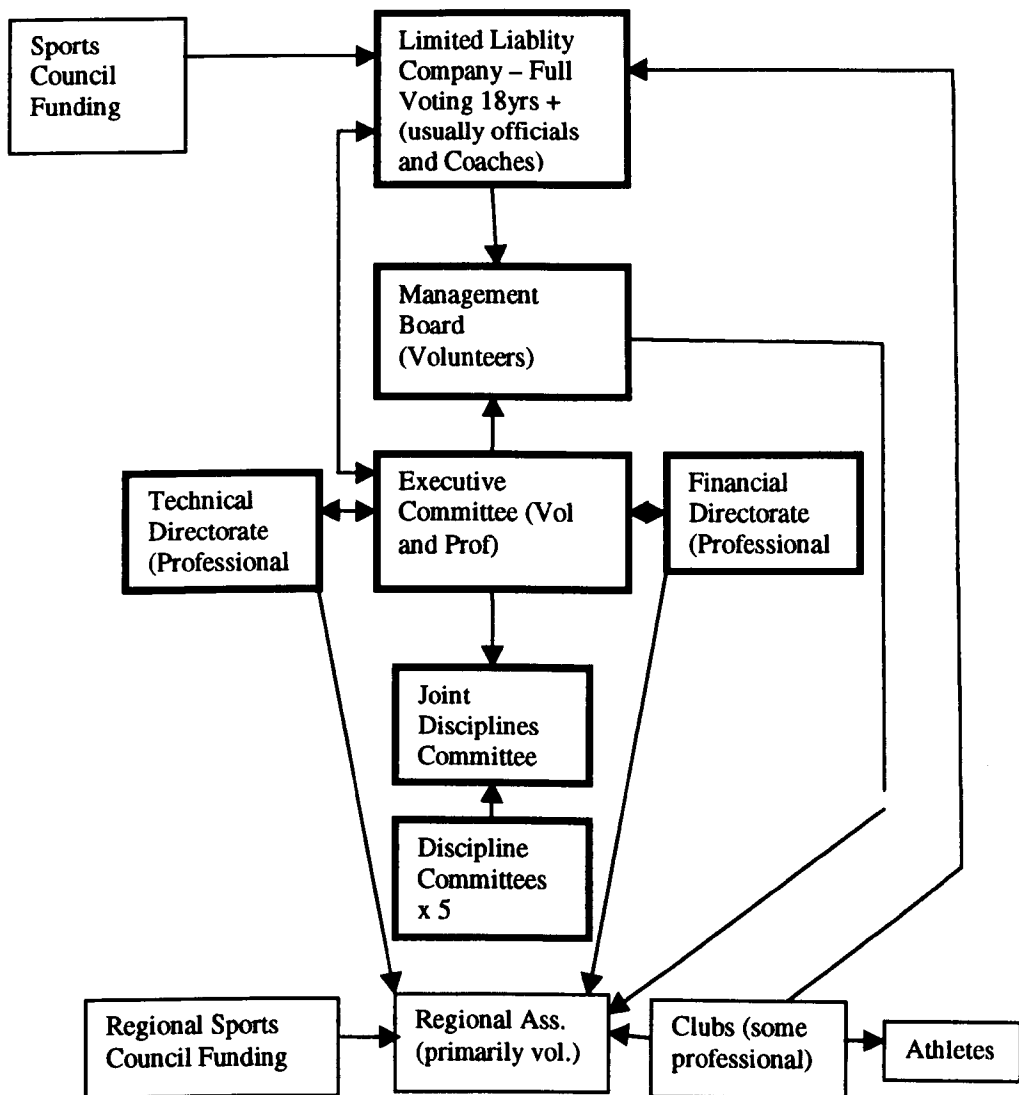


Figure 5.15 The Standing Conditions in the Network of Sport E

5.3.6.2 The Child Protection Discussion Network

In the wake of the publicity surrounding Paul Hickson, the Senior Administrator had attended the Sports Council's meeting about sexual abuse in sport, at the Sports Council in January 1996. He acknowledged that Hickson's case had made child protection a current issue within sport in general and within his sport in particular and, although currently nothing existed in the sport to protect children, policy was currently being planned. Hickson's case, combined with known abuse cases in sport E, had combined to make the

sport take the issue of a major public case, seriously. Although no firm policy proposals existed at the time of the research the National Governing Body had, for some time, been attempting to track convicted abusers in the sport by subscribing to the same newspaper clipping service as other voluntary organisations, such as the Scouts.

The Senior Administrator argued that the widespread inertia in sport in general on this issue stemmed from a lack of belief from members in the importance of child protection matters. Such inertia would be hard to overcome, he opined.

Sport in general, now, is very complacent, very complacent. Its always, 'I just don't believe it, Joe Bloggs has just been arrested No can't be right! He's not like that! Grand chap, never happen here, happy family sport!'. Very complacent (2:E:1:79).

He argued that it had taken one high profile case within sport, the Hickson case, to raise the issue and to overcome that complacency.

It doesn't matter what it is, whether it's the local accident black spot, it's always something major, you have a tragedy, or a series of tragedies, before anybody sits up and takes notice. Sadly, that's the way of the world (2:E:1:87).

This inertia was illustrated during the interview with the Director of Coaching who exhibited passive hostility to the discussion of the issue of child protection in sport. In addition, the Senior Administrator envisaged problems with a lack of resources in the sport available to deal with this issue. He argued "we consider ourselves under-funded without the funding implications of something like this" (2:E:1:76).

The Director of Coaching had produced what he considered to be sufficient documentation on the issue of child protection within the coaching materials. He believed that the ethic of care was sufficiently prominent in the current coaching materials, and that the creation of a separate concern about child protection placed coaches in danger of false accusation from malicious children. No real recommendations existed for policy at the time of the research: thoughts briefly discussed by the Senior Administrator included a code of practice closely related to the existing disciplinary procedures. The proposals would fit into existing disciplinary procedures, which had been overhauled in the two years before the research. The professionals in the administrative networks, however, were covered by employment law and therefore were subject to national law rather than the self-created law that the

disciplinary code implied. Over the time that the Senior Administrator had been an actor in the National Governing Body he had expelled four people for cases of sexual abuse, using both the old and the new disciplinary codes. However, all of these individuals had first been sentenced by the courts. The difficulty that the Senior Administrator could see was dealing with unsubstantiated accusations of abuse. This he saw as linked to the issue of wrongful accusation, raising problems for the National Governing Body if they tried to expel suspect individuals without them having first been convicted within the criminal justice system. This raised the spectre of being sued for libel and, should the individual be a professional coach, possible prosecution for restraint of trade. If, however, sexual misconduct had been proven by the courts, the Senior Administrator argued these people could easily be expelled from the sport; "I couldn't give a toss what their record is, how important they are, they go" (2:E:1:84). However, he acknowledged the difficulties of proving such cases and the grey area this created for exercising the sport's disciplinary procedures.

The Regional Development Officer explained the effects of cases of sexual abuse on the sport's culture. At the elite training level, on training weekends performers now had separate bedrooms, whereas formerly they had been used to sleeping in large dormitories with the training staff. In addition, a member of staff was taken on such weekends to fulfil a purely pastoral role. These moves were represented as real progress by the Regional Development Officer. However, any proposals that were likely to impinge on the way she coached her athletes in her club, she considered deeply undesirable, despite her knowledge of cases of child sexual abuse in this sport which had occurred place because of abusers' opportunities to isolate children. She indicated that having athletes staying alone with their coaches in their homes was:

common practice with elite level kids, especially when they live so far away, to do that, and I can see that it can be taken advantage of and I know of cases where it *has* been taken advantage of, but if guidelines come in, I would phone the National Governing Body and say, 'do you realise then that my national under twelve squad member will not be able to train and she will have to finish with the sport and you're losing one of your commodities' (2:E:3:2/632)'

Within this sport the responses of the actors in the National Governing Body to the issue of child protection were provoked by the media concerns and the publicity surrounding Paul Hickson, although no specific work on this area had been done. In addition, the impact of

any guidelines that the National Governing Body might produce on the standing conditions of the sport was likely to be very small. This was because not only were the National Governing Body unable to create policy for clubs, where most children took part in the sport, but also because the attitudes, displayed by the National Coaching Director and the Regional Development Officer, implied that, even if policy was forthcoming, the existent culture of coaches was extremely resistant to the kinds of proposals necessary for child protection. Below is the child protection discussion network for this sport.

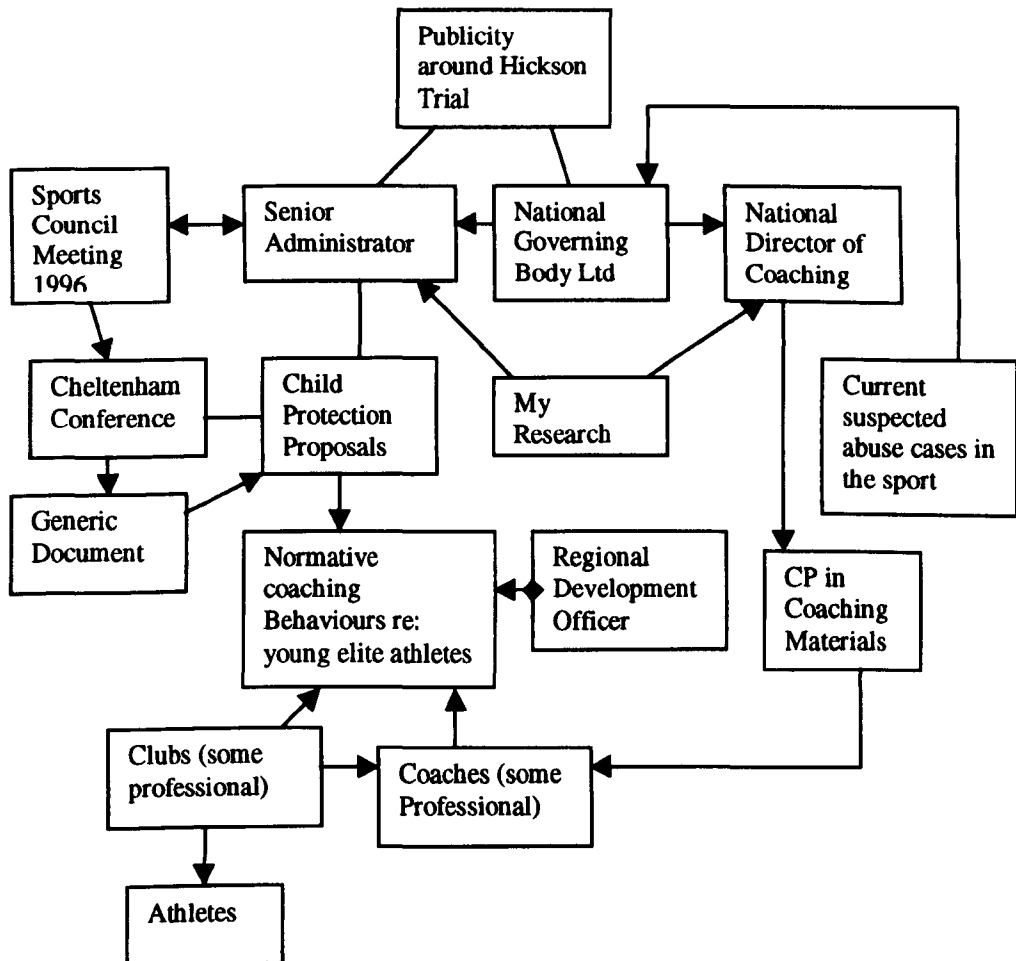


Figure 5.16 The child Protection Discussion Network in Sport E

5.3.7 Sport F

This section examines child protection in relation to the network and actors of Sport F. The informants for the research came from the National Governing Body. The relationships between the actors within and between networks are discussed and then presented in a diagrammatic form in Figure 5.17. As no child protection policy existed in this sport, the network of the discussions around the issue is examined. This network is then visually mapped in Figure 5.18

5.3.7.1 Standing Conditions of the Network

With little or no external funding from sponsors or television coverage, the relationship of the National Governing Body of Sport F to the Sports Council was one of financial dependence. The Sports Council, consequently, was powerful enough to impose a definition on the sport network, promoting the amalgamation between two of them, the schools' association and the existing National Governing Body, to create a single network through which to channel funding into the sport. Accordingly, the National Governing Body had become an obligatory passage point for that funding. Lottery funding was primarily closed to them, not only did they not have the finances necessary to match the Lottery grants but the high proportion of volunteers in the administration of the sport meant that no actors, the professional administrators most of all, had time to construct the necessary bids.

A small group of full-time professional administrators, with the support of a group of part-time paid secretaries, ran the National Governing Body. The volunteers who could afford the time to be involved tended to be primarily, older retired women. These individuals were described by the Administrator as the "old school" (2:F:3:1/365) or "grey-haired brigade" (2:F:3:1/331). This situation was slowly changing within the sport, particularly at the National Governing Body level, where a new more business-like attitude had been introduced with the relatively recent appointment of a dynamic Chief Executive. The time it would take for the older volunteers to move out of the structure and new, younger people come in was going to "take some years to work through" (2:F:2:16), according to the Administrator. The workload for the professional administrators could have justified more paid staff to deal with it, but no funds existed for that. The Administrator acknowledged

that this lack of paid staff often placed greater pressure on the volunteers to carry out the policies and decisions generated. However, the Director of Coaching maintained that problems did not really exist between volunteers and professionals.

In certain issues, in certain policies, policy decisions it is, then there can be a little bit of tension but on the whole we work very well with the volunteers and I think that's probably the nature of who we are; the majority are women, we don't have any male/female stuff. (2:F:1:13)

However, for the President the increasing workloads in the administration created a tension between the volunteers and the professionals administrators. The President, herself a retired teacher, had this to say:

I'm unpaid and she's paid, now I don't resent it because I'm a volunteer and I've always been a volunteer but there comes to a stage where you start thinking, 'well, you know, they're getting paid to do the job' (2:F:3:1/213).

The Director of Coaching, who had also previously worked as a professional administrator in another governing body, acknowledged that she was obliged to find strategies by which to translate the volunteers as allies for her decisions. She described her strategy as "through a series of questions you ... get people to come up with the right answer" (2:F:1:51). Through this process of interesting and translating the volunteers on her committees, the Director of Coaching hoped to use those volunteers to 'sell' those ideas to the wider networks of the sport. The Director of Coaching identified the impetus of the organisation as coming from the professional administration, describing herself and the Chief Executive as "driving" policy (2:F:1:52) through having to interest and translate volunteers as allies. However, the President talked about the professional administrators as only "employees" (2:F:3:1/189) and that they "shouldn't be making any major decisions" without proper consultation (2:F:3:2/618), although they sometimes did so.

All the interviewees acknowledged that poor communication existed between the networks at the different levels within the sport. Even the Administrator, whose role was to engage in joint projects with the regions and counties, had no contact with the local club level of the sport. Methods for improving communication had been explored, for example, a newsletter to clubs had been designed as an intermediary to promote the relationship between the different levels of the sport's overall network, and a database of participants

through to make connection with the individuals participating at the grass-roots in the sport. However, all the informants agreed that there were large networks in the sport who had no connection to the National Governing Body whatsoever. Even within the networks of the sport which appeared to provide access to clubs, the National Governing Body's policies, guidelines and recommendations often failed because their dissemination relied heavily on the goodwill and conscientiousness of volunteers in the lower level networks in the sport, which was often largely absent.

If you're going to make policy at the top, there is a level beyond which you can't permeate, without the goodwill of the people there. (2:F:1:69)

This, the Administrator argued threatened her ability to develop the sport properly.

You just need one slight break in that chain at some County, some region or another. Some are efficient and some are not so efficient. (2:F:3:2/686)

The National Director of Coaching maintained that the representatives of the National Governing Body had advised the regions and counties to appoint people to committees on the basis of merit, but she acknowledged that the widespread shortage of volunteers made this unlikely.

The National Governing body's lack of knowledge of practices taking place at the local level in the sport, underlined its limited penetration a grassroots level. However, one policy which had actively promulgated, backed by the dissemination of both information and resources, was opposition to the use of drugs in the sport. This information was disseminated and the policy pursued, despite the perceived lack of need within the sport, simply because the Sports Council took care of all testing and the policy, consequently, did not place any undue stress upon the already over-stretched resources of the National Governing Body.

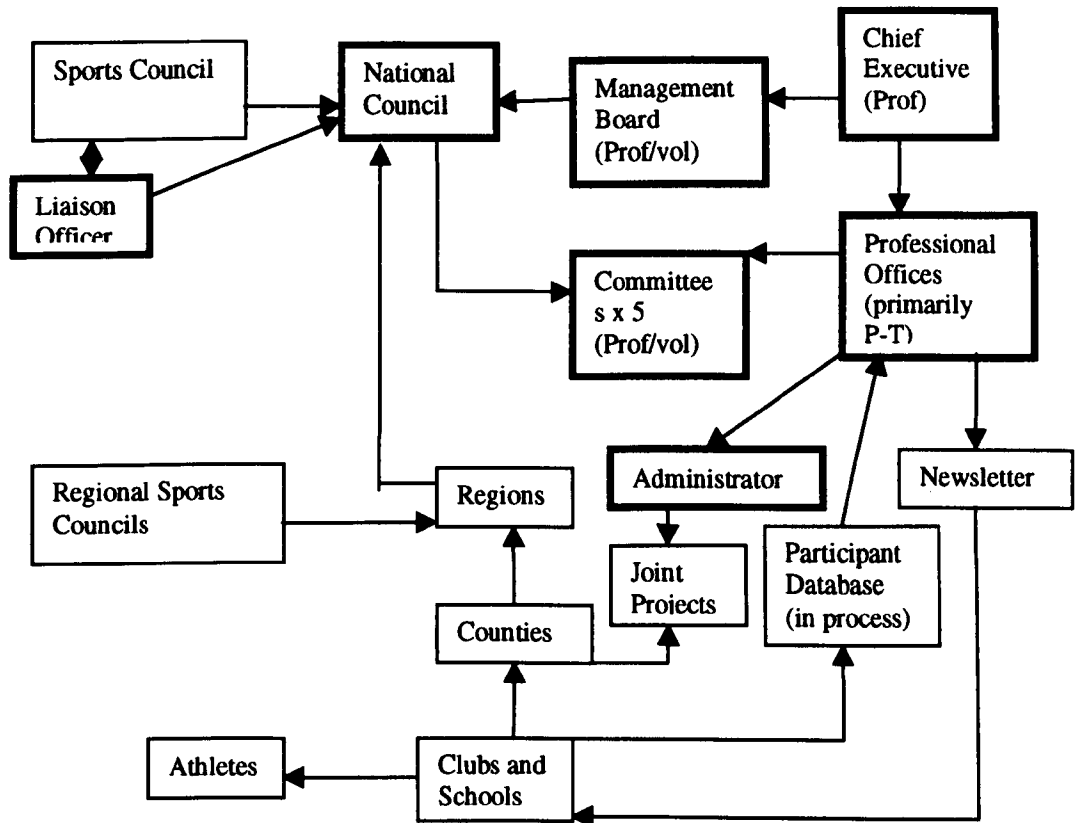


Figure 5.17 The Standing Conditions in the Network of Sport F

5.3.7.2 Child Protection Discussion Network

The recent amalgamation of the National Governing Body and the Schools' association had made the professional administrators review the implications of the Children Act (1989) and to send out simple advice to clubs. However, the Administrator was unsure whether its recommendations had had any impact on grassroots level.

I don't know what practical difference it made to people. I guess, people who were using external facilities, well as we all do use external facilities, had to become a bit more aware of things like insurance, but I'm not sure that it's made much difference to the person in the clubs in terms of the way they run the clubs. (2:F:2:45)

In terms of the implications of the publicity surrounding Paul Hickson's case, the President suggested:

People are much more aware of happenings. There's much more media coverage of things that happen and I think the Paul Hickson problem with the swimming, highlighted a problem which may have been smouldering underneath for quite a long time (2:F:3:1/41).

Even the professional administrators, who were those most likely to have knowledge about wider issues in sport, had no clear idea of what was being done about child protection in sport as a whole. The Administrator expressed the belief that she was "sure" that the Sports Council were keeping the National Governing Body informed (2:F:2:60) and the Director of Coaching was also "sure" that that the Sports Council was doing something, although she did not know what that was (2:F:1:97). It was only through the process of this research that they discovered that the Sports Council conference on child protection was taking place in Cheltenham. The Administrator indicated that she did have additional information derived from her wider sport network, from one Regional Development Officer who had attended a National Coaching Foundation seminar on child protection and abuse in the North-East of the country. She felt that more regional initiatives would have been better than one national conference. However, in terms of this sport, the President was adamant that child sexual abuse was not an issue.

I don't think we should be over the top on this because it is certainly not in our sport, we don't have any problems. (2:F:3:2/795)

However, later in the interview she acknowledged that this was not strictly the reason why it was not addressed:

It may well be that it's there. We don't do anything about it but you're a bit frightened of drawing attention to it in case you suddenly get an influx of people coming at you with complaints. (2:F:3:2/855)

According to the Director of Coaching, the issue of abuse was not one which people in the sport saw as a problem because "nobody would look inside our sport and think [sexual abuse] relates to us because presumably its 99% women and girls" (2:F:1:83). Irrespective of the erroneous assumption on which this was based, that women do not perpetrate abuse on children, this claim was also acknowledged to no longer be true, as both the President and the National Director of Coaching agreed that the sport was no longer exclusively a

sport for women only. The President also subsequently disclosed that there had also been problems with a male coach in the sport but she would not identify whether this was to do with sexual misconduct. This perception of the sport as single sex, however, was what the Director of Coaching identified as the major reason for there being no plans to develop a child protection policy, despite the widespread knowledge about Paul Hickson's case.

Even the Director of Coaching, who did believe that the National Governing Body had a duty to its junior members regarding the issue, admitted that the governing body was engaged in crisis management and, consequently;

This isn't a priority, not an issue ... until something happens, like Paul Hickson, and we have to put in place measures that will prevent that happening. (2:F:1:105/106)

She had purchased the document 'Protecting Children: a guide for sports people', published by the NCF. She claimed that she had not read due to lack of time but maintained that child protection, to some extent, underpinned the new education materials she had written for the coaching courses, through their focus on athlete-centred training. The Director of Coaching expressed concern about this issue.

I'm .. it's my responsibility, I feel a responsibility to do it, I feel guilty if I don't. And I guess at the end of the day if I don't do something then there is the danger that we might have problems out in the field. It's part of my responsibility and it's not just a professional thing (2:F:1:1 19).

However, both the Administrator and the Director of Coaching explained that a new professional development officer was being appointed, to whom all information gathered would be passed and who would be responsible for this. Thus the new actor, not yet appointed had already had been given the 'hot' issue.

The Director of Coaching argued that the Sports Council should take a co-ordinating role in this issue because governing bodies, like themselves, simply worked under pressure and replication of information gathering seemed foolish.

Some procedures about taking care of children did exist, in the guidelines for the Administrator's summer school. This only outlined the logistical duties of the staff, making only one reference to appropriate behaviour by staff towards the children.

I would ask each staff member to consider the level of supervision and control which she would expect her own child to receive under similar circumstances.
(F1:2)

No indication was given as to whether staff were vetted, for their suitability to take charge of children.

The issue of child protection in this sport stood little chance of receiving full debate in this governing body, primarily because of definitions about the sport being single sex, and because women are, erroneously, often not believed to be abusers. As was expressed in earlier chapters both of these beliefs are untrue. The National Governing Body, dependent as it was for Sports Council funding, dealt with issues on a crisis management basis and, therefore, unless a significant case took place within the sport, the issue was unlikely to be considered relevant or urgent. However, rising numbers of men and boys becoming involved in the sport may in due course create a perceived need for such guidelines, but even if the National Governing Body produced such policy, they lacked the communication necessary at the club network level to implement any policy at the level where it would be needed. In addition, large networks of the sport did not even have affiliation to the governing body who could not even be reached by recommendations.

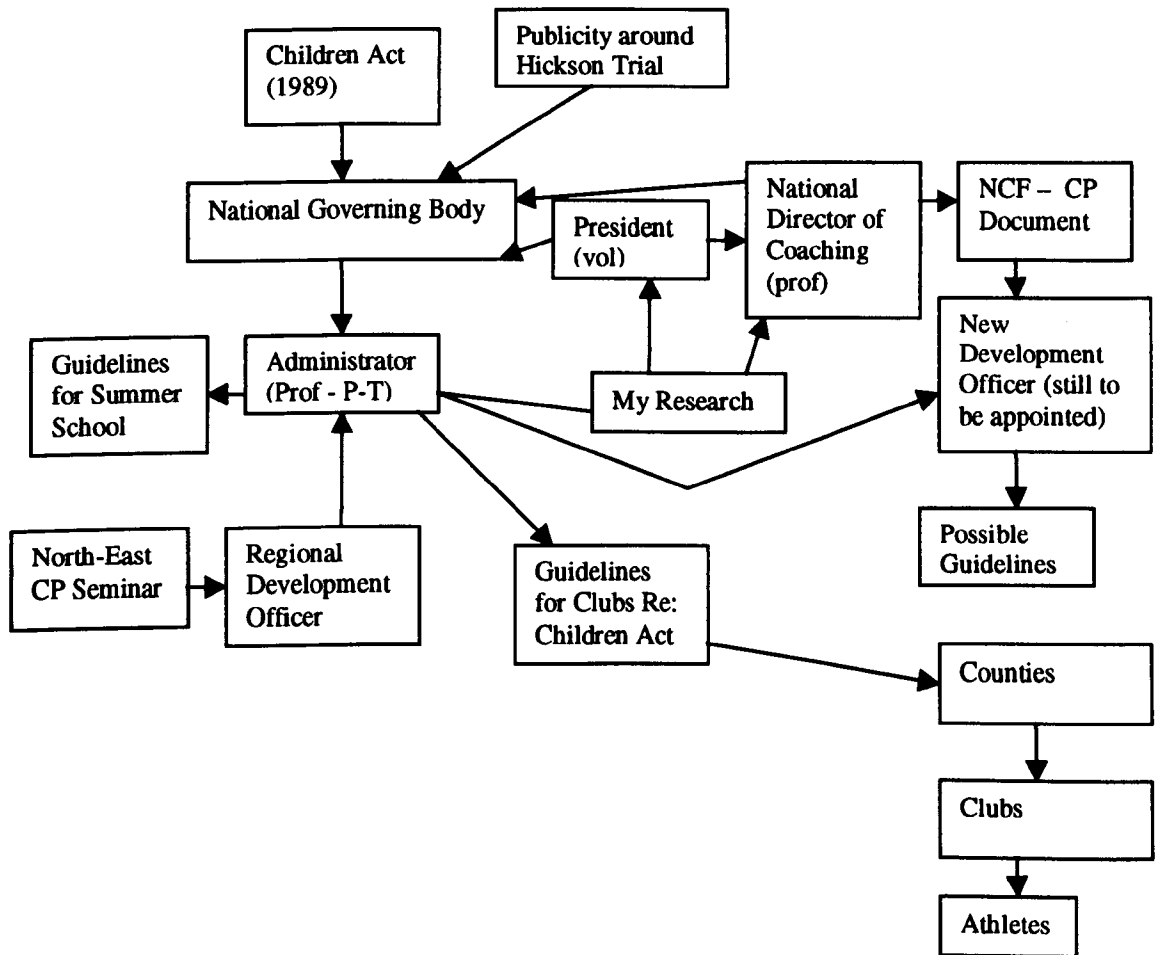


Figure 5.18 The Child Protection Discussion Network in Sport F

5.4 Cross Case Analysis

The last section presented and discussed each case study as a unique terrain of activity with regard to child protection policy. This section, therefore, attempts to draw out patterns of similarity and difference in Section 5.2, between the Church case study and the sport case studies as a whole and, in Section 5.3, for the sport case studies in relation to each other. Section 5.5 then provides a summary of the chapter's contents.

5.4.1 Similarities and Differences between Networks and Standing Conditions in the Church of England and British Voluntary Sector Sport.

In both the Church of England and voluntary sector sport a cohesion of definition exists in both institutional contexts, defined by various set of intermediaries, that are concerned with exercising agreed set of controls over the enactment of their activities. In sport this was through rules specifying the rules for competition and in the Church of England it was through the 'rules' for worship, outlined in intermediaries like the Alternative Service Book (1980). This conceptual connection which implied the limits of meaning which defined the boundaries within which existed the institutional network. This overall definition formed a crucial building block in the self-definition of organisational networks as obligatory passage points to dispense such information. For example the national governing bodies acting as obligatory passage points mediating international rules, primarily, to the regional networks of their sport. Within the Church of England the diocese, as a regional actor in the national Church, mediated the decisions of the national Church for the smaller geographical networks of the parishes. This self-definition was an attempt to provide fixity and durability to their position within that dissemination process. The reciprocal nature of this connection was suggested by committees of representatives from these smaller geographical networks within their own organisational network. This enabled the representatives of these larger geographical networks of actors to act as though the durability of these smaller network translations was not in question. Therefore, these networks representatives represented themselves as macro-actors, who controlled and 'spoke' for the lower level networks. However, these self-definitions were found not to be sustainable in the face of the actuality of normative interactions between the networks, which showed that these relationships down to the smaller geographical area networks were, at best, 'advisory' only. This meant that in both the Church of England and in voluntary sector sport a lack of coherence characterised the relationships from the national levels down to the club and parish level, despite often an overall cohesive institutional definition.

In both these contexts, the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport, this discontinuity between networks meant that, even when policy was created as advisory only, it could not always be disseminated effectively to the locality of club or parish. Often it relied on the diligence of individual actors, often volunteers, as obligatory passage

points, or the only means of access, into those contexts. Nor, if such proposals could be got to these localities, were means of policing or surveillance, with regard to its implementation, considered either possible or desirable in these voluntary organisations.

In both these voluntary areas, through various interfaces, these institutions were increasingly dealing with the state mechanism, at all geographic levels. This has created a greater demand, according to Kendall and Kapp (1995), for skilled individuals, both in professional administrative roles and as volunteers. For both voluntary sector sport and the Church of England, bids to the lottery could be made, but often require long complicated processes of professional administrator's and volunteer's time, which where all sorts of resources were stretched, such work was not possible. Thus the most in need areas could not negotiate the process to acquire funding. For the Church, these bids to granting bodies were also affected by the age of the dispositions for which the capitol grants were required, which, as primarily listed buildings, often proved complicated and difficult to make alterations to, or repair.

The increasing workloads and the commitment that individuals appeared to give, both in the Church and in the sports, bordered on the sacrificial. As on sport informant suggested, who was active in club, county and regional networks of her sport, the commitment required of volunteers in administration was that they "live and breathe the sport". (3:A:1:15). This was also true of the church wardens in the parishes, all of whom were elderly and disabled, but did not feel that they could 'retire' because there were no other volunteer to take their place. Information was only gathered in a few networks functioning in these areas, but informants consistently suggested that increasing workloads, fewer volunteers and not enough paid professional administrators and staff were problems for the wider networks in these areas and for voluntary organisations in general.

In both areas, women appeared to have difficulties with male-dominated networks in which women and their work were not fully valued. Examples include, the difficulties of acceptance experienced by women priests in the Church of England and the struggles with other male actors by the two female professional administrators in sport. In both areas gender was a key dimension in the struggles between these women and the other actors in their networks. For the women professional administrators in sport, it was exhibited in their unwillingness or inability to mobilise the wider political structures within their

networks, because of their *belief* that they would not be heard sympathetically in the male volunteer dominated organisational networks at regional and national level. For the women priests, there existed pockets of resistance to their very existence in the church, from both men and women at all levels in the networks. This rejection was exhibited in acts of resistance, such as refusing to engage in administrative work or worship in which women priests were the initiators.

The major differences between the two areas were in the relationship between these institutional areas and the state. Although this was a major concern for the networks within these areas, for the Church of England the debates centred around the decreasing involvement of the state. In sport, however, although state involvement was regarded with ambivalence it was required, in the form of grants and sometimes the provision of facilities to exist, by many of the national governing bodies, simply to survive and for their sport to continue. For the professional administrators in the national governing bodies, the added impetus was access to funds for their own continued employment.

Differences also existed, therefore, in the major resource relationships at national level in the Church and in the national governing bodies of sport. For the Church of England there was an increasingly reliance on the geographically local networks to provide the majority of the funding to support the central organisational and higher-level administrative networks of the Church. In the national governing bodies examined, some part of their funding came from lower level organisations within their sport, increasingly the major resource relationships for them and their sport were with external bodies, whether through sponsorship or Sports Council funding. All of the grass-roots clubs and parishes examined were self-funding, which enabled them to have little concern for decisions in the wider geographical networks, and consequently, all the local level networks examined were primarily internally focussed.

A discernible difference was exhibited between actors in the Church of England and those in the sport organisations. The informants from the church exhibited a higher degree of critical self-reflection about their motives and actions, as a result of the process of their faith, than did the majority of those in the sporting contexts. Many of the informants from the sporting contexts seemed less able to reflect upon themselves and their motives or in relation to others, except through the discourses of competition and success.

5.4.2 Similarities and Differences between Child Protection in the Church of England and British Voluntary Sector Sport Networks

Increased workloads and decreasing resources were acknowledged, by informants in both sport and the church, to have led to the marginalisation of children's issues, as only one minor aspect of their organisational networks. Decisions about the future definition and direction of both the Church of England and the various sports, under their national governing bodies, indicated that children were increasingly likely to be defined as commodities for ensuring the future of the sport or church.

In the organisational networks where child protection had been raised as an issue, these were larger geographical organisational networks. Since these documents could only be 'advisory' to their related smaller organisational networks, these documents served to deflect both legal and moral responsibility away from the network in question, down into lower level networks. This displacing of potential legal liability and deflection of possible bad publicity away from the national networks only protected the organisation who had created the document should a case of child sexual abuse take place in the future. The policy documents, therefore, functioned as intermediaries to displace that responsibility symbolically down to the next geographical level networks.

The levels of dissonance between actors within and between networks impacted upon the construction and acceptance of such policy. Where contestation was the norm between actors, any policy documents were compromised from the outset so that any new child protection policy documentation became no more than another intermediary, over which the 'war of manoeuvre' between actors was fought. Where these struggles existed, a crisis of credibility faced those actors who initiated any child protection policy, which had a consequent effect on acceptance of any proposal policy within their own network. Those actors in all networks who displayed the greatest commitment to the construction and implementation of policy were those who had experienced abuse personally or who knew of someone close to them who had. For some of the prime movers in policy construction, the compromise of their credibility pre-dated the policy. For others, who admitted to knowledge of abuse, their admission was used to undermine their position by other actors, through tactics like defining them as 'obsessive'. Lack of credibility fundamentally affected the ability of these actors to translate allies for their policy proposals.

The majority of children involved in both the institutional frames were at the local club/parish level. Policy produced at the national level, therefore, was from the opposite end of the structural network from where children actually were. The inability of central authorities to impose such policy indicated that it was unlikely to affect the life world of children within those local contexts. This inability to provide anything more than advice for lower level networks meant that child protection, as an issue of policy, whether initiated inside or outside the institutional network, relied upon self-selection and surveillance by those in the local networks of clubs and parishes. The majority of informants in the networks of in the clubs and parishes, where (as we have seen) children were mostly involved, considered policy handed down from national and regional level to have no relevance to their local situation. This rejection of such policy, or its possibility, was typified by discussions about the impracticality of much of the proposals, like checking procedures, in the climate of desperation which seemed to characterise volunteer work at this level. Alternatively, the problem itself was considered irrelevant because those involved believed either that no child abuse could take place in their locale, or that no abuser could enter their club or parish without their knowledge, predicated upon a belief in the difference and consequent easy identification of abusers. This, as discussed in the literature Chapters Two, *Theory, Organisation, and Corporeality*, and Three, *Christianity, Sport and Sexual Abuse*, is a myth.

A commonly held belief, exhibited by informants in all networks and at all levels, was that significant numbers of children are vindictive liars. This was often cited in explaining why discussion about child protection issues created scare-mongering and provided children with weapons with which to threaten and hurt the adults working with them, through possible false accusation. Since children did not have any representation with the networks examined, this also justified the continuation of not allowing them a voice.

These perceived truths, about children as liars and about the ease of identifying abusers, functioned to provide justification for not implementing child protection policy. Consequently informants in the clubs and parishes examined maintained that little was likely to change in their normative practices in the near future. Those who were already engaged in good practice were likely to continue and those who were not, were unlikely to change. This was true even in networks where child sexual abuse was known to have taken place. In the parish contexts the rejections of the policy proposals, such as that of

checking volunteers, whilst they were based on practicality for the most part, were also justified with the sense of dissonance of such behaviour with the discourses and meanings of forgiveness in Christianity.

5.4.3 *British Voluntary Sector Sport Networks and the Issue of Child Protection*

In all but one sport, even the one perceived as being for women only, informants acknowledged that both alleged and proven cases of sexual abuse had taken place in their sport. However, what had finally prompted a reaction from the governing bodies of sport was the press response to Paul Hickson's arrest and conviction. By using the case as an excuse to interview all the governing bodies of sport the press had 'displaced' the event into their own context as a 'story' and utilised it as a means of generating more news, through the process of following up the story. This media follow up placed increased pressure in the wake of that placed on British voluntary sector sport nationally, in the wake of the initial broad sheet coverage of Hickson's trial.

This fear was based on a major concern within British voluntary sport, exhibited in every governing body interviewed, namely the success/media coverage/sponsorship triad. Bad publicity over the Paul Hickson case was known to have had detrimental effects for the Amateur Swimming Association, over Paul Hickson. This concern over a potential loss of resources, from sponsorship particularly, in a climate of diminishing resources concerned even the affluent governing bodies examined. All of the governing bodies were concerned with the importance of the success/media coverage/sponsorship triad for the continuation of their sport. For some this concern held concerns threatened their survival as professional administrative governing bodies because they could not break into that triad at all. The potential impact of bad publicity to that inter-relationship meant that the organisations involved in the case studies were primarily anxious that a 'Paul Hickson' scenario should not happen to them. The production of policy, where it did happen, therefore served to protect the governing body concerned from potential legal or media challenge. The publicity around the Paul Hickson case also created a situation in which a number of governing bodies placed pressure on the Sports Council to produce a co-ordinated response to the issue for voluntary sector sport as a whole, compounding that exerted on them independently as a result of the Hickson case.

The Sports Council's role as major provider of resources for all but one of the case study organisations had provoked changes in the internal networks of some of those organisations. However, this use of pressure by the Sports Council on the national governing bodies was not designed to control the definition of those sports but had more to do with rationalising the points for delivery of resources. However, this change did have alleged dramatic effects on the cultures of those networks pressured to amalgamate, often to the actual or feared detriment of women's sport, particularly.

In terms of its influence on the whole of British voluntary sector sport, the Sports Council had been the leaders in shaping policy and practice across sport, with regard to drug testing. Its lack of reaction to the issue of child protection was explained, by an informant from a national governing body with informal knowledge of the internal networks at the national level, in terms of the timing of the issues emergence in relation to its internal network re-organisation. However, since no major resources were allocated to the issue, and the responsibility for creating a generic document was delegated to the National Coaching Foundation, this suggests that child protection was not a high organisational priority for the Sports Council.

The national governing bodies indicated that leadership and intervention from the Sports Council, on issues that are considered cross-sport issues, was not unwelcome. However, the attitude of the national governing bodies, with regards to the Sports Council intervention, was in some ways contradictory. Whilst many believed that the Sports Council had failed to exercise effective leadership with reference to child protection, the willingness of the national governing bodies to acknowledge the Sports Council's leadership within sport anyway was ambiguous at best. Most wanted it to exercise leadership, and often to provide funding to support initiatives, but did not want to be accountable to it for their response. However, where issues affected the competition side of the sport, in relation to the use of drugs, all the national governing bodies, and even clubs, were more inclined to comply with Sports Council regulations because of the potential for their athletes to be disbarred from competition. This suggests that where an issue has implications for competition and, therefore, indirectly affects the success/media/sponsorship triad, that the national governing bodies were prepared to accept the overall governance of the Sports Council, and indeed within the sports, that clubs were prepared to defer to their national governing bodies.

Within all of the case studies of the national governing bodies, the visual representation of the relationships that formed the hierarchical foundation for the representing of the national governing body as macro-actor had little relevance to the truth. Put more simply, these representations of the formal structure of the organisational relationships did not reflect what happened in practice. The national governing body typically comprised only a small, often professionally administrated, organisation, at the national level. Its relationships with athletes, voluntary administrators, coaches and officials in the rest of the sport were found to be distant at best and, at worst, downright hostile. This seriously inhibited the ability of the national governing bodies to legislate or provide direction for these sports. This was mitigated in those sports where affluent governing bodies were more successful in their attempts to control the definition within the sport, through the enrolling external allies and their control over the distribution of finance to the lower level networks. However, whether this influenced individuals at club levels in those more affluent sports was unclear.

In only one of the sporting case studies, and then at national governing body level, were athletes discovered to be actors within the networks of the sport, and this only at the elite and sub-elite levels. Those athletes were empowered enabled to have an input into the networks only because of their ability to attract create media coverage, and the level of contestation that was normative in the networks of their sports. Otherwise athletes did not figure as actors in the networks of administration of the sport at either national or club level.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has explored the wider institutional contexts of sport and the Church of England, as well as exploring each case study as a unique terrain for child protection policy. Through using Actor Network Theory as a vocabulary, the differently sized organisations and contexts were explored through the enactment of the strategic actions of the actors within them. This use of network theory attempted to present the standing conditions within the networks prior to the issue of child protection being discussed. Then the effects of discussion and the production of policy documents were then examined in these areas. This was then followed by a cross-case analysis of the findings, where the similarities and differences in the standing conditions between British voluntary sector

sport organisations and the Church of England were explored, as was the concern of child protection in these networks. Then the specific issue of child protection in sport was explored. The inherent dissonance between the networks at the various levels within both areas indicated that child protection policies served, in practice, to protect the organisational networks producing them, rather than the children at the lowest levels of organisational networks in clubs and parishes. Where policy was seen as an attempt to impose definition with the wider networks, such intermediaries were subject to either indifference at best, or at worst, outright disputation.

Chapter Six, *Conclusions*, draws together the conclusions of this thesis and examines the utility of ANT theory for this research, recommendations are also made for further study. There is also a coda, which briefly outlines what has happened about child protection, both in sport and responding to the coverage of the Waterhouse Report, about child sexual abuse in Welsh children's homes during the 1970s and 1980s, published in February 2000. Chapter Seven, *Reflections on the Research Process*, then provides the concluding reflexive chapter, which explores the relationship between my experience, the study and the synthesis of knowledge that took place for me during the process of creating this text.

Chapter Six

Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

The last chapter presented and discussed the empirical data collected in this research. This chapter will provide a summary of the findings of the thesis and then will assess the utility of the combination of ANT and feminist work on sexual violence, presented in Chapter Two, *Theory, Organisation and Corporeality*, as a theoretical perspective from which to explore the issue of child protection in the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport. In addition, a short coda is added that provides more recent information about the issue of child protection in the Church of England and in sport, and also briefly refers to media comment on the implications for child protection of the Waterhouse Report, published in February 2000 and reporting on allegations of child sexual abuse in Wales during the 1970s and 1980s in statutory sector children's homes. Chapter Seven, *Reflections on the Research Process*, will then provide the self-reflexive element of qualitative research discussed in Chapter Four, *Methodology*.

6.2 Summary of Findings.

This aim of this thesis is to explore the issue of protecting children from sexual abuse within voluntary sector sport organisations. This aim, through the theoretical underpinnings was defined as a set of objectives:

1. to identify the organisational 'networks' in the organisations studied
2. to determine what 'networks', if any, were formed around the discussions of child protection, both within and between organisational networks.
3. to identify the 'standing conditions' of those networks
4. to identify any overlaps or drift between policy networks and the normative organisational networks

The work in Chapter Three, *Theory, Organisation and Corporeality*, examined the discursive elements of the standing conditions in the networks of both the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport in relation to Objective 3. It was suggested that the environments of British voluntary sector Sport and the Church of England have a shared discursive base, due to a historical merging of sport and Christianity in the English

Public Schools of the 19th century. These discursive roots are located in suffering and sacrifice that provide discursive materials that can be considered to provide a culture which is easily manipulated by those wishing to abuse. These discourses were particularly identified as related to issues of gender and sexuality. It was also suggested that the embodied element of sport, and the practices by which bodies are moulded within sport, are productive of particular visual referents for identity, particularly gender and sexuality. This historic link to the Christian discourses was suggested to have provided the discursive foundation for these identities and also, because of the original religious content, a perception of the morality inherent in sports activity, expressed visually through athletic, heterosexual, male bodies. As this work drew on literature, and outlined a broad discursive context, it was also acknowledged that the micro-localities where those discursive trends are enacted through interactions, are each a unique terrain, more or less affected by these wider discourses.

It was also suggested, that individuals in organisational networks form their identities according to the frame of the discursive base of the context and that in organisations like the Church and sport, these identities for women and children are often passive identities which assist those who wish to manipulate and abuse them. These identities are also focal points for what Bourdieu (1991) refers to as numbers of social 'fields' in which these actors move. All actors exist in multiple networks, however, some actors belong to networks more able to create definition and impose it within other, separate organisational networks. For example, Paul Hickson's alleged claims to Masonic membership might have provided him with access into wider networks of power to mobilise them in his defence and protection.

Within the specific case of sport organisations the need for the bodies of some members to fulfil the organisational aims was suggested to render the bodies of these individual a disputed territory within the contexts. This use of bodies also was argued to provide access, through the processes of moulding those bodies, to the most intimate and detailed knowledge about athletes, which provided increased opportunities for sexual abuse in pursuit, of what was labelled, the organisational body project. Increasing pressure on sport national governing bodies to win, through the need for media coverage and, increasingly, for sponsorship from the Sports Council. New 'elite pathways' for children in sport to produce that success, have the potential to leave a great deal of human 'wreckage' behind,

particularly as the evidence suggests that the child protection policies created protected the organisations producing them not the children in the localities of clubs.

Chapter Five, *Data Presentation and Discussion*, explored the composition of the networks in the case study organisations, both pre-existent and forming around the specific issue of child protection, in relation to Objectives 1-4. It was found that child sexual abuse cases in sport were more common than people wanted to believe. All but one of the national governing bodies had had allegations of sexual abuse, and some had had more than one case of proven abuse. They all acknowledged that these were only the stories that they knew about within their sport. Children in these areas were found to have no form of representation in the networks in which they belonged and existed in the clubs and parish, removed from the organisational networks creating policy. These networks had no ability to impose those policies and the localities felt no need to have them. Accordingly, the child protection policies produced in the Church of England and within sport functioned to protect the organisational networks from media or legal attack and had no power in the life-worlds of the children in these areas.

At the local parish and club level people believed that checking volunteers, in the climate of desperation that characterised these voluntary networks, was considered unrealistic, therefore, practices in those micro-networks were unlikely to change. A large number of informants exhibited a belief in their own ability to identify those who abuse children. A significant number of informants exhibited the belief that children are vindictive liars. This belief and the 'obviousness' of abusers were often used in relation to concerns about adults being falsely accused. They often served to justify inertia with regards to discussion about the issue of child protection on the grounds that it provided vindictive children with material to attack adults.

None of organisational networks at any level gave any great or commitment of continuing support to child protection issues; the production of policy was considered to be sufficient. The responses of the organisational networks in both sport and the Church were reactive to pressures from media and potential liability on this issue. Suggesting that both areas are as reactive to environmental pressures as Hedley (1995) suggests that voluntary organisations are. The creation and dissemination of policy, irrespective of its efficacy, has legally and morally shifted the responsibilities in the networks into localities, suggesting that this issue

has now been dealt with in these organisations, unless or until pressure within the networks, either of cases of abuse or of political will, forefront the issue again.

6.3 Conclusions

The difficulty when examining an issue like child sexual abuse, which child protection by implication is about, is the difficulty of gaining access and information about such issues (as was discussed in detail Chapter Four, *Methodology*). ANT, because of its realist philosophical underpinnings, is concerned only with assessing empirical evidence within a context as the effects of power over time in a given context. This empirical focus renders intention as pre-requisite for agency, traditionally theorised as part of the enactment of power (Clegg 1989), as no longer relevant. This de-coupling of intention from agency equates agency only with effect in the social world. Therefore, ANT enables agency as a concept to be broadened to include non-human actors but, crucial for this thesis, also events in the social world.

This specific research process took place at a particular temporal moment. In the broadest sense social awareness of the issues of child sexual abuse and child protection had been raised by the Cleveland Inquiry (Justice Butler-Sloss 1988) and the Children Act (1989). However, in the specific context of British voluntary sector sport the research coincided with the Paul Hickson's sentencing and imprisonment for raping his under-age athletes. This event provided the impetus, both to subsequent work to produce child protection policies but also provided access to case study organisations because of its timing in relation to Hickson's trial. Access, therefore, was granted which otherwise was likely to prove difficult to gain because of the reactive strategic action common in voluntary organisations (Kendall and Knapp 1995), this subject had become a current, and thus active issue in the sporting context. This was true to a lesser extent for the Church case study, which was responding to the wider social pressures about child protection. The broader concept of agency within ANT enabled the incorporation and effects of Paul Hickson to be explored in the empirical work. The concern of ANT with the process of the social, what Latour (1986) refers to as the 'glue' rather than that which is glued, examines the definitions imposed by and on the material and social world enabled the comparison of otherwise different geographical size organisations through the processes of their

organisation. In addition, ANT because of its concern with empirical evidence is concerned with what people say and not necessarily its veracity, which offset the problems that Sieber and Stanley (1988), particularly, identify about sensitive research that individuals do not always tell the truth.

However, part of the critique of ANT has been its inability to explain or examine the lived experience of the embodied self inter-relating with the material and technical world. Although, this is now beginning to change and, for example, feminist critique is starting to be used to offset this distanced understanding implicit within ANT (see, for example, Moser and Law 1999). However, even within these improved understandings of the embodied and lived nature of the social, ANT lacks a moral element about the 'specificities' (Moser and Law 1999) of the enactment of power, seeing it only as the effects upon agents over time what are described as 'bad passages'. What the feminist work in this thesis provided was a moral implication about who is abled and dis/abled by the actions of power and implies that understanding who is abled and dis/abled by the action of power, and how that dis/ablement is manifest, provides potential means by which to change the lived experience of those actors, in this case protecting children from sexual abuse.

This work also suggests that there is another dimension to issue of embodiment that extends the concepts of ANT and its concern with the action of power, through actors who are embodied 'intermediaries' who form part of the standing conditions in the environment in which they exist. Although such individuals may appear in all organisations, (for example, the Archdeacon in the Church of England diocese) in organisations where the embodiment of some actors is part of, what was defined here as, the 'organisational body project', for example, sports people, their bodies not only provide meaning through their action but are *visual representations* of the standing conditions of the organisations in which they act. It is also argued, where these embodied intermediaries are formed, the discourse of gender and sexuality remain durable and integral discourses encoded into the technical practices to create these bodies as intermediaries. It is further suggested that an exploration of the lived experience of embodiment within these organisations could extend the analysis of ANT, through the reflection upon the experiences of such 'actor-intermediaries' as means to explore the not only the effects but action of power.

6.4 Future Research

Further study leading off from this work would include both continued examinations of the actions of organisations within the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport with regard to child protection policies and an examination of the 'life-world' of athletes.

For the organisational work, in-depth case studies are suggested to continue to explore the issue of child protection within these contexts, with a particular emphasis on observational techniques in order to achieve the contextual nuances that are absent from this study. In addition, analysis of the 'habitus' of athletes, as embodied intermediaries, is posited as both a means of further exploration of the work explored in Section 2.3, *Organisation and Corporeality*, and 3.3, *Mutation of Christian Discourses in Contemporary Sport, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*. In addition this work with athletes could itself further understandings of the action of power. This would involve life history work to examine the construction of identity and the meanings of embodiment for athletes within sporting contexts.

6.5 Coda: The Current State of Affairs

Since this thesis has identified temporal issues as crucial to its theorising it seem right to add a piece on the current state of child protection in the wider social context and in the contexts explored.

In the wider concerns about child protection the publication of the Waterhouse Report (HMSO, February 2000), about allegations of physical and sexual abuse in children's homes in Wales, has raised questions about the standards of child protection in statutory care. Although this is only based on journalistic work about the report not on the report itself, what the Waterhouse Report seems to imply is that there has been a 'wilful blindness to rules and procedures' by those working with children and a failure to listen to children when they have complained (*The Guardian*, Society Section, pp 2, 16/2/00). What the Waterhouse Report also acknowledged was that a group of 'paedophiles' had been active in these areas. The recommendations within the Waterhouse Report appear to centre on the creation of human intermediaries to access the places in which children are being

looked after in statutory care, in order to facilitate information and surveillance in these contexts.

Within the national context of the Church of England the production of the document seems to have been the end of the issue, the responsibility now lies in the dioceses and parishes. Only a high profile media case of child sexual abuse seems likely to change that state of affairs.

In sport, however, there is now a National Sport Task Force for Child Protection, which comprises the major national actors who provided the generic sport child protection document, with the NSPCC remaining key actors in promoting this. The Task Force includes Professor Brackenridge, who is continuing to attempt to collate information across voluntary sector sport although no resources appear to be forthcoming. As far as sport organisations themselves are concerned increasingly those applying for lottery grants being asked to provide child protection policies as part of the processes of application, although the pressures and needs of the success-media coverage-sponsorship triad remain powerful pressures on such organisations.

However, whilst child protection seems high on the social agenda and continues to be an issue in the national sporting contexts, it is difficult, in the light of the Waterhouse Report findings and the findings in this thesis, to believe that these national debates will have much effect on the life-world of children in the localities in which they exist. This will only happen if there is political will in all these contexts, for example, to will to find national funding for the recommendations of Waterhouse. My concern is that if Waterhouse's recommendations *are* taken up and political will, and crucially resources are assigned to this, then those who are intent on abusing children will find that voluntary sector sport, as part of the wider voluntary sector is still wide open in its localities for them to perpetrate abuse and that children continue not to be considered reliable witness when they try to disclose such abuse. This undervaluing of children and, what appear to be, widespread beliefs in children as vindictive liars provide fundamental problems for creating supportive networks through which survivors of sexual abuse can disclose.

6.6 Summary

This chapter has covered the major conclusions of this thesis and assessed ANT as a theoretical underpinning through which to explore this issue and has also suggested further studies to build on this work. In addition, a final 'summing-up' of the current state of child protection in the social context and in the Church of England and British voluntary sector sport was also discussed. Chapter Seven, *Reflections on the Research Process*, will examine my experience of the process of research as an extended process of interaction between experience, knowledge and the act of naming.

Chapter Seven

Reflections on the Research Process

7.1 Interaction between Experience, Knowledge and the Act of Naming

Inside yourself or outside, you never have to change what you see, only the way you see it. (Golas 1972 in Dass 1978)

Questions about how reality is perceived and named have formed the fundamental basis of this thesis. As the ancient Chinese text, *I Ching*, states, the process of perception and naming in the creation of the social world are crucial to the way in which material reality is engaged with:

Thus men divide the uniform flow of time into the seasons, according to the succession of natural phenomena, and mark off infinite space by the points of the compass. In this way nature in its overwhelming profusion of phenomena is bounded and controlled (Wilhelm 1989)

In earlier societies it was often the magicians and priests who had access to symbols with which to present concepts and ideas necessary for the group's continued physical and spiritual survival. These early symbols were the forerunners to more complex written languages (Fries 1993). The process by which the world was named, therefore, formed part of the sacred engagement of humans with the world, and was not taken lightly (Campbell 1990). The contemplation, prior to the naming and thus in some way controlling of reality, is preceded by a period of examination without placing definition, simply experiencing. This deeper knowing has come to be understood over the last hundred years through the vocabulary created in psychology of ego, unconscious and super-conscious (Wang 1992). Naming at this level comprises more than intellectual knowledge, it also involves understanding.

The reflexive process of undertaking qualitative social research is a contemporary equivalent of this magical act of naming, in sharing the belief in the power of language to define and in some way to control the world. The researcher refracts information, like light split in a spectrum, through their unique perspective mediated through their 'habitus' comprised of knowledge and experience (Bourdieu 1991). The act of social research, therefore, should be a considered process of naming. Each re-drafting of text is the re-absorption of old categories of information and a new naming. This progressive process in relation to this research for me has been like walking further away from my experience of

an intense training/sexual relationship with my coach, which has enabled me to view it from a different set of political and philosophical perspectives.

This thesis, therefore, represents the combination of my 'knowing' of my own experience with information from literature and ordered empirical study; a considered synthesis. My perspective on my own experiences has evolved. I see the coaching relationship as a struggle for power between my coach and me, played out through access and control of my sexuality. I have an invaluable understanding of the internal life world in which one lives in such a power struggle; its intensity, its isolation and the sense of powerlessness. I can also assess more honestly the basis of my own *belief* in my inability to change things and how integral my activity was to my sense of identity, which made leaving the situation that supported that identity more difficult than staying and enduring that relationship. It was only when I was able, through returning to college, to reach another perspective from which to perceive myself, offering another possibility in terms of identity, that I was able to redefine myself, my activity, and my relationship with my coach.

When I was actively engaged in sport, my experience of lacking the ability to locate myself in wider social patterns of relationship was exacerbated by the demands of time placed on me by the pursuit of my activity. This does not seem abnormal, judging by the work on resistance in Chapter Two, *Theory, Organisation and Corporeality*, and the experiences of the women professional administrators in sport, discussed earlier in the thesis. The lack of perspective exhibited by myself, and it appears by the women professional administrators also, would be exacerbated for a child who, unlike a recognised adult member of my society, is not able to control their own lives and movement, and who has less chance than an adult of engaging allies to assist them outside of the contexts in which they move. The broadsheet discussions of the Waterhouse Report (see, for example, *The Guardian* 16/02/00) suggests that some of the most vulnerable children in our society in these homes have been routinely ignored when they made complaints about their treatment since they lacked advocates. This has enabled not just individuals, but groups of unscrupulous people, apparently acting in concert, access to those children. We need, therefore, as Driver (1989) urged, to listen to children, but our problem is how can we hear them properly when it appears that we fear them and what they might say?

This belief in children as liars seems to have strong links to Christian discourses that simultaneously define children as angelic yet disordered (Franklin 1995). These beliefs were explored earlier in the thesis in the discussions about children as synonymous with unreason and disorder in the work on Christian discursive background, 3.2, *Christian Discourses, Sexual Identity and Sexual Abuse*.

I believe that a community has a responsibility to its children and young people, I also happen to believe that they are the true measure of the wealth of a community, as is society's treatment of them a measure of its values. It seems, in the light of the Waterhouse Report and this research, that British society, represented through organisations in both the statutory and voluntary sector responsible in some way for children and their activities, has fundamentally and consistently failed to protect the children in their care from sexual abuse. This state of affairs seems likely to go on partly because of problems with provision of finance from public funds for this issue (Wolnar 2000) and partly because of a norm of disbelief when children disclose abuse combined with the misconception that abusers are identifiable 'others', rather than integral to our culture. This powerful combination serves to render abuse invisible, by defining it as not relevant, in the localities of actors.

Perceptions of children as dangerous have justified numbers of policies to children over the last hundred years that have expressed this ambivalent attitude, for example, placing juvenile offenders in the same care facilities as those who have been removed to a place of safety (Parton 1986). Children undoubtedly do rely on adults to nurture them and to provide them with the understandings of social interaction. But how can a society teach its children to handle a world in which the proliferation of discourses identified by Baudrillard (1994) increasingly pre-categorises reality and produces Cohen's (1972) 'folk devils'. These ephemera obscure considered definition with the phantoms of the imagined. The invention of 'folk devils' that exist 'out there', provide 'sound-bite' definitions of reality that become conflated with the reality they represent. Consequently, until we understand that reality and definitions are not the same and realise that abusers appear to be part of our cultures and our communities, we have no hope in those communities, of finding ways of dealing with the reality of abusers and abuse. And if we, as adults, cannot control our own 'demons', we will continue to 'demonise' children, with little hope of helping our more vulnerable and abused children to control their own demons.

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Code Book**1. Accountability**

- a. Internal
- b. External
- c. To the organisation

2. Structures and Procedures

- a. Normative
- b. Changes
- c. Formal Structure
- d. Informal Structure
- e. Grievance/Disciplinary

3. Internal Organisation/Power Relationships.

- a. Resource Based
- b. Hierarchical
- c. Influence
- d. Pressure
- e. Limitations
- f. Resistance
- g. Professional/Amateur

4. External Organisational/Power Relationships

- a. Resource Based
- b. Hierarchical
- c. Influence
- d. Pressure
- e. Limitations
- f. Resistance
- g. Research Intervention/Effect

5. Policy

- a. Genesis
- b. Process/Procedures
- c. Statement
- d. Perceived Implications
- e. Monitoring

6. Cultural Context

- a. Past of Representatives
- b. Women's Experience
- c. Men's Experience
- d. Organisational Culture
- e. Discourses

7. Abuse Cases

- a. Past
- b. Present/Pending
- c. Protection Procedures

8. Coaches/Priests

- a. Training Programmes
- b. Qualifications/Monitoring
- c. Professional Associations
- d. Discipline/Grievance

Interview Schedule for Stages 2 and 3 of Data Collection

1. Do you have any literature that shows the structure of your organisation? Where do you fit in that structure? If not could you explain to me where you fit in the structure of your organisation (draw if possible)
2. Has there been any major change in your structures and/or your way of working in the last five years? If so how has that affected the organisation?
3. Who comprises your membership? How is your membership represented at your level?
4. How are you financed?
5. How are you accountable for those finances?
6. What kind of internal checks on finance do you have?
7. Do you give finances to any other organisations? If so how do you monitor those?
8. Do you have any relationships with any organisations other than those concerned with finance? What is the nature of that relationship? Are you accountable in any way to that organisation? If so how do they monitor you?
9. How is policy raised, debated and decided? Use a particular policy to illustrate.
10. How do you monitor policy implementation?
11. What review procedures do you have?
12. Are you accountable to anybody for those policies?
13. Do you make policy for your clubs/parishes and membership to follow? Do you monitor to see if those policies are implemented?
14. How are you accountable to you membership?
15. Are any other organisations accountable to you? If so how?
16. Do you have any grievance and disciplinary procedures? Describe them. Who are they for? Have they ever been used?
17. What do you know about child protection?
18. What effect, if any, did the Children Act 1989 have on your ways of working?
19. Do you have any child protection policy or anything similar? If Yes:-
20. What is covered in the policy?

21. Is it a written policy or not?
 22. How did it come about?
 23. How long did it take to become policy proper?
 24. How well has it been received?
 25. How has it changed working practices? Have you any examples?
 26. Have you any knowledge of wider child protection policies?
- If no policy:-
27. Why do you not have a policy
 28. Do you have any methods of ensuring the safety of children in your organisation?
 29. Do you check on staff and volunteers working with children?
 30. Has the issue ever been raised to your knowledge? If so who raised it?
 31. Are all your people working with children qualified?
 32. Do you insist on qualifications?
 33. Have you seen any external documents on child protection?
 34. What do you think is being done by external agencies?
 35. What do you think your organisation ought to do about this issue?
 36. What would be the response in your organisation to external action on this?
 37. Do you think that people in your area are more or less aware of issues like child protection?
 38. Do you think that people in sport are more or less aware than in other areas? (sport specific)
 39. How do you think your organisation rates against other voluntary organisations in dealing with this issue?
 40. Why do you think that child protection has not been dealt with as an issue in sport/the Church before?
 41. What are the major objectives of your organisation?
 42. Do you think there will be a clash between the needs of child protection and the need to put resources into your organisational objectives?

43. Where do you think your organisation will be with regard to the issue of child protection in five years time?
44. Why did you agree to help me?

Panel of Experts Sheet

(Adapted from the Risk Factors in Brackenridge 1994)

<i>Using numbers 1- 5 assess each of the sports</i>					
	A	B	C	D	E
The sport requires touch in the instructional process					
The sport requires individual tuition					
The training space is closed to public view					
The competitions in the sport are frequent					
The competitions in the sport are at a wide range of places					
The competitions are for all levels					
The instructors are primarily male					
The sport has few employed coaches					
The sport requires minimal clothing to be worn					
The sport requires frequent training					