Five Insights from the Literature on Bystander Interventions at Sports Clubs: Dosage and Boosters, Multiple-Role Approach, Social Norms, Self-Efficacy, and the Informal Helper

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SAFE SPORT ALLIES

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Dear Safeguarding Officer,

After 15 years, I finally feel ready to speak up about the abuse I experienced at my local sport organization. Over a period of five months, multiple teammates sexually touched and abused me without my consent. Nobody intervened: not my teammates and not the coach or the trainer, despite my efforts to try and make them aware of what was going on. After my parents found my personal diary, the truth came out. Although my parents addressed the abuse at the club, we were asked not to press charges; apparently, a good conversation with the teammates would be sufficient to end the matter. Two weeks later, I was expected to start training with the team again, putting me back in the unsafe sport environment. I send this email to report the abuse in the hope that this will not happen again at the local sport organization. I hope you can support me in this process.

With kind regards,

Seger [alias]

Seger's testimony is one of the many stories of interpersonal violence in sport. It shows the power bystanders can *potentially* have to remedy a situation of interpersonal violence in sport if they are alert and decide to intervene. However, more than one out of five young athletes like Seger experience in their sport careers a form of mild to severe psychological violence (Mulder et al., 2020). One out of eight people are survivors of sexual abuse in sports (Vertommen et al., 2016). People in a position of authority over young athletes—such as coaches, parents, officials, administrators, or members of the medical team—represent potential perpetrators (Fortier et al., 2020). However, in 72% of psychological and sexual violence cases, teammates are identified as abusers (Vertommen et al., 2017).

Within the sport sciences literature, the influence of (active) bystanding on interpersonal violence in sports is understudied (Vertommen et al., 2017, p. 233). Some of the few exceptions are McCauley et al. (2013), Corboz et al. (2015) and Fasting (2016), who addressed bystander behaviors among (high school) athletes to avoid situations of violence and abuse and barriers to bystander interventions at preventing violence against women in male-dominated sports. These studies, however, barely addressed how active and positive bystander behavior can be explained or encouraged. In the most recent prevalence study in the Netherlands, only 13% of the respondents in the sample indicated that their harmful situation of physical abuse stopped because bystanders intervened (Mulder et al., 2020, p. 51). In the other 87%, situations of physical abuse ended because the victim dropped out of the sport or simply because the perpetrator(s) decided to stop the abuse. These findings show the need for scholars to devote more attention to the topic of bystanding behaviors in relation to interpersonal violence in sports if we aim to provide safe sport environments for every young athlete. Given the limited number of studies on bystander interventions in the sport sciences literature, this literature review builds on insights from other fields of research to obtain more knowledge of factors that need to be considered to foster active positive bystanding in situations of interpersonal violence in sports.

This report is organized as follows. First, we elaborate on the definitions of interpersonal violence and bystanding. Scholars have noted that within the sports literature, researchers do not uniformly use the term "interpersonal violence" (Stevens, 2019). Inconsistency in terminology can impair measurement of the problem and confuse the sport community and the public about what really constitutes interpersonal violence in sport and how bystanding behavior can minimize it. Second, we elaborate on the selection of articles for this literature study and the methodological approach to examine them. Third, we provide an overview of the prerequisites that, through education, organizational change, and training, foster bystanding behaviors in situations of interpersonal violence against athletes. We finish by reflecting on what the prerequisites imply for the development of bystander interventions, protocols, or educational programs in the field of sport to reduce the amount of harm, maltreatment, and violence young athletes experience.

Definitions and Concepts

Interpersonal Violence

One of the central concepts in this literature study is interpersonal violence. The World Health Organization's (WHO, 1999) definition of (interpersonal) violence is used in this literature study: "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (Krug et al., 2002). Different actors can perpetrate interpersonal violence in sport, and the violence can take different forms. Usually, the concept of interpersonal violence is operationalized in four specific forms of violence: physical violence, psychological violence, sexual violence and neglect. Physical violence is usually defined as any action of a physical nature that compromises or threatens the integrity or the physical or psychological well-being of a person (Parent & Fortier, 2017). Hitting, pushing, or shaking an athlete are examples of the multiple manifestations of physical (interpersonal) violence in sport (Gendron & Fredette, 2015). Psychological violence is usually defined as acts that include restriction of movement and patterns of belittling, denigrating, scapegoating, threatening, scaring, discriminating, ridiculing, or other nonphysical forms of hostile treatment or rejection (WHO, 1999).

Sexual violence is a broad term that includes sexual harassment and sexual abuse and can be defined as "a sexual act that is committed or attempted by another person without freely given consent of the victim or against someone who is unable to consent or refuse" (Basile et al., 2014). In the sport literature, Fitzgerald et al.'s (1995) model is often used to study the problem of sexual violence. According to this model, negative sexual experiences can take the form of sexual harassment (verbal or nonverbal behaviors where the goal is not sexual cooperation, but rather insulting, hostile, and degrading actions), unwanted sexual attention (touching, fondling, including sexual abuse or rape), and sexual coercion (blackmail to obtain sexual favors in return for perceived benefits). Finally, neglect is usually defined in the child maltreatment literature as "the failure to provide for the development of the child [. . .] in the context of resources reasonably available to the family or caretakers and [causing or having] a high probability of causing harm to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development." Stirling (2009) proposed that neglect in the sport context could take various forms, such as educational, emotional, social, and physical neglect.

Bystanding

The other central concept in this literature study is bystanding. In this report, a bystander is understood as an individual that is not directly involved in a situation of interpersonal violence or abuse as a victim or a perpetrator, but that has the potential to intervene and help to make the situation better (Banyard, 2008). Ideally, bystanders act as prosocial bystanders, i.e., as individuals who actively intervene in violence or abuse dynamics to support the victim and with the aim to end the risky and harmful situation (Evans & Smokowski, 2015). Over the years, several bystander interventions, programs, and protocols have been developed outside the field of sport, for example, in the field of social psychology, education, and crime prevention. We review the articles to obtain insights that must be considered when designing a bystander intervention in the field of sport. In the next section, we first elaborate on the selection of articles for this literature study and the methodological approach to examine them.

Research Strategy for Selecting Articles

To select relevant articles for the review, five search strategies were used. First, the electronic Web of Science database was used to search for articles consisting of the terms [interpersonal violence] and/or [bystander intervention] in the title and/or abstract, without limitation to a specific period or research domain. The search was run on January 22, 2021, and resulted in 352 search results. Second, we decided to narrow the search by focusing on peer-reviewed articles written in English and published in the past five years. By focusing on the past five years, we ensured that the most up-to-date articles were included in the literature search and that we included the latest scientific insights in the bystander literature. This resulted in 80 records for the 2017–2021 period.

Third, we focused on articles published in the Wiley Online Library database. Wiley Online Library is an established publisher offering a portfolio of over 8 million research articles from 1,600 journals. These journals cover the full spectrum of the sciences, ranging from health and physical sciences to social sciences and the humanities. Many of the journals are ranked at the forefront of their field. Therefore, we expect that our article selection would include a wide range of journals from different fields of research, with high-quality publications on which we could build our literature review. This resulted in a list of 37 journal articles. Fourth, every record was manually screened to examine whether the article was related to our topic of interest. We examined the articles by screening titles and abstracts and, when needed, by reading the full text. Some of the selected articles were excluded because it did not relate to our topic of interest = 8). Fifth, we looked at the reference lists of the articles to determine whether “selected scholars” referred in their work to relevant articles published after 2017. When relevant, they were added to the list of articles. As such, we started our state-of-the-art analysis of the bystanding literature with 36 journal articles (Appendix 1).

In the analysis process, we used a specific form of chain searching, that is, backward reference searching. Backward reference searching involves identifying and examining references or works cited in an article. We did this for three reasons. First, it helped us learn about the development of knowledge on the topic of bystander behavior and interventions. Second, when running into new constructs, theories, or models, it helped us study and determine their origins. Third, by using the technique of backward reference searching, we could identify experts, research institutions, or public organizations that over the years have specialized in the topic of research. In the next section, we have provided literature references that go beyond the selected 36 journal articles. By using this method of chain searching, we were confident that *high-impact* articles published before 2017 would find their way into our literature study. We looked for commonalities among the articles and frequently shared insights that need to be considered when developing bystander interventions aimed at minimizing interpersonal violence against young athletes in the field of sport. These results are presented in the next section.

Insights from Literature Regarding the Development of Bystander Interventions

Bystander interventions focus on the role members of a community play before, during, and after sexual violence, maltreatment, or abuse to change community norms about sexual violence, maltreatment, or abuse; intervene safely in risky situations; and support survivors (Banyard et al., 2018, pp. 145–146). The bystander approach is grounded in research that identifies causes of maltreatment and harm as stemming in part from community attitudes and norms that support coercion in certain relationships, situations, and contexts (Schwartz et al., 2001). Intervention theories in which risk for violence decreases when the number of helpful guardians increases inform bystander approaches. From our literature search, five insights were identified that are useful to consider when developing bystander interventions:

a) Multiple-dose educational activities;
b) Deconstruction of social norms and education on moral exemplars;
c) Recognition of the different roles individuals can play in a situation of maltreatment;
d) Support, peer response, and self-efficacy; and
e) Reaching out to the informal helper or survivor's support community.

We elaborate on each of these five insights. Then, we reflect on what these insights imply for sport organizations and how they can contribute to increasing the number of helpful guardians in situations of interpersonal violence in sport.

Multiple-Dose Educational Activities and Boosters

Bystander interventions have taken a multitude of forms. Bystander programs for preventing sexual violence on college campuses, for example, have been delivered through small educational workshops (e.g., Banyard et al., 2007; Gidycz et al., 2011), interactive theatre (Ahrens et al., 2011), large group motivational speakers (Coker et al., 2011), online programs (Jouriles et al., 2016), and social marketing campaigns (SMCs; Potter, 2012). Meta-analyses of bystander programs have noted that increased "dosage" of an intervention or a program enhances positive outcomes (Nation et al., 2003), combinations of interventions or programs increase effectiveness (Taylor et al., 2013), and additional prevention educational sessions, or so-called *boosters*, yield additional benefits (Bundy et al., 2011).

"Dosage" can mean the number of program sessions, length of sessions, and period over which educational activities take place. Longer versions of sexual violence prevention programs at high schools have been more effective than shorter ones (Anderson & Whiston, 2005). Moreover, Banyard et al. (2018) presented evidence that prior exposure to a prevention program primed participants to attend to SMC messages and boosted SMC effects. This suggests a certain "threshold effect" or "tipping point"; that is, participants first need to have a certain base rate of prevention message exposure before—through incremental dose differences—a more sustained effect with regard to knowledge and awareness about how to act as a bystander in risky or harmful situations is reached.

Within the literature, the combination of two educational strategies seems to be particularly effective: SMCs in combination with bystander in-person programs. Wandersman and Florin (2003) recommended the use of SMCs to reach full communities with primary prevention messages. SMC designers often have two major goals: to increase the amount of public knowledge on a given topic and to use this to provide members of the public specific directions for changing behaviors (Randolph & Viswanath, 2004). Bystander in-person programs are more intensive small group sessions in which the curriculum approaches women and men as potential bystanders or witnesses to risky behaviors related to sexual and relationship violence and teaches positive, safe ways to intervene (Katz et al., 2011). Kettrey and Marx (2019) presented forest plots of effects of bystander programs on bystander efficacy. In the forest plots, the *Hedges' g* values were the biggest for the programs that followed the combination of SMCs and bystander in-person programs and used a dosage (i.e., time span between the two interventions) of 8.6 weeks. However, there were also size effects of the interventions that were noticeable for if the “dosage” of the two interventions was implemented 17.2 or 25.8 weeks later.

Deconstructing Social Norms and Educating Moral Exemplars

Bystander intervention programs often aim to change social norms. Social norms are rules of action people in a given society or group share; they define what is considered morally acceptable behavior for the members of that group (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018). Two features of social norms theory are important when considering how a person’s social norms can be altered. First, much of the literature on social norms conceptualizes norms as separate from (and often in opposition to) personal attitudes. Whereas personal attitudes are internally motivated judgements about something (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), social norms are beliefs about what other people do and approve of. The difference is important because some people might want to do one thing, but the norm pushes them to do the opposite (Miller & McFarland 1987). Second, various streams in social norms theory posit that norms apply within a “reference group” (White et al., 2009). That is, different groups of people have different rules.

Social norms are produced and reproduced through social interaction as individuals engage in practices that signify, align, or contest various notions of how people ought to behave. This process is commonly known as “socialization” (Bem, 1981). In bystander intervention programs, social norms only change if they are “deconstructed” and “reconstructed.” Bystander intervention programs using a “social norms approach” have historically leveraged the misalignment between (i) people’s individual behaviors and attitudes, and (ii) people’s perceptions of what behaviors and attitudes others approve or disapprove of (Bingenheimer, 2019). Ultimately, the goal of bystander intervention programs has been to turn individuals into *moral exemplars* (Čehajić-Clancy et al., 2016). Moral exemplars are individuals who stand out by the way in which (and the extent to which) they have integrated moral value into their self-systems. Because of this, they are strongly motivated to do good and avoid doing bad. Hence, moral exemplars are more likely to intervene in harmful situations and show perpetrators how their intended or unintended behaviors harm their victims. However, what social norms need to be deconstructed and reconstructed in bystander intervention programs to educate individuals to become moral exemplars?

Palmer and Fieldman (2017) identified three “social cultures” (i.e., social systems that embody specific social norms) that increase the likelihood of interpersonal violence in sport: patriarchal culture, macho culture, and rape culture. First, regarding patriarchal culture, Palmer and Feldman claimed that the cultures of sport organizations often contain content pertaining to binary gender identities. In contemporary societies, sport organizations tend to contain patriarchal content, including the assumption that men are inherently active (i.e., capable by nature of knowing and acting in their own interests) whereas women are passive; the value that this difference between men and women is good; and the norm that this difference should be enacted. These cultural elements allow men greater opportunity to act and to assign men’s actions greater significance (Palmer and Fieldman, 2017). Reflective of this, research has shown that in mixed-gender groups, women are afforded fewer opportunities to speak, and women’s words are given less credence (Hancock & Rubin, 2015). When a sport organization’s culture features these patriarchal cultural and hierarchical elements, it undermines, according to Palmer and Feldman (2017), effective responses to interpersonal violence. Lower-level volunteers in sport organizations typically detect instances of interpersonal violence in sport clubs, and they must make credible reports about the abuse to persons above them in the organization’s hierarchy to trigger an effective response. However, in most contemporary societies, men tend to fill upper-level positions in sport organizations, whereas women tend to occupy lower-level positions (Weinger, 2015). As a result, many detected instances of interpersonal violence fail to trigger robust institutional responses simply because women observe and communicate them to men (Palmer & Feldman, 2017, p. 26).

The culture of some sport organizations contains macho content, which according to Palmer & Feldman (2017, p. 26), represents an extension of patriarchal content. Macho cultures feature the assumption that men and boys are powerful, active, and competent rather than passive, helpless, and victimized and include the norm that men and boys should eschew self-concepts that acknowledge weakness, helplessness, and victimization (idem). Macho cultures also embrace the assumption that boys are naturally aggressive and innately driven to dominate their peers. Thus, when boys behave aggressively toward their peers in such cultures, adults perceive this behavior as “just boys being boys.” In fact, sport is regarded as a good way in socializing boys into normative (hegemonic) masculinity (Mesner, 1990; Hickey, 2008). Macho cultures may even showcase the value that boys’ aggressive and dominating behavior toward peers is good because it is assumed beneficial to group functioning. Macho cultures also value tolerance of harsh treatment because it is assumed indicative of strength and maturity. Finally, macho cultures include the belief that same-sex sexual relationships are deviant (Hartill, 2009). Macho organizational cultures are expressed in a variety of ways, including physically aggressive posturing, verbally aggressive communication, and the use of homophobic taunts (Parkin & Green, 1997). Hence, Palmer and Feldman (2017, p. 27) argued that boys may be more prone to perpetrating sexually harmful behaviors when they are embedded in macho cultures.

Finally, the cultures of some sport organizations contain rape content, which is an extension of macho content (Palmer & Feldman, 2017, p. 27). Rape cultures feature the assumption that men and boys possess strong sexual impulses, whereas women and girls possess weaker ones. They also feature the belief that men and boys’ pursuit of sexual gratification is good, whereas women’ and girls’ submissiveness is virtuous (idem). Indeed, men and boys are assumed to be sexually willing, eager, and aggressive, and behavior consistent with these assumptions tends to be valued and considered normative (Buchwald et al., 2005). Rape culture elements may facilitate the sexual abuse of girls by men and sexually harmful behavior directed at girls by boys (Pringle, 1993). Men and boys embedded in such cultures view the aggressive pursuit of sexual gratification as natural and good. This aggressive pursuit of sexual gratification by definition entails the satisfaction of sexual desires without explicit consent on the part of the objects of men and boys’ sexual desire. As such, rape culture is another risk factor for the increased likelihood of interpersonal violence in sport clubs. Bystander intervention programs must educate individuals about the social norms underlying these three harmful social cultures and help individuals deconstruct them to make sure that the likelihood of interpersonal violence in sport decreases.

Recognizing the Different Roles Individuals Can Play in Situations of Maltreatment

In situations of harassment, maltreatment, or bullying, there are not only perpetrators and victims (Salmivalli, 1999); that is a one-dimensional viewpoint. Already from the 2000s onward, scholars started looking at situations of bullying from a “participant roles” perspective. Participant roles refer to individuals’ ways of being involved in bullying situations. Besides victims (who are repeatedly and systematically harassed) and bullies (the active, initiative-taking perpetrators), there are also other children and adolescents in classes with bullying problems. They constantly witness the bullying episodes, and through their behavior in these situations, they take a position toward what is going on. The role each “involved” individual takes in harmful situations, such as bullying, has immediate effects on the outcome of the situations (Salmivalli, 1999, 453).

González-Cabrera et al. (2019) pointed out that in situations of bullying among students, some individuals eagerly join in the bullying and act as the bully's assistants. Others, even if they do not actively attack the victim, offer positive feedback to the bully. For instance, they come to see what is going on, thus providing an audience for the bully, or they incite the bully by laughing or using encouraging gestures. These individuals can be called reinforcers. Furthermore, a remarkable number of peers tend to stay away and not take sides; they can be named outsiders. Not even these individuals are, however, noninvolved. In their way, they allow bullying to go on by silently approving it. Finally, there are individuals whose behavior is clearly anti-bullying: they comfort the victim, take sides with the victim, and try to make the others stop bullying the victim. They are defenders.

It is important to look at harmful situations from a multirole perspective. This can make individuals aware of what role individuals play in the harmful context and what individuals can do to repair the harm. Banyard et al. (2007, p. 464) even argued that every individual in a context can be assigned a specific role, which they can identify with and adopt in preventing the community problem of sexual violence. However, social roles do not change easily. Because of group pressures, they sometimes become self-fulfilling prophecies: the behavior of the individual starts to resemble more and more the expectations directed toward them. When a person has taken, or has been put in, a certain (social normative) role, they might find it difficult to get out of it: the "group" punishes behaviors that are contrary to normative role expectations and rewards behaviors that accord with it.

Self-concept, along with others' expectations, guides an individual's behavior. Children or adolescents who define themselves as bullies, for instance, may themselves end up believing that they are completely incapable of other kinds of behavior. The same is true of children or adolescents in other participant roles. For victimized children or adolescents, it seems especially difficult to play a different role among their peers. Educational research shows that even in a completely new class with no former classmates, victimization tends to start again (Salmivalli et al., 1998). It is never easy to enter a new group, and it is probably especially difficult for a child or adolescent who has had the traumatic experience of being harassed in another group in the recent past. Insecurity and fearful expectancies are likely to arise. Unfortunately, these are easily communicated to others, who thus may see the newcomer as a suitable target for bullying. It has been shown that children's own expectations have an effect on what attitude their peers will have toward them (Rabiner & Coie, 1989).

Support, Peer Response, and Self-Efficacy

When do bystanders directly intervene? Recent studies show that bystander intervention is actually the norm in risky and violent situations (Philpot et al., 2020). Not everybody intervenes, but intervention levels are very high, and the more bystanders are present, the more likely it is that the victims will receive help. In fact, Fischer et al. (2011) reported about the existence of a "reverse bystander effect" (i.e., the greater the number of bystanders, the greater the likelihood of intervention) when emergencies are less ambiguous, and it is clear what bystanders should do. There are, however, factors that influence a bystander's decision to directly intervene or not. Three important factors in the literature that influence a bystander's decision to directly or not directly intervene are support, peer response, and self-efficacy (Farley, 2018). Support relates to the fear of being evaluated or not supported because "another person" or "the organization" views your action in a negative way (Schwartz & Gottlieb, 1980). In fact, Fischer et al. (2006) showed that bystanders are more likely to act when anonymous to other bystanders and may experience "evaluation apprehension."

Audience inhibition may also occur when a bystander wants to help but feels “restrained from doing so because of the presence of others who are not helping” (van den Bos et al., 2009, p. 873). This is regarded as a lack of peer response. Such audience inhibition may be attributed to pluralistic ignorance, which causes the bystander to second-guess their perception of an emergency because they believe others do not identify the event as an emergency; or to diffusion of responsibility, in which all bystanders share the responsibility to act instead of any one bystander (Schwartz & Gottlieb, 1980). Self-efficacy relates to the ability of a person to cope with a given situation based on the skills they have and the circumstances they face. Wenik (1985, p. 1790) showed that bystanders may fail to act when they do not realize the event warrants intervention or do not have the information and skills necessary to intervene. Hence, these factors reduce a bystander’s speed of helping.

Reaching Out to the Informal Helper or Victim’s Support Community

An important source of support for victims of violence and harassment in sport is *informal helpers*. Haggler et al. (2018) elaborated on informal and community support during situations of adversity. They conducted 170 semi-structured interviews predominantly with rural dwelling adolescents. Based on the interviews, the authors thematically coded the types of adversity people can experience, the role of the informal helper, and the nature of help received. They defined an informal helper as, “any person without formal medical or mental health training who provides aid during times of adversity.”

Informal helpers make a qualitatively unique contribution to the resilience of survivors. First, informal helpers tend to be more intimately known to survivors than, for example, health professionals. Therefore, informal helpers are able to provide more personalized assistance. Informal helpers and survivors likely share some commonalities of background, leading to greater trust, mutual identification, and empathy. Informal help is less limited, more spontaneous, and is available long before and after professional services are typically available (Budde & Schene, 2004). Further, unlike in professional care, reciprocity and mutuality partially drive informal helping. This fosters a sense of social integration (Berkman, 2000), which in turn promotes altruistic behavior (Brañas-Garza et al., 2010). Thus, helping begets more helping, and the mutual provision of informal aid builds stronger alliances and communities. These alliances and communities can further help victims of abuse or maltreatment in sport to get through their situation of adversity, and cope in the aftermath.

There are distinctions among informal helpers ranging from closeness, frequency of contact, accessibility, and degree of similarity. For example, family members tend to be the most available, longest lasting, and most frequently used sources of informal support (Heaney & Israel, 2008). However, researchers have noted some limitations of familial aid, including potential redundancy of experiences, information, and resources within familial networks (Thoits, 2011). Studies have also highlighted the unique contribution of more distal community ties, such as friends, neighbors, teachers, religious leaders, and co-workers, who may possess greater and/or more diverse resources, allowing them to provide novel forms of support for adversities with which family members are less experienced (Heaney & Israel, 2008; Thoits, 2011).

Regarding specific functions, the body of literature suggests three broad types of social support: emotional support (i.e., demonstrations of caring, value, appreciation, encouragement, reassurance, or sympathy); informational support (i.e., supply of knowledge or facts, or provision of direct problem-solving assistance); and instrumental support (i.e., provision of practical or material assistance; Thoits, 2011). Informal helpers could conceivably serve any or all of these functions, although some literature suggests that emotional support is the most common function they serve (Patterson et al., 1992).

Haggler et al. (2018) in particular demonstrated the prevalence and importance of informal helping, reiterating that most of life's challenges are dealt with beyond the offices of doctors and therapists, or beyond interventions at local sport clubs. Hence, it is important, when developing a bystander intervention program, to consider how a community-based intervention, including informal helper networks, can be established. Potential strategies can be developing lay helper interventions, where informal helpers are taught "micro-counselling" skills to support victims in times of adversity (e.g., Kabura, 2005) or receive specialized training for working with specific clinical problems (e.g., Montgomery et al., 2010). These programs often seek to build coalitions among informal helpers and professional practitioners, combining their diverse strengths and expertise (Eng & Parker, 2002). Although findings on the efficacy of these informal community-based interventions are promising, large-scale implementation and long-term sustainability are difficult to achieve (Stith et al., 2006).

Design Challenges for Bystander Interventions in European Local Sport Clubs

How do these five insights relate to bystander interventions in local sport clubs? A local sport club is a unique institutional context because it incorporates children among their members (Palmer & Feldman, 2017, p. 24). Hence, to develop a bystander intervention program for local sport clubs, including the five insights, we need to be aware of the organized sport's context and understand how these insights can contribute to increasing the number of helpful guardians in situations of interpersonal violence in sport.

Sports clubs are generally considered to be participated in voluntarily and to be led by volunteers as opposed to paid employees. They are therefore part of the voluntary sector of leisure provision, in contrast to the private and public sectors. Nevertheless, the population of sports clubs in Europe is highly diverse in a number of structural characteristics. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to formulate a clear and unambiguous definition for these clubs. Researchers have suggested seven characteristics for describing a general local sports club (Heinemann & Horch, 1981):

a) Voluntary membership;
b) Orientation toward the interests of members;
c) Democratic decision-making structure;
d) Voluntary work;
e) Autonomy;
f) Nonprofit orientation; and
g) Solidarity.

The SIVSCE Erasmus+ project further provides an overview of what characterizes European local organizations, based on 35,790 sports clubs in 10 countries (Elmose-Østerlund et al., 2017). The outcomes of the SIVSCE Erasmus+ project paint a picture of a sport landscape that small local sport organizations (mostly, <100 members) dominate. Even though volunteers primarily run sports clubs, there are also clubs in all countries that hire paid staff (staff that receives taxable pay), with one paid member of staff for every 50 members.

These clubs often date back some generations and face the challenge of recruiting and retaining volunteers (and members). When recruiting volunteers, they mostly recruit through existing networks of current volunteers and members. Hence, members of European local sport clubs often know each other well—and there might be strong ties between members that go beyond participation at the club. Although most of the European sport clubs are stable financially, they have few professional (paid) staff members. For a large portion of the European sport clubs, a future challenge will be financial uncertainty. These organizational dynamics also bring along various design challenges when developing a bystander intervention program for European local sport clubs that considers the earlier described five insights. To be more specific, the challenges are

a) How can multiple-dose educational activities be implemented at a local sport organization that has an unstable financial situation and mostly works with volunteers that—not always—have a pedagogical background or expertise?
b) How can social norms be deconstructed in a local sport organization that has already existed for several generations, where often sons, fathers, and father's fathers or daughters, mothers, and mother' mothers have participated, and where strong ties exist among members?
c) How can a multiple role approach, in which it is recognized that multiple individuals are responsible for situations of maltreatment or abuse against athletes, be incorporated in the social safety policies of sport clubs that have only a few members and where members (and their families) often know each other very well?
d) How can support for bystanders be optimized and their self-efficacy be improved if small sport clubs have few resources to educate all members of the organization? Furthermore, how can the topic of bystanding and safe sport environments get to the top of the sport club's (internal) agenda if the main interest of the members is organizing sport activities, such as training and competition for members?
e) How much effort and responsibility can be expected from volunteers, who are often nonprofessionals, in reaching out to a victim's informal helpers or support community and including them in a solution for a situation of abuse or interpersonal violence at the club?

Final Reflections

This literature study called attention to the importance of conducting more research on bystander interventions for reducing (risks to) interpersonal violence against young athletes in the field of sport. Although earlier studies have certainly contributed to increasing our understanding of the different forms of interpersonal violence, the typical victims and perpetrators, the severity of the problem, and the general organizational conditions that increase interpersonal violence in sport clubs, we argued that there are also certain shortcomings in our current knowledge. These relate, especially, to interventions that foster bystander behavior at local sport clubs. To this end, we reviewed literature from other fields of research to distil relevant insights that needs to be considered when developing bystander interventions in the field of sport.

From our literature search, five insights were identified that are useful to consider when developing bystander interventions:

a) Multiple-dose educational activities;
b) Deconstruction of social norms and education of moral exemplars;
c) Recognition of the different roles individuals can play in a situation of maltreatment;
d) Support, peer response, and self-efficacy; and
e) Reaching out to the informal helper or survivor's support community.

We understand that these insights cannot be directly and individually translated from other fields of research to the field of sport. The challenge for this translation is linked to the unique character of local sport clubs, such as their voluntary nature and nonprofit orientation. Hence, we also formulated relevant design questions to consider when incorporating these insights into the context of sport clubs. These questions will be included as inputs for the development of the bystander intervention in work package 3 of the Erasmus+ Safe Sport Allies project.

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Appendix 1: Overview of the Selected Articles for Review

Title	**Author and Year**	**Journal**	**Research Field**	**DOI**
“What matters to someone who matters to me”: Using media campaigns with young people to prevent interpersonal violence and abuse	Stanley et al. (2017)	*Health Expectations*	Health care and health policy	https://doi.org/10.1111/hex.12495
Rethinking the bystander effect in violence reduction training programs	Levine et al. (2020)	*Social Issues and Policy Review*	Social sciences	https://doi.org/10.1111.sipr.12063
Perceptions of community norms and youths’ reactive and proactive dating and sexual violence bystander action	Rothman et al. (2019)	*American Journal of Community Psychology*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12312
Does change in perceptions of peer teen dating violence predict change in teen dating violence perpetration over time?	Shorey et al. (2018)	*Aggressive behavior*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21739
The impact of a brief bullying bystander intervention on depressive symptoms	Midgett et al. (2018)	*Journal of Counselling and Development*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12267
Bullying bystander reactions: A case study in the Taiwanese workplace	Wu & Wu (2018)	*Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*	Human Resources	https://doi.org/10.1111/1744-7941.12175
Sexual violence through a social justice paradigm: Framing and applications	Hong & Marine (2018)	*New Directions for Student Services*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.20250

Neighbourhood bystander intervention in intimate partner abuse: The role of social cohesion	Lucero et al. (2019)	*Journal of Community Psychology*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22143
Preventing teen relationship abuse and sexual assault through bystander training: Intervention outcomes for school personnel	Edwards et al. (2020)	*American Journal of Community Psychology*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12379
Different actions for different crimes: Explaining individual action in local crime problems	Schaefer et al. (2017)	*Journal of Community Psychology*	Crime prevention	https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21902
Space between concern and crime: Two recommendations for promoting the adoption of the threat assessment model and encouraging bystander reporting	Silver (2020)	*Criminology & Public Policy*	Public policy	https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12474
Imagined intergroup contact promotes support for human rights through increased humanization	Prati et al. (2018)	*European Journal of Social Psychology*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2282
Teachers as obligated bystanders: Grading and relating administrator support and peer response to teacher direct intervention in school bullying	Farley (2018)	*Psychology in the Schools*	Education	https://doi/org/10.1002/pits.22149

Adolescents' willingness to help with peer victimisation in Taiwan: The role of individual and situation-specific characteristics	Ma (2020)	*International Journal of Psychology*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12565
New approaches to defender and outsider roles in school bullying	Yun (2020)	*Child Development*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13312
Impact of the Friendly Schools whole-school intervention on transition to secondary school and adolescent bullying behavior	Cross et al. (2018)	*European Journal of Education*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12307
Psychometric properties of the cyberbullying triangulation questionnaire: A prevalence analysis through seven roles	Gonzalez-Cabrera (2019)	*Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1111/sjop.12518
Gender norms and social norms: Differences, similarities and why they matter in prevention science	Cislaghi & Heise (2020)	*Sociology of Health & Illness*	Health sciences	https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.13008
"We almost had the whole block's phone number on the wall": A mixed methods investigation of informal helping in a predominantly rural sample	Hagler et al. (2019)	*Journal of Community Psychology*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22132

Too great to act in solidarity: The negative relationship between collective narcissism and solidarity-based collective action	Górska et al. (2020)	*European Journal of Social Psychology*	Psychology	https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2638
Fostering constructive action by peers and bystanders in organizations and communities	Rowe (2018)	*Negotiation Journal*	Organizational sciences	https://doi.org/10.1111/nejo.12221
The abuse litmus test: A classroom tool to assess power and control in on-screen relationships	Bonomi et al. (2017)	*Family Relations*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12237
Multi-college bystander intervention evaluation for violence prevention	Coker et al. (2016)	*American Journal of Preventive Medicine*	Medicine	https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2015.08.034
An application of the theory of normative social behavior to bystander intervention for sexual assault	Reynolds-Tylus (2018)	*Journal of American College Health*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1080/07448481.2018.1499648
Intersectionality and perceptions about sexual assault education and reporting on college campuses	Worthen & Wallance (2017)	*Family Relations*	Family studies	https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12240
Religious symbolism in the digital realm: A social advertising approach to motivate bystanders to aid victims of cyberbullying	Muralidharan & La Ferle	*International Journal of Consumer Studies*	Consumer studies	https://doi.org/10.1111/ijcs.12448

The protective role of teacher-student relationships against peer victimization and psychosocial distress	Sulkowski & Simmons (2018)	*Psychology in the Schools*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.22086
Appealing to moral exemplars: Shared perception of morality as an essential ingredient of intergroup reconciliation	Cehajic-Clancy & Bilewicz (2020)	*Social Issues and Policy Review*	Social sciences	https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12067
“They think that I should defend”: Effects of peer and teacher injunctive norms on defending victimized classmates in early adolescents	Kollerová et al. (2018)	*Journal of Youth and Adolescence*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-018-0918-2
The effects of bystander programs on the prevention of sexual assault across the college years: A systematic review and meta-analysis	Kettrey & Marx (2019)	*Journal of Youth and Adolescence*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-018-0927-1
Re-evaluating sexual violence prevention through bystander education: A latent growth curve approach	Shaw & Janulis (2016)	*Journal of Interpersonal Violence*	Community studies	https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260515580365
Multiple sexual violence prevention tools: Doses and boosters	Banyard et al. (2018)	*Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1108/JACPR-05-2017-0287
Evaluation of Green Dot: An active bystander intervention to reduce	Coker et al. (2012)	*Violence Against women*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801211410264

sexual violence on college campuses				
Evaluation of a bystander-focused interpersonal violence prevention program with high school students	Edwards et al. (2019)	*Prevention Science*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-019-01000-w
Preventing sexual aggression among college men: An evaluation of a social norms and bystander intervention program	Gidycz et al. (2011)	*Violence Against Women*	Education	https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801211409727
Rethinking the bystander effect in violence reduction training programs	Levine et al. (2020b)	*Social Issues and Policy Review*	Social Sciences	https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12063