Blowing the whistle on doping in sport through evidence-informed policy making

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# Table of Contents

List of Figures ................................................................................................................................. 4  
List of Tables .................................................................................................................................. 5  
Introduction ....................................................................................................................................... 8  
Phase 1: EY Benchmarking Study ................................................................................................. 12  
Phase 2: Whistleblower Platform Audit ......................................................................................... 16  
Phase 3: Interviews ....................................................................................................................... 48  
Phase 4: Whistleblowing Determinants Survey ........................................................................... 83  
Phase 5: Synthesis and actions ..................................................................................................... 107  
References ....................................................................................................................................... 114  
List of Appendices ......................................................................................................................... 116
List of Figures

Figure 1: Key elements of a whistleblowing framework as identified by EY

Figure 2: Participant demographics

Figure 3: Whistleblowing enablers in sport

Figure 4: Implications of the fairness-loyalty trade-off

Figure 5: Key elements of a whistleblowing culture

Figure 6: Process of creating the whistleblowing determinants survey

Figure 7: Awareness of WADA Whistleblower Program

Figure 8: Preferred avenues of reporting doping

Figure 9: Provisions that should be available for reporting doping in sport

Figure 10: Organizations that participants were most likely to whistleblow to if it was an athlete they knew well

Figure 11: Organizations that participants were most likely to whistleblow to if it was an athlete they did not know well

Figure 12: Organizations that participants were most likely to whistleblow to if it was a coach they knew well

Figure 13: Organizations that participants were most likely to whistleblow to if it was a coach they did not know well

Figure 14: Whistleblowing knowledge

Figure 15: Whistleblowing skills

Figure 16: Whistleblowing related to social/professional role

Figure 17: Whistleblowing beliefs about capabilities

Figure 18: Whistleblowing optimism

Figure 19: Whistleblowing beliefs about consequences

Figure 20: Whistleblowing reinforcement

Figure 21: Whistleblowing intentions

Figure 22: Whistleblowing decision process

Figure 23: Whistleblowing environmental context and factors

Figure 24: Whistleblowing social influences

Figure 25: Whistleblowing emotions

Figure 26: Coaches’ and athletes’ capability, opportunity and motivation to whistleblow

Figure 27: Barriers and enablers to whistleblowing on doping in sport
List of Tables

Table 1: World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) Whistleblowing Platform
Table 2: National Anti-Doping Organization (NADO) Whistleblowing Platforms
Table 3: Summer Olympic Sport International Federation (IF) Whistleblowing Platforms
Table 4: Winter Olympic Sport International Federation (IF) Whistleblowing Platforms
Table 5: Additional Whistleblowing Platforms
Table 6: Evidence-based actions to enable whistleblowing
Table 7: Evidence-based recommendations for WADA’s Whistleblower Program
Executive Summary

Context

High profile cases of whistleblowing in sport, revisions to global anti-doping policy and evidence of systemic doping frame a growing emphasis on intelligence-driven approaches to anti-doping. Consequently, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) are compelling those with information on violations of the WADA Code to come forward and disclose so that action can be taken. As an incentive, the Code now allows athletes and support personnel to potentially reduce a sanction for providing assistance to anti-doping bodies leading to an anti-doping rule violation (ADRV).

At a global level, the WADA has introduced the ‘Speak Up’ Platform and accompanying Whistleblowing Policy, which outlines the protections afforded to whistleblowers. Beyond this, while there is a general awareness for the increased presence of ‘Report Doping’ platforms across nations and sports, there is currently no comprehensive overview of the existing sport whistleblowing landscape. Further, in order to ensure we engage and empower the sporting community to speak up about doping, it is necessary to deepen our understanding of the individual, situational and/or cultural factors that influence individuals’ decisions to whistleblow on ADRVs. Consequently, in order to establish and implement an evidence-based doping whistleblowing policy - that serves the needs of its potential users - we need to address this absence of evidence.

Five-phase program of research

This five-phase program of research establishes an evidence-base for informing WADA’s whistleblowing framework for reporting doping behaviors by employing a mixed-methods approach grounded in theory and informed by whistleblowing and anti-doping literature.

Findings

Whether specific to reporting doping or general wrongdoing, there is an abundance of existing sport whistleblowing platforms. Specifically, 75% of IFs (26/35) and 20% of NADOs (24/141) have whistleblowing platforms in place. Beyond this, whistleblowing platforms also exist for WADA and several ‘independent’ international organizations (e.g., SportLeaks, ICSS). The available platforms vary in terms of how they are managed (e.g., internal to the organization/external to the organization), the avenues through which an individual can provide information (e.g., telephone, email) and how much information is requested from the individual (e.g., personal/contact details). Despite the existence of these platforms, and the acknowledged responsibility and intention of athletes and their support personnel to report doping in sport, this program of research illustrates the barriers to whistleblowing that need to be overcome if we are to create a culture of speaking up about doping. It has highlighted the complex interplay of the training and competition environment with the capabilities, opportunities, and motivation of athletes and athlete support personnel (ASP) to report doping in sport. This interplay is illustrated in the following diagram:
Evidence-informed action to enable whistleblowing on doping in sport

By applying established behavioral science theories to whistleblowing on doping in sport, the foundations for the development of targeted and multifaceted behavioral interventions and policies have been laid. The first step is to increase individuals’ knowledge of whistleblowing processes and procedures. From here, there are opportunities to incentivize whistleblowing (e.g., celebrate whistleblowers), demonstrate how it can be done (e.g., invite whistleblowers to share their experiences) and show the positive change it can lead to (e.g., specifying ADRVs that have resulted from tips). Efforts of this nature should be complemented by the implementation of policies that provide guidelines and services designed to enable whistleblowing. Bespoke interventions, combined with strategic policies, present the best opportunity to channel whistleblowing as an effective means for protecting the rights of all to participate in doping-free sport.

Conclusion

Each time an athlete or ASP is deterred from speaking up, an opportunity to protect the rights of athletes and the wider community for clean sport is missed. Establishing a culture where people feel able to speak up and have confidence that their concerns will be listened to - and acted upon - is arguably the most important element of whistleblowing policy and practice. Reporting doping is about more than just individuals: it is collective and cultural. The tone and examples set by those at the top of all relevant sporting organizations will drive the culture and influence the thoughts, feelings and behaviors of those within it. It is therefore critical that each individual in sport is equipped with the capability to whistleblow, provided with the opportunities to do so, and motivated to enact the behaviour if necessary. It is only through the collective action of every person involved in sport that the potential for whistleblowing to serve as an effective means for exposing and deterring doping can be realized, and the integrity of sport upheld.
Introduction

Following high profile cases of whistleblowing in sport (e.g., the Stepanovs regarding Russian Athletics), the action of reporting wrongdoing in sport has garnered increasing interest from researchers (e.g., Whitaker, Backhouse & Long, 2014; Erickson, Backhouse, & Carless, 2017), the media, and anti-doping organizations worldwide. To encourage whistleblowing, significant resources are directed towards ‘Report Doping’ hotlines, including the independent whistleblowing platform – SportsLeaks – maintained by an international group of investigative journalists (“Sports Doping Leaks,” 2016). As the introduction of these services illustrates, an emphasis on intelligence-driven approaches to anti-doping has emerged and the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) are compelling those with information on violations of the WADA Code to come forward and report. Reinforcing this, the Code (Article 10.6.1; WADA, 2015) includes the possibility for individuals to have the length of their sanctions reduced (and/or removed entirely) for providing substantial assistance leading to an anti-doping rule violation (ADRV).

Whistleblowing is defined as “…the disclosure by organization members (former or current) of illegal, immoral, or illegitimate practices under the control of their employers, to persons or organizations that may be able to affect action” (Near & Miceli, 1985, p. 4).

Although two exploratory studies (Erickson et al., 2017; Whitaker et. al., 2014) have highlighted the complexity of reporting doping in sport, limited attention has been afforded to deepening our understanding of the individual, situational and/or cultural factors (‘determinants’) that influence individuals' decisions to whistleblow on ADRVs. Consequently, in order to establish and implement an evidence-based doping whistleblowing policy – one that serves the needs of its users - we need to address this absence of evidence. A better understanding of the behavioral determinants of whistleblowing can direct education and policy developments that create an enabling whistleblowing culture and system and, in turn, enhance doping prevention efforts.
A true moral dilemma
Illustrating the complexity of reporting doping in sport, Erickson and colleagues (2017) found that reporting presents a ‘true moral dilemma’ as the action presents two equally valid and demanding moral options (Bredemeier & Stephenson, 1967; Uys & Senekal, 2008). An individual can (1) conform to the morality of principle and negate the morality of loyalty (e.g., adhere to a code of silence), or (2) conform to the morality of loyalty and negate the morality of principle (e.g., whistleblow) (Uys & Senekal, 2008). Morality of loyalty refers to an obligation to people, organizations or groups within a particular context. Within this, ‘organizational loyalty’ suggests an individual should act in good faith for the best interests of all involved in an organization, constantly seeking to protect its reputation. Meanwhile, the morality of principle suggests that individuals should adhere to certain abstract principles (e.g., what is ‘right’) irrespective of those involved in the situation. This dilemma has recently been referred to as the fairness-loyalty trade-off (Waytz, Dungan, & Young, 2013) whereby fairness and loyalty are considered basic moral values that conflict at times. Norms of fairness demand that all people and groups be treated equally. Conversely, norms of loyalty dictate that one should favor their own group over other groups. Thus, doping whistleblowers must consider – do you report the doping athlete to protect athletes’ rights to clean sport or stay quiet to protect the athletic career and reputation of the athlete who is doping? Further, the potential whistleblower needs to consider their own reputation (e.g., being considered a “snitch”) within their current and future athletic environments. Based on the findings of Erickson and colleagues (2017), the relationship one has with an individual (e.g., fellow athlete) has greater influence on whistleblowing behaviors than any organizational (e.g., WADA) obligations or expectations.

An unwritten code of silence
Extending this argument, sport culture has been associated with an unwritten code of silence that protects athletes from having their drug use exposed (Shipley, 2013) and can simultaneously deter individuals from whistleblowing (Whitaker et al., 2014) since speaking up or acting in a way that contradicts the norm is considered risky behavior (Baron, 2013). The likelihood of whistleblowing can also be socially influenced (Gundlach, Douglas, & Martinko, 2003) and jeopardizing the trust of a teammate or fellow athlete may be considered significantly more damaging than an anti-doping sanction (Taunton, 2011).
Further, research with student-athletes (Erickson et al., 2017) and national level athletes (Whitaker et al., 2014) highlight the concern for relationships, reputation, and not knowing how to whistleblow, as representing significant deterrents to whistleblowing on doping. Taken together, there are noticeable obstacles to promoting whistleblowing on doping.

**Drawing insight beyond the boundaries of sport**

In contrast to the sport literature, whistleblowing has been widely researched within the public sector for decades (Near & Miceli, 1985); revealing numerous determinants. Specifically, individual determinants include the belief that whistleblowing is integral to one’s role responsibility, educational status, supervisory responsibilities and extroversion (Bjorkelo, Einarsen, & Matthiesen, 2010; Miceli & Near, 2002; Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran, 2005; Miceli & Near, 1988). Additionally, situational factors supporting whistleblowing include perceived support (for whistleblowing) from management and an organizational climate that enables whistleblowing (Miceli & Near, 1985, 1988; Berry, 2004; Keenan, 2000). Conversely, fear of retribution (e.g., job loss, negative labels) constitutes the dominant deterrent to whistleblowing (Teo & Casperz, 2011) and its deterrent effect is magnified when an organization lacks clear whistleblowing policies that protect whistleblowers (Rennie & Crosby, 2002). Consequences for the whistleblower are commonplace and typically include: being bullied, shunned, and discredited by others, having one’s reputation, job, and livelihood seriously jeopardized and being victimized by employers with lawsuits, job loss, defamation, and disgrace (Rennie & Crosby, 2002; Uys & Senekal, 2008; Dasgupta & Kesharwani, 2010; Baron, 2013). Critically, retribution for whistleblowing is also evident within sport. For example, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) stated that they are not responsible for Russian whistleblowers, the Stepanovs’, safety (Grohmann, 2016). The IOC’s response sparked concern that whistleblowers will be further deterred from coming forward (Axon, 2016) and this concern is corroborated in previous literature (Miceli & Near, 1992).

Presently, there is no clear indication who within the sports movement (e.g., WADA, IOC) is ultimately responsible and accountable for protecting and compensating whistleblowers, nor when/how to facilitate such provisions. Meanwhile, research (Goldsmith, 2015; Richardson & McGlynn, 2015) highlights that sport infrastructures generally differ from those of
mainstream businesses and organizations; thus, the determinants of whistleblowing behavior in sport likely diverge from those in existing literature. It would therefore be misguided to assume that known whistleblowing determinants translate directly to the unique sporting context. Hence, there is an urgent need to establish a doping whistleblowing policy underpinned by sport-specific evidence.

**Five-phase program of research**

This five-phase program of research establishes an evidence-base for informing WADA’s whistleblowing framework for reporting doping behaviors by employing a mixed-methods approach grounded in theory and informed by established whistleblowing and anti-doping literature.

In Phase 1, a review of whistleblowing frameworks in the financial services was conducted. In Phase 2, information regarding existing whistleblowing policies and practices across national anti-doping organizations (NADOs) and sport organizations was gathered and compared. During Phase 3, semi-structured interviews were conducted with international level athletes and coaches across the US and UK exploring their perceptions of whistleblowing. Additionally, qualitative interviews were conducted with identified doping whistleblowers to explore their perceptions and experiences before, during, and following whistleblowing. These interviews informed Phase 4, in which a survey was developed to explore determinants of whistleblowing to further our understanding of the enablers and barriers of this action. The survey was distributed to international level athletes and coaches in the US and UK. Finally, in Phase 5, data from all phases was synthesized to establish evidence-based recommendations for a whistleblowing framework for doping in sport.
Phase 1: EY Benchmarking Study

Jan 2017-July 2017

The first step of this program of research involved undertaking a benchmarking study gathering observations of leading practice in the corporate and financial sectors regarding whistleblowing frameworks. A focus on whistleblowing frameworks within these sectors was underpinned by the premise that the reporting of illegal, immoral, or illegitimate practices is considered an integral part of enforcing laws and policies within this sector (Ernst and Young, 2016). Therefore, global industry experts in forensic and dispute services, Ernst and Young LLP (EY), were sub-contracted to deliver Phase 1 of this project. The EY team had over 25 years’ experience in Fraud Investigation and Dispute Services (FIDS). Thus, they were well-positioned to provide insider experience and knowledge within the context of designing and implementing evidence-based whistleblowing frameworks and policies. Noting the time-sensitive nature of policy developments, Phase 1 was delivered to WADA six months after commencing the project.
Key elements of leading practice in the corporate and financial sectors regarding whistleblowing frameworks are summarized in Figure 1.

![Whistleblowing framework diagram](image)

Figure 1. Key elements of a whistleblowing framework as identified by EY

Having a **culture where people feel able to speak up** and have confidence that their concerns will be listened to is **arguably the most important element of the framework** and underpins everything. **Creating this culture** requires **a clear and consistent message coming from leaders** at all levels of the organization, **supported by a policy and procedures** that are **consistent with the speaking up culture**.

Recommendations for WADA and other global sporting organizations:

1. Make it as **easy as possible for people to report** concerns. Policies, as an example, should be succinct, written in simple English (and translated into other languages as appropriate) and **signpost people to how to report** a concern.
2. The use of **labels such as ‘whistleblower’ or ‘informant’** should be **considered carefully** in the context of the local culture and common understanding of the terminology. Requiring
some form of signed declaration, can be off-putting to many prospective whistleblowers, and may suggest that concerns are not welcomed.

3. Recognize that individuals have differing needs, therefore provide a range of communication methods, available in all relevant languages and adapted to suit local cultures, allowing people to raise concerns in a way that meets their needs.

4. All disclosures raised through the whistleblowing process should be investigated, following a consistent, objective and independent process.

5. A dedicated whistleblowing team should be in place in most organizations with significant size/remit. They are generally responsible for overseeing the framework, with responsibilities that may include:
   a. Promoting whistleblowing to all relevant organizations and raising awareness;
   b. Training those receiving whistleblowing concerns (and handling calls themselves as appropriate);
   c. Triaging concerns raised and ensuring they are appropriately investigated and followed up;
   d. Managing and overseeing ongoing communications with the whistleblower;
   e. Putting appropriate procedures in place to protect whistleblowers from retaliation;
   f. Collating, reviewing and publishing management information on whistleblowing; and
   g. Regularly assessing the overall effectiveness of the whistleblowing framework.

5. Culture is an essential factor in any whistleblowing program. The tone and examples set by those at the top of all relevant organizations, in each country/sport/governing body will drive the culture and influence the attitude of those within it.

6. Whistleblowing statistics should be published (where appropriate) in an annual (or more regular), publicly available report, for example the number of concerns raised, the number that were investigated, and the number of disciplinary hearings that resulted from this, to assist improving confidence in the process.
Phase 2: Whistleblowing Platform Audit

Jan 2017-Sept 2017

Following the benchmarking study, the next step was to investigate and map national anti-doping organizations' (NADO) and sport organizations’ whistleblowing policies and frameworks. During this process, particular attention was directed towards determining: (1) how whistleblowing cases are currently handled (e.g., which countries/sports currently facilitate whistleblowing?), and (2) what protections are in place for whistleblowers (i.e., confidentiality, retaliation). Where possible, further information regarding whistleblowing channels was also ascertained, including: (a) avenues for blowing the whistle (i.e., single/multiple channel), (b) management (e.g., internal/external, live response), and (c) nature of use (e.g., frequency, informant demographics, type of information reported, outcomes arising from reports). The findings of Phase 2 were reported back to WADA within nine months of commencing the project.
Glossary of terms for Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition/Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADRV</td>
<td>Anti-Doping Rules Violation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF</td>
<td>International Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant</td>
<td>Individual reporting doping information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NADO</td>
<td>National Anti-Doping Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secure</td>
<td>As determined by the web page address. This information would be visible to the informant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WADA</td>
<td>World Anti-Doping Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whistleblower</td>
<td>Individual reporting doping information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Whistleblowing) Platform</td>
<td>The website provided for reporting doping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avenue (for whistleblowing)</td>
<td>The actual mechanism(s) available for reporting doping (e.g., telephone number, email, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Context

Revisions to global anti-doping policy and growing evidence of systemic doping in sport means athletes and support personnel are being increasingly encouraged to ‘blow the whistle’ on doping in sport. To facilitate whistleblowing, significant resources are being directed towards ‘Report Doping’ platforms. At a global level, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) has introduced the ‘Speak Up’ Platform and accompanying Whistleblowing Policy, which outlines the protections afforded to whistleblowers. Beyond this, while there is a general awareness for the increased presence of ‘Report Doping’ platforms across nations and sports, there is currently no record of the platforms that exist nor if they are being utilized. There is also no measure for determining what makes a whistleblowing platform effective. In response, this report provides an audit of existing whistleblowing platforms across National Anti-Doping Organizations (NADOs), Summer and Winter Olympic Sport International Federations (IFs) and additional independent international whistleblower platforms. Platforms available for reporting doping specifically, and wrongdoing in sport more broadly, are included in an attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of the current sport whistleblowing landscape.

Research Design

Existing global whistleblowing platforms in sport - including those specific to reporting doping and those designed for reporting wrongdoing in general – were identified and reviewed. To compile this list, the websites of National Anti-Doping Organizations (NADOs) (https://www.wada-ama.org/en/code-signatories - GovernmentFundedOrganizations) and International Federations (IFs) (https://www.olympic.org/sports) were accessed and details regarding (non)existing whistleblowing platforms were identified. Additionally, we reviewed the World Anti-Doping Agency platform (https://speakup.wada-ama.org/WebPages/Public/FrontPages/Default.aspx) as well as independent sport whistleblowing platforms [i.e., FairSport (https://fairsport.org/), SportsLeaks (https://www.sportsleaks.com/), and the International Centre for Sport Security (http://www.theicss.org/en)].
The initial review was undertaken between February – September 2017 and after completing the audit, individual NADOs were emailed and asked to confirm whether or not the information gathered accurately represented their current practice. All NADOs were contacted on three separate occasions and invited to provide feedback. As a result, multiple NADOs provided clarification and updates to the information that was gathered and this information is represented in Table 1. The information contained in this report was most recently updated in July 2018.
World Anti-Doping Agency - Speak Up!

Overview

As the global governing body for anti-doping, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) hosts its own doping-specific whistleblowing platform. The platform includes an online form comprising open and closed questions and there is also the possibility of reporting via a free downloadable app (available on the App Store and Google Store). The web page platform is accessible via a link on the WADA website and is labeled as ‘secure’ on the web browser, indicating that data shared through this web page is protected (i.e., data cannot be hacked). The website outlines what is useful information to report before an individual accesses the actual whistleblowing form. The informant submits the form to an online ‘post box’, which they can re-access through an individual login code in order to re-connect with WADA while still protecting their identity. Within the whistleblowing form, the informant does not have to disclose their identity and can remain anonymous. Notably, WADA provides a list of tips to help ensure anonymity is maintained (e.g., filing a report from a personal computer and not using a PC that is connected to an intranet or network). If the informant does choose to disclose personal information, such as contact details, WADA offers reassurance that all data disclosed will be kept confidential in line with the organization’s principles and data protection policy. The platform is available in English and French and is internally managed by the organization itself through the Intelligence and Investigations team. Although housed within WADA, this team operates independently within the wider WADA organization to ensure confidentiality.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization &amp; Platform Name (if applicable)</th>
<th>Name / How does the whistleblowing platform work?</th>
<th>Does the organization specify what to report?</th>
<th>How will the organization follow up / contact the whistleblower?</th>
<th>How will the organization handle private data and confidentiality?</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
<th>Avenues for whistleblowing</th>
<th>Management</th>
<th>Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) | “Speak Up!” Online form on separate web page that is labeled as 'secure' in the web browser. This online form ('post box') can be accessed again via password and login details. Form consists of multiple questions including a large open dialogue box. The informant can also attach any relevant files as part of the report. | The web page specifies that individuals can report alleged ADRVs, WADA Code non-compliance violations or any act or omission that could undermine the fight against doping. informant is asked which ADRV they are reporting from a drop-down menu. After entering the actual whistleblowing platform, informant is asked to specify: - Type of ADRV being reported - Country where ADRV occurred - Sport involved - Who is involved - When incident occurred - Describe the situation Informant can attach documents and has the option of providing their contact details. | The informant can create a secure online mail box (even if they do not want to leave contact details) which can later be revisited. The informant is encouraged to log back into their online form/ 'post box' account to communicate with WADA and answer any questions regarding the specific case (informant is assigned a case ID number). The informant can also provide their contact details when filling out the form, but this is optional. Offers reassurance that all data will be kept confidential and that WADA values the confidentiality of informant data. In order to remain anonymous, the informant is given four recommendations: 1. Access this site directly by copying or writing the URL address https://speakup.wadaama.org in an internet browser rather than by clicking on a link. 2. File your report from your personal computer. 3. Do not use a PC that is connected to a network/intranet. 4. Choose whether or not you wish to leave your personal details; if not, you should also check that your personal details do not appear in the file properties (metadata) of any files you upload. | English and French | 1. Online form (new page/tab opened) 2. Phone App | Internal | https://speakup.wadaama.org/We ppages/Public/FrontPages/Default.aspx
National Anti-Doping Organization Platforms

Overview

A list of 141 National Anti-Doping Organization (NADO) websites were accessed via the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) website (https://www.wada-ama.org/en/code-signatories) and a total of 24 NADOs with whistleblowing platforms were found. This means that less than 20% (24/141) of the 141 NADOs had whistleblowing platforms available to report doping.

How does the whistleblowing platform work?: Out of the 24 NADO report platforms, 17 of the platforms included the reporting avenue (e.g., online report form) directly within the same website/web page, whereas six redirected individuals to an online reporting avenue maintained on a separate webpage (e.g., re-direction to an online post box) and one NADO (Bosnia and Herzegovina) provided a document to be printed and filled out by hand. Of the 17 NADO platforms that requested information to be provided on the same web page, 9/17 (53%) were listed as NOT ‘secure’ in the website browser whereas 8/17 (47%) were listed as ‘secure’.

Does the NADO specify what to report?: Over half (15/24, 63%) of the NADO platforms included guidance in relation to what could/should be reported. These NADO report avenues also consisted of more complex online forms offering from 2-11 open and closed questions. For example: who the accused person(s) is, what offense (ADRV) they have committed, the timescale, date and location of the offense(s). In contrast, 9/24 (38%) NADOs did not provide information regarding what to report and/or only asked the informant to 'comment' or 'report what they know'.

How will the NADO follow up with report/contact whistleblower?: Thirteen NADOs (54%) asked for contact details from the informant and encouraged informants to provide them in order to enable follow up. Of the 13 NADOs asking for contact details, eight of these had ‘optional’ fields for contact details (e.g., name,
email address, telephone number) and five of them (Kenya, Bosnia and Herzegovina, South Africa, Belarus and the Bahamas) mandated certain contact details when reporting (e.g., email address, informant’s name, etc.). Apart from contact details, five NADOs (21%; Denmark, Norway, Germany, Slovenia and UK) created a separate and secure online post box where the informant can blow the whistle by submitting an online report form and further track this using a designated report ID number and login; thus, enabling individuals to maintain contact with the NADO while still ensuring their anonymity.

**How will the NADO handle private data and confidentiality?:** A total of 21 NADOs (88%) stated that reported information and the identity of the whistleblower will be treated with 'strict confidentiality'. However, only 10 NADOs (42%) specified the Data Protection policy that they follow (e.g., Jamaica and Canada - WADA's International Standards for the Protection of Privacy and Personal Information – the link for this is attached on their websites). One NADO (Norway - ADNO) also provided advice on how to remain anonymous; ADNO encourages informants to access the reporting site directly by copying or writing the URL address in an internet browser rather than by clicking on a link and an informant is encouraged to file their report from their personal computer and not include their personal information in order to protect their identity. No specific forms of whistleblower protection measures apart from methods of maintaining anonymity and/or confidentiality were mentioned across the NADOs.

**Language:** NADO reporting platforms were offered in their native language with the exception of Kenya who offer their platform strictly in English and not in native Swahili. The majority (19/24, 79%) were also available in English. The Swiss NADO (Anti-Doping Switzerland) provided the largest range of languages (4: German, French, Italian and English). However, the five nations (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Portugal, Japan, Lithuania and Monaco) who do not have a NADO website available in English provided an approximate (but limited) translation through a function on the Google Chrome browser.
**Avenues for whistleblowing:** Fifteen of the 24 NADOs (63%) provided informants with two or more avenues for reporting doping, while 10/24 (42%) offered three or more avenues for reporting. A range of reporting avenues were identified across the NADO landscape, but online forms were the most common as nearly all (22/24, 92%) NADOs provided the option of reporting wrongdoing via this approach. Beyond this, 13 NADOs (54%) promoted whistleblowing via telephone hotlines, 10 NADOs (42%) promoted whistleblowing via designated email addresses and two NADOs (8%) promoted whistleblowing by sending physical mail to a specified postal address. No NADO openly advertised the opportunity to blow the whistle via face-to-face conversation/meeting. However, one NADO (UK Anti-Doping - UKAD) stated that they are able to collect doping information through the process of interviewing. UKAD offered the most avenues for whistleblowing with a total of seven avenues (online, telephone, email, interview, investigation process, WhatsApp and Twitter).

**Management:** Sixteen NADOs (67%) managed their whistleblowing platforms internally, whereas six NADOs (25%; Denmark – ADD, Germany – NADA, Japan – JADA, Norway – ADNO, Slovenia – SLOADO and UK – UKAD) utilized an external company for the purposes of facilitating whistleblowing on doping. The management of two NADOs (the Agency of Anti-Doping Control of Bosnia and Herzegovina and China – CHINADA) is classified as 'unknown' due to a lack of accessible knowledge gained from their websites and an inability to fully translate all web content via Google Chrome translator.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Name / How does the whistleblowing platform work?</th>
<th>Does the NADO specify what to report?</th>
<th>How will the NADO follow up / contact the whistleblower?</th>
<th>How will the NADO handle private data and confidentiality?</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
<th>Avenues For Whistleblowing</th>
<th>Management</th>
<th>Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Australian Anti-Doping Authority (ASADA)</td>
<td>&quot;Report Doping&quot;: Open dialogue box in-web-based form – on submission sender cannot be identified unless contact details are provided. The web page is labeled as &quot;secure&quot;.</td>
<td>ASADA asks individuals to provide as much information as possible, bulleted nine fields (e.g., nature of the wrongdoing, who committed the wrongdoing).</td>
<td>ASADA may need to establish contact in regards to the information provided. Therefore, contact details are optional but necessary for follow up with reporter/whistleblower. Fields: Name, email address, phone number</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Online form on ASADA (same) web page 2. Phone Hotline 3. Email to ASADA (separate to the web based 'tip off' form) 4. Written correspondence</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td><a href="https://www.asada.gov.au/report-doping">https://www.asada.gov.au/report-doping</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahamas</td>
<td>Bahamas Anti-Doping Commission (BADC)</td>
<td>&quot;Tip Hotline&quot;. Informants can report via email, an online form (on the same web page) or by calling a telephone number. An email address is mandatory for the web page submission. The web page is NOT labeled as 'secure'.</td>
<td>Individuals are encouraged to share ‘doping concerns, however small they seem’</td>
<td>States that information provided is used by BADC to improve and maintain our anti-doping activities. Data is managed in accordance with WADA's International Standard for the Protection of Privacy and Personal Information.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Email 2. Telephone 3. Online form (same web page)</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td><a href="http://www.bahamasadc.org/tip/">http://www.bahamasadc.org/tip/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
<td>National Anti-Doping Agency of Belarus (NADA)</td>
<td>&quot;Report Doping&quot;: Open dialogue box that asks for the informant's name (mandatory) and then provides a text box to input details of the situation. The web page is NOT labeled as 'secure'.</td>
<td>States that individuals should get in touch after witnessing doping. No further details provided.</td>
<td>States that it is an anonymous service, yet providing a name is a compulsory field in the online form. No further details provided.</td>
<td>English and Russian</td>
<td>1. Online form (same web page) 2. Phone/fax 3. Viber</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td><a href="http://nada.by/en/contac">http://nada.by/en/contac</a> ts/soobschi/</td>
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<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>Agency for Anti-Doping Control of Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>&quot;Report Corruption&quot;: Not specifically labeled as a doping report line but redirects athletes to a downloadable form that gives athletes the opportunity to get in contact with the commission regarding corruption (including doping). The form consists of 6 separate sections. What to do with this form (mail, email etc.) is not detailed. It is available to be completed as a pen and paper copy.</td>
<td>Details not available (form is in Bosnian only).</td>
<td>Details not available (form is in Bosnian only). Can distinguish that email address is a mandatory field on the form.</td>
<td>Bosnian (Translated to English via Google Chrome)</td>
<td>1. Link to downloadable form separate to website</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ada.gov.ba/i">http://www.ada.gov.ba/i</a> ndex.php/bs/</td>
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<td>Reporting form on website has several mandatory fields that ask specific questions:</td>
<td>Contact details are optional although informant has option to open a &quot;secure mailbox&quot; where they can interact anonymously with CCES.</td>
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<td>- What type of anti-doping rule violation or suspicion are you reporting?</td>
<td>If the report is through the app, the informant can sign into their secure postbox in the app by inputting their 4 digit pin code.</td>
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<td>- In which country did the violation or suspicion occur?</td>
<td>If the informant used the website then signing into their post-box using the case ID and password is used to respond to CCES inquiries.</td>
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<td>- Which sport(s) does the violation or suspicion involve?</td>
<td>Information provided will be treated according to (WADA's) International Standards for the Protection of Privacy and Personal Information. Additionally, the reporting system has its own privacy policy relating to data collection, privacy, disclosures etc.</td>
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<td>- Who is involved in the incident?</td>
<td>English and French</td>
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<td>- Please describe your suspicion or knowledge in as much detail as possible:</td>
<td>1. Phone hotline (1-800-710-CCES)</td>
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<td>Optional fields are:</td>
<td>2. Online form (on separate webpage from CCES site)</td>
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<td>- When did the incident occur? (Please specify a period of time)</td>
<td>3. CCES Report Doping App.</td>
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<td>- Name:</td>
<td>4. Email</td>
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<td>- Telephone number:</td>
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<td>“CCES Report Doping App” consists of a secure and confidential platform. Informant has opportunity to open a secure mailbox. There are no mandatory fields, simply a field to input text. There is however an option to attach video, audio, and picture files to the report. Whistleblowing platform has a FAQ section that explains how the report platform works.</td>
<td>Options to submit a report can be found at: <a href="https://reportdoping.cces.ca/">https://reportdoping.cces.ca/</a></td>
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<td>Google Play or Apple Store <a href="mailto:intelligence@cces.ca">intelligence@cces.ca</a></td>
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<td>Options to submit a report can be found at: <a href="https://cces.ca/reportdoping">https://cces.ca/reportdoping</a></td>
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<td>Country</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Contact Options</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Language(s)</td>
<td>Administrative Process Notes</td>
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<td><strong>China</strong></td>
<td>CHINADA</td>
<td>&quot;Report Doping in Sport&quot;: Accessible in English language if selected at top of webpage. Telephone number provided and option to leave a message using the online platform (in Chinese only). The webpage is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>Details are not provided.</td>
<td>Chinese and broken English</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td><a href="http://english.chinada.cn/rdis/index.jhtml">http://english.chinada.cn/rdis/index.jhtml</a></td>
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<td><strong>Denmark</strong></td>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>“Stop Doping”: Specially secured communication platform. Operates in a separate (encrypted) URL address. Reports are managed through a “secure box” for anonymous exchange between whistleblower and ADD. Report is based on fill out form seeking precise information about the doping activity. Can attach files to the report (e.g., pictures). Option to open secure mailbox (option to re-visit this) is password protected. Telephone doping hotline is also available (+45 70 60 60 94). Web page is labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>Through seven direct questions in the fill out form this is guaranteed. Invites people to report possible violations in good faith. ADD also offers a short guide on what can be reported and what shouldn’t be reported. Questions include: “What is your suspicion?” (drop down menu and also text box), details of city/ area and the substance suspected. Informant does not need to have witnessed the ADRV or be 100% sure that an ADRV has occurred. Detailed information is provided about (1) the follow up process with reporter/ whistleblower, (2) how the secure mail box works and (3) how to remain anonymous during the process. Platform stresses confidentiality and discloses its privacy policy. Platform encourages the informant to provide name and contact (Not mandatory). As a self-governing public institution, ADD operates under relevant legislation which is the current Danish Data Protection legislation and (from 25 May 2018) the GDPR. All administrative processes including the whistleblowing process are carried out with respect of this legislation.</td>
<td>English and Danish</td>
<td>details about (1) the follow up process with reporter/ whistleblower, (2) how the secure mail box works and (3) how to remain anonymous during the process. Informant information is acknowledged as being confidential and anonymous, however further details of how this will be handled are not provided.</td>
<td><a href="https://antidoping.whistleblowernetwork.net/Websites/Public/FrontPages/Default.aspx">https://antidoping.whistleblowernetwork.net/Websites/Public/FrontPages/Default.aspx</a></td>
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<td><strong>France</strong></td>
<td>AFLD</td>
<td>“Report a Doping Event”: Open dialogue box that is part of the same web page. Informant is asked to leave a message in the blank ‘message’ box. Contact details (email, phone, name) are all details are not provided.</td>
<td>AFLD states that it reserves the right to follow up on any ‘appropriate’ information. “Only information that is sufficiently detailed and detailed information will be used.” Further details not provided.</td>
<td>English and French</td>
<td>details about (1) the follow up process with reporter/ whistleblower, (2) how the secure mail box works and (3) how to remain anonymous during the process. Informant information is acknowledged as being confidential and anonymous, however further details of how this will be handled are not provided.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.afld.fr/signaler-un-fait-de-dopage/">https://www.afld.fr/signaler-un-fait-de-dopage/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>National Anti-Doping Agency</td>
<td>Reporting Platform</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Contact Method</td>
<td>Feedback Options</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
<td>Nationale Anti-Doping Agentur (NADA)</td>
<td>“Speak Up”</td>
<td>Specially secured communication platform. Operates at a separate URL address. Report is based on fill out form on precise information about the doping activity. NADA Germany offers the possibility to contact the person in charge (name, telephone, and email provided). File attachment to report (e.g. pictures). Log-in only required for the use of the post-box. Whistleblower can leave tips without further registration/log-in. If s/he wishes to further communicate, they must log-in. URL form includes pseudonym/username and password. Web page is labeled as ‘secure’. Through direct questions this is guaranteed. It also invites people to provide even small pieces of information and explains that even little details can help shed light on doping.</td>
<td>German and English</td>
<td>1. Online form (new page/tab opened) 2. Telephone contact 3. Email address</td>
<td>External - Company (called Business Keeper AG (BK AG)) – BK AG provides the framework but they do not access the data/information provided by whistleblowers. NADA Germany discloses data protection policy in a downloadable document that is accessible via a link. Information received by the “Speak Up” platform is handled and accessible by staff members on a need-to-know basis only.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.nada.de/en/nada/speak-up/">http://www.nada.de/en/nada/speak-up/</a> Re-directed to: <a href="http://www.bkms-system.net/NADA">www.bkms-system.net/NADA</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Sport Ireland</td>
<td>&quot;Report Doping&quot;</td>
<td>Fill out form composed of 11 specific questions (four answers are mandatory) on the doping activity. Form is on same web page, but can also be downloaded as pdf doc. Sending an email is also possible instead of fill out form. Web page is labeled as ‘secure’. Through direct questions this is guaranteed. Invites you to provide even small pieces of information. Contact details are optional. Further details are not provided. Information will be treated confidentially. The form specifically asks if reporter wishes to remain anonymous. Sport Ireland might share information, where applicable, with other agencies. It does not specify exactly who these ‘agencies’ are, merely states that it is ‘agencies that we have information sharing agreements with.’</td>
<td>English and Gaelic</td>
<td>1. Online form (on same web page) 2. Email address</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td><a href="https://www.irishsportscouncil.ie/Anti-Doping/Report-Doping/">https://www.irishsportscouncil.ie/Anti-Doping/Report-Doping/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica Anti-Doping Commission (JADCO)</td>
<td>“Report Doping”</td>
<td>Fill out an online form (four voluntary fields). Telephone doping hotline also mentioned on the same web page. Four bullet points of what constitutes useful information are provided (1. Name/s of people involved, 2. Nature of doping activity, 3. Drug/substances involved or method/s use, 4. Dates, times, States that if the informant wishes to be contacted then they should provide an email address and/or phone number. No further details provided. Information provided will be managed according to WADA’s International Standard for the Protection of Privacy and Personal Information. See more at:</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Online form (on same web page) 2. Phone hotline</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td><a href="http://www.jadco.gov.jm/index.php/report-doping">http://www.jadco.gov.jm/index.php/report-doping</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Agency Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Reporting Form Details</td>
<td>Website/Contact Information</td>
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<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>Anti-Doping Agency of Lithuania (ADAK)</td>
<td>“Report Violations”: Open dialogue box on web page. The web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’. Three bullet points of what is useful information is provided (e.g., the name of a person who has committed the ADRV, the kind of violation, where and when it happened) and asking the informant if they themselves have committed an ADRV.</td>
<td>States that the Agency may need to take further steps with the information and asks for informant’s details to accommodate this. Personal details are not mandatory.</td>
<td>Lithuanian (Translated to English via Google Chrome) 1. Online form (on same web page) Internal <a href="http://www.antidopingas.lt/pranesti/">http://www.antidopingas.lt/pranesti/</a></td>
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<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Anti-Doping Agency of Kenya (ADAK)</td>
<td>“Report Doping”: Open dialogue box on the same web page. Name, phone number and email address are requested – valid email is mandatory. There is also an option to attach any files/attachments to the message. The web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’. The Agency is in the process of updating its website making it more secure.</td>
<td>The form asks for the informant’s name and telephone number – a valid email address is a mandatory field. ADAK has made it clear to the sporting fraternity that any information received would be handled confidentially and the source never revealed. Informant is required to tick a box stating ‘I have read and understood the Whistleblowing Program Policy and Procedures for Reporting Misconduct and accept the terms and conditions’. Where the Policy is located is not clear though. Once the new website is live it will mention the ADAK Policies followed when handling Whistleblowing cases. ADAK has a section titled ‘Handling Confidential Information and Managing Informants’ in its Intelligence and Investigations Policy. Like all policies in the Agency, these are subject to continual reviews and updates.</td>
<td>English (NOT available in native Swahili) 1. Online form (on same web page) 2. Email: <a href="mailto:reportdoping@ada.k.or.ke">reportdoping@ada.k.or.ke</a></td>
<td>Internal <a href="http://www.keshop.co.ke/ADAK/report-anti-doping/">http://www.keshop.co.ke/ADAK/report-anti-doping/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Japan Anti-Doping Agency (JADA)</td>
<td>“Doping Report Window”: Online form. The informant is redirected to the report form on the Japan Sport Council website. The web page is labeled as ‘secure’. Provides details on who to report (athletes and support staff) as well as examples of what is important information (provides a table listing ADRVs). The informant is encouraged to report doping incidents dating back up to four years ago. Questions on the form consist of open dialogue boxes that follow several short-worded questions (e.g., ‘who, when, where, what was done, other’). The online form asks for contact details (name, telephone, email - these are all optional fields). There is a mandatory field that asks for the informant’s ‘relationship with sports’ providing an opportunity to document their role/position within sport. Anonymous reports are accepted and contact details are only an optional field. Personal information provided may be used as part of a doping investigation and may be shared with third parties. No specific data protection/data sharing laws are mentioned. The form asks for the informant’s name and telephone number – a valid email address is a mandatory field. ADAK has made it clear to the sporting fraternity that any information received would be handled confidentially and the source never revealed. Informant is required to tick a box stating ‘I have read and understood the Whistleblowing Program Policy and Procedures for Reporting Misconduct and accept the terms and conditions’. Where the Policy is located is not clear though. Once the new website is live it will mention the ADAK Policies followed when handling Whistleblowing cases. ADAK has a section titled ‘Handling Confidential Information and Managing Informants’ in its Intelligence and Investigations Policy. Like all policies in the Agency, these are subject to continual reviews and updates.</td>
<td>The Agency is in the process of updating its website making it more secure. There is a mandatory field. Personal information provided may be used as part of a doping investigation and may be shared with third parties. No specific data protection/data sharing laws are mentioned. The form asks for the informant’s name and telephone number – a valid email address is a mandatory field. ADAK has made it clear to the sporting fraternity that any information received would be handled confidentially and the source never revealed. Informant is required to tick a box stating ‘I have read and understood the Whistleblowing Program Policy and Procedures for Reporting Misconduct and accept the terms and conditions’. Where the Policy is located is not clear though. Once the new website is live it will mention the ADAK Policies followed when handling Whistleblowing cases. ADAK has a section titled ‘Handling Confidential Information and Managing Informants’ in its Intelligence and Investigations Policy. Like all policies in the Agency, these are subject to continual reviews and updates.</td>
<td>Japanese (Translated to English via Google Chrome) 1. Online form (redirected to Japan Sport Council website) External (Japan Sport Council) <a href="https://www.report-doping.japonsport.go.jp/form/">https://www.report-doping.japonsport.go.jp/form/</a></td>
<td>Internal <a href="http://www.reportdoping.japonsport.go.jp/form/">http://www.reportdoping.japonsport.go.jp/form/</a></td>
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<td>Country</td>
<td>Antidoping Organization</td>
<td>Reporting Methodology</td>
<td>Contact Information</td>
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<td>Monaco</td>
<td>Monegasque Anti-Doping Commission</td>
<td>&quot;Anonymous Message&quot;: Not specifically labeled as a doping report line but this single open dialogue box gives athletes the possibility to get in contact with the NADO. The form is signposted by the NADO as a way to report a case of doping. Anonymous phone hotline also advertised on the same page. The web page is labeled as 'secure'.</td>
<td>Details are not provided. Details are not provided. French (Translated to English via Google Chrome) 1. Online form (on same web page) 2. Phone Hotline (+377 97 77 56 49)</td>
<td>Internal <a href="http://onad-monaco.mc/nous-contacter/nous-contacter-anonymement/">http://onad-monaco.mc/nous-contacter/nous-contacter-anonymement/</a></td>
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<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Drug Free Sport NZ (DFSNZ)</td>
<td>&quot;Report Doping in Sport&quot;: Open dialogue box in website. Telephone doping hotline is also available (0800 DRUGFREE - 378 437). Also provides option to email the department confidentially on the email address provided in the 'Contact Us' section. The web page is labeled as 'secure'. DFSNZ describes four different doping incidents that should be reported (witnessing doping in sport, having been offered banned substances, suspect someone may be doping and/or are concerned about the behavior/practice of an athlete, coach or support personnel). Asks the person to provide 'as much information as possible'. Contact details are optional (name, email, phone number). Further details are not provided. DFSNZ emphasizes strict confidentiality when handling reports. No further details on confidentiality or data handling found.</td>
<td>1. Online form (on same web page) 2. Phone hotline 3. Email address</td>
<td>Internal <a href="https://drugfreesport.org.nz/report-doping-in-sport">https://drugfreesport.org.nz/report-doping-in-sport</a></td>
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<td>Norway</td>
<td>Anti-Doping Norway (ADNO)</td>
<td>&quot;Doping Forecast&quot;: Online form is opened on a new web page, in a new tab (separate and secure URL). This secure online form ('post box') can be accessed again via password and login details. Form consists of multiple questions including a large open dialogue box. The informant can also attach any relevant files as part of the report. The doping report is sent directly to ADNO. The web page is labeled as 'secure'. Informant is asked to provide firm knowledge and/or any suspicions of doping (do not have to have witnessed the ADRV themselves). Various directed questions identify important information for the informant to consider. Also, on the web page (before being redirected to the form) there are several bullet points documenting 'What can be reported'. ADNO may ask questions on the online form, therefore the informant is encouraged to log back into their online form/&quot;post box&quot; account to communicate with ADNO and answer any questions regarding the specific case (Informant is assigned a case ID number). Offers reassurance that all data will be kept confidential. In order to remain anonymous, the informant is encouraged to access the whistleblower system directly by copying or writing the URL address in an internet browser rather than by clicking on the link. They are also instructed to file their report from their personal computer and not to provide their personal details. Link to a 'Privacy Policy' is provided.</td>
<td>1. Online form (new page/tab opened)</td>
<td>External - Company (called 'Got Ethics A/S') Very similar design to that of NADA (Germany) <a href="http://www.antidoping.no/dopingvarsel/">http://www.antidoping.no/dopingvarsel/</a></td>
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<td>Country</td>
<td>Website Description</td>
<td>Language(s)</td>
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<td>Portugal</td>
<td>“Denúncias”: (Translated via Google Chrome to English) Open dialogue box in Website. The web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td><a href="https://zvizgavka.olympia.si/kategorija/report-doping/">https://zvizgavka.olympia.si/kategorija/report-doping/</a></td>
<td>1. Online form (on same web page) Other contact details for the authority are in the ‘Contacts’ page (e.g., phone and email) but the person is not directed to use these as a means of reporting doping incidents.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>“Report Doping in Sport”: Click on ‘Report Doping in Sport’ on the SLOADO website and it opens a new, Slovenian Olympic Committee website that is labeled as ‘secure’ (<a href="https://zvizgavka.olympia.si/">https://zvizgavka.olympia.si/</a>). This new web page provides the informant with three options to choose from (What these are is not known - Slovenian language only). Different questions are then asked depending on which option is chosen. The web page is labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>English and Slovenian. The SLOADO website is available in either language but the report doping web page (<a href="https://zvizgavka.olympia.si/">https://zvizgavka.olympia.si/</a>) is in Slovenian only. There will soon be an App and it will be available in English.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sloado.si/kategorija/report-doping">http://www.sloado.si/kategorija/report-doping</a></td>
<td>1. Online form (Redirects to new web page). On this new web page other Slovenian Olympic Committee contact details are also provided (e.g., phone and email). Three options available: (1) I wish to submit a report, (2) I wish to ask a question, (3) I wish to follow my report or question. Ability for whistleblower to upload files.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### South Africa

**South African Institute for Drug Free Sport (SAIDS)**

- **Send a Message or Report Doping**: Open box in website which is the same as the general contact box. The address of SAIDS and contact details (email) for different departments are also provided. The web page is NOT labeled as 'secure'.
- **Information is evaluated/vetted by SAIDS.**
- **Only acknowledge receipt and will evaluate whether an investigation is warranted. The informant is not updated on the investigation.**
- **Sport discipline involved, location of reporter, name and email are asked. Name, surname and email are mandatory fields. Further details are not available. SAIDS, as a public entity, is bound by national laws protecting whistleblowers.**
- **English**
  - 1. Online form/message (on same web page)
  - Most whistleblowing tip-offs have been through direct text messaging/emails to CEO.
  - Internal

### Switzerland

**Anti-Doping Switzerland**

- **Send anonymous message**: Open, single dialogue box in Website. Filing attachments is possible. Reduction of sanction for athletes as possible benefit is mentioned. Provides the option for the person to call the 'investigation department' as well (031 550 21 27). The web page is labeled as 'secure'.
- **Advises that any information about ADRVs should be reported, even if it is just a small amount of information.**
- **Contact info of informant is optional (first name, last name, email, phone number). Further details are not provided.**
- **"Whether you wish to remain anonymous or not, your information will be treated with strict confidentiality." Further details are not mentioned.**
- **German, French, Italian and English.**
  - 1. Online form (on same web page)
  - 2. Phone hotline
  - 3. Email contact
  - Internal
| United Kingdom | "Speak Out!": Online form through separate URL. Secure system (external service provider - Crimestoppers). Form consists of nine questions, six of which are mandatory. Focus of report platform is the 'Speak Out!' telephone hotline (0800 32 23 32) which is managed externally by Crimestoppers. However, direct contact with the intelligence team is also possible. The web page is labeled as "secure". Whistleblowers can also provide information by calling the UKAD office, on WhatsApp (+44 07587634711), Twitter, through the process of providing “substantial assistance”, ‘WhatsApp’ and during interviews. UKAD describes which prohibited activities should be reported. The fill out form also includes direct questions. Fill out form asks reporter if he/she wishes to remain in contact and if ‘yes’, the person is informed that they will be helped to create an anonymous login identity. Additionally, UKAD can and does contact whistleblowers outside of the online system. Privacy policy disclosed. Crimestoppers (external service provider) states it will handle all information confidentially. Information is recorded in secure information systems and is accessed on a strictly “need to know” basis by staff who are vetted and have a suitable level of security clearance. Information security policies exist to protect all information. Access to whistleblowers is strictly limited and controlled and all reasonable efforts are made to protect their confidentiality and security. UKAD emulates systems used in law enforcement for the risk assessment and risk management of whistleblowers. It also mirrors the processes for handling, control, authorization and then use of conduct of human intelligence sources (whistleblowers).  |
| United States of America | "Play Clean Tip Center": Report system based on Email, phone, mail, and dialogue box in web page. All information located on a single web page. The web page is labeled as "secure". Asks person to provide as much information as possible. Further details are not provided. The Investigation Team will use any contact details provided by the whistleblower. Further details are not provided. Mentions that if the person wants to remain anonymous to USADA then it is OK not to report any contact details. Mentions that information reported to USADA is confidential and that communicating with USADA will not change the confidential status of this information. No further details mentioned.  |
| English | 1. Online form (new page/tab opened) 2. Phone hotline 3. Email to intelligence team 4. Substantial assistance interviews 5. Through investigative processes (witness statements and interviews) 6. WhatsApp 7. Social Media (Twitter) | External (Crimestopper s) and internal management through the Investigations Team |  |
International Federation Whistleblower Platforms

Overview
Across a total of 35 International Federations (IFs; 28 Summer Olympic sports and 7 Winter Olympic sports), 26 whistleblowing platforms were identified (see Tables 3 and 4 for details). This means 74% of IFs have a whistleblowing platform in place. Of these, 16 IFs (62%) signposted informants to an external whistleblowing platform and in each case, the external platform was the WADA ‘Speak Up!’ platform (see Table 1). In contrast, 10 IFs (38%) hosted their own whistleblowing platform (and these are discussed in greater depth below). A total of 9/35 IFs (26%) had no explicit whistleblowing platform or resources signposted. However, two of these Federations (ITF – Tennis and International Boxing Association – AIBA) provide downloadable copies of the Federation's anti-doping policy via their website and for the ITF, the policy included some guidance on whistleblowing [e.g., that anti-doping rule violations (ADRVs) should be reported to the relevant NADOs and WADA] (See Table 1 and Table 2) as well as the ITF. However, no actual whistleblowing platform was provided.

How does the whistleblowing platform work?: Of the 10 IFs who hosted their own whistleblowing platform, six (60%) were specific to reporting doping and four (40%) were available for reporting wrongdoing in sport more broadly (i.e., misconduct and perceived breaches in integrity and ethics). Eight of the 10 whistleblowing platforms (80%) included the option of reporting via an online form; of these, four IFs (50%; International Association of Athletics Federations – IAAF, International Cycling Union – UCI, International Football Federation – FIFA and International Judo Federation – IJF) redirected the informant to a new web page and the remaining four (50%) included the reporting avenue on the same web page. Five of the eight (63%) online reporting avenues were labeled as ‘secure’ which means that three (38%) were NOT labeled ‘secure’.
Does the IF specify what to report?: The IFs (n=10) who hosted their own whistleblowing platforms varied in the amount of detail they asked from informants when making a report. Four IFs (40%) gave specific criteria in terms of what to report [e.g., date, type of doping activity, substances involved (if any), did the informant witness the incident first hand? etc.]. The remaining six IFs (60%) provided a brief description of what could be reported (e.g., breaches of governance and ethical matters) but did not elicit further details through questions or clear instructions.

How will the IF follow up with report/contact the whistleblower?: Six of the 10 IFs (60%) who hosted their own whistleblowing platform(s) encouraged the informant to include their contact details for the purposes of following up. However, inclusion of contact details was optional for all of these federations, allowing informants to maintain their anonymity if they prefer. Within this, Football (FIFA) and Judo (IJF) were both able to follow up with informants by allocating them designated login/case codes so that informants can log back into the reporting portal, communicate with the federations and re-access their report(s) at a later date. Details regarding how the final four (40%) IFs with whistleblowing platforms would follow up with informants could not be found.

How will the IF handle private data and confidentiality?: The majority (8/10, 80%) of the IFs with their own whistleblowing platforms explicitly advertised at least one avenue of whistleblowing as being confidential (e.g., a confidential phone hotline or confidential online report portal). Of the remaining two IFs, one (International Golf Federation - IGF) stated that it does not collect informants’ details (therefore does not need to worry about protecting confidentiality/anonymity) and the other (International Ski Federation – FIS) did not specify. In terms of following set data protection principles and policies, three Federations (Athletics – IAAF, Weightlifting – IWF and International Judo Federation – IJF) identified adherence to specific policies. However, the IWF (Weightlifting) did not specify which policy and/or principles it follows, whereas The IAAF (Athletics) stated that it follows CARE (Confidential, Anonymous, Responsibly handled and Encrypted and secure) data protection principles and IJF (Judo) adheres to WADA’s Whistleblowing Program
and Policy. With regards to limits of confidentiality, the eight IFs who referenced the issue stated that the information provided in any whistleblowing report may be used in an investigation, however personal information will remain confidential within that federation. In order for personal data to be shared outside the context of an investigation the informant must provide informed consent. Also, Rugby (World Rugby) stated that information will remain confidential but may be shared with affiliated companies and organizations yet, it does not mention the need to obtain consent from the informant to do this.

Language: All 10 IFs who hosted their own whistleblowing platform provided them in English. Also, two (CADF and World Rugby) of the 10 (20%) IFs made their platforms available in two or more languages. The World Rugby Federation offered the most languages with 13.

Avenues for Whistleblowing: The most common avenue for whistleblowing was by means of an online form (8/10, 80%). Five IFs provide the option of reporting via designated email address, three promoted whistleblowing via a telephone hotline and one offered the option of sending physical mail to a specified postal address. No IFs gave the option of face-to-face conversation/meeting as a whistleblowing avenue. Five IFs (50%) offered two or more avenues for reporting (e.g., online form, telephone number, email contact) and five IFs (50%) provided a single avenue for whistleblowing.

Management: Half (5/10, 50%) of the IF whistleblowing platforms that were hosted by the IF themselves were found to be managed internally by a specific department within the federation. The remaining 5/10 (50%) IF whistleblowing platforms were managed by an external organization. Of these five platforms, three were general whistleblowing platforms (Football – FIFA, Equestrian – FEI and International Ski Federation - FIS) and two were doping-specific (Athletics – IAAF and Cycling – UCI). The external organizations that managed the IAAF and UCI whistleblowing platforms were the Athletics Integrity Unit (AIU; for the IAAF) and Cycling Anti-Doping Foundation (CADF; for the UCI). These external organizations are contracted by the
IFs to plan and carry out anti-doping activities, including the facilitation of whistleblowing. The organizations are external to the IFs, yet still operate specifically within the context of the two IFs, which makes these two particular whistleblowing platforms distinct to other externally managed platforms. The FEI (Equestrian) is also managed by an independent organization that is specific to the sport (The Equestrian Community Integrity Unit – ECIU), however this operates a broader, more general whistleblowing platform that is not specific to doping.
Table 3. Summer Olympic Sport International Federation (IF) Whistleblowing Platforms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International Federation (IF)</th>
<th>Name / How does the whistleblowing platform work?</th>
<th>Does the Federation specify what to report?</th>
<th>How will the Federation follow up / contact whistleblower?</th>
<th>How will the Federation handle private data and confidentiality?</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
<th>Avenues For Whistleblowing</th>
<th>Management</th>
<th>Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>World Archery Federation (WA)</strong></td>
<td>Link to WADA's 'Speak Up!' in the Anti-doping section of the website (See Table 1). Web page labeled as 'secure'.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Online form (directed to new web page)</td>
<td>External (Athletics Integrity Unit)</td>
<td><a href="https://worldarchery.org/Clean-Sport-WHISTLEBLOWING">https://worldarchery.org/Clean-Sport-WHISTLEBLOWING</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF)</strong></td>
<td>Online form (re-directed to a new web page operated by Athletics Integrity Unit). This web page is listed as 'secure'. Questions ask who was involved and in which country (mandatory fields). There is an open dialogue box for 'supporting information', where the informant is given five bullet points to prompt informant disclosure: 1. Name of the person(s) involved 2. Date(s) the incident(s) occurred 3. Type of doping activity? 4. Substances involved (if any)? 5. Did you witness the incident first hand, hear about it from someone else, or have a strong suspicion? The individual is encouraged to provide any information (no matter how big or small) about 'possible doping activity'. The informant does not have to have witnessed an ADRV themselves.</td>
<td>Details are not provided.</td>
<td>Data is protected under the principles of CARE (Confidential, Anonymous (if the informant wishes it to be), Responsibly handled and Encrypted and secure). Reported information is secure and can only be accessed by authorized staff. Contact details (name, email, phone) are optional fields.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td><a href="https://www.iaaf.org/about-iaaf/medical-anti-doping">https://www.iaaf.org/about-iaaf/medical-anti-doping</a> Redirects to: <a href="https://www.athleticsintegrity.org/">https://www.athleticsintegrity.org/</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Badminton World Federation (BWF)</strong></td>
<td>No whistleblowing platform found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td><a href="http://bwfbadminton.com/">http://bwfbadminton.com/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Basketball Federation (FIBA)</td>
<td>No whistleblowing platform found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td><a href="http://www.fiba.basketball/">http://www.fiba.basketball/</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Boxing Association (AIBA)</td>
<td>No whistleblowing platform found, but a downloadable copy of the AIBA anti-doping policy can be found via the website. The policy states that ADRVs should be reported to the relevant NADOs and WADA (See Table 1 and Table 2). This policy is the same/very similar to the WADA Code.</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td><a href="http://www.aiba.org/official-aiba-rules-documents/">http://www.aiba.org/official-aiba-rules-documents/</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Canoe Federation (ICF)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Medical and Anti-doping section of the website (See Table 1). Web page labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td><a href="http://www.canoeicf.com/medical-anti-doping">http://www.canoeicf.com/medical-anti-doping</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Cycling Union - UCI - Union Cycliste Internationale</td>
<td>Speak Out!: Individuals are first directed to an Email address: <a href="mailto:reportdoping@cadf.ch">reportdoping@cadf.ch</a>. Emails are sent to the Cycling Anti-Doping Foundation (CADF), the independent body mandated by the UCI to plan and carry out anti-doping activities in cycling. Next, individuals are directed to a ‘report doping form’ on the CADF website, consisting of a generic open dialogue box. The web page is labeled as ‘secure’. Does not specify on UCI web page, however on CADF form it does mention to report any information or suspicion of doping. Contact details on form are optional. Further details not provided. The UCI documents that the CADF will treat all emails confidentially. The data that is sent to CADF via the report doping form is encrypted and can be read by the authorized CADF personnel only.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>English and French</td>
<td>1. Email to CADF 2. Online form on CADF website (open dialogue box)</td>
<td>External (CADF)</td>
<td><a href="http://www.cadf.ch/intelligence/">http://www.cadf.ch/intelligence/</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Equestrian Federation (FEI)</td>
<td>Equestrian Community Integrity Unit: Not labeled specifically as a doping whistleblowing platform but provides opportunity to call a confidential hotline or email a contact from an independent body - The Equestrian Community Integrity Unit (ECIU). Website is NOT labeled as ‘secure’. The web page states that this reporting platform can be used for the reporting of information relevant to, but not limited to, the Clean Sport program and betting or corruption risks. It is responsible for investigating any integrity issues related to the FEI. Details are not provided. The phone hotline is labeled as confidential however the email address is not. The web page states that evidence collected by the ECIU relating to integrity may be put before any FEI body, including the Ground Jury, the Appeal Committee, and the FEI Tribunal or Court of Arbitration for Sport.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. ECIU confidential telephone hotline (+44 (0) 20 7935 5822) 2. ECIU email (<a href="mailto:report@equestrianintegrity.com">report@equestrianintegrity.com</a>)</td>
<td>External (Independent Body - ECIU)</td>
<td><a href="http://inside.fei.org/fei/about-fei/integrity">http://inside.fei.org/fei/about-fei/integrity</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Fencing</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Clean Sport</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Federation (FIE)</td>
<td>Reporting Mechanism: Not labeled specifically as a doping report platform but allows the informant to report any misconduct that violates FIFA's Code of Ethics via a separate and secure online post-box that can be re-accessed via a designated login password/code. The website is listed as 'secure'.</td>
<td>FIFA states that the portal is for employees, persons bound by the FIFA Code of Ethics, and others to notify FIFA of potential violations. It also states that the reporting system is intended for potential violations that fall under the jurisdiction of FIFA, as opposed to the jurisdiction of a local entity, such as a federation or association. When the informant submits a report, they receive a login code so that they can access their specific complaint again and this allows the federation to track and follow up with the informant with regards to that specific complaint. Confidentiality is ensured. The portal is on a separate web page that is labeled as 'secure' so information is protected. Also, the informant is under no compulsion to provide personal or contact details - they can log into the portal using a set login code in order to protect their identity and remain anonymous. FIFA also provides further guidance on how to remain anonymous: - Enter the BKMS® server directly by bookmarking the introduction page - Note that an intranet connection, in particular, may jeopardize your anonymity.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>International Football Federation (FIFA)</td>
<td>Web page (See Table 1). Web page is NOT labeled as 'secure'.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Online form (directed to new web page/tab opened via secure portal) Extrenal (BKMS System)</td>
<td><a href="http://www.fifa.com/governance/news/y=2015/m=3/news=reporting-mechanism-2679537.html">http://www.fifa.com/governance/news/y=2015/m=3/news=reporting-mechanism-2679537.html</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>International Golf Federation (IGF)</td>
<td>‘Play Clean’ web page provides a number of ways for informants to report doping. Web page is labeled as ‘secure’. Informants can provide information directly on the website, by email, telephone, or physical mail. Web page is labeled as ‘secure’. The IGF states that individuals can report tips via any of the available platforms offered.</td>
<td>No details found</td>
<td>Informants are not asked to provide personal details.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Online form (same web page) 2. Email: <a href="mailto:integrity@igfmail.org">integrity@igfmail.org</a> 3. Telephone 4. Physical Mail</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Gymnastics Federation (FIG)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-doping section of the website. Web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.fig-gymnastics.com/site/pages/antidoping-about.php">http://www.fig-gymnastics.com/site/pages/antidoping-about.php</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Handball Federation (IHF)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in Anti-doping section of the website. Web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ihf.info/en-us/thegame/antidoping/reportdoping/handball.aspx">http://www.ihf.info/en-us/thegame/antidoping/reportdoping/handball.aspx</a></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Hockey Federation (FIH)</td>
<td>No whistleblowing platform found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td><a href="http://www.fih.ch/">http://www.fih.ch/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Judo Federation (IJF)</td>
<td>‘Report Doping’ online report form. Web page is labeled as ‘secure’ and informants are provided with specific details on what to include in the report. Drop down boxes direct informant to specify: - ADRV committed - Country committed in - Who is involved - Specific dates/time period - Description of situation Informants can attach forms of evidence to the online report platform. When informant submits the information, they are provided with a case number and password enabling them to follow up with the report. States that all cases are handled in cooperation with WADA and individuals must consider the conditions of the WADA Whistleblowing Program Policy and Procedures for Reporting Misconduct (link provided).</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Online form (click to new page)</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td><a href="https://reportdoping.judobase.org/form">https://reportdoping.judobase.org/form</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Details found</td>
<td>Website Labeled as 'secure'?</td>
<td>Contact Methods</td>
<td>Available Languages</td>
<td>Website/Link</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Modern Pentathlon Union (UIPM)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Medical and Anti-doping section of the website. Website is labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.uipmworl">https://www.uipmworl</a></td>
<td>d.org/medical-and-anti-doping-0?page=wada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Federation of Rowing Associations (FISA)</td>
<td>No whistleblowing platform found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>English N/A N/A <a href="http://www.worldrowing.com/">http://www.worldrowing.com/</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Rugby</td>
<td>Not labeled specifically as a doping whistleblowing platform, but allows informants to report &quot;approaches, suspicions or breaches&quot; to World Rugby via either an online report form (on same web page) or an email address. The web page is NOT labeled as &quot;secure&quot;.</td>
<td>World Rugby states that it may need to follow up with informants on reports made. It will do this through contact details provided by the informant. However, contact details are optional fields and the informant is instructed that they may not include these and remain anonymous if they wish to.</td>
<td>Informant can remain anonymous by not including personal contact details. World Rugby assures that information reported will be kept confidential. However, the website is not labeled as secure and also a disclaimer at the bottom of the form reads: &quot;By making this submission you confirm that World Rugby (and any of its affiliated companies) may share any information you submit with any Union, Rugby Body, law enforcement authority and/or competent authority for the purposes of World Rugby Regulation 6 and/or applicable laws.&quot; Therefore, reported information is not confidential within a single organization.</td>
<td>13 languages available (English, French, German, Spanish, Russian, Mandarin, Romanian, Arabic, Dutch, Polish, Czech, Portuguese and Italian)</td>
<td>1. Online form (on same web page) 2. Email: <a href="mailto:confidential@worldrugby.org">confidential@worldrugby.org</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Sailing Limited</td>
<td>No whistleblowing platform found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>English N/A N/A <a href="http://www.sailing.org">http://www.sailing.org</a> /</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Shooting Sport Federation (ISSF)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-doping section of the website. Website is labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>Numerous questions under the headings of: 'What do you wish to report (Doping or competition manipulation)', Anonymity (wish to remain anonymous or not), Contact details (none of which are compulsory), Tell us about the individual or entity you want to report, Tell us about the case.' The form is detailed in terms of asking directed open and closed questions as opposed to an open dialogue box. Informant is asked to describe the case in as much detail as possible. Informant can attach evidence.</td>
<td>The informant can select whether or not they want to remain anonymous (by ticking a box), but FINA encourages informants to provide personal information to enable appropriate follow up.</td>
<td>States that all information will be kept confidential and also the informant has a right to remain anonymous if they choose (by ticking a box on the form). Defines both 'anonymity' and 'confidentiality'.</td>
<td>English 1. Online form (on same web page) Internal <a href="http://www.issf-sports.org/">http://www.issf-sports.org/</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Swimming Federation (FINA)</td>
<td>Clean Sport Tipline: Online form on the FINA website. Informant can choose between 'doping report' and 'competition manipulation' options. This web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>Clean Sport Tipline: Online form on the FINA website. Informant can choose between 'doping report' and 'competition manipulation' options. This web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>Clean Sport Tipline: Online form on the FINA website. Informant can choose between 'doping report' and 'competition manipulation' options. This web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>Clean Sport Tipline: Online form on the FINA website. Informant can choose between 'doping report' and 'competition manipulation' options. This web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>Clean Sport Tipline: Online form on the FINA website. Informant can choose between 'doping report' and 'competition manipulation' options. This web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Whistleblowing Platform</td>
<td>Reporting Procedure</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Contact Information</td>
<td>Accessibility</td>
<td>Website</td>
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<tr>
<td>International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-doping section of the website and encourages this to be used. Link to relevant NADO provided. Provides email for ITTF Anti-Doping Manager. Website is labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>A short paragraph on useful information to report/consider is provided. Details are not provided. States that any information sent to the federation will be treated ‘in strict confidence’. No further details provided.</td>
<td>English and Chinese</td>
<td>1. Email to ITTF Anti-Doping Manager to seek further guidance or ask questions</td>
<td>Internal/External (WADA)</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ittf.com/anti-doping/report-doping/">http://www.ittf.com/anti-doping/report-doping/</a></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Taekwondo Federation (WTF)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-doping section of the website (See Table 1). Web page is NOT labeled ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.worldtaekwondofederation.net/medical-anti-doping/anti-doping/about-anti-doping-clean-sport/">http://www.worldtaekwondofederation.net/medical-anti-doping/anti-doping/about-anti-doping-clean-sport/</a></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>International Tennis Federation (ITF)</td>
<td>No whistleblowing platform found. Anti-doping procedure document is downloadable from the ITF website. Few details on reporting doping. Further information can be obtained by emailing: <a href="mailto:anti-doping@ittf.com">anti-doping@ittf.com</a></td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
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<tr>
<td>International Triathlon Union (ITU)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-Doping section of the website. Web page is labeled ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.triathlon.org/anti-doping">http://www.triathlon.org/anti-doping</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Volleyball Federation (FIVB)</td>
<td>No whistleblowing platform found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="http://www.fivb.com/en">http://www.fivb.com/en</a></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>International Weightlifting Federation (IWF)</td>
<td>Report Doping: Online form within ‘anti-doping’ section of IWF website. The individual can respond to a series of questions, including through an open dialogue box. There is also capacity for the informant to attach any relevant files to the form. Website NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>The informant is asked to select an appropriate ADRV from a drop-down menu. The informant is asked to report knowledge or suspicions in as much detail as possible. Other questions ask about when the incident may have occurred, where (which country) and who is/was involved. Informant can attach evidence. Individual is asked to provide contact details (first name, last name, telephone, email) if they wish to be contacted by the IWF. No further details provided. Short paragraph on the protection of informant data - confidentiality: “IWF assures that the information provided will be treated in accordance with the applicable privacy regulations and can be accessed only by authorized members of the IWF Anti-Doping Team. The IWF shall not share any information provided through this page and shall not identify the Sender to Third Parties without prior consent.” Does not specify in detail what these privacy regulations are.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Online form (on same web page)</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td><a href="http://www.iwf.net/anti-doping/report-doping/">http://www.iwf.net/anti-doping/report-doping/</a>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United World Wrestling (UWW)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-Doping section of the website. Web page is labeled ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="https://unitedworldwrestling.org/governance/report-doping">https://unitedworldwrestling.org/governance/report-doping</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Federation (IF)</td>
<td>Name / How does the whistleblowing platform work?</td>
<td>Does the Federation specify what to report?</td>
<td>How will Federation follow up / contact whistleblower?</td>
<td>How will NADO handle private data and confidentiality?</td>
<td>Language(s)</td>
<td>Avenues For Whistleblowing Management</td>
<td>Link</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>International Biathlon Union (IBU)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Medical and Anti-Doping section of the website. Web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.biathlonworld.com/medical-antidoping/">http://www.biathlonworld.com/medical-antidoping/</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Bobsleigh &amp; Skeleton Federation (IBSF)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-Doping section of the website. Web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ibsf.org/en/anti-doping">http://www.ibsf.org/en/anti-doping</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Curling Federation (WCF)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-Doping and Medical section of the website. Web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.worldcurling.org/anti-doping-and-medical">http://www.worldcurling.org/anti-doping-and-medical</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF)</td>
<td>No whistleblowing platform found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td><a href="http://www.iihf.com/">http://www.iihf.com/</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Luge Federation (FIL)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-Doping/Fairplay section of the website. Web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.fil-luge.org/de/anti-doping-fairplay">http://www.fil-luge.org/de/anti-doping-fairplay</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Skating Union (ISU)</td>
<td>Link to WADA’s ‘Speak Up!’ in the Anti-Doping and Medical section of the website. Web page is labeled as ‘secure’.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td>See Table 1.</td>
<td><a href="https://www.isu.org/anti-doping">https://www.isu.org/anti-doping</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Ski Federation (FIS)</td>
<td>Whistleblower Hotline is available for reporting doping (among other forms of corruption). A phone number and email address are provided. Web page is NOT labeled as ‘secure’. Simply states that breaches of governance and ethical matters (including doping) can be reported to the Whistleblower Hotline.</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>Details not found</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Phone number 2. Email</td>
<td>External (Global Sports Investigations)</td>
<td><a href="http://www.fis-ski.com/inside-fis/medical-fis/antidoping/anti-doping/">http://www.fis-ski.com/inside-fis/medical-fis/antidoping/anti-doping/</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additional Whistleblower Platforms

Overview
Beyond the WADA Code Signatories (namely NADOs and IFs) discussed in the previous sections, a number of relevant whistleblower platforms exist at an international level; three specific organizations have been identified and are discussed in this section (see Table 5 for details).

As an independent foundation, FairSport offers a general whistleblowing platform that allows informants to contact the organization about any form of cheating in sport via three avenues with a different purpose for each: (1) open dialogue box for general enquiries, (2) an encrypted email address for information that the informant wishes to remain confidential and (3) sending messages via PGP keys for messages that guarantee the highest security for personal information. Details of what the organization specifically requests the informant to report and also how they will follow up with the informant could not be found. It is stated that all information reported by the informant will be kept strictly confidential and the website provides a link to the FairSport Data Protection Policy. Also, the reporting web page is labeled as ‘secure’ in the web browser, indicating that information shared via this page is protected. The website is available in English and is internally managed by the organization itself.

SportsLeaks and DopingLeaks are the same website offering a secure global platform for providing information on doping, corruption and cheating in sport. The website is operated by a group of international investigative journalists who are committed to investigating the information that is provided to them. Informants are able to provide information by means of email, physical mail, or online via one of two reporting avenues. The first is listed as “Send Simple Tips” and the second is labeled “Send Sensitive Information”. The latter is the most secure avenue for reporting and informants are “highly encouraged” to utilize this avenue. Once the tab is clicked, a dialogue box opens which includes instructions regarding what information to provide.
and the option of attaching files. Once submitted, the informant receives a unique code which enables them to return securely to the submission at a later point. There are also instructions for creating a Tails USB Stick if the informant wants even greater security. The website is available in six languages and internally managed by the journalists. It provides a state-of-the-art secure platform for reporting information.

Lastly, the International Center for Sport Security (ICSS) includes a Sport Integrity Unit (SIU) that hosts an online reporting platform. The website can be used to report any form of misconduct, abuse or corruption in international sport. Individuals are encouraged to utilize the website to share incidents they have witnessed, suspect and/or have reasonable grounds to believe occurred. Once information is submitted, informants receive a secure mailbox, ID and password. They are required to specify the dates and location in which the incident occurred. Informants have the option of providing an email address but it is not mandatory. The website is available in English and security is provided through an external organization (WhistleBlower Protection). The reporting website is labeled as ‘secure’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Name / How does the whistleblowing platform work?</th>
<th>Does the organization specify what to report?</th>
<th>How will the organization follow up / contact whistleblower?</th>
<th>How will the organization handle private data and confidentiality?</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
<th>Avenues For Whistleblowing</th>
<th>Management</th>
<th>Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FairSport</td>
<td>“Contact”: Not exclusive to the reporting of doping. Provides options for the informant to send a message to FairSport via three methods. Method 1: Open dialogue box and contact details for general messages that do not require strict security (Personal Information is NOT secure). Method 2: Messages are sent via an encrypted email account (Recommended for confidential information). Method 3: Offers the highest level of security using PGP Keys. The web page is labeled as ‘secure’ in the web browser.</td>
<td>Details are not provided.</td>
<td>Details are not provided.</td>
<td>The safety and confidentiality of informant information is described as FairSport’s highest priority – There is a link to the FairSport Data Protection Policy. FairSport utilize advanced encryption services and adhere to strict privacy measures for the protection of those who contact them with information about cheating in sport. They offer three different ways to contact them with varying levels of security (See Column 1).</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Online form (on same web page) 2. Encrypted email address 3. PGP Encryption Key</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td><a href="https://fairsport.org/#contact">https://fairsport.org/#contact</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports/ Doping Leaks</td>
<td>“Sportsleaks.com” and “Dopingleaks.com”. Secure global platform allowing informant to share information and files to investigative journalists. The web page is labeled as ‘secure’ in the web browser.</td>
<td>When you click on the secure platform link specific boxes open: - Describe your submission in a few words - Sports and regions involved (optional) - Description (e.g., anything you want us to know about the context) - Attached files - Identity (optional) Once submitted, the informant gets unique code allowing them to return to the submission at a later point.</td>
<td>Guarantee to: - protect anonymity - do their best to investigate the information submitted - use platform to evaluate the information and share it with trustworthy colleagues</td>
<td>Website states: “Your safety and anonymity are very important to us. That’s why our platform has been created with Globaleaks, a free and open source software specially created for whistleblowing. You can contact us or send information - documents, audio and video recordings, etc. - by using this platform. There are different ways to use it”. It is “highly recommended” that informants use the most secure method.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>French  German  Russian  Portuguese  Chinese</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td><a href="https://www.sportsleaks.com">https://www.sportsleaks.com</a> / - contact_upload</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The International Centre for Sport Security (ICSS) Sport Integrity Unit (SIU)</td>
<td>Sport Integrity Hotline. The web page is used to report any form of misconduct or abuse in sport (not doping specific). Click a link on the web page to report. Labeled as ‘secure’ once you enter the reporting page.</td>
<td>Once you enter the reporting page, you are asked to provide information including: date incident occurred, location of incident. Advised to report if you have knowledge of, have witnessed or have reasonable grounds to suspect an alleged crime and/or misconduct has occurred in international sport.</td>
<td>Once filed, the report will be immediately forwarded to a team of experts. SIU does not track ISP addresses. Independent third party secure technical reporting framework in place. Informant provided with a secure mailbox, ID code and password and may provide their email if desired. SIU investigators operate high-grade encryption.</td>
<td>Will only ask informant to identify themselves where jurisdictions require them to. Advise individual NOT to report using a work server or issued mobile device/laptop. Advised to use a VPN to make ISP.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1. Web page</td>
<td>External (WhistleBlower Security)</td>
<td><a href="https://www.integritycounts.ca/org/sportintegrityhotline">https://www.integritycounts.ca/org/sportintegrityhotline</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of findings

Whether specific to reporting doping or general wrongdoing, there is an abundance of existing sport whistleblowing platforms. Specifically, 75% of IFs (26/35) and 20% of NADOs (24/141) have whistleblowing platforms in place. Beyond this, whistleblowing platforms also exist for WADA and several ‘independent’ international organizations (e.g., FairSport, SportLeaks, ICSS). The available platforms vary in terms of how they are managed (e.g., internal to the organization/external to the organization), the avenues through which an informant can provide information (e.g., telephone, email) and how much information is requested from the informant (e.g., personal/contact details). Many organizations had more than one avenue for whistleblowing available, but the most common is online forms. Given the sensitive nature of whistleblowing, key findings from the audit are that whistleblowing platforms differ in their level of security, with some web pages indicating that they are ‘secure’ and others not providing this security for (potential) whistleblowers. However, most organizations provide reassurance that anonymity and/or confidentiality is highly valued. From a practical perspective, the majority of whistleblowing platforms were available in the English language, provide guidance regarding what should be reported, and the more sophisticated ones provide the informant with the ability to follow up on their reports through utilizing a secure login and password combination.

Conclusion

The establishment of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) Speak Up platform (2017) means there is now a globalized central platform for whistleblowing on doping in sport. However, this is only one of many existing ‘Report Doping’ platforms, as numerous National Anti-Doping Organizations (NADOs) and International Federations (IFs) also host whistleblowing platforms. Some of these are specific to reporting doping whereas others are available for reporting wrongdoing in sport more broadly. The abundance of whistleblowing platforms documented and described in this report speaks to the increased value that is being placed on disclosing misconduct in sport by means of whistleblowing. However, quantity should not be prioritized over quality and this report details significant variations across the platforms. Specifically, heterogeneity was noted in such things as what information is collected, how the information is dealt with, avenues for reporting doping, who manages the information, etc. Although ‘Report Doping’ platforms are plentiful, it is yet to be determined which platforms are most effective and why. In order to maximize the effectiveness of whistleblowing as a means for exposing and deterring doping in sport,
a useful next step in this research would be to explore possible answers to this question. Specifically, what are athletes and support personnel looking for in relation to whistleblowing on doping. Do they want convenience? Multiple avenues for reporting? Clean instructions on how and what to report? Answering these questions presents an opportunity to create evidence-based whistleblowing policy and practice. And, in turn, will likely increase engagement with whistleblowing in sport. It is envisioned that this next step in research will be essential for enhancing engagement with and effectiveness of existing doping whistleblowing platforms.
In-depth interviews with athletes and coaches on the barriers and enablers of whistleblowing

Phase 3: Interviews
Stage 1: September 2017 - March 2018

Following the whistleblowing platform audit, the next step was to interview elite level coaches and athletes in order to explore whistleblowing determinants – the factors that prevent and/or enable whistleblowing on doping.
Research design and participants

A combination of convenience and snowball sampling were utilized to identify and recruit individuals who: (a) coached or competed in international competition, (b) represented the US or UK and (c) were aged 18 and over. In total, 10 coaches and 17 athletes agreed to participate (Figure 2). Interviews followed a semi-structured design and investigated participants' perceptions of whistleblowing (e.g., awareness, opinions, experiences/knowledge of existing resources/processes). Although the interviews covered different populations (coaches / athletes, US / UK) they were treated as one dataset due to the dearth of existing research in this area. A more detailed overview of the methods can be found in Appendix 3.

Figure 2. Participant demographics

5 Coaches (100% Male)  
8 Athletes (25% Male)  

5 Coaches (80% Male)  
9 Athletes (33% Male)  

Coaches: Aged 33 – 68 years of age (M age = 53 years)  
Athletes: Aged 18 – 45 years of age (M age = 31 years)  

Participants represented various sports, including: track and field, rowing, triathlon, cricket, sliding sports, and weightlifting.
Blowing the whistle on doping: A qualitative exploration of whistleblowing behavioral enablers

This section extends existing literature and identifies practical strategies for enabling and encouraging those with information on wrongdoing to come forward. Two key themes were identified in relation to whistleblowing on doping: 1) ‘Whistleblowing is relational’ and 2) ‘Whistleblowing enablers’. The first theme captures the difficulty individuals experience when deciding whether to report or not, including considering if there are alternatives to reporting (i.e., confronting). Within this deliberation, the role - and significance - of relationships is fundamental. The second theme presents participants’ recommendations for policy and practice that they proposed would encourage them to whistleblow on doping. This theme has four sub-themes: (1) “it’s all about education”, (2) “it’s important for other people to see that reporting can have an influence”, (3) “I would prefer to talk to somebody” and (4) “actions that support that person for a period of time”. The themes and sub-themes are brought to life through participants’ words.

**Whistleblowing is relational**

Blowing the whistle on doping presented a challenge for participants, regardless of the specific circumstances. As Asher (UK Coach) put it, “doing the right thing is not necessarily as simple as just ‘well I’ll report that’”. Ian (UK Athlete) added, “being god is a very, very difficult situation in your sport”. A particularly daunting feature of whistleblowing was the potential impact that it could have on peoples’ lives. Barb (US Athlete) summed it up as:

> It’s the same thing like reporting a crime, if you know someone is going to go to jail or perhaps some major consequences, you just don’t want to inflict that kind of pain and damage on a person’s future. But, at the same time, it’s the right thing to do…I would feel a little bit bad personally but I also know deep down that it would be the best thing to do for the sport and for the other people that we compete against.
Barb demonstrates that individuals are concerned about the severity of consequences that being reported for doping would have for the athlete that doped, which, in turn, would have implications (and caused concern) for the whistleblower themselves, given they would be the instigator of such consequences. These concerns speak to the dilemma posed by the fairness-loyalty trade-off (Waytz et al., 2013); who should Barb be loyal to – the athlete who doped or the wider sporting community? It also supports Erickson and colleagues’ (2018b) suggestion that the complexity of the trade-off may be heightened in the context of whistleblowing on doping given potential athlete whistleblowers also have to consider protecting their own career, reputation and welfare. Thus, athletes have to consider the welfare of three stakeholder groups when determining whether or not to whistleblow.

Importantly, the severity of (perceived) consequences of whistleblowing – and the significance of the fairness-loyalty trade-off – was amplified when the (supposed) athlete who doped was someone that the participant had a personal relationship with and this scenario caused the majority of participants to hesitate at the thought of whistleblowing. For example, Megan (US Athlete) described how she had previously reported someone to her national anti-doping organization (NADO) after realizing that he was producing and selling supplements containing banned ingredients, yet she admitted that she might not have done the same if she had a relationship with the individual engaged in wrongdoing:

My best friend is also a good pro. If I had gone to her house and seen the same products, I think I would have had a real moral dilemma. Because, I would have wanted to report it, but knowing I could potentially ruin my friend’s life by doing so…I
honestly don’t know what I would have done in that scenario – if I actually liked the person. It makes me feel really bad to say it.

For Megan, and many other athletes in the sample, having a relationship with an athlete who doped made the thought of whistleblowing unsettling. Rather than whistleblowing being an automatic reaction, she was uncertain about how she would have dealt with the situation had it involved a friend. She admitted that whistleblowing would essentially “ruin” her friend’s life and she was uncomfortable with the thought of being responsible for that, a sentiment that has previously been raised amongst student-athletes (Erickson et al., 2017) and coincides with the wider whistleblowing literature (see Waytz et al., 2013) in which the fairness-loyalty trade-off was most pertinent when the wrongdoer and observer were socially close. Stemming from the dilemma posed by the trade-off, Megan admitted, “if it [the doper] was someone I had no idea who it was, I would just report it…but…thinking about some of my friends who compete, it would probably be…again, depending on the severity, yes, a conversation first”. Notably, Megan suggests that she would talk to – confront – an athlete that she has a relationship with. David (UK Athlete) was among a number of other athletes who also suggested confronting the athlete who doped directly if they were a friend, he said:

If it was a best pal and I knew they had been training their guts off and were having real financial issues…I might have a word with them and tell them to stop it and say, “I’m going to tell people, so you need to get off it now, because they’re going to come ‘round testing.” If it was a good pal, I think I would do that, but otherwise, I’d just get on and report it.
The appeal of confronting appears to be that it provides the athlete that doped with an opportunity to take ownership of their behavior and/or prepare for the ensuing repercussions. At the same time, it allows for the whistleblower to feel they have taken necessary action against doping while remaining loyal to the athlete who doped. This substantiates the findings of Erickson and colleagues (2017), and supports Kaptein’s (2011) suggestion that confronting affords the wrongdoer an opportunity to correct their behavior and allows the observer to verify that their concerns were accurate. A further benefit of channelling confrontation as a means for addressing doping behavior is that it can reduce the dilemma posed by the fairness-loyalty trade-off. Considering that fairness norms typically require that individuals report and punish wrongdoing, meanwhile, loyalty norms indicate that reporting another person to a third party is an act of betrayal, confronting an athlete who doped can potentially produce the same results as whistleblowing (doping stops) without requiring whistleblowing and/or the athlete who doped to be named and shamed/punished. Future research should directly explore the potential of confrontation as an effective means of addressing and preventing doping.

The athlete participants were not the only group that indicated relational factors would influence their whistleblowing behaviors. In fact, relational factors appeared to be especially significant for coaches. When pondering the potential of whistleblowing on the doping behavior of their own athlete, coaches frequently demonstrated a sense of conflicting obligations. Specifically, they suggested that if their athlete was doping, they would be expected/need to simultaneously (a) protect their athlete, (b) report doping (as part of their job description) and (c) protect their own personal (coaching) reputation. Stemming from
the multiple responsibilities, the most appropriate and justifiable way for addressing doping behavior exhibited by one’s own athlete is not necessarily as straightforward as automatically whistleblowing. Speaking to the protection of athletes, Asher (UK Coach) said:

I suppose it’s a bit wrong to say “loyalties”, but I suppose the whole basis of our program is that we’re loyal to the athletes, we’re loyal to the program as a whole…and then to the [National Governing Body; NGB] probably comes third, and then to the wider sport and so on. So it’s kind of like layers. So I’d just be looking at my responsibilities in each of these spheres and trying to satisfy them. I mean I would feel a responsibility to an individual athlete cos if somebody has…a violation…that’s somebody that’s in trouble that…I have a responsibility to. So…it’s not that I’m going to cover up something for them but I’m gonna give them the best support that I can in the circumstances, even if they’ve been an idiot…

Some of the coaches provided insights into the emotional component of decisions to whistleblow (or not). For instance, Kohl (US Coach) explained the distress posed by the thought of one’s own athlete doping, saying: “it’s always hard when it’s your own athlete…you have to do what you’ve got to do…I can’t think of anything that would make it easier…because I take everything to heart”.

Similar to athletes’ concerns over causing negative consequences for the doper and for themselves (if they whistleblow), some coaches stressed the need to balance the protection
of the doper (as described in the previous coaches’ quotes) with protecting their own coaching reputation, as Andy (US Coach) illustrates:

An individual that I train, I still want to save face for myself. I have my own vested interest, so I’d try to make the damage to my team and gym a little bit less. Whereas, otherwise, I don’t care about anybody else’s gym or anybody else’s team. That’s on them. So, then I would report them right away. But, with my guys, I would be like, ‘look, you’ve got to issue retirement right now, or... ’ Or I’d probably be like, ‘you have to issue retirement, and I’m calling [NADO], and if you don’t issue the retirement in time, and they come out and they drug test you because of my tip, and you test positive, that’s on you now, and you’re done training here’. I would give them that little warning first, like, ‘I’m going to tip them off, so you either retire and find another gym...’

Just to save face for myself a little, and my association.

Andy’s plan to confront a doper he has a relationship with (rather than whistleblow) actively addresses the issue and arguably protects both himself and the athlete who doped by providing an opportunity for them to bow out of the sport quietly rather than receiving a doping sanction. Confronting (in the first instance) appeared to be the preferred option for most coaches and this echoes the approach proposed by athletes. In making this decision to confront or whistleblow, relational factors appear to be significant. Again, this finding is consistent with whistleblowing research in (Erickson et al., 2017) and out (e.g., Waytz et al., 2013) of sport. Importantly though, relational factors did not justify inaction and our participants were committed to reporting doping. Usefully, they provided numerous
suggestions regarding how whistleblowing could be enabled as outlined in the second theme.

**Whistleblowing enablers**

This theme captures the whistleblowing enablers highlighted by coaches and athletes. These enablers can be used to inform the development of evidence-based whistleblowing policy and strategies and offer critical insights to facilitate the design and implementation of effective governance and management strategies to enable whistleblowing on doping.

**“It’s all about education”**

Coaches and athletes both exhibited a lack of knowledge and awareness for existing whistleblowing resources and had a desire to address this by becoming more educated. Coaches generally seemed to know that whistleblowing platforms existed, but they were not necessarily sure which one should be used in which instance. For example, Patrick (UK Coach) said, “what’s not clear is if I see somebody…in the middle of nowhere abroad and I think they’re doing something, who can I tell?” Meanwhile, athletes were consistently unaware of whistleblowing platforms altogether, evidenced by the fact that they commonly named things that already exist when specifying resources that would enable whistleblowing. For instance, Gina (UK Athlete) noted that, “if there was a confidential website or somewhere like that, that would make it [whistleblowing] easier…” and Darcy (UK Athlete) said it would be useful, “having things clearly set out, knowing who you contact”. Chris (US Athlete) said: “I don’t even know how to contact [NADO]. Is there, like, a phone number or something?” Adding to these accounts, participants were provided with a list of online whistleblowing platforms at the end of the interviews. In response to the
document, Barb (US Athlete) said, “oh, cool, who knew?!…isn’t it crazy that I literally had no idea”. Gina (UK Athlete) had a similar reaction, saying: “That kind of thing, like having something that’s like ‘speak out’ and ‘play clean’, that kind of thing, is exactly what…I think if people were aware these existed, then it would be much more likely they would do it”.

In addition to a lack of knowledge related to whistleblowing platforms, coaches and athletes exhibited a dearth of understanding for the whistleblowing process. For example, Kira (UK Athlete) admitted, “I’m not really sure what the process is of what happens to someone after they’ve whistleblown”. Similarly, Patrick (UK Coach) said:

I have no idea what happens to it [the information] afterwards cos I don’t know if there’s any feedback. I’ve never been through that process and gone ‘look, I gave you a name’. To see them competing again in six months or next year you kinda go, what was the point of that? Again, I suppose it’s about expectation. I don’t know. If I give you a name I expect something to happen tomorrow – ah its done. But I don’t think it moves that way in reality but how quickly does it move?

Patrick highlights that not knowing what to expect in the whistleblowing process can result in individuals creating false expectations for the experience. In turn, if/when these (false) expectations are not met it can discourage the individual (and others) from whistleblowing in the future. In order to avoid this, participants indicated they desire whistleblowing education. Specifically, all but three participants agreed this would be useful. For the three who declined the possibility, the reasons were (1) he already knew what whistleblowing resources existed and how to use them based on his own self-education (David, UK
Athlete), (2) he was retired (Paul, US Athlete), and (3) he felt that if whistleblowing education was necessary then the system was not simple enough (Travis, UK Coach). For the others, the prospect of being educated on how to whistleblow was appealing and many suggested this should be a standard provision, similar to that of mandatory (i.e., compliance-based information) anti-doping education. Kira (UK Athlete) liked the idea of receiving annual education: “I think that we definitely should maybe once a year or whatever have it reiterated to us how to go about this [whistleblowing] …we should be able to speak up and we should be doing it right”. Similarly, Liam (US Coach) indicated that whistleblowing education could be included in standard coach education:

If there was something in place, yes. If there was…”we need to nip this in the butt; this is how we’re going to be doing it. You’re encouraged to do this; this is where you report it”. I mean, it’s almost like this should be part of coaching education, or part of being a [NGB] member…if you’re going to coach, boom, this is what you’re responsible for, for a clean sport.

Both coaches and athletes suggested that whistleblowing education could be compulsory in order for individuals to renew their NGB membership. Barb (US Athlete) suggested:

Maybe there should be like a requirement that if you’re a [NGB] member – which you have to be in order to regularly compete in the [NGB] championships – that you have to watch a ten minute video, presentation or something like that and you can’t renew your membership until you do. Something like that.
Sally (US Athlete) reiterated Barb’s suggestion that whistleblower education should be short (10-20 minutes) and could be delivered online/provided electronically, stating that:

I don’t think anybody here knows, in my gym, personally, how they would even go about [whistleblowing]. So, yes – I think even a video that [NADO] posts online, or something. Or anybody that’s in the testing pool – they send us flyers and stuff in the mail all the time; send us a DVD over or something, or something that we can just pop in for 20 minutes, and listen to how we can improve on [actively whistleblowing]...I feel like that would go a long way.

Kohl (US Coach) emphasized the importance of educating coaches, athletes and NGB members on whistleblowing, suggesting that a tiered approach to reinforcement and encouragement is necessary and emphasized that, “it’s all about education”. He specified that he would like to know, “what the polices are” and suggested that this education could be provided via email. Corbin (UK Coach) added that whistleblowing education would, “probably be useful cos I’m kind of just cobbling a lot of this together you know”.

The general consensus is that whistleblowing education is necessary and desired. Participants are particularly interested in being provided with practical whistleblowing information, including such things as: how to whistleblow, what to report, who to report to (on what occasions) and what the expectations are for whistleblowing (e.g., rules around complicity and substantial assistance). The transcripts provided insights relevant to what information participants desire, but limited preference for how this information should be disseminated were highlighted. Rather, an emphasis was placed on the education being
concise (e.g., 20 minutes) and information being easily accessible. This call for brevity reflects emerging research into athletes’ (Hallward & Duncan, 2018) and coaches’ (Patterson, Backhouse & Lara-Bercial, in press) preferences for general anti-doping education. Perhaps more importantly, the findings reiterate calls for anti-doping education delivery to extend beyond athletes (Backhouse et al., 2016) and corroborate appeals from athletes and coaches themselves for more frequent and better education (e.g., Hallward & Duncan, 2018; Patterson, Backhouse, & Lara-Bercial, 2019). Indeed, developing appropriate and effective whistleblowing interventions is crucial given the lack of whistleblowing knowledge highlighted here by coaches and athletes, especially as this finding aligns with previous studies in the anti-doping field underlining an overall lack of anti-doping knowledge amongst these groups (e.g., Hallward & Duncan, 2018; Erickson et al., 2015). Future research should explore the most feasible and effective means for disseminating whistleblowing information.

“\textit{It’s important for other people to see that reporting can have an influence}”

Within, or in addition to, whistleblowing education, athletes and coaches signalled that being aware of “successful” whistleblowing stories would motivate them to engage in with the behavior. “Successful” whistleblowing cases were considered those that led to a doping sanction or even instances when a tip simply led to a drug test being conducted. Essentially, any time that whistleblowing led to action being taken by the receiving organization. Patrick (UK Coach) spoke to the benefit of this, saying, “\textit{if you see results and they’re attributed to a methodology then you’d have more faith in that methodology or that approach, but you don’t really see a lot of the outcomes}”. Patrick then went on to explain that:
I think they are success stories because you can’t create the culture of doing something unless there’s a mechanism and there’s an outcome and so on and people go ‘well that works. That works, that works’. I buy a Dyson hoover cos it works.

Patrick highlights that connecting the action to the outcome is the critical aspect for increasing whistleblowing. Without knowing what whistleblowing can – and does – lead to, individuals are less likely to engage with the behavior. The value of this was echoed by both athletes and coaches, including Steve (US Coach):

They need to say, ‘hey, look, so and so’s’...when they announce you can go on [NADO]’s page and see all the latest bans, like ‘hey, you know what? This person got banned because of an anonymous tip; this person received a four-year suspension because of an anonymous tip’. Instead of just saying, ‘this person received ... ’ But, why did they? Well, yes, they got tested, but why did they get tested? Because of an anonymous tip.

Leah (UK Athlete) reiterated the benefits of publicizing whistleblowing outcomes, saying, “I think it's important for other people to see that reporting can have an influence, that it’s not all just down to drugs testers and the anti-doping governing bodies and stuff, and that athletes can have an input”. Leah suggests that there is an empowering element to promoting whistleblowing; essentially, it shows that athletes (and people generally) can directly deter doping. Megan (US Athlete) was actually familiar with a situation in which a tip from a whistleblower led to targeted testing and she found that encouraging:
It was really good to see...right before [race], there were some rumors about several athletes in [city] who were doping and [my] friend...was living in [city] at the time. And she actually got tested, because she was [competing] at the time, and so it was just really nice to see that they'd got a single tip, but then they went above and beyond the individual or individuals [who] got reported and they...went to the larger [city] network of faster athletes. That was really cool to see and I think gave me a little more belief in the process and the system that is in place, so that was a positive.

Publicizing whistleblowing tips that lead to actions and outcomes represents a practical way to incentivize whistleblowing. It can also empower individuals by demonstrating that regardless of their role in sport, they can have a direct deterrent impact on doping. Wider whistleblowing literature indicates that individuals are unlikely to whistleblow unless they feel their behavior will lead to a positive change (e.g., Sekerka & Bagozzi, 2007) and scholars (Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesveran, 2005) have suggested that organizations should publicize when whistleblowing has led to a positive change to improve the likelihood of others choosing to whistleblow. It seems similar benefits could be realized in sport by following this same line of whistleblowing management and practice.

“I would prefer to talk to somebody”

When considering the possibility of whistleblowing, a practical issue that must be considered is how one would actually do it. Participants were therefore invited to consider the whistleblowing mechanisms they would like to have available. A range of suggestions were offered, and it seems it is not the mechanism itself that is most important but, rather, that there are multiple options, including in-person and anonymous avenues. Individual
differences appear to play a role in determining how one would prefer to whistleblow. For example, Mandi (US Athlete) said, “I think sometimes it’s really convenient to have a person there, and be like, ‘hey, can I pull you aside? Can we talk about this really quickly?’ as opposed to going online to do it”. Conversely, Paul (US Athlete) said, “give me an anonymous form on the internet. That’s my favorite…I don’t want to talk to somebody. Boo. No way. You try talking to people? It’s f***** challenging. And personal. So…online form”. Offering an additional viewpoint, Patrick (UK Coach) said, “I don’t know. I think for me personally any of the methods. Email, phone, all of those things. Text message, whatever”. Providing multiple channels for reporting is considered a necessary ingredient for effective reporting arrangements (Vandekerckhove, Fotaki, & Kenny, 2016) and based on the audit of existing sport whistleblowing platforms (Erickson et al., 2018a), it seems most sporting organizations are currently meeting this need. Indeed, organizations commonly provide the option of reporting doping via email, telephone and online platforms. That said, one thing that participants consistently suggested and that appears to be more important than the reporting mechanism itself was the value of having a person to report to.

Highlighting the importance of a person to report to, Liam (US Coach) said, “I’d prefer a phone call…I’d prefer to talk to somebody, as opposed to send something. I’d prefer to talk to somebody”. Chris (US Athlete) added to Liam’s comment, saying he would want to, “communicate to a person, not a server or a service”. Interestingly, the ideal scenario for most participants would be to actually know the person they were calling. As Kira (UK Athlete) put it, you can, “have a conversation with someone and just tell them what you’ve experienced…or what you’ve seen. Yeah you’d hope that there’d be someone that you know to ring and tell them that”. Polly (UK Athlete) said she would prefer reporting to,
“someone you might have met before…anti-doping talks or that kind of thing. You don’t have to know them too well but at least you know who you’re ringing and you can have a name to the face”. Patti (US Athlete) reiterated this, saying she envisions reporting to, “the Clean Sport Collective…I think is the easiest way…that I think is the perfect way to do it…the fact that they have faces to them makes it easier than just writing to someone at [NGB] that I’ve never seen”. Signalling the importance of trust, Blake (UK Coach) explained, “I know them [NGB] as people, I know what they’ve done and what they haven’t done. So, I would feel very confident that they would be very supportive and want to do the right thing”. Trust was critical for Sean (US Athlete) and centered on reporting to a person: “you have to put a face to this…it cannot be through email”.

The previous quotes underline a myriad of perceived benefits to having a person to whistleblow to. Particularly noticeable is a sense of relief from some of the anxiety associated with whistleblowing. Practically, it also provides an opportunity for whistleblowers to discuss what they are reporting rather than simply sending in the information and leaving it at that. The desire for a person to whistleblow to is consistent with wider whistleblowing research (Vandekerckhove et al., 2016) demonstrating that effective speak-up arrangements generally include a designated person(s) to whom an individual can report. Indeed, specifying who to report to is considered an important feature for effective whistleblowing policies (Vandekerckhove & Lewis, 2012).

Building on the idea of having someone to talk to, which was appealing to both coaches and athletes, the participants proposed having a designated whistleblower advocate(s). Trisha (US Athlete) suggested it would be helpful if, “athletes or coaches or anyone has an
issue, that there’s a person that they can go to, to tell that information, who then can take the case on or something. Kind of like being an advocate for the whistleblow[er]". Who the ideal ‘advocate’ could or should be was not explicitly stated (e.g., a lawyer, ombudsman). Instead, importance was placed simply on there being an identified person available. For Barb (US Athlete), the idea of an experienced whistleblower was appealing, she said: “I honestly would probably get in touch with someone who has done it before and just like kind of ask for their advice and like guidance and how the best way to do it is”. Pam (UK Athlete) proposed a similar approach, “take the evidence and just go to [whistleblower], ‘ok, you’ve done this before! Help me out!’ …[specific whistleblower] would be a great resource for me to use just because…I trust that [specific whistleblower] knows what to do… [and] could guide me…” Thus, participants described this person as a source of not only guidance, but also reassurance.

It seems logical that an experienced whistleblower would be a desirable resource, but the reality is that not all individuals have access to one. In this case, Barb (US Athlete) later pointed out that a retired athlete in general might be useful:

Maybe there’s like some kind of tiered system where if an athlete says something that they are uncomfortable with they like go to the leader – maybe it’s an athlete who’s really like against doping or who’s retired and wants to take this on or something – and you can go through them and maybe like get the ball rolling in a more comfortable setting. Because I think…it’s scary and its intimidating and there’s a lot of unknowns so I think to…have someone…to process with you would be really helpful.
Formalizing peer-to-peer support for whistleblowers in the public sector has been suggested (see Garrick, 2017) and it seems this approach would also be appreciated within sport. Considering options beyond peers, someone independent from sport was also appealing. Asher (UK Coach) said, “I think that what would be good would be to have some independent support out[side] the governing body…the whistleblower should be able to have somebody else that could give them personal support that wasn't employed by [the NGB]”. Trisha (US Athlete) reiterated this suggestion:

I think maybe because I hear so much about the corruption in these different bodies, it’s almost like I want someone who is not associated with the [sport] bodies or something. Kind of like an athlete liaison, like we have the…what’s the word? ‘Ombudsman’ – whatever those people do. But, basically, someone who…is there to help athletes and somebody that I could trust and that I would want to report to.

A particularly attractive feature of having an independent whistleblowing advocate is that it circumvents the distrust that many participants appear to have in sporting and anti-doping bodies. Sean (US Athlete) underlined that, “athletes put a lot of trust in the system and the system hasn’t shown that’s it’s worth trusting”. Pam (UK Athlete) reiterated this, saying: “I wouldn’t even really want to talk to anyone with an interest in [sport] to do this job…somebody completely neutral”. She went on to admit that, “part of that is because my biggest fear is that there are like these secret exchanges for like letting this athlete compete still because we’ll exchange information on something. So that’s where I would want an independent…lawyer-type person”.

66
Having someone to talk to and seek counsel from appears to offer many (perceived) benefits for potential whistleblowers, including the ability to talk through the situation, get advice, and then move forward with them by your side. Independent advice channels (e.g., individuals, groups) have been recommended in the wider literature and are believed to benefit whistleblowers (e.g., Vandekerckhove et al., 2016) and have also been suggested within sport (see Richardson & McGlynn, 2011). Ideally, both internal and external whistleblowing recipients should be available as this approach leads to better whistleblowing outcomes (Brown, 2008). That said, the benefits identified in association with a whistleblower advocate feature at the front end of the whistleblowing experience – before the action has actually been taken. An important and insightful issue raised in our research was the need to ensure that whistleblowers are equally supported after whistleblowing. That is, after the actual act of whistleblowing has occurred. The final sub-theme illuminates the importance of supporting whistleblowers in the long-term.

“Actions that support that person for a period of time”

As the previous themes/sub-themes have demonstrated, athlete and coach whistleblowing views are significantly influenced by an element of the unknown (e.g., the consequences that could occur for the doper, not knowing how to whistleblow). This final sub-theme demonstrates that the ‘unknown’ includes uncertainly regarding what happens after you whistleblow, and it represents the participants’ suggestions regarding how whistleblowing could – or should – be dealt with once the actual report is made. These proposals seem to be underpinned by an appreciation for the dilemma that whistleblowing poses and, in turn, recognition for the importance of whistleblowers receiving adequate and consistent support.
At a minimum, participants expressed a desire to have their reports acknowledged. Steve (US Coach) said, “it would be great if, let’s say, you used the tip line and you ended up getting an email back or a phone call from whoever saying, ‘hey, we really appreciate this’, or whatever”. Similarly, Anna (US Coach) said, “I think having the option to fill out a form online, and know that someone was going to contact me, would probably be the best way”. The idea of being contacted and receiving feedback was echoed by athletes. For instance, Darcy (UK Athlete) said, “I think that they [whistleblowers] should be able to do this anonymously to be able to explain all of their concerns…[but they should] know that people are following this through so they would get feedback”. Leah (UK Athlete) added that she would like to receive, “just an email back saying ‘thank you for your information, we have logged it, we are following up’”.  

It seems the absence of a sincere acknowledgement from the receiver may leave whistleblowers doubtful over the legitimacy of the system, as noted by Chris (US Athlete):

I would like to see if that athlete…I know it’s a lot of private information, personal information, that they probably can’t release, but at least like a follow up email saying, like, ‘we appreciate your curiosity, and we’ll follow up on it’… because sometimes I feel like you tell somebody, and they’ll never know.

While athletes, like Chris, recognize the sensitivity of information being disclosed back to whistleblowers, they stressed the importance of knowing that your report was being taken seriously. Polly (UK Athlete) explained further:
I think you want to be reassured, obviously when they’ve reported it I think that athlete should feel like you know it’s been taken on board they’re [receiving agency] going to investigate and feel like something’s been done about it...athletes that are doing it don’t want to feel like it’s a waste of time...you almost want to...[be] told, “thanks for that. We’re going to investigate it, we’re going to…” Obviously you can’t share details whatever they’re doing on their side its obviously not appropriate ethically and all of that. But, you want to feel like something’s been done about it.

Providing a response to whistleblowing reports represented the bare minimum in relation to what participants felt should be provided to support whistleblowers post-report. What was preferable was a multifaceted approach that recognizes and honors the emotional side of whistleblowing and acknowledges the significance of the fairness-loyalty trade-off.

Highlighting this, Blake (UK Coach) explained that:

A person would normally only report it if they were really, emotionally involved in the circumstance, because it’s a lot easier not to do it...a genuine whistleblower who genuinely would have gone through quite a bit of emotional turmoil to get to the stage where they then, probably would have gone ‘make the call’. It’s not sufficient simply to say, “Thank you very much, we’ll deal with it.” This isn’t like ringing up and saying, “You realize the bus is late?” “Thank you very much,” and not go to the bus stop until ten minutes later. It’s like seriously? So, I would think that there needs to be...some sort of acknowledgement that this is a tough thing to do and then some sort of actions that support that person for a period of time in an appropriate way.
Similar concerns were raised among both athletes and coaches in our sample.

Corroborating this view from an athlete perspective, Barb (US Athlete) commented:

> Probably afterwards is just as critical when you’re left alone to deal with like the ramifications of this major kind of...catastrophic event. At least I think for a lot of people it would be, so just knowing that I’d be supported and I'm not sure what that would look like for everyone but maybe some people need counselling, maybe some people need like someone from the [NGB] checking in on them fairly regularly or you know just building a good network of solid people who have my back.

Barb provides suggestions for what on-going emotional support for whistleblowers might involve – a combination of counselling, regular contact/updates from the organization to whom the report was made, and ensuring a social support network is in place. Different people may require and desire diverse services in order to cope post-report. Yet, the consensus across the sample was for support to be provided, for resources to be available throughout the whistleblowing journey, and for particular attention being addressed towards supporting emotional well-being. This finding aligns with Erickson and colleagues’ (2018b) conclusion that doping whistleblowers should be provided emotional support up to the point that they no longer desire it. Protection from retaliation is considered a central component to successful whistleblowing policies (Lewis & Vanderkerckhove, 2015), but our findings suggest that strategic emotional support is also necessary.
Creating an enabling environment for whistleblowing on doping in sport

The interviews illuminated specific avenues for enabling whistleblowing on doping, which are illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Whistleblowing enablers in sport
Stage 2

Interviews with doping whistleblowers

September 2017 - March 2018

In addition to conducting interviews with elite level coaches and athletes to explore whistleblowing determinants, we also conducted interviews with doping whistleblowers. These interviews aimed to exploring the doping whistleblowing experience and illuminate opportunities to better support whistleblowers.
Overview

Whistleblowing is effective for exposing doping in sport, garnering increased support and promotion within the global anti-doping community. However, limited attention has been afforded towards understanding the doping whistleblowing process. In response, this story conveys a sense of the whistleblowing context by using the actual words of whistleblowers to illuminate their experience. To achieve this aim, the research adopted a narrative approach. Three doping whistleblowers were interviewed regarding their lived experiences of whistleblowing on doping and the data has been represented in the form of one composite creative non-fiction story. The story (see Appendix 4 for the full publication) narrates the whistleblowing experience as a process whereby individuals must (a) determine what they witnessed and experienced was doping, (b) make the decision and take action to report it, and (c) deal with the myriad of consequences and emotions. It also highlights the dilemma faced by whistleblowers who are likely equally compelled to adhere to the moral of loyalty and fairness; yet in this context they are unable to do both. Stemming from the story presented and the forms of retribution experienced, organizations should establish and implement whistleblowing policies that: (a) provide protection for whistleblowers, (b) mandate whistleblowing education, and (c) identify an independent person for individuals to seek guidance and support from before, during and following the act of whistleblowing.
Step 1: “It’s not black and white”

In your head you think, “it’s black and white. This is simple. How could someone not know?” But we lose context and we don’t have context unless we are there. A lot of things that make sense from the outside are completely jumbled and messy when you’re in it yourself and even looking back you can be like, “oh yeah. Of course, that was off or wrong”. But in that moment, it’s hard to identify. So, step one as a whistleblower is actually coming to terms with what you saw or what you experienced. It sounds really simple to do, but it took me – it took others I know – months to actually come to terms with, “oh yeah that was shitty. That broke some rules, or most likely broke some rules”. Looking back now, there were signs earlier – a lot of really small things that just kept adding up – but I literally would never have put it together. I started to look back on everything and see everything and I was like “holy shit”. And that’s the reality – most of the time it’s not, “I saw some guy inject testosterone. Here’s a picture and video recording of it – here’s everything”; it’s not black and white like that. I think acknowledging that is really important. Step one is coming to terms with the fact that what you saw was wrong.

Then, before you step forward, you essentially do this risk assessment scenario. I remember debating for months, “do I move on with my life? Yeah, this really sucks, but if I don’t say anything no one will know; they’ll just keep doing stuff but I can go do what I want and do things the right way and learn from it and not have any trouble or drama or repercussions or anything like that”. That’s one option, and I’d probably say that’s the easy choice to make. Especially if you’re young; it’s a lot easier to be like, “that sucks, but I have my whole life and career ahead of me”. But then the other side of it – the part that eats away at you – says, “yeah, but it’s still wrong”. Or, “this doesn’t feel good. This doesn’t settle with me.” From the outside perspective, it’s easy to say, “it’s wrong. Go tell,” but when you’re stuck in it and you have no resources to go to, it’s basically this internal battle where you debate these things because no one else understands it. No one understands what you go through because it’s such a rare thing. There was no one for me to look to. I really didn’t know where to go or what to do. There were maybe three people in the world who I’d heard of who had blown a whistle on something. I couldn’t reach out and call them to figure out what the best course of action was! So, I was basically sitting there going, “well this is my pro-career and then this is what’s going to happen if I don’t report.” You sit there for hours thinking, “is it worth it? I’ve put this much of my life into this already”. It’s hard.

So, I guess before blowing the whistle, it’s this internal struggle that goes on for a really long time. That was probably the most difficult part. From the moment that I realized doping was happening, I would just always say, “I’m never going to go public with it until I retire because I know it will just sink my career”. The only thing I was thinking was, if anything, “I’m just going to quit”. If you say that people cheated and you didn’t cheat, the fear of everyone thinking that you cheated will keep you quiet. I knew I hadn’t cheated, but I knew everyone would think I was. And I understand that. Of course, anyone is going to think that.
That will keep a lot of people silent I’ve dedicated my whole life to this so to have people just dismiss it? I knew that would happen if I came forward, but I didn’t want it to. So, I never thought about reporting it – going public or talking to anyone. Not even going to my national anti-doping agency (NADO). I just wanted to move on and get as far away from it as possible. Either be able to move on with another team, or just quit. I just wanted to get my life back. So, I tried to move on with my life. I tried to forget about it for a long time.

Unfortunately, I couldn’t.

Staying quiet put me in this world where I was lying to everybody and I started thinking, “why? Why am I protecting people who did shady stuff and treated a bunch of people like shit?” Over time, shit eats away at you and you feel like you have to do something. I felt like, I know the truth and no one else is doing anything about it. I don’t want to, but I know what it’s like to be robbed of an opportunity from someone who’s cheating. It got to the point where it was going to eat me alive to know that I could have done something and I didn’t. So I thought, “it’s time. I’m just going to tell the truth and whatever happens, happens. I just need to get this off my chest”. It was just kind of brewing and then finally I had my tipping point and I was like, “fuck it! I’ve got to do something with this. I’m going to tell somebody”.

If only it was that simple.

Instead, whistleblowing is a process.

The next question was, “okay, who do I tell?” In one sense, you have your NADO, which makes sense to tell. But in today’s climate it’s like, “well who do I trust? Do I trust my NADO? Could I go to my national governing body (NGB)?” It’s hard to talk about it, but the NGB, until you have anything to do with them, they are – and NADOS as well to a certain extent – they are this huge monster that no one wants anything to do with because they are labelled that way and if you’re in contact with the NGB it’s because you’ve done something wrong. There’s this big stigma around them. You don’t want anything to do with the governing body, which is hard. You just assume they’re a bit bad. On top of that, I don’t know who these people are. I don’t know who to trust. I was questioning, “who do I give this information over to and then trust to take care of it and understand things? I can’t just tell anyone because they don’t understand how big it is”. The other side of it is, they don’t know you. They don’t know your background, so they could say, “do we trust this person? Is s/he making this up?” It’s just a shit show of who to trust and no one really knows. It’s almost like you live in this paranoid world where you don’t know who to trust.
Step 2: “People need to know”
I guess getting to that point of stepping forward – the threshold I crossed was, “okay. I just need to get this off my chest. I’m going to send an anonymous tip to the NADO and then, whatever. Someone knows something”. So, I sent an email on their tip line without any name at all – just sent it out into the ether and then sat there for a week or so and was like, “this sucks. I don’t know if anything happened to it”. So, the next step was, “I’m going to send it and I’ll attach my email address to it,” and each step you make requires another internal turmoil to go through. So, I sent that out there and got a reply saying “we’d love to talk to you”.

When I got the response, I didn’t want to risk myself and my freedom and finances and all that stuff, but eventually you just say, “you know what? It’ll be stronger and it means more if it has my name and my face to it and consequences be damned”. I was scared to go because I was afraid that somehow someone would find out that I went to the NADO. I was petrified that I was going to lose my contract. I was so paranoid. So, I didn’t tell anybody, but I met with someone at the NADO. I was there for probably four hours. I cried a lot, I felt guilty about the whole thing. I felt like I was betraying people that I care about – it’s so fucked up – but even though I think they’re cheating, I still care about them because I know them as people. It’s so hard. You’ve been through so much with these people. And that was the hard thing to describe to the NADO, because they’re like, “why are you crying?” And I’m trying to explain, “because I feel like I’m betraying these people. They’re my friends. They’re my family. I spent years with them and it sucks”. It’s just hard. It’s not as simple as, “I saw someone cheat”. I think a lot of people neglect to realize that you’re a person, not just an athlete. It’s so much more complicated than people think. It’s not black and white.

Anyways, after I reported I assumed the response would be, “we’re going to get to the bottom of this”. I imagined I would go in, I would tell them about the people they need to talk to, they would talk to those people, and then they would have what they need and it would be done.

Wrong.

Instead, it’s two months later and there has been nothing but complete radio silence. In your head you’re going crazy thinking, “do they give a shit? Are they going to do anything? Does this really matter?” By that point, I was absolutely certain that nothing was going to be done. There was no contact. Nothing. I was so angry and I went into a bit of a spiral. You’ve just thrown your entire career – or it feels like you’re throwing your entire career – out the window, and they just disappear off the face of the planet. I was getting pretty pissed off because I’ve ruined my sports career and they’ve done absolutely nothing about it. My life is getting ruined while you guys are just sitting around. You kind of just get the feeling that what you’ve done is a bit pointless and you’ve thrown your life away in return for them not giving a shit about anything. It makes you question, “are these the guys I should trust? Or are these not the guys I should trust?” It sows seeds of doubt where you’re thinking, “I gave them some shit that was interesting but you know, maybe not?” And you also start to wonder, “for goodness sake, is it still corrupt?”
Eventually I decided that if the NADO was not going to do anything then people at least needed to know so, “fuck it. Let people know”. The logical thing would have been not to do that but, again, you expect (1) the NADO has the information, then (2) relief on my end. But there’s no relief because no one knows you did anything. And no one knows that there’s investigations or anything. So, I was just like, “screw it”. Let’s just deal with it. Deal with it in the public and if that’s all, that’s all. But at least people can make their decisions.

Things really changed when I went public.

There was no turning back.

Step 3: “It has totally changed my life”

Honestly, the whole experience has just sucked basically. Yeah. It’s been really sucky. That’s kind of the bottom line. I don’t even know how to describe it. Let’s put it this way, I wouldn’t want even people I don’t like to go through some of the shit I went through.

Why would I say that? Because all I’ve had is loss since I spoke out. I haven’t gained anything from reporting. All I’ve had is stress and anxiety and loss. It’s just stressful. I am not confrontational. I am not a vocal person, but now I have to be. I have to stand up for myself. I would rather not be like that, because it’s just not the way I’m wired. But it has totally changed the direction my life has gone. I have to stand up for myself and speak out. It’s tiring. I’m not controversial. I swear, I’m like so vanilla but that’s how I’m labelled now and it’s just changed everything about my life.

When it all comes out publicly, half the world hates you. I have people who I was friendly with who now think I’m the worst person ever. There’s always going to be the 20% that are like, “what the fuck are you doing? You should not have done that!” I think the hardest thing for me is going through comments and things like that on media pages and just going through some of the stuff people say. Yeah, I think that has been the hardest thing – the constant harassment. I mean constant. It just gets so old. I would say that’s been the hardest thing for me because I don’t like to fight with anybody and it’s just non-stop. I feel like whenever I do anything – whenever there is a newspaper article – then these people get vocal again and as much as I know they’re crazy, it’s still exhausting. It’s like – I’m damned if I do, I’m damned if I don’t. If I don’t answer reporters’ questions, what am I trying to hide? If I do answer, I’m an attention-whore that just won’t shut up about it. And when I’m getting harassed on social media or whatever – it’s just me. It’s not me and five other people; it’s just me. I feel like I’m just standing alone.

So, naturally, in the beginning, I think I felt sorry for myself. I let my emotional roller coaster control what I was doing. I was letting myself be railroaded by something that I had no control over. I spent two or three months essentially just living in a bar with my friends. The thing you have to realize is, it affects you as much as it affects the person you’ve blown the whistle on. At the end of the day, it’s mentally crushing. The mental, emotional turmoil is a definite consequence of whistleblowing.
I went through nights where I’d just sit and talk for hours and hours about what I was feeling and why it wasn’t fair. And on top of that, I worry about stupid stuff. I worry about being sabotaged. I’m paranoid now. I’m paranoid about everything. I’m paranoid about if something was off when the drug testers came to test me. I’m crazy, right? But that’s how I think – they’re going to try and make me look bad at some point. In my defence, I had my computer hacked and emails and stuff wiped off of it before I went public. There was a chunk of time where stuff just disappeared off my computer. Some of it I’ll never get back but some of it I had happened to forward to my family who had saved it but – these people are crazy.

What else?

Coming forward has changed how I’m perceived and who wants to work with me. Before reporting, I had a contract that basically just needed signatures and they pulled it after all the stuff came out, which is my fault – I’m the one that spoke. I think it was just the fact that there was so much risk associated with me. No one wants drama, right? And, unfortunately, I am labeled ‘drama’. It looks like I’ve been involved with some form of scandal. I think I will forever have the doping scandal over my head as, “do I want to hire this athlete? Yes. But then do I want my team to be even slightly associated to anything doping? No”. There’s a specific audience that would hire me now. If a team hires me then that puts them in the spotlight as having something to do with anti-doping and it’s a lot easier for a team, or any form of organization, to be completely separate from that. If I was to say something about doping and then their team get caught doing something even marginally wrong, then that would blow up in their face to the point that they wouldn’t have a team anymore. So, there’s always going to be the doubt as to what benefit and cost/risk I bring. So yeah, it definitely complicates the contract side of things. Losing contracts has been hard. Obviously. Who wants to lose contracts?

Then there’s the fact that people will always question your trust. They know that if they do something wrong, there’s a chance that I’ll report again. That has been made clear to me. For example, I got injured last season and I was taking painkillers. You should have seen the look on the trainers’ faces and the things they would say to make it completely clear that what they were giving me was just paracetamol – they were shit scared. They presumed that I would drop them in shit for absolutely anything. Same thing when I get sick; now they bring the package of whatever they are giving me and make me read it and Google it. As a whistleblower, you have to build trust with people rather than assume trust. Along those lines, no one wants to be seen with you because they know they get labeled. It’s that ‘stay well clear’ kind of thing. I think it’s just a mind-set. It’s, “stay safe, keep your nose clean”. It’s natural. Think about it, if someone in your town was caught up in a murder case, you wouldn’t go and spend lots of time with them and discuss it with them, would you? You’d probably not want anything to do with them. It makes sense, but it puts you on an island versus everyone else.
One thing no one ever really talks about is the fact that as a whistleblower, your life is on hold. You can’t sit there and be like every other person and be like, “here are my goals three, five years down the line. Here’s what I want to do to accomplish that”. You don’t have the full deck of opportunities that everyone else has because you came forward. That’s the reality of it. I mean, I’ll never coach athletes with a particular sponsor – it’ll never happen. At the same time, my future athletes will not get a contract offer from that sponsor. Guaranteed. So, it impacts other people too – those associated with you. You’re putting them in a situation where they might have to defend you or might have someone you know talk shit to them about it. That sucks. The same goes for family and friends. I’ve had more arguments about me stepping forward – whether it’s with parents, brothers, sisters, partners, best friends – you have these blow up arguments on stuff cos they’re trying to look out for your best interests. Actually, it’s tougher to see close people deal with it than yourself because you can process it and come to terms with it and rationalize it – it’s not as tough for me as it for my family. It causes strife and I think that’s something that you don’t take into consideration. It wears on everybody.

Also, knowing about doping puts you in a weird situation when you’re still in the sport because it changes the perspective you have of it. It’s easy to almost go through these depressed states where you’re like, “well this shit sucks. Why am I doing this?” You almost lose your ‘why’ and your purpose on things. If you don’t watch it, it’s really easy to go down this path of bitterness and just have bitterness towards everybody – towards sport, towards everything. I don’t want to be this bitter, chip on my shoulder, can’t enjoy the sport person. I love the sport. But, as bad as it seems, you do feel like the sport kind of owes you some sort of helping hand. I mean, I’ll have really good days where I’m like, “yeah it’s just how the world works. It was just unlucky”. But, then there are days where I feel like sport owes me so much more. I still feel bitter now in the sense that I’ve missed out on what could have been my professional sports career because of it. I could still be competing professionally, living my dream. But, I reported doping. So, it affects the amount that I’m willing to invest in sport personally. Before this experience, sport would run my entire life. Whereas now, I don’t trust sport enough to let it run my entire life anymore. If I’m honest, the fire is not as bright as it was before because I’ve seen what professional sport is actually like. When you’ve seen the dark side of it, it’s not as appealing as you think when you’re 19, you know? I guess I just doubt a lot more than I realistically should. Don’t get me wrong – I love the sport! I just only trust it 80% now compared to 100% before. Actually, I think that’s what fuelled a lot of my anger in the beginning – the fact that I had this idea of how amazing being fulltime and being professional would be. It’s hard to get brought back down to the level where it’s actually at – to reality – and I think that’s probably the most painful thing. It’s hard when sport isn’t actually what it portrays. I wouldn’t say that the sport has changed though, more that I’ve grown up and learned how sport works. I now understand that people are hungry to win and there’s always going to be a small percentage of people that are hungry enough to break the rules.
I used to think that when it was over I would be so happy. But now I think I’ll just feel so relieved. I don’t even know that I’ll feel happy. The truth is, I don’t even want to see them get sanctioned. I just want them to not compete. It’s so weird. I mean, I want justice and I know that means they have to be sanctioned but, human to human, I feel bad. It doesn’t make me feel good. It’s not like if they get sanctioned then I’m going to be so happy. It’s just a shitty feeling. It’s a shitty feeling to know that you’re essentially ending someone’s career. That feels bad. Even the biggest drug cheat of all time – Lance – is a person. With children and with a mom. It sucks. I wish it wasn’t so hard.

It’s going to sound crazy, but even after everything that has happened, I don’t really regret going public. I hate the way it has changed my life and the negative things that it’s changed but, I feel free. It can’t affect me anymore. I mean it does, but it’s different. Before reporting, I was drowning and hating sport. I just felt, “I hate this sport. It’s a bunch of fakers”. I was just kind of surviving. After I spoke out though, things kind of turned around. It was like this burden had been lifted for me personally. That alone has been worth it for me; that I don’t have to carry around their secrets anymore. It would kill me. Carrying that around – I hated it. I hated always lying and putting it on me. I don’t have to do that anymore. I don’t have to carry around that crap. Mentally, it has freed me. Clearing my conscience and being able to tell myself my own story is immense. It was such a big deal in my life and it’s something that I’m very proud of. As athletes, we would do 99.9% of anything to win. That is our job. I’d like to think that the whole thing tested me, and I passed. A lot of people would question or fail that test. I was willing to throw my career away purely to be the person that I want to be. How many people can say that?
Synthesis and implications

Our creative non-fiction story depicts the lived experience of three doping whistleblowing. The composite story illustrates whistleblowing as a process whereby individuals must (a) determine what they witnessed and experienced was doping, (b) make the decision and take action to report it, and (c) deal with the myriad of consequences and emotions. It also highlights the dilemma faced by whistleblowers who are likely equally compelled to adhere to the moral of loyalty and fairness; yet in this context they are unable to do both (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Implications of the fairness-loyalty trade-off for whistleblowers

Stemming from the story presented and the forms of retribution experienced, organizations should establish and implement whistleblowing policies that: (a) provide protection for whistleblowers, (b) mandate whistleblowing education, and (c) identify an independent person for individuals to seek guidance and support from before, during and following the act of whistleblowing (Figure 5).
Figure 5. Key elements of a whistleblowing culture
Phase 4: Whistleblowing Determinants Survey
March 2018 - September 2018

Following the two phases of interviews, the findings were used to inform the development of a bespoke whistleblowing determinants survey. Once developed, the survey was disseminated broadly to elite level coaches and athletes to further explore whistleblowing determinants.
Overview

Previous research indicates that individuals may be more willing to share their views about doping online than in a paper-based survey due to the sensitivity of the topic (Whitaker, 2013). Accordingly, and to maximize the reach of the study within the target population (Patterson, 2014), an online survey was designed and disseminated. Figure 6 outlines the rigorous process that was followed in designing the survey and further details can be found in Appendix 6 and Appendix 7.

Figure 6. Process of creating the whistleblowing determinants survey
Sample Demographics

A combination of convenience and snowball sampling was used to recruit coaches and athletes from the US and UK. The criterion for inclusion was that individuals were: a) coach and/or athlete with international competition experience, b) represented the US or UK, and c) minimum 18 years of age. In total, 139 coaches began the survey, with 118 from the US (85%) and 30 (15%) from the UK. The majority of coaches self-identified as ‘White-American’ (63%; n = 85), followed by ‘White-British’ (13%; n = 18), with all other ethnicities representing less than 10% of the population. The majority of coaches coached both male and female athletes (85%; n = 118). A total of 26 sports were represented; the majority from swim and dive (16%; n = 22), ski and snowboard (14%; n = 20) and track and field (12%; n = 16), with all other sports representing less than 10% of the population.

Additionally, 301 athletes entered the survey. The athlete group consisted of 137 males (46%) and 164 females (54%), with 267 from the US (89%) and 32 from the UK (11%; only 299 indicated their country). The majority (45%; n = 128) of athletes had 0-5 years of experience in their sport, followed by 35% (n = 99) with 6-10 years of experience and 20% (n = 56) with 11+ years of experience in their sport. A total of 54 sports were represented across the athlete sample with one athlete not specifying what sport they participated in (see Appendix 1). The most represented sports included track and field (22%) and cycling (12%), with all other sports representing 5% or less of the population.

301 athletes (US: 267, UK: 32)
Male: 137 Female: 164
54 sport represented (see Appendix 1)

139 Coaches (US: 118, UK: 30)
Coach male and female sports
26 sports represented (see Appendix 2)
Findings

Whistleblowing awareness and preferences
Less than half of the coaches and athletes were aware of the fact that WADA has a Whistleblower Program (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. Awareness of the WADA Whistleblower Program
When considering the ideal avenues for reporting doping, Figure 8 illustrates that both coaches and athletes suggested ‘an anonymous Report Doping Hotline’ would be the preferred option. Next, an ‘online portal’ was desired by coaches and athletes, followed by ‘calling a personal number’ for both groups. Only a limited number of coaches and athletes suggested that they would prefer not to report doping in sport.

Figure 8. Preferred avenues for reporting doping
In relation to what report doping provisions would be helpful for encouraging the behavior, Figure 9 underlines a desire for multiple reporting channels. The majority of coaches indicated ‘multiple channels for reporting’, followed closely by ‘a step by step guide’ and ‘protection from retaliation’. For athletes, ‘protection from retaliation’ was considered most important, followed closely by ‘a step by step guide’ and then ‘multiple channels for reporting’. ‘An experienced whistleblower to talk to’ was viewed as the least valuable provision by both groups.

Figure 9. Provisions that should be available for reporting doping in sport
Proposed responses to hypothetical doping-related situations

Coaches and athletes were presented with scenarios and asked to indicate how they would respond based on particular prompts and using a Likert-style scale of agreement ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The data has been collapsed to agree/strongly. The first scenario referred to an athlete while the second considered a coach.

Scenario 1

You are away on a training camp and you walk in on someone injecting a substance into their body. The athlete does not see you and would have no knowledge of you being in the room. When they leave the room you take a look in their unzipped kit bag. There you find an empty vial of a banned substance. You have previously competed against this athlete and their recent results have led you to question if they are using banned substances. In addition, others have also shared their concerns with you about this athlete.

Based on Scenario 1, Figure 10 shows that if the athlete was someone whom the participant knew well, only a few coaches (9%; n = 9) and athletes (6%; n = 11) would ‘prefer not to report’. Instead, coaches indicated that they were equally likely to report the behavior to their National Anti-Doping Agency (NADA – 82%; n = 89) and National Governing Body (NGB – 82%; n = 89). Coaches indicated that WADA was their third option (58%; n = 61). For athletes, NADA (83%; n = 147) was most likely, then NGB (76%; n = 138), followed by WADA (68%; n = 122). The option of reporting to ‘an independent journalist or media’ was the least likely response for both coaches (5%; n = 5) and athletes (10%; n = 17). Athletes are noticeably more than twice as likely to turn to peers in sport (34%; n = 62) and out of sport (30%; n = 54) compared to coaches (In sport: 15%, n = 15; Out of Sport: 12%, n = 12) in this instance.
Figure 10. Organizations that participants were most likely to whistleblow to if it was an athlete they knew well.
Notably, Figure 11 demonstrates that if the athlete in Scenario 1 was someone the participant did not know well, the organizations that coaches would be most likely to report to remain the same, but the percentage of coaches who would engage with the behavior increased slightly for each of the three categories. The percentage of athletes who would report to each of the three organizations increased in two instances (NADA and WADA) and remained the same for one (NGB). Again, athletes are more than twice as likely to turn to peers in sport (42%; $n = 76$, 8% increase) than coaches (17%; $n = 17$, 2% increase) in this instance and to peers out of sport (Athlete: 33%, $n = 59$, 3% increase; Coach: 12%, $n = 12$, no change). The percentage of athletes who would turn to both groups increased in comparison to when they knew the athlete well.

Figure 11. Organizations that participants would report to if it was an athlete they did not know well
Scenario 2
You are in your hotel room during an international competition and your roommate confesses to you that earlier that day their coach provided them with a banned substance, in the form of pills. They show you the full package and confirm that they have not actually consumed any of the pills and do not intend to do so.

Figure 12 demonstrates that if the coach in Scenario 2 was someone participants knew well, coaches and athletes were most likely to report to the NGB, then NADA, followed by WADA. It is interesting to note the difference between coaches’ (20%; n = 19) and athletes’ (47%; n = 82) likelihood to report to ‘peers in sport’ and ‘peers out of sport’ (Coach: 9%; n = 9, Athlete: 33%; n = 57). It seems peers are more likely to be used as a reference point by athletes compared to coaches in the instance of reporting a coach as well as an athlete (Scenario 1).

Figure 12. Organizations participants would report to if it was a coach they knew well
Considering Scenario 2, Figure 13 illustrates that if participants did not know the coach well, the organizations who coaches were most likely to report to remain the same, however, the percentage of coaches who would report to each increased slightly. Once again, there was noticeable difference in the likelihood to report to ‘peers in sport’ (Coach: 21%, n = 20, 1% increase; Athlete: 50%, n = 89, 3% increase) and ‘peers out of sport’ (Coach: 8%, n = 8, 1% decrease; Athlete: 33%, n = 57, no change) across the two groups, with athletes more than twice as likely than coaches to do both.

Figure 13. Organizations participants would report to if it was a coach they did not know well
Determinants of whistleblowing

Knowledge

Figure 14 illustrates coaches’ and athletes’ perceived whistleblowing knowledge, with coaches reporting greater perceived knowledge across each of the factors explored. More than half of coaches (61%; n = 73) reported knowing what information is required to report doping in sport while only 35% of athletes (n = 74) agreed. Roughly three-quarters of coaches (76%; n = 91) and athletes (71%; n = 148) indicated that they know what their responsibilities are in relation to reporting doping. Around two thirds of coaches (67%; n = 80) and half of athletes (53%; n = 111) reported knowing how to report doping in sport. Finally, less than half of the coaches (39%; n = 46) and athletes (34%; n = 71) reported awareness of the safeguards that are in place for those who report doping.

Figure 14. Whistleblowing knowledge
Skills

Figure 15 demonstrates participants’ perceived skills related to reporting doping. Approximately two thirds of coaches (69%; n = 83) and athletes (63%; n = 131) reported being able to follow current policies and procedures for reporting doping, while over three-quarters of coaches (77%; n = 92) and athletes (81%; n = 168) indicated being able to access a report doping platform. A larger percentage of coaches (65%; n = 77) reported feeling skilled at instructing peers on how to report doping than athletes (46%; n = 95).

Figure 15. Whistleblowing skills
Social/professional role

In considering how their social/professional roles related to the issue of reporting doping, the majority of coaches (96%; n = 115) and athletes (90%; n = 188) indicated that reporting doping is consistent with their personal beliefs. Similarly, coaches (93%; n = 111) and athletes (83%; n = 168) largely felt that reporting doping was their responsibility. Finally, coaches (93%; n = 119) and athletes (87%; n = 181) predominantly felt that reporting doping was important for their personal integrity.

Figure 16. Whistleblowing related to social/professional role
Beliefs about capabilities

As Figure 17 illustrates, individuals felt capable of reporting doping in a range of circumstances, but coaches generally felt more capable than athletes. Over three-quarters of coaches (94%; n = 111) and athletes (79%; n = 165) felt confident that they could report doping even if their sport was not encouraging it. Furthermore, coaches (92%; n = 119) and athletes (85%; n = 176) generally felt they could report doping even if others were not willing to. The majority of coaches (88%; n = 105) and athletes (81%; n = 168) felt they could report doping even if the person encouraging the behavior was someone they knew well. Finally, most coaches (86%; n = 102) and athletes (75%; n = 156) felt they could report doping even if the person engaging in the behavior was someone they knew well.

Figure 17. Whistleblowing beliefs about capabilities
Optimism

Coaches and athletes demonstrated similar levels of optimism in relation to reporting doping in sport, as highlighted by Figure 18. The majority of coaches (93%; n = 111) and athletes (89%; n = 180) expected that they would be helping protect the rights of athletes to compete in doping-free sport by reporting. Roughly three-quarters of coaches (73%; n = 87) and athletes (75%; n = 156) expected that a thorough investigation would be conducted following a report. In contrast, only 13% of coaches (n = 16) and 18% of athletes (n = 37) expected that nothing would be done if they reported. Nearly three-quarters of coaches (72%; n = 83) and over half of athletes (60%; n = 124) expected that sanctions would be imposed as a result of reporting doping.

Figure 18. Whistleblowing optimism
**Beliefs about consequences**

In general, a minority of participants believed there would be negative consequences for reporting doping (see Figure 19). The possibility of being negatively labelled for reporting doping was the greatest concern for coaches (24%; n = 28) and athletes (22%; n = 46); followed by concern from coaches (20%; n = 23) and athletes (18%; n = 37) that they would damage their relationships in sport by reporting doping, but they were less concerned about it damaging relationships outside of sport (Coach: 5%, n = 6; Athlete: 5%, n = 10). There was also limited concern regarding harming the reputation of their sport by reporting (Coach: 11%, n = 13; Athlete: 16%, n = 33). Beyond this, a small percentage of coaches (12%; n = 14) and athletes (8%; n =17) were concerned that reporting doping could damage their future financial earnings or jeopardize their future careers in sport (Coach: 13%, n = 15; Athlete: 9%, n =18).

![Figure 19. Whistleblowing beliefs about consequences](image)

*Note on Figure 19: The chart illustrates the percentage of participants who agree with the statements regarding potential consequences of reporting doping.*
When considering factors that might increase their likelihood to report doping, more than half of coaches (54%; n = 64) and three-quarters of athletes (77%; n = 157) indicated that they wanted assurance their identity would be protected. Significantly less emphasized than protecting identity, coaches (17%; n = 20) and athletes (29%; n = 61) alike next indicated that their likelihood to report doping would increase if they knew they would receive a penalty (e.g., ADRV) for not reporting doping. The potential to be celebrated and thanked for reporting doping was the third most common factor desired for both coaches (10%; n = 12) and athletes (22%; n = 46). Meanwhile, the desire to receive a financial reward for reporting doping was least desirable for both groups (Coach: 5%, n = 6; Athlete: 20%, n = 41).

Figure 20. Whistleblowing reinforcement
Intentions

As Figure 21 illustrates, the majority of coaches (95%; n = 113) and athletes (84%; n = 168) indicated a strong intention to report doping if they became aware of the behavior. A large percentage of coaches (90%; n = 107) and athletes (83%; n = 166) would definitely report doping in sport if they had evidence that it was happening by an athlete in their training group/team. In comparison, a slightly smaller percentage of coaches (87%; n = 103) and slightly larger percentage of athletes (85%; n = 169) stated that they would definitely report doping if they had evidence of it by an athlete outside their training group/team. Notably, most coaches (87%; n = 103) and athletes (79%; n = 162) indicated that they would definitely report doping if they confronted the doper and the individual did not stop their behavior. Nonetheless, the majority of coaches (80%; n = 93) and athletes (69%; n = 140) also indicated a strong intention to report doping even if it was a ‘one-off’ incident.

Figure 21. Whistleblowing intentions
**Decision processes**

Coaches and athletes presented a range of reactions in relation to what factors would influence their choice to whistleblow (see Figure 22). The top concern for coaches was the health of the doping athlete (64%; n = 76) while athletes (65%; n = 132) were most concerned about the possibility that they might be jumping to conclusions. Next, athletes (51%; n = 102) were concerned about the doper’s health and coaches (59%; n = 69) expressed concern that they might be jumping to conclusions. Third, both coaches (42%; n = 49) and athletes (49%; n = 98) were concerned about the negative impact that the doping athlete could have on other athletes’ careers. The least influential factors on participants’ decision to report doping were concern for the negative impact that the doping athlete could have on their own athletic/coaching career (Coach: 11%, n = 13; Athlete: 34%, n = 67), concern for the negative impact that reporting doping could have on the doper’s athletic career (Coach: 13%, n = 15; Athlete: 19%, n = 38), and the doper’s country of origin (Coach: 5%, n = 6; Athlete: 13%, n = 26).

![Figure 22. Whistleblowing decision process](image-url)
Environmental context and resources

As Figure 23 demonstrates, coaches (76%; n = 118) were slightly more aware of available whistleblowing channels compared to athletes (65%; n = 131) and a slightly larger percentage of coaches (45%; n = 52) than athletes (38%; n = 76) felt their sport actively encourages them to report doping. However, less than half of the coaches and athletes are being actively encouraged by their sport to report doping. Furthermore, less than a quarter of coaches (23%; n = 27) and athletes (19%; n = 37) felt that the public reaction to individuals who have reported doping in sport encouraged them to report doping. In comparison, just over a quarter of coaches (27%; n = 31) and athletes (29%; n = 58) felt the reaction in sport to individuals who have reported doping encourages them to report doping.

Figure 23. Whistleblowing environmental context and factors
Social influences

When considering social influences on reporting doping in sport (see Figure 24), it is encouraging to note that very few coaches (8%; n = 9) or athletes (5%; n = 10) felt that people who were important to them would distance themselves if they reported doping in sport, although as slightly larger percentage of athletes (9%; n = 17) indicated they ‘didn’t know’ if people would distance themselves. Additionally, more than three-quarters of coaches (86%; n = 118) and athletes (81%; n = 163) felt that people who were important to them would advise/encourage them to report doping in sport. Indeed, the majority of coaches (90%; n = 106) and athletes (92%; n = 186) felt that people close to them would support their decision to report doping in sport and just under three-quarters of coaches (73%; n = 85) and athletes (73%; n = 149) felt people important to them would disapprove if they did not report doping.

Figure 24. Whistleblowing social influences
Emotion

Coaches and athletes exhibited similar emotions related to reporting doping (see Figure 25). Considering emotions that might enable reporting doping, the majority of coaches (91%; n = 107) and athletes (84%; n = 170) agreed that they would regret not reporting doping. Meanwhile, nearly half of coaches (46%; n = 54) and over half of athletes (55%; n = 113) indicated that they would feel proud of reporting doping in sport. Considering emotions that might act as a barrier to reporting, nearly half of coaches (45%; n = 53) and athletes (42%; n = 85) agreed that they would feel anxious if they reported doping in sport. Yet, very few coaches or athletes anticipated feeling other negative emotions such as fear (Coaches: 11%, n = 13; Athletes: 21%, n = 42) and guilt (Coaches: 10%, n = 12; Athletes: 14%, n = 28) if they reported doping in sport.
Summary

Currently, little is known about the barriers and enablers to athletes and coaches reporting doping in sport. To advance understanding, we applied a theoretical lens derived from the Capability, Opportunity, Motivation – Behavior (COM-B) model and the Theoretical Domains Framework (TDF) to design the Behavioral Determinants of Reporting Doping in Sport Questionnaire (BDRDSQ) which was completed by 301 athletes and 139 coaches from the UK and US. The survey highlighted that athletes and coaches were motivated to act on wrongdoing and report doping in sport due to concerns for athlete health and other athletes’ career prospects. Also, they perceived those important to them would support their decision to report but they were not actively encouraged to report doping by their sport and they lacked capability to report. These overarching findings are summarized in Figure 26.

Figure 26. Coaches’ and athletes’ capability, opportunity and motivation to whistleblow

- **Capability**
  - Less than half of coaches and athletes are aware of WADA whistleblowing program
  - Coaches and athletes are largely unaware of existing safeguards for whistleblowers
  - Majority of coaches and athletes feel capable of whistleblowing
  - Less than half of athletes feel they can instruct peers on how to whistleblow

- **Opportunity**
  - Less than half of coaches and athletes feel their sport actively encourages whistleblowing
  - Reaction of individuals in and out of sport towards whistleblowers generally discourages whistleblowing
  - Athletes and coaches generally feel that people around them (in & out of sport) would encourage and support whistleblowing
  - Athletes likely to seek advice from peers regarding whether or not to whistleblow
  - Majority feel whistleblowing will be effective

- **Motivation**
  - Majority of coaches and athletes feel whistleblowing is part of their role in sport
  - Generally do not feel there will be significant consequences for whistleblowing
  - Most intend to whistleblow on doping
  - Concern for the health of athlete who doped is a particular concern/motivation for whistleblowing
  - Majority would regret not reporting doping
  - Most would feel proud for whistleblowing on doping

Figure 26. Coaches’ and athletes’ capability, opportunity and motivation to whistleblow
Phase 5: Synthesis and actions

September 2018-February 2019

Whistleblowing policies and practice should be informed by barriers and enablers to whistleblowing in order to be effective (Rennie & Crosby, 2002). Thus, the final stage of this research process involved synthesizing the data collected throughout each phase of this program of research to provide evidence-based recommendations for promoting and facilitating whistleblowing on doping in sport.
Synthesizing the findings of this program of research

Drawing upon behavioral science, three conditions have to be met for whistleblowing on doping in sport to occur; people must have the 1) capability to whistleblow, 2) opportunity to whistleblow and 3) motivation to do so (Michie et al., 2011). For the first time, this five-phase program of research has richly illustrated the complex interplay of the environmental resources available to athletes and coaches to report doping in sport through an audit of whistleblowing frameworks in the financial services (Phase 1) and existing whistleblowing platforms in sport (Phase 2), combined with an in-depth appraisal of the capabilities, opportunities, and motivation of athletes and coaches to report doping in sport via interviews with coaches, athletes and whistleblowers (Phase 3) and a whistleblowing survey (Phase 4). Phases 1-4 have been synthesized (Table 6) to establish evidence-based actions for WADA to implement to enable speaking up to protect the rights of athletes to clean sport (Phase 5). In brief, we need to target multiple levels of behavioral influences to increase the likelihood of whistleblowing to occur (Figure 27). Whistleblowing is a serious business and it needs to be treated as such.
Coaches and athletes generally feel it is their responsibility to report doping in sport. Coaches and athletes generally intend to whistleblow on doping. Generally do not feel encouraged to whistleblow by their sport. Not sure which sport organizations(s) are trustworthy. Unclear whether doping tips are acted upon. More likely to report if they knew identity would be protected. Anxiety associated with whistleblowing. Hesitant towards taking responsibility for ending an athlete’s career. Becoming aware of doping is emotionally draining regardless of whether or not one chooses to report.

Lack of awareness for whistleblowing safeguards. Lack of understanding regarding what information should be reported. Majority not aware of WADA Whistleblower Program. Uncertain about what whistleblowing actually involves/requires. Concerned about jumping to conclusions when doping has not actually occurred. Uncertainty regarding which organization(s) should be reported to on which occasions. Not aware of positive whistleblowing stories.

Generally do not feel encouraged to whistleblow by their sport. Unaware of individuals who have whistleblowed. Reaction to whistleblowers in and out of sport is generally discouraging. Concern for negative impact of whistleblowing on professional career. Concerned about financial implications of whistleblowing. Lack of awareness for whistleblowing safeguards. Lack of understanding regarding what information should be reported. Majority not aware of WADA Whistleblower Program. Uncertain about what whistleblowing actually involves/requires. Concerned about jumping to conclusions when doping has not actually occurred. Uncertainty regarding which organization(s) should be reported to on which occasions. Not aware of positive whistleblowing stories.

Figure 27. Barriers and enablers to whistleblowing on doping in sport.
### Table 6. Evidence-based actions to enable whistleblowing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Seeking to provide or increase knowledge on the whistleblowing process and specify what information can/should be reported</td>
<td>Provide whistleblowing educational material through workshops, lectures, online or written materials to every stakeholder in sport; collect, analyze, and disseminate lessons learned from process of whistleblowing and feedback into the education program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persuasion</td>
<td>Seeking to induce positive or negative feelings that impact on behavior</td>
<td>Engage credible sources (e.g., sports leaders, high profile athletes, whistleblowers) to emphasize the importance of speaking up; Promote &quot;successful&quot; whistleblowing stories (Protecting sport)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incentivization</td>
<td>Providing positive reinforcement to change behavior</td>
<td>Celebrate the actions of those that have spoken up about wrongdoing; celebrate affirmative statements of commitment to speaking up – “I will protect my sport by speaking up against wrongdoing”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coercion</td>
<td>Providing negative reinforcement or punishment to enable whistleblowing</td>
<td>Require those who cover up doping to pay a fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td>Training athletes and ASP to develop the skills necessary to speak up about doping in sport</td>
<td>Show athletes and ASP how to report doping in sport; produce a step-by-step whistleblowing guide; specify how and to whom individuals should whistleblow at major events; introduce appropriate training at all levels on the whistleblowing arrangements and legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restriction</td>
<td>Using rules to increase whistleblowing on doping in sport</td>
<td>Enforce prohibited association and complicity ADRV; remove requirement for signed declaration as this can be offputting for the whistleblower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental restructuring</td>
<td>Intervening in the social or physical context to increase reporting on doping in sport</td>
<td>Provide professional support for whistleblowers; appoint independent whistleblowing advocates; acknowledge receipt of doping intelligence; publish whistleblowing statistics in an annual publicly available report (no. of concerns raised, investigated, hearings, ADRV, sanctions); carefully consider use of labels such as “whistleblower”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modelling</td>
<td>Providing an example of someone who has spoken up and led to action leading to change</td>
<td>Promote &quot;successful&quot; whistleblowing stories; invite whistleblowers to share their experiences; create an open and accountable culture with those at the top taking a lead on the whistleblowing policy to show that concerns will be taken seriously; support leaders to initiate speak up conversations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enablement</td>
<td>Reducing barriers and providing support for whistleblowing</td>
<td>Provide multiple whistleblowing channels to report doping in sport; integrate skills training on speaking up into education programs; designate a specific person to receive whistleblowing tips; enable sport to see the results of cases investigated; make reporting process as easy as possible; establish regular and standardized way of surveying people who have blown the whistle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policies</td>
<td>Communication and marketing</td>
<td>Using media to promote whistleblowing on doping in sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidelines</td>
<td>Develop whistleblowing guidance</td>
<td>Provide guidelines outlining the steps involved in the process of whistleblowing (both reporting and the reaction from the receiving organization) and the protections afforded to the whistleblower; Issue guidance to WADA Code signatories that all their contracts of employment should cover staff whistleblowing rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislation</td>
<td>Legislating to protect whistleblowers</td>
<td>Put legislation in place and associated procedures to protect whistleblowers from retaliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service provision</td>
<td>Providing a service that promotes whistleblowing</td>
<td>Provide dedicated (and preferably independent) whistleblowing team (e.g., Whistleblower Triage Center); provide professional support (e.g., counselling) for whistleblowers; provide legal and financial support for whistleblowers; provide mandatory whistleblowing education via the international standard for education; regularly assess the overall effectiveness of the whistleblowing framework</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Michie et al. (2011)
Table 7. Evidence-based recommendations for WADA's Whistleblower Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Where WADA Program aligns</th>
<th>Recommendations for closer alignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Education** | Provide whistleblowing educational material through workshops, lectures, online or written materials to every stakeholder in sport; collect, analyze, and disseminate lessons learned from process of whistleblowing and feedback into the education program | - The process is clearly outlined  
- Definitions for key terms are provided  
- Rights & responsibilities of relevant parties are outlined  
- Disseminate the Program to the global sporting audience through strategic education sessions  
- Include whistleblowing component in International Standard for Education guidelines  
- Consult with whistleblowers to garner insights into their experiences with the Program |
| Persuasion | Engage credible sources (e.g., sports leaders, high profile athletes, whistleblowers) to emphasize the importance of speaking up; Promote "successful" whistleblowing stories (Protecting sport) | - Language used in opening letter seeks to evoke emotional response  
- Encourage NADOs to denote ADRVs that result from tips  
- Promote “success” stories  
- Provide platform for individuals to share their experiences of reporting doping |
| Incentivization | Celebrate the actions of those that have spoken up about wrongdoing; celebrate affirmative statements of commitment to speaking up – “I will protect my sport by speaking up against wrongdoing” | - Reference to substantial assistance  
- Reference to financial rewards  
- Launch social media campaign with individuals pledging to report  
- Celebrate those who have spoken up |
| Coercion | Require those who cover up doping to pay a fine | Not currently addressed.  
- Reference ADRVs 2.9 & 2.10  
- Additional ADRVs in 2021 Code will help address this |
| Training | Show athletes and ASP how to report doping in sport; produce a step-by-step whistleblowing guide; specify how and to whom individuals should whistleblow at major events; introduce appropriate training at all levels on the whistleblowing arrangements and legislation | Not currently addressed.  
- Engage social media channels to promote how/where/when to whistleblow  
- Include whistleblowing training in mandatory anti-doping education  
- Specify when reports should be made to WADA versus NADO, IF, NGB |
| Restriction | Enforce prohibited association and complicity ADRVs; remove requirement for signed declaration as this can be offputting for the whistleblower | Not currently addressed.  
- Reference ADRVs 2.9 & 2.10  
- Additional ADRVs in 2021 Code will help address this |
| Environmental restructuring | Provide professional support for whistleblowers; appoint independent whistleblowing advocates; acknowledge receipt of doping intelligence; publish whistleblowing statistics in an annual publicly available report (no. of concerns raised, investigated, hearings, ADRVs, sanctions); carefully consider use of labels such as “whistleblower” | - Independent nature of the investigations unit outlined  
- Acknowledge receipt of intelligence  
- Secure IT platforms utilized  
- Provide psychological support to whistleblowers  
- Publish statistics on reports received, outcomes taken, etc. & disseminate via social media |
| Modelling | Promote "successful" whistleblowing stories; invite whistleblowers to share their experiences; create an open and accountable culture with those at the top taking a lead on the whistleblowing policy to show that concerns will | - Provide consolidated account of nature of disclosures  
- When/where is this disclosure occurring? Utilize social media channels  
- Promote “successful" whistleblowing stories  
- Invite whistleblowers to share their experiences |
| Enablement | Provide multiple whistleblowing channels to report doping in sport; integrate skills training on speaking up into education programs; designate a specific person to receive whistleblowing tips; enable sport to see the results of cases investigated; make reporting process as easy as possible; establish regular and standardized way of surveying people who have blown the whistle | - Multiple whistleblowing channels provided | - Include whistleblowing training in standard anti-doping education - Regularly publish and promote whistleblowing statistics - Provide infographics of whistleblowing process - Survey whistleblowers’ experiences - Make investigation team visible online |
| Communication and marketing | Conduct a mass media campaign to raise awareness of importance of speaking up to all relevant organizations; reassure potential whistleblowers by publishing the number and type of cases that have been received, and also the results; promote a positive message about whistleblowing | - Provide consolidated account of nature of disclosures | - Utilize social media channels to promote whistleblowing statistics, success stories, importance of whistleblowing - Provide social media messaging to WADA signatories for unified message - Develop a global campaign targeting speaking up on doping in sport |
| Guidelines | Provide guidelines outlining the steps involved in the process of whistleblowing (both reporting and the reaction from the receiving organization) and the protections afforded to the whistleblower; Issue guidance to WADA Code signatories that all their contracts of employment should cover staff whistleblowing rights | - Policy clearly outlines the guidelines for whistleblowing | - Ensure that the guidelines are being disseminated throughout the anti-doping community |
| Legislation | Put legislation in place and associated procedures to protect whistleblowers from retaliation | - Protection for whistleblowers outlined | - Consider & acknowledge how this might be impacted by whistleblower’s particular national context |
| Service provision | Provide dedicated (and preferably independent) whistleblowing team (e.g., Whistleblower Triage Center); provide professional support (e.g., counselling) for whistleblowers; provide legal and financial support for whistleblowers; provide mandatory whistleblowing education via the international standard for education; regularly assess the overall effectiveness of the whistleblowing framework | - Investigation team is independent - Potential for legal and financial support acknowledged - Acknowledge need to regular review of Program | - Require whistleblowing education component within International Standard for Education - Provide independent counselling support for whistleblowing - Publicize members of investigation team |
Conclusion

Each time an athlete or ASP is deterred from speaking up, an opportunity to protect the rights of athletes and the wider community for clean sport is missed. Whistleblowing plays an important role in raising issues and holding organizations to account across many sectors of life, such as the financial service, aviation and healthcare industries. Yet, all too often individuals raising concerns feel that they are not taken seriously, and those who blow the whistle (which could be reframed to those who protect their sport) can feel isolated and undermined. This five-phase program of research has captured the views of coaches and athletes in relation to whistleblowing on doping and detailed their capabilities, opportunities and motivation towards engaging with this important behavior. In turn, these factors have informed the development of a clear set of evidence-based actions for WADA to implement in order to enable whistleblowing on doping and establish a culture that embraces and celebrates those who have the courage to speak up on wrongdoing in sport.

In the context of doping in sport, silence or voice is not a binary choice but more of a spectrum. Reporting doping is also about more than just individuals: it is collective and cultural. Having a culture where people feel able to speak up and have confidence that their concerns will be listened to - and acted upon - is arguably the most important element of whistleblowing policy and practice. The tone and examples set by those at the top of all relevant sporting organizations drive the culture and influence the thoughts, feelings and behaviors of those within it. It is therefore vital that every individual in sport is equipped with the capability to whistleblow, provided with the opportunities to do so, and motivated to speak up. Thus, the research emphasizes the need for targeted education, environmental restructuring and enablement in this domain. It is only through the collective effort of every person involved in sport that the potential for whistleblowing to serve as an effective means for exposing and deterring doping can be realized. This is triggered by a learning culture, rather than a compliance culture driven by regulatory processes. The willingness of one athlete or coach to take responsibility for raising concerns about the conduct, performance or health of another could make a greater potential contribution to sporting integrity than any other single factor in the anti-doping system.
References


114


List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Sports represented across the athlete sample
Appendix 2: Sports represented across the coach sample
Appendix 3: Phase 3, Stage 1 Methods
Appendix 4: Whistleblowing story publication
Appendix 5: Whistleblowing determinants survey
Appendix 6: Phase 4 Methods
Appendix 1
Sports represented across athlete sample (N = 291)
Appendix 2
Sports represented across coach sample (N = 138)
Appendix 3
Phase 3: Stage 1 Methods

Methods and methodology

Philosophical underpinnings
Working within the interpretive paradigm, we adopted relativist ontology (reality is socially and experientially shaped) and transactional/subjectivist epistemology (the investigator and investigated are linked through interactions and the findings are formed as the investigation unfolds). Methodology is hermeneutical and dialectical whereby constructions can only be elicited and refined through interactions between the investigator and investigated.

Participants and procedures
A combination of convenience and snowball sampling were utilized to identify and recruit in individuals who: (a) coached or competed in international competition, (b) represented the US or UK and (c) were aged 18 and over. This particular population was included based on four main factors. First, interest in the potential role of the coach in establishing strong anti-doping attitudes amongst athletes has escalated (Mazanov, Backhouse, Connor, Hemphill, & Quirk, 2014; Patterson, Duffy, & Backhouse, 2014) and coaches are now considered an important target group for anti-doping efforts. Illustrating this, the Code (Article 2.10; WADA, 2015) now restricts athletes from engaging with sanctioned coaches and support personnel. Meanwhile, research of this population is still underrepresented (Backhouse, Whitaker, Patterson, Erickson & McKenna, 2015). Second, international level coaches and athletes represent the population that will be most directly (and immediately) impacted by a doping whistleblowing policy. Exemplifying this, public cases of whistleblowing on doping are currently limited to elite level competition (e.g., the Stepanovs regarding systematic doping in Russian Athletics, Renee Anne Shirley regarding the lack of testing in Jamaican Athletics). Third, our research team consists of individuals residing and working in both the US and UK; thus, providing personal networks that expand across both nations. In turn, affording insider access to national anti-doping agencies, coaches, and athletes in both countries. Fourth, all sports will be targeted based on the fact that: (a) doping behaviors are not isolated to specific sports (Petroczi & Aidman, 2008), (b) all athletes and coaches have a role to play in deterring doping in sport (WADA, 2015), and (c) athletes and coaches from all sports will be impacted by the implementation of a doping whistleblowing policy (WADA, 2015) and benefit from whistleblowing resources.

In total, 10 coaches and 17 athletes agreed to participate: 5 coaches (80% male) and 9 athletes (33% male) from the US and 5 coaches (100% male) and 8 athletes (25% male) from the UK. Coaches ranged in age from 33 to 68 years old (M age = 53 years) and athletes ranged in age from 18 to 45 years of age (M age = 31 years). Participants various sports, including: track and field, rowing, triathlon, cricket, sliding sports and weightlifting (see Table 1 and 2).

Data Collection
To achieve detailed and multi-layered responses (Smith et al., 2010), interviews followed a semi-structured design and investigated participants’ perceptions of whistleblowing (e.g., awareness, opinions, experiences/knowledge of existing resources/processes). Given the sensitive nature of doping and whistleblowing, interviews commenced with questions regarding whistleblowing on wrongdoing in general in an attempt to gain participants’ confidence (e.g., do you feel you are encouraged to speak up on wrongdoing in your sport?). Next, anti-doping attitudes were considered (e.g., how you feel about doping in sport?), followed by considering previous experiences (e.g., have you ever observed/suspected doping behavior in sport?). We then explored whistleblowing intentions (e.g., if you knew a teammate/competitor was doping, would you report them?) and determinants (e.g., in deciding how to address this situation, which factors do you think would be important to you?). Whistleblowing social norms were then considered (e.g., describe for me how you think people around you would respond if they knew that you reported doping behavior?). Finally, awareness of existing whistleblowing procedures and policy were explored (e.g., if you were to report doping behavior, how/to whom would you prefer to report it?). We adopted the approach of Erickson and colleagues (2017) by using the term ‘report’ throughout the interviews rather than ‘blow the whistle’ due to the negative connotations commonly associated with the latter terminology. Once the interview guide was developed it was reviewed by researchers experienced in qualitative research.
The lead author conducted all of the interviews, which were scheduled after participants had been provided with information about the project and personal consent forms were received. Ethical approval was provided by the host institution. The majority of Interviews (n = 17) were conducted individually, face-to-face, and in a location of convenience for the participant. When face-to-face interviews were not possible, computer-mediated interviews (Sparkes & Smith, 2014) were conducted over Skype video call (n = 10). Interviews with coaches ranged from 58 minutes to nearly an hour and a half (M = 1 hour 9 minutes) while athlete interviews ranged from 33 minutes to 1 hour and 12 minutes (M = 57 minutes). All interviews were audio-recorded as agreed by participants.

Data analysis and interpretation

Whistleblowing research has generally relied upon survey methodologies (Richardson & McGlynn, 2011), but traditional quantitative methods are rarely able to portray the meanings and emotions behind findings (Stride et al., 2017) which is problematic in whistleblowing literature given the complexity of the issue. Conversely, in-depth interviews have the potential to provide valuable insights related to individuals’ whistleblowing attitudes and behaviors (Winneker, 2016). It is for this reason, and informed by our philosophical underpinnings and desire to illicit participants’ views and attitudes towards whistleblowing, that we adopted a narrative research approach. Stories are a key feature of narrative inquiry and it is through the continuous process of storytelling that individuals begin to make sense of themselves (Stride et al., 2017). Indeed, narrative research focuses on stories and takes the story itself as the object of enquiry (Phoenix et al., 2010), seeking to interpret the ways that individuals perceive reality and make sense of their worlds.

Informed by our narrative approach, an inductive-deductive (‘hybrid’; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) thematic analysis approach was employed (Braun & Clarke, 2012) to all interviews. Although the interviews covered different populations (coaches / athletes, US / UK) they were treated as one dataset due to the dearth of existing research in this area. Once a larger dataset is established in this context we intend to do cross-cultural and status (coach versus athlete) comparisons in relation to whistleblowing views and attitudes. Accordingly, the first step in this analysis involved transcribing the interviews verbatim. This process was completed by the Principle Investigator (PI) and a team of research assistants. Following this, the PI read and re-read the transcripts multiple times to familiarize herself with the data. Next, initial codes were created and these were manually sorted into themes. A detailed analysis of each unique theme was then conducted to ensure adequate narrative support. The themes were then shared with the wider research team to establish a group consensus. Next, the themes were compared against existing research to determine what information was already available in the existing whistleblowing literature. This process helped reduce the dataset and narrow in on the unique contribution that our research could make. The final results section was developed with a view to (a) substantiate existing literature (if/where relevant) and (b) extend existing literature by identifying opportunities for increasing whistleblowing on doping.
Appendix 4
Whistleblower story publication
“The process isn’t a case of report it and stop”: Athletes’ lived experience of whistleblowing on doping in sport

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**ABSTRACT**
Whistleblowing is effective for exposing doping in sport, garnering increased support and promotion within the global anti-doping community. However, limited attention has been afforded towards understanding the doping whistleblowing process. In response, the authors convey a sense of the whistleblowing context by using the actual words of whistleblowers to illuminate their experience. To achieve this aim, the authors have adopted a narrative approach. Three doping whistleblowers were interviewed regarding their lived experiences of whistleblowing on doping and the data has been represented in the form of one composite creative non-fiction story. The story narrates the whistleblowing experience as a process whereby individuals must (a) determine what they witnessed and experienced was doping, (b) make the decision and take action to report it, and (c) deal with the myriad of consequences and emotions. It also highlights the dilemma faced by whistleblowers who are likely equally compelled to adhere to the moral of loyalty and fairness; yet in this context they are unable to do both. Stemming from the story presented and the forms of retribution experienced, the authors offer practical suggestions for sporting organisations to address in order to empower others to whistleblow on doping in sport. Specifically, organisations should establish and implement whistleblowing policies that: (a) provide protection for whistleblowers, (b) mandate whistleblowing education, and (c) identify an independent person for individuals to seek guidance and support from before, during and following the act of whistleblowing.

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1. Introduction

For decades the concept of whistleblowing has been widely researched within the public sectors and is commonly defined as “... the disclosure by organisation members (former or current) of illegal, immoral, or illegitimate practices under the control of their employers, to persons or organisations that may be able to affect action” (Near & Miceli, 1985, p. 4). Individuals are confronted with a serious dilemma when deciding what to do in possible whistleblowing situations. According to Uys and Senekal (2008), one must choose between adhering to the morality of loyalty (an obligation to people, organisations or groups within a particular context) versus the morality of principle (individuals should adhere to certain abstract principles irrespective of those involved in the situation). More recently, this dilemma has been referred to as the fairness-loyalty tradeoff (see Waytz, Dungan, & Young, 2013). Fairness and loyalty are considered basic moral values but they

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conflict at times, including in potential whistleblowing situations. Norms of fairness demand that all people and groups be treated equally. Meanwhile, norms of loyalty dictate that one should favour their own group over other groups. The former requires that people report and punish wrongdoing, while the latter indicates that reporting another person to a third party constitutes an act of betrayal. Thus, there is justification and rationale for blowing the whistle and staying quiet (i.e., protecting the individual and the group), but only one can ultimately be safeguarded.

Following high profile cases of whistleblowing in sport (e.g., Yuliya and Vitaly Stepanov regarding Russian Athletics), the concept of reporting wrongdoing has garnered increasing interest from researchers (Erickson, Backhouse, & Carless, 2017; Whitaker, Backhouse, & Long, 2014), the media and anti-doping organisations worldwide. Despite the increased emphasis and reliance upon intelligence-driven deterrence over the traditional detection-deterrence approach (i.e., drug testing), research on doping whistleblowing has not kept pace with the developments in anti-doping policy and practice. Few researchers have considered the issue (see Erickson et al., 2017; Whitaker et al., 2014), and insights from individuals who have actually blown the whistle on doping are unavailable. This lack of understanding, alongside growing recognition for the limitations to the detection-deterrence approach (e.g., drug tests will never be able to detect all substances) inspired the present research. Specifically, we aimed to increase understanding of whistleblowing behaviour by engaging with those who have direct experience of living through the process. In doing so, there is an opportunity to design and implement evidence-based whistleblowing policies which, in turn, have the potential to: (a) reduce the negative stigma commonly attached to the label ‘whistleblower’ (e.g., snitch, tattletale), (b) deter athletes who may be considering doping from doing so as they will no longer feel confident that their behaviour will be kept secret and (c) create an open and transparent environment (Winneker, 2016). Additionally, it ensures that individual whistleblowers receive a certain level of care.

The content of a whistleblowing policy has a direct influence on its effectiveness (Lewis, 2002). In order to implement a bespoke doping whistleblowing policy it is necessary to understand the doping whistleblowing experience. Collecting and sharing doping whistleblowers’ stories and representing their voices in literature presents a promising avenue for achieving this. Accordingly, we conceived this research to qualitatively explore the issue of whistleblowing on doping. We sought to achieve this by providing space for doping whistleblowers to share their stories and shed light on the whistleblowing experience from the whistleblower’s perspective. We hope that by adopting this approach, we can increase understanding and appreciation for the behaviour and, in turn, that the findings will inform and shape evidence-based doping whistleblowing policies and practices. Moreover, this shift serves to create a new narrative in which whistleblowers are applauded for their actions and celebrated which further encourages shared accountability for sporting integrity.

2. Background

Whistleblowing is considered the most effective means of exposing fraud in the public sectors (Brown, Hays, & Stuebs, 2016) and recognition for its effectiveness is growing in the sporting world. Significant resources are now being directed towards Report Doping platforms in an attempt to encourage whistleblowing on doping, including the World Anti-Doping Agency’s (WADA) Speak Up! Platform (WADA, 2017) and accompanying Whistleblowing Program (2016) which outlines the rights afforded to whistleblowers. The Speak Up! platform was created in response to the disclosure of doping in Russia and the visible lack of whistleblower protection and provision that ensued. Following this incident, an emphasis on intelligence-driven approaches to anti-doping has emerged (e.g., investigations) and the World Anti-Doping Code (WADC Article 10.6.1; WADA, 2015) further reinforces this shift by affording individuals the opportunity to have the length of their sanctions reduced (and/or removed entirely) for providing substantial assistance leading to an anti-doping rule violation. Although developments in whistleblowing policy have moved at pace, the literature base has not kept up.

Whitaker et al. (2014) investigated the willingness of individual (track and field) and team-sport (rugby) national level British athletes to blow the whistle on doping and noted a difference in the way each group approached the issue, with rugby players demonstrating more hesitation in comparison to their track and field counterparts. The authors underlined the significance of contextual factors (e.g., team versus individual sports, size/popularity of sport) in determining how individuals in sport approach the issue of whistleblowing. Building on this research, Erickson et al’s (2017) work with track and field student-athletes in the UK and US revealed that in situations of reporting doping, individuals are faced with a true moral dilemma – two equally valid and demanding moral options (Uys & Senekal, 2008). Reinforcing the concept of the morality of principle versus the morality of loyalty (fairness-loyalty tradeoff) in whistleblowing situations, doping whistleblowers must choose between (a) reporting the doping athlete to protect the rights of athletes at large to compete in doping-free sport (morality of loyalty; fairness) or (b) staying quiet to protect the doping athlete’s athletic career, reputation and wellbeing (morality of principle; loyalty) given the social consequences associated with being labelled a ‘doper’ (Georgiadis & Papazoglou, 2014). Importantly, someone gets hurt regardless of the final choice. Ensuing from the true moral dilemma, individuals were hesitant to blow the whistle on doping despite being personally opposed to engaging with doping substances and/or methods. Insightfully, this hesitation appeared to be largely underpinned by individuals’ concerns regarding whistleblowing (potentially) damaging established relationships.

Beyond the doping-specific context, the fear of retribution (e.g., job loss, negative labels) constitutes a dominant deterrent to whistleblowing and, importantly, its deterrent effect is enhanced when an organisation lacks clear whistleblowing policies that protect whistleblowers (Rennie & Crosby, 2002). Consequences for whistleblowers in the public sectors are commonplace and regularly include: (a) being bullied, shunned, negatively labelled and discredited by others (Dasgupta & Kesharwani, 2010); (b) having one’s reputation, job and livelihood seriously jeopardised (Baron, 2013); and (c) being
victimised by employers with lawsuits, job loss, defamation and disgrace (Rennie & Crosby, 2002; Uys & Senekal, 2008). Forms of retribution within the context of whistleblowing on doping have not been examined in the literature and therefore our understanding of this seemingly complex decision to report doping is unacceptably poor. Thus, it is important to consider what the experience of whistleblowing is like, the determinants of the behaviour and gain a sense of the prevailing whistleblowing culture in sport.

While empirical evidence related to whistleblowing on doping is limited, anecdotal evidence points to its complexity and reveals potentially significant ramifications for engaging in the behaviour. For example, Yuliya and Vitaly Stepanov, who blew the whistle on doping in Russia, have experienced life-changing consequences since coming forward with doping information. The couple and their young son had to leave Russia and currently reside – after multiple forced relocations – at an undisclosed location in the US. Regular retaliation stemming from the whistleblowing has ensued, prompting Yuliya at one point to warn the public, “if something happens to us, all of you should know it was not an accident” (Axon, 2016). Following the Stepanovs’ revelations, Grigory Rodchenkov – the former lab director for the Russian Anti-Doping Agency and self-proclaimed mastermind behind the Russian doping programme (Ingle, 2017) – blew the whistle and corroborated the Stepanovs’ allegations. Grigory also left Russia and remains under witness protection in the US (Harris, 2017). His life has been threatened on numerous occasions and Grigory’s lawyer has been warned by US officials that they should assume Russian operatives are in the US looking for Grigory (Draper & Harris, 2017).

The lives of both sets of whistleblowers have been forever altered by whistleblowing on doping in Russia. As it stands, it is not clear who (e.g., WADA, IOC) is responsible or accountable for protecting and compensating doping whistleblowers, nor when/how to facilitate such provisions. Moreover, it could be argued that the whistleblowing cases referenced here are unprecedented in scale and may not represent the experience of the broader sporting community. However, in the absence of an established whistleblowing literature base, we cannot draw a conclusion.

3. Methodology and method

3.1. Philosophical underpinnings

Heeding the words of Smith and McGannon (2017), it is important to outline the philosophical position we have adopted throughout this research. Working within the interpretive paradigm, we adopted a relativist ontology, which assumes that reality is socially and experientially influenced and shaped. Transactional/subjectivist epistemology was assumed, meaning that the researchers and participants co-created the findings as the study progressed.

3.2. Procedures

Informed by our philosophical underpinnings, a narrative research approach was adopted in an attempt to shed light on the experience of whistleblowing on doping. Narrative inquiry focusses on the stories that people tell about their experiences (Sparks & Smith, 2014) and takes into consideration how these stories unfold over time (Smith, 2010). As Chase (2005) puts it, “narrative is a way of understanding one’s own and others’ actions, of organising events and objects into a meaningful whole, and of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time” (p. 656). There is a growing argument for viewing whistleblowing as a process that involves individuals going through several stages before deciding to take action and, at times, individuals may be required to whistleblow multiple times (e.g., Culiberg & Mihelic, 2017; Vandekerckhove & Phillips, 2017). Narrative inquiry therefore presents an ideal avenue for capturing nuanced understandings of this complex process. This co-constructed and negotiated approach contrasts starkly with previous whistleblowing research which has typically employed survey methodologies and hypothetical scenarios (Richardson & McGlynn, 2011). Whistleblowers are rarely invited to share their stories with researchers (Richardson & McGlynn, 2011) and no research to date has explored the lived experience of doping whistleblowers. This is problematic as an understanding of actual whistleblowers’ experiences is necessary to advance the whistleblowing research field (Culiberg & Mihelic, 2017) and establish evidence-informed whistleblowing policy and practices (Richardson & McGlynn, 2011). Accordingly, in-depth interviews can provide valuable insights related to whistleblowing attitudes and behaviours (Winneker, 2016) and illuminate the doping whistleblowing process.

After receiving ethical approval from the host institution, a combination of purposive, convenience and snowball sampling (McNamee, 2002; Smith, 2013) was used to identify and recruit participants who were: (a) publicly identified for whistleblowing on doping, (b) a US or UK resident and (c) a minimum 18 years of age. Recruitment was limited to the US and UK based on a desire to facilitate face-to-face interviews (the first author regularly travels between the two countries). Our goal was to recruit one participant but owing to the multifaceted sampling approach utilised, three individuals were quickly identified and agreed to participate. The participant sample included two males and one female and they had each blown the whistle on doping in the professional sporting context. Further demographic details have not been included in an attempt to protect the participants’ anonymity.

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1 The WADA’s Speak Up! platform (2017) and Whistleblower Program (2016) now outline WADA’s policy and procedures for addressing whistleblowing cases that are reported directly to them.
A face-to-face interview lasting between one and three hours (average 110 min) was carried out by Kelsey Erickson (KE) with each individual participant at a time and place of their convenience. It was possible to conduct in-person interviews with two of the participants, but one participant was located abroad during data collection so the interview was conducted using Skype video. This “computer-mediated” technique (Sparks & Smith, 2014) allowed for face-to-face contact to be facilitated remotely (Schinke et al., 2017) and enabled us to overcome physical distances. Following each interview, KE recorded her initial reactions to the interview, including (a) how she felt, (b) observations of the participant (e.g., speed of voice, eye contact, etc.) and (c) things that stood out in the participant’s story.

Participants were made fully aware of the nature of the research prior to participating, and strong emphasis was placed on anonymity and confidentiality (with all personal details being removed). Once consent forms were signed, data was gathered through unstructured interviews. This approach allowed KE to collect insights on the whistleblowing experience while also enabling the participant to report their own thoughts and feelings (Sparks & Smith, 2014). Each interview began with the open-ended question, “Can you walk me through your experience of reporting doping?” Follow up questions were then offered based on participants’ responses (e.g., “what has happened since you reported?”). Throughout the interview, KE was open to exploring any points that the participant raised in relation to their whistleblowing experience; thus, providing participants with control over what was shared (Blodgett, Schinke, Smith, Peltier, & Pheasant, 2011). Thanks to the approach adopted, the need for follow up prompts was limited.

3.3. Data analysis and representation

Researchers need to make informed choices and consider why a particular method is appropriate for certain research (Smith & Papatheas, 2017) and sport management researchers have been challenged to push the boundaries of traditional thinking and be innovative with how data (a) is generated and (b) represented (see Shaw & Hober, 2016; Stride, Fitzgerald, & Allison, 2017). Given our desire to shed light on the doping whistleblowing experience with a view to inform whistleblowing policy and practices, we have adopted a storytelling approach to this research. Stories were favoured given their ability to reveal links and connections across individuals’ histories and provide insights into causes and consequences of behaviour (Carless, Sparks, Douglas, & Cooke, 2014). Storytelling also provides an opportunity to gain an emotive, accessible, visceral and embodied understanding of one’s life when employed to gather, analyse, and represent psychological research (Carless et al., 2014). In light of this, we have adopted a creative non-fiction (CNF) approach to representing our findings.

3.3.1. Creative non-fiction

Creative non-fiction (CNF) is a form of creative analytic practice that tells a story (Smith, McGannon, & Williams, 2015) rather than providing an account of research (Smith & Papatheas, 2017). The use of CNF has gained traction in the field of sport and exercise psychology (e.g., Blodgett, Ge, Schinke, & McGannon, 2017; Erickson, Backhouse, & Carless, 2016; Schinke et al., 2017) largely due to its ability to provoke readers to think with the research rather than just about it (Smith, 2013). CNF stories are grounded in research data, draw on literary conventions, and are fictional in form but factual in content (Smith, Tomaseone, Latimer-Cheung, & Martin Ginis, 2015). The term ‘fiction’ can cause tension for some scholars (Sparks, 2002a), but the story presented here is largely in the words of the researchers and is based on interview transcripts we gathered ‘in the field.’ We therefore consider it an example of CNF – a story based on actual data gathered by the researcher (Sparks, 2002b). CNF was considered the most appropriate way to represent our data because it can: (a) protect anonymity, (b) elicit emotional reactions, (c) be useful for exploring taboo and silenced issues, (d) keep participants’ words intact, (e) provide the possibility of portraying the complexity and ambiguity of lived experience, (f) be effective for knowledge translation, and (g) facilitate vicarious learning for readers (Smith, McGannon et al., 2015; Smith, Tomaseone et al., 2015; Schinke et al., 2017).

Given the high profile of our participants and our desire to protect their identities, we have created a composite CNF story – an amalgamation of multiple viewpoints presented as if it were one person’s experience (Spalding & Phillips, 2007). This approach allowed us to draw together multiple experiences and weave them into a powerful single account (Schinke et al., 2017). The story is therefore meant to be read as a synthesised account rather than as quotes from one individual athlete’s experience (Blodgett & Schinke, 2015).

3.3.2. Creating the story

It is important to note that there is no formula or list of steps that must or should be followed when crafting a story, so authors are required to detail the rigorous process they have followed (Smith & Sparks, 2012). In crafting this story, all interviews were audio-recorded (as agreed by participants) and transcribed verbatim by KE. Next, KE read each individual transcript multiple times, highlighting key words, quotes, and ideas that seemed to represent the individual whistleblower’s experience. KE then examined the data and noted recurring patterns, trends, and interesting features (Stride et al., 2017). Following this process, segments reflecting common trends across the three transcripts were copied into a separate document that formed the initial story skeleton. Direct quotes were maintained from the interview transcripts wherever possible in order to present participants’ spoken words (Blodgett & Schinke, 2015). Next, the story skeleton was compared to the notes KE recorded after each interview to ensure that the key points were accounted for in the story. Importantly, this

included both common themes across the transcripts and notable unique features. Finally, the experiences and ideas contained in the narrative skeletons were linked together by writing around them so that a flowing representation of the combined narratives was produced (Erickson et al., 2016). The writing process was iterative and involved regularly moving back and forth between the individual transcripts, interview notes, and the unfolding storyline until a coherent story was shaped (Smith, 2013; Stride et al., 2017).

Once the initial story was drafted, KE reviewed it alongside each of the individual transcripts to ensure that it accurately represented the three participants’ combined experiences. The story was then sent to a group of critical friends with a view to enhance the quality of the story and gauge reactions to it (Smith & McGannon, 2017; Smith & Papathomas, 2017). We also returned the story to each of the individual participants and invited them to openly critique and revise it (Blodgett & Schinke, 2015). This was done to ensure that participants were satisfied that the story adequately protected their identities (Sparks & Smith, 2014) rather than to serve as a form of member checking to (inappropriately) establish rigour (Smith & McGannon, 2017).

3.3.3. Story structure

Stories do not tell readers what to think but invite them to join in and form their own diverse interpretations (Carless & Sparks, 2008). Engaging fictional techniques (e.g., vernacular language, composite characters, dialogue, flashbacks/forwards, metaphor, and tone shift) are central to achieving this and enables the reader to participate vicariously in the story (Sparks & Smith, 2014). Creating a composite story involved providing links between the three different accounts and making choices regarding what was included and excluded. The aims of the research (i.e., to shed light on and understand the doping whistleblowing experience) remained at the forefront of our minds throughout this process. However, we appreciate that different authors may have made different choices in relation to what to include or exclude. We have therefore attempted to be transparent in relation to how our story was created and why (Erickson et al., 2016).

3.3.4. Criteria for judgement

There is no predetermined or universal list of criteria for judging the quality of qualitative research so qualitative researchers must make informed decisions and use criteria from lists that are not fixed or predetermined (Smith & McGannon, 2017). For the purposes of this research, we examined multiple lists offered by leading scholars in the field (e.g., Carless & Sparks, 2008; Smith, McGannon et al., 2015; Smith, Tomasone et al., 2015) and reflected upon their rationales in order to shape our own. Ensuing from this, and considering our specific research aims, we suggest the following criteria (in the form of questions to be asked) for judging our research: (a) is the story believable; (b) does it create a space for silenced voices to be heard; (c) have the individual stories been brought together in a way that creates a meaningful account of the individuals’ experiences; (d) has the story provided new knowledge or deeper understanding of the whistleblowing experience; (e) does the story move the reader to act; (f) does the story impact the reader emotionally; and (g) is the story accessible to a wide range of readers? We encourage the reader to use this list of questions to judge the quality of our research.

4. The story

A composite story is presented here encompassing the experiences of three doping whistleblowers. While the events that unfold in the story are real, they do not chronologically, or temporally, represent each individual’s experience (Smith, 2013). Rather, the three experiences have been combined to convey a coherent order of events. The aim of the story is to shed light on the doping whistleblowing experience from the perspective of the whistleblower with a view to inform bespoke doping whistleblowing policy and practice. What emerged from the interviews was an indication that blowing the whistle on doping is a process rather than an event with a clear start and finish. In an attempt to depict this, the story has been presented in sections which represent the multiple steps that participants detailed in relation to the whistleblowing process.

"The whole process isn’t a case of report it and stop. It’s a case of report it, and that affects my life until now."

4.1. Step 1: “It’s not black and white"

In your head you think, “it’s black and white. This is simple. How could someone not know?” But we lose context and we don’t have context unless we are there. A lot of things that make sense from the outside are completely jumbled and messy when you’re in it yourself and even looking back you can be like, “oh yeah. Of course, that was off or wrong.” But in that moment, it’s hard to identify. So, step one as a whistleblower is actually coming to terms with what you saw or what you experienced. It sounds really simple to do, but it took me – it took others I know – months to actually come to terms with, “oh yeah that was shitty. That broke some rules, or most likely broke some rules.” Looking back now, there were signs earlier – a lot of really small things that just kept adding up – but I literally would never have put it together. I started to look back on everything and see everything and I was like “holy shit.” And that’s the reality – most of the time it’s not, “I saw some guy inject testosterone. Here’s a picture and video recording of it – here’s everything;” it’s not black and white like that. I think acknowledging that is really important. Step one is coming to terms with the fact that what you saw was wrong.
Then, before you step forward, you essentially do this risk assessment scenario. I remember debating for months, “do I move on with my life? Yeah, this really sucks, but if I don’t say anything no one will know; they’ll just keep doing stuff but I can go do what I want and do things the right way and learn from it and not have any trouble or drama or repercussions or anything like that.” That’s one option, and I’d probably say that’s the easy choice to make. Especially if you’re young; it’s a lot easier to be like, “that sucks, but I have my whole life and career ahead of me.” But then the other side of it – the part that eats away at you – says, “yeah, but it’s still wrong.” Or, “this doesn’t feel good. This doesn’t settle with me.” From the outside perspective, it’s easy to say, “it’s wrong. Go tell,” but when you’re stuck in it and you have no resources to go to, it’s basically this internal battle where you debate these things because no one else understands it. No one understands what you go through because it’s such a rare thing. There was no one for me to look to. I really didn’t know where to go or what to do. There were maybe three people in the world who I’d heard of who had blown the whistle on something. I couldn’t reach out and call them to figure out what the best course of action was! So, I was basically sitting there going, “well this is my pro-career and then this is what’s going to happen if I don’t report.” You sit there for hours thinking, “is it worth it? I’ve put this much of my life into this already.” It’s hard.

So, I guess before blowing the whistle, it’s this internal struggle that goes on for a really long time. That was probably the most difficult part. From the moment that I realised doping was happening, I would just always say, “I’m never going to go public with it until I retire because I know it will just sink my career.” The only thing I was thinking was, if anything, “I’m just going to quit.” If you say that people cheated and you didn’t cheat, the fear of everyone thinking that you cheated will keep you quiet. I knew I hadn’t cheated, but I knew everyone would think I was. And I understand that. Of course, anyone is going to think that. That will keep a lot of people silent. I’ve dedicated my whole life to this so to have people just dismiss it? I knew that would happen if I came forward, but I didn’t want it to. So, I never thought about reporting it – going public or talking to anyone. Not even going to my national anti-doping organisation (NADO). I just wanted to move on and get as far away from it as possible. Either be able to move on with another team, or just quit. I just wanted to get my life back. So, I tried to move on with my life. I tried to forget about it for a long time.

Unfortunately, I couldn’t.

Staying quiet put me in this world where I was lying to everybody and I started thinking, “why? Why am I protecting people who did shady stuff and treated a bunch of people like shit?” Over time, shit eats away at you and you feel like you have to do something. I felt like, I know the truth and no one else is doing anything about it. I don’t want to, but I know what it’s like to be robbed of an opportunity from someone who’s cheating. It got to the point where it was going to eat me alive to know that I could have done something and I didn’t. So I thought, “it’s time. I’m just going to tell the truth and whatever happens, happens. I just need to get this off my chest.” It was just kind of brewing and then finally I had my tipping point and I was like, “fuck it! I’ve got to do something with this. I’m going to tell somebody.”

If only it was that simple.

Instead, whistleblowing is a process.

The next question was, “okay, who do I tell?” In one sense, you have your NADO, which makes sense to tell. But in today’s climate it’s like, “well who do I trust? Do I trust my NADO? Could I go to my national governing body (NGB)?” It’s hard to talk about it, but the NGB, until you have anything to do with them, they are – and NADOS as well to a certain extent – they are this huge monster that no one wants anything to do with because they are labelled that way and if you’re in contact with the NGB it’s because you’ve done something wrong. There’s this big stigma around them. You don’t want anything to do with the governing body, which is hard. You just assume they’re a bit bad. On top of that, I don’t know who these people are. I don’t know who to trust. I was questioning, “who do I give this information over to and then trust to take care of it and understand things? I can’t just tell anyone because they don’t understand how big it is.” The other side of it is, they don’t know you. They don’t know your background, so they could say, “do we trust this person? Is s/he making this up?” It’s just a shit show of who to trust and no one really knows. It’s almost like you live in this paranoid world where you don’t know who to trust.

4.2. Step 2: “People need to know”

I guess getting to that point of stepping forward – the threshold I crossed was, “okay, I just need to get this off my chest. I’m going to send an anonymous tip to the NADO and then, whatever. Someone knows something.” So, I sent an email on their tip line without any name at all – just sent it out into the ether and then sat there for a week or so and was like, “this sucks. I don’t know if anything happened to it.” So, the next step was, “I’m going to send it and I’ll attach my email address to it,” and each step you make requires another internal turmoil to go through. So, I sent that out there and got a reply saying “we’d love to talk to you.”

When I got the response, I didn’t want to risk myself and my freedom and finances and all that stuff, but eventually you just say, “you know what? It’ll be stronger and it means more if it has my name and my face to it and consequences be damned.” I was scared to go because I was afraid that somehow someone would find out that I went to the NADO. I was petrified that I was going to lose my contract. I was so paranoid. So, I didn’t tell anybody, but I met with someone at the NADO. I was there for probably four hours. I cried a lot, I felt guilty about the whole thing. I felt like I was betraying people that I care about because – it’s so fucked up – but even though I think they’re cheating, I still care about them because I know them as people. It’s so hard. You’ve been through so much with these people. And that was the hard thing to describe to the NADO, because they’re like, “why are you crying?” And I’m trying to explain, “because I feel like I’m betraying these people. They’re
my friends. They’re my family. I spent years with them and it sucks.” It’s just hard. It’s not as simple as, “I saw someone cheat.” I think a lot of people neglect to realise that you’re a person, not just an athlete. It’s so much more complicated than people think. It’s not black and white.

Anyways, after I reported I assumed the response would be, “we’re going to get to the bottom of this.” I imagined I would go in, I would tell them about the people they need to talk to, they would talk to those people, and then they would have what they need and it would be done.

Wrong.

Instead, it’s been two months later and there has been nothing but complete radio silence. In your head you’re going crazy thinking, “do they give a shit? Are they going to do anything? Does this really matter?” By that point, I was absolutely certain that nothing was going to be done. There was no contact. Nothing. I was so angry and I went into a bit of a spiral. You’ve just thrown your entire career – or it feels like you’re throwing your entire career – out the window, and they just disappear off the face of the planet. I was getting pretty pissed off because I’ve ruined my sports career and they’ve done absolutely nothing about it. My life is getting ruined while you guys are just sitting around. You know just how the feeling that what you’ve done is a bit pointless and you’ve thrown your life away in return for them not giving a shit about anything. It makes you question, “are these the guys I should trust? Or are these not the guys I should trust?” It sows seeds of doubt where you’re thinking, “I gave them a shit that was interesting but you know, maybe not?” And you also start to wonder, “for goodness sake, is it still corrupt?”

Eventually I decided that if the NADO was not going to do anything then people at least needed to know so, “fuck it. Let people know.” The logical thing would have been not to do that but, again, you expect (a) the NADO has the information, then (b) relief on my end. But there’s no relief because no one knows you did anything. And no one knows that there’s investigations or anything. So, I was just like, “screw it.” Let’s just deal with it. Deal with it in the public and if that’s all, that’s all. But at least people can make their decisions.

Things really changed when I went public.

There was no turning back.

4.3. Step 3: “It has totally changed my life”

Honestly, the whole experience has just sucked basically. Yeah. It’s been really sucky. That’s kind of the bottom line. I don’t even know how to describe it. Let’s put it this way, I wouldn’t want even people I don’t like to go through some of the shit I went through.

Why would I say that? Because all I’ve had is loss since I spoke out. I haven’t gained anything from reporting. All I’ve had is stress and anxiety and loss. It’s just stressful. I am not confrontational. I am not a vocal person, but now I have to be. I have to stand up for myself. I would rather not be like that, because it’s just not the way I’m wired. But it has totally changed the direction my life has gone. I have to stand up for myself and speak out. It’s tiring. I’m not controversial. I swear, I’m like so vanilla but that’s how I’m labelled now and it’s just changed everything about my life.

When it all comes out publicly, half the world hates you. I have people who I was friendly with who now think I’m the worst person ever. There’s always going to be the 20% that are like, “what the fuck are you doing? You should not have done that!” I think the hardest thing for me is going through comments and things like that on media pages and just going through some of the stuff people say. Yeah, I think that has been the hardest thing – the constant harassment. I mean constant. It just gets so old. I would say that’s been the hardest thing for me because I don’t like to fight with anybody and it’s just non-stop. I feel like whenever I do anything – whenever there is a newspaper article – then these people get vocal again and as much as I know they’re crazy, it’s still exhausting. It’s like – I’m damned if I do, I’m damned if I don’t. If I don’t answer reporters’ questions, what am I trying to hide? If I do answer, I’m an attention-whore that just won’t shut up about it. And when I’m getting harassed on social media or whatever – it’s just me. It’s not me and five other people; it’s just me. I feel like I’m just standing alone.

So, naturally, in the beginning, I think I felt sorry for myself. I let my emotional roller coaster control what I was doing. I was letting myself be railroaded by something that I had no control over. I spent two or three months essentially just living in a bar with my friends. The thing you have to realise is, it affects you as much as it affects the person you’ve blown the whistle on. At the end of the day, it’s mentally crushing. The mental, emotional turmoil is a definite consequence of whistleblowing. I went through nights where I’d just sit and talk for hours and hours about what I was feeling and why it wasn’t fair. And on top of that, I worry about stupid stuff. I worry about being sabotaged. I’m paranoid now. I’m paranoid about everything. I’m paranoid about if something was off when the drug testers came to test me. I’m crazy, right? But that’s how I think – they’re going to try and make me look bad at some point. In my defence, I had my computer hacked and emails and stuff wiped off of it before I went public. There was a chunk of time where stuff just disappeared off my computer. Some of it I’ll never get back but some of it I had happened to forward to my family who had saved it but – these people are crazy.

What else?

Coming forward has changed how I’m perceived and who wants to work with me. Before reporting, I had a contract that basically just needed signatures and they pulled it after all the stuff came out, which is my fault – I’m the one that spoke. I think it was just the fact that there was so much risk associated with me. No one wants drama, right? And, unfortunately, I am
labelled ‘drama’. It looks like I’ve been involved with some form of scandal. I think I will forever have the doping scandal over my head as, “do I want to hire this athlete? Yes. But then do I want my team to be even slightly associated to anything doping? No.” There’s a specific audience that would hire me now. If a team hires me then that puts them in the spotlight as having something to do with anti-doping and it’s a lot easier for a team, or any form of organisation, to be completely separate from that. If I was to say something about doping and then their team get caught doing something even marginally wrong, then that would blow up in their face to the point that they wouldn’t have a team anymore. So, there’s always going to be the doubt as to what benefit and cost/risk I bring. So yeah, it definitely complicates the contract side of things. Losing contracts has been hard. Obviously. Who wants to lose contracts?

Then there’s the fact that people will always question your trust. They know that if they do something wrong, there’s a chance that I’ll report again. That has been made clear to me. For example, I got injured last season and I was taking painkillers. You should have seen the things on the trainers’ faces and the things they would say to make it completely clear that what they were giving me was just paracetamol – they were shit scared. They presumed that I would drop them in shit for absolutely anything. Same thing when I get sick; now they bring the package of whatever they are giving me and make me read it and Google it. As a whistleblower, you have to build trust with people rather than assume trust. Along those lines, no one wants to be seen with you because they know they get labelled. It’s that ‘stay well clear’ kind of thing. I think it’s just a mind-set. It’s, “stay safe, keep your nose clean.” It’s natural. Think about it, if someone in your town was caught up in a murder case, you wouldn’t go and spend lots of time with them and discuss it with them, would you? You’d probably not want anything to do with them. It makes sense, but it puts you on an island versus everyone else.

One thing no one ever really talks about is the fact that as a whistleblower, your life is on hold. You can’t sit there and be like every other person and be like, “here are my goals three, five years down the line. Here’s what I want to do to accomplish that.” You don’t have the full deck of opportunities that everyone else has because you came forward. That’s the reality of it. I mean, I’ll never coach athletes with a particular sponsor – it’ll never happen. At the same time, my future athletes will not get a contract offer from that sponsor. Guaranteed. So, it impacts other people too – those associated with you. You’re putting them in a situation where they might have to defend you or might have someone you know talk shit to them about it. That sucks. The same goes for family and friends. I’ve had more arguments about me stepping forward – whether it’s with parents, brothers, sisters, partners, best friends – you have these blow up arguments on stuff cos they’re trying to look out for your best interests. Actually, it’s tougher to see close people deal with it than yourself because you can process it and come to terms with it and rationalise it – it’s not as tough for me as it for my family. It causes strife and I think that’s something that you don’t take into consideration. It wears on everybody.

Also, knowing about doping puts you in a weird situation when you’re still in the sport because it changes the perspective you have of it. It’s easy to almost go through these depressed states where you’re like, “well this shit sucks. Why am I doing this?” You almost lose your “why” and your purpose on things. If you don’t watch it, it’s really easy to go down this path of bitterness and just have bitterness towards everybody – towards sport, towards everything. I don’t want to be this bitter, chip on my shoulder, can’t enjoy the sport person. I love the sport. But, as bad as it seems, you do feel like the sport kind of owes you some sort of helping hand. I mean, I’ll have really good days where I’m like, “yeah it’s just how the world works. It was just unlucky.” But, then there are days where I feel like sport owes me so much more. I still feel bitter now in the sense that I’ve missed out on what could have been my professional sports career because of it. I could still be competing professionally, living my dream. But, I reported doping. So, it affects the amount that I’m willing to invest in sport personally. Before this experience, sport would run my entire life. Whereas now, I don’t trust sport enough to let it run my entire life anymore. If I’m honest, the fire is not as bright as it was before because I’ve seen what professional sport is actually like. When you’ve seen the dark side of it, it’s not as appealing as you think when you’re 19, you know? I guess I just doubt a lot more than I realistically should. Don’t get me wrong – I love the sport! I just only trust it 80% now compared to 100% before. Actually, I think that’s what fuelled a lot of my anger in the beginning – the fact that I had this idea of how amazing being fulltime and being professional would be. It’s hard to get brought back down to the level where it’s actually at – to reality – and I think that’s probably the most painful thing. It’s hard when sport isn’t actually what it portrays. I wouldn’t say that the sport has changed though, more that I’ve grown up and learned how sport works. I now understand that people are hungry to win and there’s always going to be a small percentage of people that are hungry enough to break the rules.

I used to think that when it was over I would be so happy. But now I think I’ll just feel so relieved. I don’t even know that I’ll feel happy. The truth is, I don’t even want to see them get sanctioned. I just want them to not compete. It’s so weird. I mean, I want justice and I know that means they have to be sanctioned but, human to human, I feel bad. It doesn’t make me feel good. It’s not like if they get sanctioned then I’m going to be so happy. It’s just a shitty feeling. It’s a shitty feeling to know that you’re essentially ending someone’s career. That feels bad. Even the biggest drug cheat of all time – Lance – is a person. With children and with a mom. It sucks. I wish it wasn’t so hard.

It’s going to sound crazy, but even after everything that has happened, I don’t really regret going public. I hate the way it has changed my life and the negative things that it’s changed but, I feel free. It can’t affect me anymore. I mean it does, but it’s different. Before reporting, I was drowning and hating sport. I just felt, “I hate this sport. It’s a bunch of fakers.” I was just kind of surviving. After I spoke out though, things kind of turned around. It was like this burden had been lifted for me personally. That alone has been worth it for me; that I don’t have to carry around their secrets anymore. It would kill me. Carrying that around – I hated it. I hated always lying and putting it on me. I don’t have to do that anymore. I don’t have to carry around that crap. Mentally, it has freed me. Clearing my conscience and being able to tell myself my own story is immense. It was such a big deal in my life and it’s something that I’m very proud of. As athletes, we would do 99.9% of anything to win. That is our job.

I’d like to think that the whole thing tested me, and I passed. A lot of people would question or fail that test. I was willing to throw my career away purely to be the person that I want to be. How many people can say that?

5. Discussion

The aim of our research was to give voice to the experiences of doping whistleblowers, and in doing so, inform evidence-based doping whistleblowing policy and practices. We hope this story will resonate with the reader and facilitate deeper understanding of whistleblowing experience and its effect on the whistleblower. Given the absence of evidence in relation to whistleblowing on doping in sport, we were committed to making this research accessible to audiences beyond academia (Smith, 2013). That is, the people and organisations with the power to bring about change in their club, sport or institution. As a starting point, the stories were shared with the participants. Their reactions were both encouraging and challenging at the same time. After reviewing it, one participant said, “obviously there was so much of my story in there that it was pretty personal.” Another stated that, “it definitely represents what I experienced” and the final participant responded with, “that sounds amazing.” We were encouraged to find that all three participants felt the story represented their personal experience, especially considering it was a combination of all three accounts.

The challenging aspect of the participants’ reactions came from one whistleblower who said, “it will be important to stress that these are real life experiences by real people.” Indeed, this story represents real doping whistleblowers’ experiences and, consistent with previous research in the sport setting (see McGlynn & Richardson, 2014), their collective voice demonstrates that they encountered professional and personal consequences associated with their choice to whistleblow. Given the impact of whistleblowing on human lives depicted in this story, we commit to sharing the story in such a way that it galvanises action so that the whistleblowing experience can be improved moving forward. To begin, this story highlights for the first time in literature that the doping whistleblower is (a) faced with the fairness-loyalty tradeoff and (b) experiences retribution for whistleblowing.

Our research substantiates Wrayt et al.’s (2013) argument that whistleblowers are faced with a fairness-loyalty tradeoff. Becoming aware of dopin behaviour did not immediately result in reporting doping but, rather, the whistleblower had to make a conscious decision to report knowing that it would (likely) impact personal relationships. The severity of this decision is underlined in that the whistleblower was in turmoil even during the act of whistleblowing (“I felt guilty about the whole thing. I felt like I was betraying people that I care about”) and these emotions endured to the present (“I feel bad. It doesn’t feel good ... it’s a shitty feeling to know you’re essentially ending someone’s career”). These statements demonstrate the whistleblower’s appreciation for the importance of loyalty and that they feel they jeopardised it by reporting (i.e., adhering to the fairness moral). Importantly, the story also extends the complexity presented by this tradeoff by highlighting the need for considering the consequences of whistleblowing for the whistleblower themselves. This extra element – the need to consider one’s own welfare – perhaps adds another form of rationale and justification for adhering to the loyalty norm. Ultimately, choosing to report doping is an active step towards ensuring clean sport and benefits the sporting community as a whole. Yet, it comes at a cost to the (a) doper (i.e., sanction) and (b) the whistleblower (e.g., reputational damage, emotional distress, etc.).

For the first time the potentially devastating impact that whistleblowing on doping can have for the whistleblower is storied. The whistleblower indicates that whistleblowing, “affects you as much as it affects the person you have blown the whistle on”. Notably, the whistleblower assumed they would encounter negative repercussions for reporting prior to actually whistleblowing (e.g., “just sink my career” and “assume I cheated”) and initially these anticipated consequences served as justification to wait to report until after their career ended. However, the individual ultimately did whistleblow and as anticipated, they faced retribution for their behaviour. Consistent with the wider whistleblowing literature (e.g., Baron, 2013; Dasgupta & Kesharwani, 2010; Rennie & Crosby, 2002; Uys & Senekal, 2008), the whistleblower was shunned and distanced from family members, peers in and out of sport, and the public/media; had their trustworthiness questioned by peers; experienced financial/career consequences in the form of lost sponsorships and contracts; and experienced emotional distress.

While the forms of retribution faced by the whistleblower are generally consistent with existing literature in the public sectors, it is worth noticing areas where our findings extend the literature. First, emotional distress potentially impacts athlete whistleblowers more significantly than non-athlete whistleblowers since an athlete’s livelihood and career is based on their physical performances. Not being in a positive emotional state can therefore have direct implications for their physical performance and, in turn, jeopardise their career and financial livelihood. Second, the fear that the public will assume you were doping if you report doping also appears to be a unique whistleblowing feature in sport. By reporting doping, one (potentially) raises suspicion about how you would be privy to that information without being a part of it? Drawing unnecessary attention to yourself in the doping context is not a particularly beneficial action within sport. Thus, providing incentive and rationale to not report doping. Comparable concerns are currently not documented in the wider whistleblowing literature and therefore warrant further attention by sport researchers.

Based on the story presented here, the current whistleblowing culture in sport appears to be more likely to deter someone from whistleblowing than to encourage them to whistleblow. In order for whistleblowing to effectively complement the constrained detection-deterrence approach to anti-doping, the culture surrounding it must change. So, what can be done to shift the pendulum from discouraging to encouraging whistleblowing on doping?

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5.1. Practical implications

The first and arguably most important step for changing the culture and narrative around whistleblowing on doping is to design and implement evidence-based anti-doping whistleblowing policies. Whistleblowing policies are commonplace in the public sector but rare in the sport doping context. Consequently, resources for reporting doping exist largely in the absence of policies designed to protect those who engage with them.

Based on the story presented here, protection for the whistleblower must be at the centre of a doping whistleblowing policy. This would include protection for an individual's athletic career, sponsorship deals, contracts and physical and emotional wellbeing. That said, the global sporting context presents a challenge in this regard because retribution for whistleblowers could come from various organisations (e.g., NADO, NGB, sponsors). This means that even if the organisation that the whistleblower reported to (e.g., NADO) had an established whistleblowing policy it would not necessarily be able to protect a whistleblower from retribution launched by external individuals or organisations. This reality reiterates the importance of changing the culture surrounding whistleblowing on doping. We need to shift the focus from the messenger to the message and view whistleblowing as the beginning of problem solving rather than as problem causing (Richardson & McGlynn, 2011). Propagating whistleblowing as a positive act is the most prevalent approach taken to encourage whistleblowing in the public sectors (Brown et al., 2016) and should be promoted within sport.

Alongside implementing whistleblowing policies, this story highlights a need for whistleblower education in sport. Whistleblower education should serve to teach (a) individuals how to whistleblow, (b) what their rights are as whistleblowers, and (c) the multifaceted benefits of reporting doping in sport. Providing whistleblowing education can help change the whistleblowing culture because it: (a) signals that an organisation values whistleblowing, (b) increases the likelihood that individuals will report wrongdoing, and (c) reduces retribution to whistleblowers by sending the message that the organisation will protect whistleblowers from such behaviour (Caillier, 2016). Each of these factors represents an important step towards establishing trust between athletes and sporting organisations which, based on this story, is an important factor in encouraging individuals to whistle. Given the varying benefits of whistleblower education, and consistent with the approach adopted by government agencies (Caillier, 2016), we would encourage organisations to include education provision as a requirement within their whistleblowing policies.

Finally, whistleblowing policies should include the appointment of an independent individual that sporting personnel can contact with queries and/or concerns related to whistleblowing. Our story highlights the emotional turmoil that the whistleblower experienced from the moment they realised they had witnessed doping: therefore, an independent and suitably trained contact should be available at all times (before, during, after whistleblowing). Independent advice is considered a vital aspect of fair and effective whistleblowing procedures within the public sector (Vandekerckhove & Lewis, 2012) but no comparable provisions exist within sport. The fact that basic questions of how, when and to whom to whistleblower were raised in our story points to the need for basic whistleblowing information and guidance within sport. Questions of this nature could be answered quickly and satisfactorily by an independent contact and, in turn, increase engagement with whistleblowing. In addition to providing practical whistleblowing information, the independent person should also familiarise the potential whistleblower with available sources for emotional support (e.g., psychologists, welfare officers, ombudsmen, etc.). The emotional tension experienced by the whistleblower stemming from the fairness-loyalty tradeoff is undeniable and having emotional support from the moment one becomes aware of doping through to the time at which they no longer feel the need or desire to engage with such support should be made available to all. Who the ideal ‘independent person(s)’ could or should be is beyond the scope of this paper, but one possibility worth considering is the viability of situating an independent body within the International Testing Agency given their recent emergence on the global sporting scene. There is also scope for establishing whistleblowing-specific sport ombudsmen.

5.2. Conclusion

We hope the story presented here will spark honest and action-oriented conversations about whistleblowing within the global antidoping and sporting community. In acknowledging and accepting the inherent challenges associated with whistleblowing, the sporting system then has a collective responsibility to act to bring about change in the structures, processes and practices that currently frame whistleblowing policies. As participants highlighted, blowing the whistle on doping is not a one-off event whereby you report wrongdoing and walk away. Rather, it is a complex and ambiguous process that involves (a) identifying doping, (b) making the decision to report, and (c) dealing with the repercussions of reporting. As the story illuminates, there can be long-term consequences for whistleblowers and these must be mitigated by evidence-informed whistleblowing policy and practices. Creating a culture where individuals feel empowered and encouraged to speak up, rather than one where they anticipate facing retribution for their courage, requires collective action, and this starts with critical conversations that raise the voices of those who seek to protect the rights of athletes to compete in doping-free sport.

Sport and anti-doping is at a pivotal crossroads and given that whistleblowing policies and practices are embryonic, we have a unique opportunity to shape them through a real whistleblowing narrative. More specifically, we have the opportunity to use our story to ensure that whistleblowing policy and practice is not removed from those it is designed to help. Thus, we are challenged to acknowledge the shortcomings in current whistleblowing policy and practice that shaped the (negative) whistleblowing experience outlined in this story. In acknowledging these shortcomings, we are then
compelled to take purposeful steps towards ensuring future whistleblowers are not faced with the same challenges. Only then will we realise the potential for whistleblowing to complement the detection-deterrence anti-doping approach and serve as an effective deterrent for doping in sport.

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Appendix 5
Whistleblowing Determinants Survey
Below are statements showing what many people think and feel about reporting doping in sport. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please read each item below carefully and circle **ONE** response after each statement, which shows your level of agreement using the corresponding scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I am confident that I can report doping in sport even when my sport is not encouraging me to do so</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2. I know what information is required to report doping in sport</td>
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<td>3. Reporting doping in sport is consistent with my personal beliefs</td>
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<td>4. I know what my responsibilities are with regards to reporting doping in sport</td>
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<td>5. I am able to follow current policies and procedures for reporting doping in sport</td>
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<td>6. I am confident that I can report doping in sport even if the person encouraging the doping behavior is someone that I know well</td>
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<td>7. I am able to access a report doping platform (e.g., web page, phone line) if I have information regarding doping in sport</td>
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<td>8. I expect that sanctions will be imposed from reporting doping in sport</td>
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<td>9. Reporting doping in sport is part of my role as an athlete</td>
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<td>10. I know how to report doping in sport</td>
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<td>11. I would be more likely to report doping in sport if I knew that I would receive a penalty for withholding information</td>
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<td>12. I am confident that I can report doping in sport even when others are not willing to do so</td>
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<td>13. I expect that a thorough investigation will be conducted from reporting doping in sport</td>
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<td>14. I am able to instruct a peer on how to report doping in sport if they come to me for advice</td>
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<td>15. I know what safeguards are in place for me if I report doping in sport</td>
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<td>16. Reporting doping in sport is important for my personal integrity</td>
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<td>17. I expect that nothing will be done if I report doping in sport</td>
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<td>18. I believe I will be negatively labeled (e.g., ‘tattle-tale’, ‘snitch’) if I report doping in sport</td>
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<td>19. I would be more likely to report doping in sport if I was offered a financial reward</td>
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<td>20. I believe I will damage my future financial earning potential (e.g., sponsors) if I report doping in sport</td>
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<td>21. I am confident that I can report doping in sport even if the person engaging in the behavior is someone that I know well</td>
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<td>22. I believe my relationships in sport will be negatively impacted if I report doping in sport</td>
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<td>23. I will definitely report doping in sport if I confront a doper and they do not stop their doping behavior</td>
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<td>24. I believe I will harm the reputation of my sport if I report doping in my sport</td>
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<td>25. I would be more likely to report doping in sport if I knew I would be celebrated and thanked</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. I expect that doping in sport will not be reduced regardless of how many people report doping in sport</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. My decision to report doping in sport would be influenced by the doper's country of origin (i.e., whether or not they are from my own country)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. I would be more likely to report doping in sport if I knew my identity would be protected</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. I would feel proud if I reported doping in sport</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. I expect that I will be helping to protect the rights of athletes to compete in doping-free sport by reporting doping in sport</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. I have a strong intention to report doping in sport if I become aware of such behavior</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. I believe my relationships outside sport will be negatively impacted if I report doping in sport</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. I will definitely report doping in sport if I have evidence of this behavior by an athlete in my training group/team</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. My decision to report doping in sport would be influenced by concern for the health of the doping athlete (e.g., long-term health consequences of using a banned substance/method)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. I will definitely report doping in sport if I have evidence of this behavior by an athlete outside my training group/team</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. I would feel guilty if I reported doping in sport</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. I believe I will jeopardize my future athletic career (e.g., team selection) if I report doping in sport</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. My decision to report doping in sport would be influenced by concern for the negative impact that the doping athlete could have on my own athletic career (e.g., losing medals, losing team position)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Channels are available to report doping in sport (e.g., web page, phone line)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. People who are important to me would distance themselves from me if I reported doping in sport</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Scale</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>My sport actively encourages reporting doping in sport (e.g., posters on the wall, email/text prompts)</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>I would feel anxious if I reported doping in sport</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>The <strong>public</strong> reaction to individuals who have reported doping in sport encourages me to report</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>My decision to report doping in sport would be influenced by concern for the negative impact the doping athlete could have on other athletes' athletic careers (e.g., losing medals, podium appearances)</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>People who are important to me would advise/encourage me to report doping in sport</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>I would regret <strong>not</strong> reporting doping in sport</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>I have a strong intention to report doping in sport even if it is a 'one-off' incident</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>My decision to report doping in sport would be influenced by concerns that I might be jumping to conclusions and doping may not have actually occurred</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>People who are important to me would support my decision to report doping in sport</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>The reaction in sport to individuals who have reported doping in sport encourages me to report</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>My decision to report doping in sport would be influenced by concern for the negative impact that reporting doping could have on the doper's athletic career (e.g., losing sponsorships, damaging reputation)</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>People who are important to me would disapprove of me <strong>not</strong> reporting doping in sport if I knew it was happening</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>I would feel afraid if I reported doping in sport</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

End of Questionnaire. Thank you again for participating in this important research.
Appendix 6
Phase 4 Methods

Methods and methodology

Survey Development

Previous research indicates that individuals may be more willing to share their views about doping online than in a paper-based survey due to the sensitivity of the topic (Whitaker, 2013). Accordingly, to maximize the reach of the study within the target population (Patterson, 2014), an online survey was designed and disseminated. The survey tool was informed by preliminary research conducted by the research team (Erickson et al., 2017; Whitaker et al., 2014) and the interviews conducted in Phase 3 of this program of research. The interviews in Phase 3 were exploratory in nature due to limited knowledge of doping whistleblowing attitudes and behaviors. The interviews helped us learn what determinants are relevant to the doping whistleblowing context. Next, the survey allowed us to explore if these determinants are applicable amongst a larger sample and to establish if they can be effectively measured using our survey as designed.

The first step in designing the survey tool was to review existing doping whistleblowing research (Erickson et al., 2017 & Whitaker et al., 2014) in an attempt to identify potential whistleblowing determinants. Next, the interview transcripts were reviewed and whistleblowing determinants were identified. At this point, the whistleblowing determinants from the two phases of review were collated and considered.

In an attempt to organize the whistleblowing determinants in a coherent manner, behavior change theories were considered by members of the research team. During this stage, the Theoretical Domains Framework was identified a particularly relevant model. It can be condensed into three core components – capability, opportunity, motivation – and the COM-B Model (Michie, 2011). Utilizing this system, the survey sought to identify determinants to whistleblowing on doping. Specifically, the identified items were placed within the model according to the 14 domains (skills, social/professional role, beliefs about capabilities, motivation and goals, memory, attention and decision processes, environmental context and resources, social influences, emotion, behavioral regulation, nature of the behaviors). This process demonstrated that two domains (behavioral regulation, goals) were not representative of doping whistleblowing determinants so in the end, 12 were represented within the survey.

Once the whistleblowing determinants were established, the survey was sent to a group of experts (N = 8) for review. At this point, the survey consisted of 59 determinants. The Expert panel was asked to determine how representative and relevant each item was. To determine the level of representation, participants were asked to use a Likert scale ranging from -3 (not at all representative) to 3 (very representative). Participants were encouraged to provide comments regarding the level of relevance each item offered in the context of whistleblowing on doping in the ‘Comments’ section following each item.

Based on the feedback provided by the Expert panel, the determinants survey was reduced from 59 to 53 items. Next, informed by previous research (Erickson et al., 2017), scenarios exploring the potential significance of relational factors in whistleblowing behaviors were developed. Specifically, two scenarios were crafted – one based on a coach involved in doping in the other an athlete – and then participants were prompted to respond to each two scenario under two circumstances: (a) you have a personal relationship with the coach/athlete and (b) you do not have a personal relationship with the coach/athlete. In total, four scenarios were created. In addition, questions exploring: (i)
participants' previous (lack of) experience(s) with whistleblowing on doping, (ii) desired provisions for whistleblowing, (iii) preferred mechanisms for whistleblowing on doping and (iv) knowledge of WADA-specific whistleblowing resources were shaped. Once the first draft of the survey as a whole was shaped, it was input into Qualtrics and then sent via a link to a group of sport and exercise psychology experts (N = 7) who were asked to review the survey and provide feedback on the following questions:

- Is it easy to understand, easy to follow, logical progression etc.
- Do the questions make sense? Easy to answer? Clear/succinct?
- Do you think the questions adequately address our desire to identify: (1) determinants to whistleblowing on doping (i.e., situational, environmental, individual), (2) attitudes towards whistleblowing and (3) whistleblowing knowledge?
- Are any questions missing? Any repetitive?
- Any grammar/punctuation/formatting errors?
- Appearance
- Appropriate length?
- Any other thoughts/comments?

The feedback received was very positive, with comments generally limited to issues with the way the survey was formatted in Qualtrics. Updates were made to the formatting and then the wording of the survey was amended so that two surveys were developed and hosted on Qualtrics—one with athletes as the main character and the other reflective of coaches (e.g., reporting doping is part of my role as an athlete/coach).

**Data Collection**

A combination of convenience and snowball sampling was used to recruit coaches and athletes from the US and UK. This sampling method involved multiple approaches, including utilizing the researchers’ networks, the connections of participants already interviewed (McNamee, 2012), and identified members of the community (e.g., coaches, colleagues) identifying other members (Fink, 1995). Specifically, members of International Federations (IFs) and National Anti-Doping Organizations (NADOs) were contacted directly by members of the research team and invited to disseminate the research information to athletes and coaches meeting the inclusion criteria. Additionally, suitable coaches and athletes were approached directly by members of the research team and extended an invitation to participate. The criterion for inclusion was that individuals were: a) coach and/or athlete with international competition experience, b) represented the US or UK, and c) minimum 18 years of age. To estimate the sample size, a power analysis was conducted. Based on previous studies examining relationships between social psychological determinants and doping (e.g., Ntoumanis, Ng, Barkoukis, & Backhouse, 2014), that reflected small to moderate effects as well aiming to target a Power of 0.8, the power analysis yielded an estimated sample requirement of 400.

In total, 139 coaches began the survey, with 118 from the US (85%) and 30 (15%) from the UK. Collectively, 15 coached male (11%) sports, 6 (4%) coached female sports and 118 (85%) coached both male and female sports. The majority of coaches (40%; n = 89) did not indicate how many years of coaching experience they had. Of those that did specify (n = 136), most had 11+ years of coaching experience (37%; n = 85), followed by 6-10 years (14%; n = 32) and 0-5 years (8%; n = 19). A total of 26 sports were identified across the coaching sample (see Appendix 2). The most represented was swim and dive
(16%; n = 22), followed by ski and snowboard (14%; N = 20) and track and field/cross
country (12%; n = 16). The remaining sports represented under 10% of the population
each.

Additionally, 301 athletes entered the survey. The athlete group consisted of 137
males (46%) and 164 females (54%), with 267 from the US (89%) and 32 from the UK
(11%; only 299 indicated their country). The majority (45%; n = 128) of athletes had 0-5
years of experience in their sport, followed by 35% (n = 99) with 6-10 years of experience
and 20% (n = 56) with 11+ years of experience in their sport. A total of 54 sports were
represented across the athlete sample with one athlete not specifying what sport they
participated in (see Appendix 1). The most represented sports included track and field
(22%) and cycling (12%), with all other sports representing 5% or less of the population.

Data Analysis

For the purposes of the Final Report, descriptive statistics were conducted to explore
prominent themes.