



Cultural sport psychology as a pathway to advances in identity and settlement research to practice



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ABSTRACT

Objectives: To situate mostly European cultural sport psychology scholarship in a historical backdrop and then to draw on two recent examples from such scholarship to propose future prospects.

Design: A review of literature is utilized to situate the recent prominence of cultural sport psychology. This review is written temporally from past, to present, to future prospects.

Method: A presentation of scholarship is presented temporally relating to the following: (a) gender scholarship, (b) cross cultural voids in race and ethnicity, (c) situating of cultural sport psychology in present day, with the emergence of European scholars, (d) the topics of intersectionality of identity and acculturation are drawn upon to reveal diverse approaches taken in this line of scholarship and practice, and (e) reflections and recommendations are proposed, calling for openness of perspectives and topic areas.

Results: The presentation of scholarship is intended to serve as a form of advocacy for diverse approaches in cultural sport psychology. This advocacy is exemplified through such terms as cultural praxis and decolonization, beyond a broader call for receptiveness for diverse epistemological approaches.

Conclusions: Cultural sport psychology is now becoming popular, among both scholars and practitioners. The benefits from such approaches extend beyond advocacy through research to mental health benefits for sport participants and exercisers.

The European Federation of Sport Psychology is presently celebrating its 50th anniversary. Our authors are honored to be part of this *Psychology of Sport and Exercise* commemorative special issue. We have written this paper on cultural sport psychology, or CSP (Schinke & Hanrahan, 2009), having published this genre of scholarship within FEPSAC's journal for some time. Advocating for diversity of identity in (and through) sport psychology enriches our academic community, and we believe, pushes our domain to consider norms, values, modes of expression, research practices, and methods of intervention with closer attention (Schinke & Moore, 2011), whilst considering where and when these do and do not belong and why it is thus (Cole, 2010; Schinke, McGannon, Parham, & Lane, 2012).

Those who engage in CSP are concerned with exploring the unique cultural standpoints of sport participants and those who work with them in the field of sport via their various professional roles (e.g., mental training consultants, coaches, researchers, further sport science provisions, teammates). Furthermore, CSP scholars and practitioners

consider the impact of their own cultural practices and norms on people they engage with in dialog and how these contribute to the marginalization and centralization of people, including themselves and those they engage with (Schinke & McGannon, 2016). Now widely-accepted among scholars as a burgeoning form of advocacy, CSP has not yet parlayed consistently nor systematically into applied practice contexts, despite its evidence in progressive professional sport teams (e.g., Battochio et al., 2013). The omission of CSP, which can be found in many university institutions and national societies, has mostly continued despite the potential opportunities for inclusiveness that sport psychology can afford. As C. L. Cole noted in 2010: "Sport and exercise psychology's commitment to applied work makes it a privileged site for situated research and intervention into normalization practices and processes" (p. 399). A disconnect from the conceptual to the practical is understandable given that traction in scholarship, especially in a complex, multilayered and rich topic such as cultural diversity, tends to become visible in writing long before it is normalized within a domain

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and then taken up in practice. Sustained advocacy is needed to push us forward from overly simplified approaches that are monolithic to those that better reveal and centralize cultural identities, such as race, ethnicity, gender, and nationality (Andersen, 1993; Ryba & Wright, 2005; Schinke & McGannon, 2015). This paper is focused on a few key progressions in cultural sport psychology, and then, how two featured examples (i.e., identity and acculturation/migration), with support from the European Federation of Sport Psychology and European scholars have helped challenge sport psychologists to consider the cultural nuances in professionals, clients and participants. What this process offers is an opening up in our field to various sport psychologies that are local and potentially idiosyncratic. Though previous CSP reviews have focused on such topics as sport psychology as cultural praxis (Blodgett, Schinke, McGannon, & Fisher, 2015; Ryba & Wright, 2005) acculturation, and identity, each situated in CSP (Oghene, Schinke, Middleton, & Ryba, 2017), these discussions have yet to deliberately centralize the contributions originating from a single continent of scholars. Furthermore, this scholarship is growing at such a rapid rate that the current contribution updates previous reviews with a particular focus on two highly important topic areas in relation to present day: (a) athlete identity, given increasing recognition of the multiplicity of oneself, and (b) acculturation and settlement through sport, especially with current trends in athlete global migration and broader issues tied to asylum seeking.

1. Sport Psychology's first foray into cultural sport psychology

The origins of CSP were modest, with early calls stemming from at least 1990, for the exploration into the rich diversity of sport participants' and scholars' identities. Feminist scholars led one facet of inclusiveness focused on increased representation by female sport psychologists and more understandings about female sport participants (Gill, 2001). In a field that has been historically male dominated, this call was needed (e.g., Bredemeier, 2001; Oglesby, 2001). However, for several decades leading into more recent years, CSP was relegated to the status of being a special topic (Gill & Kamphoff, 2010; Gill & Ryba, 2014). This approach of marginalization has been the antithesis to cultural praxis, where there is a focus on locality, politics, and remedial advocacy (Ryba, Schinke, & Tenenbaum, 2010).

Duda and Alison (1990) revealed a second void in sport psychology literature relating to cultural and cross-cultural research projects. This second thread unveiled scholars perpetuating a mono-cultural approach to sport psychology; one that many of us (are or have) encountered as graduate students in theory and practical mental training skills courses (Ryba & Wright, 2005; Schinke, Hanrahan, & Catina, 2009). Our authors, among other scholars (e.g., Hill, 1993; Parham, 2005), found that sport psychologists tended to regularly omit race and ethnicity in their writings as if sport and physical activity were experienced the same, regardless of one's racial identity. There tended to be a misleading oversimplification at play, where it was posited that singular, or unifying, cross-cultural theories and skills sufficed for the field, with the knowledge of these being enough to proceed in professional work. Responding to the inaccurate and misleading assumption outlined above, Duda and Alison stated the following:

The failure to consider such variability among and between ethnic minorities not only diminishes the importance of their experiences within the sport/exercise domain but also leaves the theoretical understanding of the human condition in these contexts biased and distorted at best. (p. 115)

Practitioners were committing what the authors intimated as a problematic case scenario – clients and participants were not being considered for who they were and where they originated, despite sport psychology being intended as a helping profession designed to create or enhance sport opportunities. The inevitable consequence was, and in many contexts, continues to be, pronounced overgeneralizations of how

sport participants relate to those with whom they work, and what skills would be useful and congruent. Oversights and missteps were being committed with clients and research participants by focusing exclusively on one cultural characteristic such as race or ethnicity, and even stereotyping such characteristics (Andersen, 1993; Parham, 2005, 2013; Schinke & McGannon, 2016).

Considering only the two examples of advocacy above, gender and race, the beginning of a sojourn into CSP, though pioneering, remained simplified and limiting in relation to a few key social locations where attempts at inclusiveness were undertaken. Thus, there remained barriers regarding who participants could be within sport, versus who they were supported to be (Schinke, Stambulova, Si, & Moore, 2017). The intended consumers of sport psychology were thus being restricted into services built upon understandings that were sometimes unsuited/misaligned with their origins and current formation (Parham, 2013). Stepping into our field from research labs to practical contexts was necessary so as to generate some of these idiosyncratic understandings that comprised inclusiveness (Martens, 1987). However, having one's feet firmly set in an applied context was not sufficient when it came to effectively engaging with sport participants. Hence, enthusiastic sport psychologists could have entered into this field, begun professional careers, and adopted hit or miss approaches in their interventional approaches based on constrained and potentially misguided understandings of what clients were seeking (Parham, 2016). Progressing in a career, these people might then have instilled the same approaches in the next generation of professionals, that is unless they volitionally, or through one or more jolting experiences, made a decision to become self-reflexive of how certain cultural identities were being privileged and others not (Schinke et al., 2012).

Perhaps the reason for such omissions was no formal training in multicultural or cultural safety practices. Though multicultural guidelines would eventually be developed by the American Psychological Association (2003), in sport psychology it took until 2015, more than 25 years past the day of the aforementioned early calls for inclusiveness, when the Association for Applied Sport Psychology (AASP) eventually mandated a universal form of cultural training within its accreditation. More recent progressive changes are evident, with the present entry into accreditation by the International Society of Sport Psychology (Schinke et al., 2018). Embedded in the ISSP Registry, cultural training is now being mandated through localized approaches that are contextually driven (see Stambulova & Schinke, 2017), pertinent to the intended clients, developed in partnership with national societies, so as to align with the aforementioned tenets of cultural praxis (see Blodgett et al., 2015). Despite a continued optimism that our field is moving toward inclusiveness, we wager for a little while longer – inclusiveness will remain a topic that creates discomfort among sport and exercise psychologists. Though offering richness and empowerment, culture is complex to understand, be it from the vantage of a teammate, coach, or sport psychology consultant. This is also compounded by limited access for aspiring sport psychologists to gain sufficient localized formal training in such skills (Ryba, Stambulova, Si, & Schinke, 2013). However, researchers and practitioners must agree that sport participants, just as the people who serve them, are diverse, with rich, layered, and unique identities that need to be supported, and that this must be a social mission embedded within our professionals (see Schinke, Stambulova, Lidor, Papaioannou, & Ryba, 2016). According to the recent International Society of Sport Psychology Position Stands on Athlete Mental Health (Schinke et al., 2017) and Transnationalism, Mobility, and Acculturation in and through Sport (Ryba, Schinke, Stambulova, & Elbe, 2017), the authors have advocated that any process that silences identity will impede holistic development, and contribute to athlete distress, self-harming, deselection, and then lengthier-term trauma.

2. The branding of cultural sport psychology scholarship

A growing recognition of voids in research and practice catalyzed a landmark moment, when then co-editors Gershon Tenenbaum and Dieter Hackfort of the *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology* (IJSEP) encouraged forth a special issue focused on decolonizing methodologies, guest co-edited by our co-author and European colleague Tatiana Ryba along with our first author (see Ryba & Schinke, 2009). The focus on methodologies was driven by an intention to break down barriers and expand culture's importance in research processes, through and exploration into topics that centralized unique lenses from Europe, North America, and Oceania. The objective was to more carefully consider the words of participants previously marginalized and research practices previously not known or not widely supported. Understandings about decolonization of subjectivity had advanced considerably in 10 years between its popular presentation by Linda Smith, an Indigenous Maori scholar, in 1999, to when the aforementioned special issue in sport psychology was printed. The concept of decolonizing then began to resonate as scholars sought to examine or re-examine a few troubling questions in relation to scholarship and how it was marginalizing vulnerable people. Questions that surfaced in the installment included whose questions we were asking as academicians, whose they should be, whose understandings were being printed, why, and what were the consequence in relation science and practice (Ryba & Schinke, 2009)? Though de-colonization was historically associated with the Indigenous, it caught the interest of people beginning to focus on marginalized identities, more broadly. Included among a wider series of papers were scholars focused on a fringe sport (i.e., snowboarding) at the sub-cultural level (Thorpe, 2009), a person introspecting about his own racial privilege (Butryn, 2010; Schinke et al., 2009), the crossing boundaries of a few researchers who found themselves silencing participants (Smith, Collinson, Phoenix, Brown, & Sparkes, 2009), and Canadian colleagues from European descent attempting to parlay research into practice with Indigenous co-researchers navigating issues of power in a community based research project (Schinke, Peltier et al., 2009). Reflecting upon this early venture by the *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, we share a few words. First, more than half of the accepted papers centralized European scholars, beyond the prominence of this topic. This, in itself, was a cultural turn of sorts, given that much of the earlier calls for inclusiveness originated in the United States, not from Europeans. Second, the intentions behind this release were correct and the contributions were resonant. However, the special issue timing in relation to the field and the recent emergence of this journal resulted in a compilation that was not often cited, beyond a tightly knit group of subscribers who endorsed CSP. As we see below, timing is no longer an issue; cultural sport psychology is now popular, accessible, and increasingly practical.

Psychology of Sport and Exercise (PSE), in keeping with the European Federation of Sport Psychology's progressive approach to our field, has recognized the quandaries outlined above. After a brief discussion in 2013 at an international congress co-editors Bernd Strauss and Nikos Ntoumanis agreed that a special section of this journal would be focused on the topic of intersectionality of identity. The intention was to expand identity scholarship beyond singular and fractured understandings of sport participants to multiple co-mingling representations, that are complex and shifting dependent on context and circumstance (Schinke & McGannon, 2016). These contributions, situated in relation to an editorial about intersecting identities (i.e., identities that overlap and shift in priority), then, perhaps for the first time, reached a wide scholarly audience. Among the authors, it was requested that each considers their participants as well as themselves as multidimensional in terms of representations (see McGannon & Johnson, 2009). One now finds a variety of explorations into identity in *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, as this journal is known to be hospitable to CSP, regardless of whether it is situated as cross-cultural, cultural psychology, or cultural

praxis (see Ryba et al., 2013).

We have chosen to focus on two recent turns that have been taking place in CSP in relation to the cultural and sub-cultural aspects of our field, identity and acculturation, which are both steeped in European scholarship. European scholars have encouraged our field to look more globally at how we might create bridges through cultural exchanges and a recognition of cultural complexities. Much of our focus is emancipatory, seeking to give athletes freedom to express themselves in their own ways, verbally and non-verbally.

3. Intersectionality of athlete identity

Intersectionality has emerged from the work of critical feminist and race scholars (e.g., Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 1983; Hooks, 1984), who emphasized the ways in which race, class, and gender interacted and reciprocally constructed people's lived realities (e.g., as Black woman) rather than operating as mutually exclusive or additive facets of experience (e.g., being Black + being a woman). Scholars have begun engaging intersectionality as a critical, praxis-oriented lens for advancing holistic and transformative ways of thinking about and engaging with sport participants. These scholars revealed how multiple, interlocking systems of oppression and discrimination – such as racism, sexism, heterosexism, ageism, and ableism – shaped the everyday lives of marginalized people in relation to their sociocultural identities (Hulko, 2009). They elucidated that human lives tend to be complex, fluid, and multi-dimensional, more so than often presented in social science research, and that people's presentations of the self cannot be reduced to static identity categories or single axis thinking. People necessarily occupy multiple social locations simultaneously, which intersect and fluidly shape power, privilege, and/or oppression. Intersectionality has been engaged as an analytical lens through which researchers can view the social world and more comprehensively attend to oppression, social justice, and wellness, in the spirit of praxis (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013).

Several CSP researchers have adopted this approach to self and identity as plural, moving away from simplified, unitary understandings (Douglas & Carless, 2016; Ryba & Wright, 2005; Smith, 2010; Smith & Sparkes, 2008), though it should be noted that we wish not to privilege critical views of identity over essentialist approaches, but rather, present such developments as expansions in the identity scholarship. Two meta-studies of athletic identity research (Ronkainen, Kavoura, & Ryba, 2016b, 2016a) affirmed that there has been a recent shift away from long-dominant post-positive approaches in identity research, towards interpretive and constructionist approaches that emphasize fluid, contextual, and socially constructed identities. The study authors indicated that narrative and discursive approaches are being increasingly used to foreground the multiplicity and socially constructed nature of identities and explore how they fluidly shape athletes' experiences and sense of well-being (see also McGannon & Smith, 2015). Through these approaches, identities and their meanings are understood as being multiple, fluid, and ever-changing in different contexts, reshaped by particular social, cultural, historical, and political milieus as well as multiple discourses and narratives (Douglas, 2014; McGannon & Smith, 2015). People create and enact their identities through the stories they tell and feel a part of; these stories are intertwined with other people and constituted by broader sociocultural narratives/discourses that are embedded in the landscapes they inhabit, thus shaping particular ways of seeing and being in the world (Douglas & Carless, 2009; Smith, 2010; Smith & Sparkes, 2009).

Although few sport psychology researchers have used the term "intersectionality" to frame their work, intersectional insights are being revealed around "the entanglement of identity categories that make up an individual, the differential attributions of power that result from such varied configurations, and the need to view intersectional beings holistically rather than try to tease apart different strands of identity" (Hulko, 2009, p. 48). Researchers that have explored complex identity

negotiations and meanings around gender, motherhood, disability, age, race and ethnicity and the athlete identity/career, each framed and interpreted their writings within a particular sport context (e.g., Blodgett & Schinke, 2015; Carless & Douglas, 2013; Carless, Sparkes, Douglas, & Cooke, 2014; Douglas, 2014; Kavoura, Kokkonen, Chroni, & Ryba, 2017; Ronkainen, Ryba, & Nesti, 2013; Ryba, Ronkainen, & Selanne, 2015; Smith, Bundon, & Best, 2016). This scholarship has destabilized athletic identity as a singular sport role, and extended scholarship focused on one or a few identities to understandings of athletes as multifaceted people who may not conform to dominant norms, where certain identities are centralized or overly simplified (Ronkainen et al., 2016b), such as in the cases of an over-emphasis on nationality, or race, or ethnicity. Hence, certain scholars have explicitly challenged the dominant performance-based narratives (e.g., athlete as a monolithic performer) as restricting the development of athletes' whole identities and generated alternative narratives which are richer, more meaningful and more empowering (e.g., Carless & Douglas, 2012, 2013; Douglas, 2014; Ronkainen & Ryba, 2017).

Examples of European sport psychology research that have explored identities as multiple, fluid and socially constructed include Smith, Bundon, and Best's (2016) narrative research examining activist identities among disabled, elite athletes; Douglas' (2014) arts-informed research examining her self-identity within sport through narratives written by her, from her athlete perspective, in contrast to media stories written about her; and Ronkainen, Harrison, and Ryba's (2014) analytical autoethnography examining the first author's negotiation of her running identity during a temporary migration to China, and how it was shaped by discourses of class, politics, gender, geography, and modernity. Each contribution facilitates expanded understandings of athlete identities and their various articulations of power, privilege, and oppression, and reveals insight into how practitioners may better engage with and support athletes holistically.

Smith et al. (2016), for example, highlighted how participants in their project constructed sporting activist identities that were shaped by their positions as elite athletes and their identification as disabled. Differences amongst the participants in terms of where they positioned "athlete" in their identity hierarchy compared to "disabled" affected whether or not they also performed a political activist identity outside of sport and challenged (or even recognized) disablism as a social oppression in society. The authors revealed how the transition into retirement and out of the "sporting bubble" caused a shift in many athletes' activist identities, as they became more profoundly aware of the realities of disablism and the need to take political action. While revealing the damage that social oppression can have on well-being following retirement, the authors further discussed possibilities for amplifying (sharing) stories of activism in order to counter limiting assumptions; expand athletes' awareness of different identities within disability sport so that they can develop other identities, if they wish; and create safe spaces where athletes can discuss activist issues and concerns. These findings demonstrate an implicit praxis agenda that aims to advance positive social transformation within and through disability sport. That is, by centralizing the intersecting identities of athletes who are typically marginalized within the field (i.e., those with disabilities and activist identities), the authors revealed critical possibilities for challenging dominant narratives around these athletes' lives and disrupting the forms of social oppression which disadvantage them.

The 2015 special section of *Psychology of Sport and Exercise* (Schinke & McGannon, 2015) marked a critical advancement in terms of explicitly engaging intersectionality within CSP scholarship for the first time, in order to explore issues of power and social justice within sport. The intersectional lens was used to illuminate how cultural identities layer together and result in different configurations of power which, in turn, lead to some individuals feeling that they do not belong in particular sport contexts, are socially excluded or unsupported, and/or are discriminated against. Kavoura, Ryba, and Chroni (2015) used a Foucauldian discourse analysis to examine the ways in which female Greek

judokas constructed their sport careers and identities in relation to gender power dynamics that intersected with both the globalized judo culture and local Greek culture. The authors found that the judokas drew upon various oppressive gender discourses (e.g., a discourse of female biological inferiority, a patriarchal discourse, a performance discourse) while attempting to establish themselves in their sport, which infiltrated their subjectivities to the point that the athletes themselves reproduced the gender hierarchy within judo. Shaped as feminist cultural praxis, the research centralized the need for sport researchers and practitioners to support female martial artists in re-constructing martial arts as a field to which they possess the ability and right to belong. Similarly, Sarkar, Hill, and Parker (2015) explored ethical issues that can arise for sport psychologists when working with individuals who have religious and spiritual identities which intersect with the athlete identity. These authors centralized a cultural praxis agenda by using the RRICC (respect, responsibility, integrity, competence, and concern) model to reveal how practitioners can better navigate the terrain of religion, spirituality, and psychological practice, and support identities which have been marginalized within sport.

Collectively, the contributions in the special section encouraged sport researchers and practitioners to reflect on their own roles in reinforcing and/or challenging dominant stereotypes and identity concealment amongst athletes. Researchers and practitioners are encouraged to be culturally reflexive in considering their own identities and positions of power, their perspectives of who athletes are, and the types of sport practices they endorse (Ryba et al., 2013). Through such reflection, more concerted efforts can be made to encourage athletes to enact their multidimensional identities that extend beyond the performance narrative (Carless & Douglas, 2013; Douglas, 2014). The contributions stand as eclectic examples of how the intersectional lens is being used to open up new ways of thinking about issues of diversity and difference in relation to contextual dynamics of power, and better understand experiences of marginalization that impact athletes' well-being and sense of belonging within sport. Rather than continuing to reproduce social inequalities and remain a site of social exclusion for many individuals because of who they are, sport can become a site of social integration (Schinke, Blodgett, McGannon, & Ge, 2016).

4. Newcomer and societal acculturation through sport and physical activity

Sport and physical activity have historically been used as a means of building national identity and integrating ethnic peoples into the mainstream culture. As social inclusion has become one of the European Union's top priorities in the recent global refugee crisis, the European Commission (2016) called for the exchange of good practices on integration of migrants and refugees in society. Although sport is often assumed to be the level playing field that transcends cultural, social, and political boundaries, there is limited evidence-based knowledge to elucidate specific mechanisms through which sport may facilitate social integration of newcomers (for a review, see Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Elbe, Kouli, & Sanchez, 2013). Hence, understanding the processes of acculturation and the ways in which the sport environment could be developed to encompass an integrative role have emerged as important and controversial topics (Ryba et al., 2017; Schinke, Blodgett, et al., 2016).

A multicultural team of European researchers, including Anne-Marie Elbe, Antonis Hatzigeorgiadis and Xavier Sanchez, conducted a series of cross-cultural psychological studies with migrant youth in Greece and Spain that have revealed the role sport environmental factors play in achieving desired adaptive outcomes. The researchers applied Berry's (1980, 1997) two-dimensional model of acculturation, based on the principles of cultural maintenance and contact-participation. This model presents different interaction strategies individuals use in their (a) wish to maintain their cultural identity and (b) desire to interact with other cultures. According to this model, integration is the

most effective acculturation strategy for migrants, which reflects the desire to maintain cultural heritage while at the same time interacting with the host culture. A high tendency to adopt the host culture's values and at the same time relinquish one's cultural background is described as assimilation. Whereas, the opposite, that is avoiding attempts to interact with the host culture and remaining attached to one's cultural background, is described as separation. Lastly, low interest in both the host and one's original culture is described as marginalization. Within this conceptualization, ethnic identity is described as the importance attached to one's own ethnic background, its values and practices, and reflects the cultural maintenance dimension in Berry's model, whereas cultural identity is described as the importance attached to the broader cultural context and reflects the cultural interaction dimension. According to Berry's framework a strong ethnic identity in combination with a strong cultural identity is the ideal combination for the promotion of integration.

As examples of the aforementioned European transnational collaboration, Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Kouli, Elbe, and Sanchez (2013) reported on the relationship between team cohesion and ethnic-cultural identity in migrant youth sport-club athletes, aged 13–18, in Greece. Findings showed that cohesion negatively predicted feelings of fringe/exclusion and lack of interaction, which suggest that sport participation, particularly in cohesive teams, can facilitate the development of an adaptive identity towards the goal of social integration in migrant adolescents. Elbe et al. (2016) examined the relation between ethnic-cultural identity and sport environmental factors in two heterogeneous samples in the sport club context: one from Spain including South American young athletes playing in teams consisting of South Americans only, and one from Greece including migrants, mostly from Eastern Europe and the Balkans, participating in mixed teams. Greek youth of the Eastern European origin scored higher on feelings of fringe and assimilation, and lower on lack of interaction compared to Latin American inhabitants of Spain. For the sample from Greece, findings showed that a perceived mastery-oriented climate was negatively related to lack of interaction, whereas perceptions of autonomy support predicted ethnic belonging. The analysis for the sample from Spain showed that the predictor variables could not significantly explain any of the ethnic-cultural identity dimensions. The societal context and the team composition may be a plausible explanation for these findings. It could be argued that for the sample of young migrants from a newly established diaspora (i.e., the sample of Eastern European and Balkan youth living in Greece), who might seek contact and opportunities to interact actively, the motivational environment can play a significant role to facilitate integration. Contrastingly, for the sample of young migrants from a well-established diaspora (i.e., the sample of Latin youth living in Spain) the role of sport, and consequently that of the sport environment, may be limited because they have a relatively stable cultural and ethnic identity, which they might seek to further enhance or maintain. These findings are aligned with previous developmental research that cultural and political assimilation/integration is embedded in power relations and that sport participation may induce desired socio-moral outcomes, but it depends on the (organizational) culture in which sporting activities take place (e.g., Schinke, Blodgett, et al., 2016; Shields & Bredemeier, 2007).

CSP researchers worldwide have studied the cultural transitions and adaptation experiences of immigrated athletes (e.g., Schinke, Blodgett, et al., 2016; Schinke, McGannon, Battochio, & Wells, 2013), indigenous athletes (e.g., Blodgett & Schinke, 2015; Light, Evans, & Lavallee, 2017), and transnational migrant athletes (e.g., Richardson, Littlewood, Nesti, & Benstead, 2012; Ryba, Stambulova, & Ronkainen, 2016; Ryba, Stambulova, Ronkainen, Bundgaard, & Selanne, 2015) from critical acculturation and/or career and life transitions frameworks. From a critical psychological perspective (see Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Chirkov, 2009), acculturation is open-ended and ongoing, executed in cognitive movements between different cultural standpoints, and consequently difficult to predict and regulate. Schinke and his colleagues exemplified

the fluidities of acculturation pathways within various social contexts in their studies of immigrant athletes and coaches (Schinke et al., 2013, 2016) and aboriginal athletes in a Euro-Canadian cultural context (Blodgett & Schinke, 2015), who reported the need to navigate between cultural norms of the original home and destination communities in a continuous process of negotiating meanings and their subject positions. The complexity of acculturation trajectories was revealed by showing how migrants confronted racism, exclusion, and damaging stereotypes while simultaneously feeling disconnected from their ethnic communities as well as experienced marginalization, identity crisis, and acculturative stress upon their return to their community of origin. Using critical qualitative methodologies, it was possible to represent acculturation fluidities through progresses, relapses, and narrative movements between distinct, sometimes contradictory, accounts. Against this backdrop, Schinke et al. (2013) positioned migrant athletes' acculturation processes as adaptive or maladaptive dependent on whether these were construed as shared with coaches and teammates from the receiving culture (i.e., two-way) or shouldered (one-way) efforts when newcomers are left alone to adapt. Shouldered acculturation creates higher acculturative stress in (im)migrants and might lead to maladaptive acculturation (e.g., identity crisis, depression, under-performance), returning home, or the terminating of athletic careers. Furthermore, in keeping with previously cited scholarship relating to identities, this form of critical scholarship often was underpinned by methods, such as vignettes and further forms of narrative (e.g., Blodgett & Schinke, 2015). The intention was to excavate the complexity of immigrant athletes, not constituted by a single identity, such as a nationality or race, but rather, as having overlapping identities, that together position newcomers as complex to understand, and far more diverse than any fractured characteristic (Schinke, Blodgett, et al., 2016).

As transnational flows of athletic migrants within and between nation states dramatically increased in the last 20 years, the process of cultural transitioning into professional sport and sport as high revenue business has also gained the attention of CSP researchers. For example, Richardson et al. (2012) and Light et al. (2017) examined cultural transitions of transnational athletes as a quasi-normative career transition (Stambulova, 2016) to the global sport of the English Premier League and the Australian Football League, respectively, and the implications cultural transitioning has for athletes' performance and lives outside their sport. The authors highlighted the profound importance of culture in this process and indicated the ways in which the mismatch between the athletes' own, inherently cultural, mode of being and their new social and cultural contexts manifested in the challenges involved in cultural adaptation on and off the field that the transitioning athletes had to overcome. It also became apparent that as migrants culturally transition into their new environment, their developmental tasks as well as tensions between migrants and destination communities change over time. Ryba et al. (2016) adopted an innovative approach to study acculturative change in time-based trajectories through a recent analysis of transnational athletes' life stories. Ryba et al. aimed to deepen current understandings of underlying psychosocial processes activated in cultural transitions. The authors positioned the migrant athletes' experiences in critical acculturation literature and summarized cultural transitioning as an emergent account of the relationship between a social context in specific localities and a migrant's development needs. The proposed Cultural Transition Model consists of three phases, pre-transition, acute acculturation and sociocultural adaptation, and each transitional phase presents developmental tasks that shape acculturation pathways. Ryba and colleagues identified three underlying adaptive mechanisms that worked together at each phase to enhance a transitioning process of athletes to the new environment from a cultural perspective: (a) repositioning and calibration of social relations and networks, (b) negotiation of cultural practices, and (c) decoding and reconstruction of meanings that regulate individual functioning in specific sociocultural contexts.

Both cultural and cross-cultural studies on acculturation and integration of migrants conducted from a variety of methodological approaches suggest that acculturative changes occur in all aspects of daily life, such as sport, school, relationships, and may not follow the same trajectory in relation to, for example, time or dimensions of cultural identifications (see also Ryba et al., 2017). Moreover, studying descriptions of living through different cultural transitions among diverse migrant groups yielded a fuller understanding of complex acculturation processes as being socially constructed and dynamically produced within matrices of power relations. As we already pointed out, in order to induce desired adaptive outcomes in and through sport, the athletic acculturating environments need to be purposefully transformed in relation to intercultural dynamics. However, previous research has mainly focused on migrants' experiences or stories, and little is known about the perspectives or presentations and practices of the hosts as they come into contact with newcomers. Attempting to fill this void, Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Sanchez, Papaioannou, and Elbe (2017) examined acculturation attitudes of Greek adolescents from the host population as a function of sport participation. The authors found that athletes showed more accepting attitudes towards multicultural contact than non-athletes and that empowering athletic climate was positively associated with multiculturalism attitudes while motivational environments characterized by a performance-oriented climate and controlling coaching behavior was negatively linked to multiculturalism attitudes. The above cited authors' study supports previous research that teammates, coaches, and support staff play a crucial role in enhancing migrants' acculturation (e.g., Richardson et al., 2012; Ryba et al., 2016; Schinke et al., 2013) and that coaches' behaviors in creating empowering acculturating environment appear to be decisive for whether desirable outcomes towards the goal of integration can be achieved.

5. Concluding remarks

As we seek to conclude a generous invitation to contribute to this journal's FEPSAC Anniversary Special Issue, we are left with key reflections. Among these, we sketched a simplified historical backdrop regarding the origins of CSP to situate our discussion. This backdrop was then used to excavate two topics: identity and acculturation. We wish not to suggest that these two topics should be privileged. There are several additional emerging topics one might read about in the larger trajectory, each growing rapidly. For example, career scholarship has now taken on the turn toward cultural praxis (Stambulova, 2016; Stambulova & Ryba, 2013). Through this process, scholars and practitioners are now acquiring an enriched understanding about the complexity of culturally infused career paths and how these are being navigated in various sport systems. Also tracing back to the aforementioned special issue on decolonizing methodologies, it too, should continue to be centralized in the scholarship. Decolonization as Ryba and Schinke (2009) framed it, focused on methodologies, and how one's research could be grounded in emancipatory action(s). This concept of decolonizing can also be extended to practitioners. Practitioners can colonize or decolonize through their applied work, and an exploration into self-reflective or self-reflexive practices (see Schinke et al., 2012) can augment practitioner awareness of their role in this process, opening up more opportunities for increased athlete mental health (Schinke et al., 2017). Though such work is presently scarce due to the lack of available training on reflexive practice, recent discussions within a multi-societal position stand on accreditation include discussions on cultural inclusiveness for the applied realm (see Schinke et al., 2018). Embedded within this process of reflexivity the reader will find that the International Society of Sport Psychology is hard at work creating a cultural safety module for aspiring practitioners, which is to include both locally derived cultural competence training as well as discussions relating to how a practitioner might reconcile local and personal cultural standpoints in work with potential clients. This

undertaking will be challenging, given that what little is known about cultural competence is derived from multicultural guidelines. However, our authors anticipate that through careful consultation with national societies, more meaningful localized approaches will be derived that centralize the most relevant cultural identities in each society, whilst reducing practitioner resistance to engage in this challenging form of self-awareness. There also remains an important place for cross-cultural comparisons that might focus on a single aspect of identity, or perhaps now, several of these embedded within the same project. Doing so would affirm an important approach to CSP, while opening up its reach based on what we now have learned about multifaceted identities.

The point we wish to make is that CSP as it was originally conceived, and as we see it, is meant to be inclusive and pliable, not restrictive and gated. Diversity by its very nature suggests one must be inclusive of a breadth of topics and a bandwidth of perspectives. We believe that an openness to topics, and of equal importance, how these are approached, must be left wide open so as to invite diverse positionalities. Originally, cultural sport psychology was presented by Schinke and Hanrahan (2009) as integrating cross-cultural sport psychology, cultural psychology, and cultural praxis. With each root, there will be different ways of exploring knowledge and none of these should be privileged or placed in vogue over another. The intent, we believe, must be to push the field of sport and exercise psychology to consider issues tied to diversity at local levels, utilizing as many creative methods as are needed to unearth where uniqueness is being masked or hidden, so that we might be further enlightened by the people we serve. Only then might we be true to the original tenets of this discourse, which originated from marginalized voices and omitted subject matter. Now is the time for openness.

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