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What Do We Know About the Sporting Experiences of Gender and Sexual Minority Athletes and Coaches? A Scoping Review

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What do we know about the sporting experiences of gender and sexual minority athletes and coaches? A scoping review

Scholarship on gender and sexual diversity in sport has advanced during the last decade and it is nowadays recognised that we need a better understanding of how to facilitate inclusive sport cultures that allow all people to participate as themselves. The purpose of this scoping review was to map research activity on the sporting experiences of gender and sexual minority (GSM) athletes and coaches, identify gaps in the literature and provide suggestions for future research, policy and practice. Our literature search in four different databases yielded 58 relevant studies. Based on their focal areas, five dominant interconnected themes were identified: (1) identity, (2) discrimination, (3) coming out, (4) the body and (5) strategies for social change. More research is needed on bisexual, transgender and intersex athletes, on GSM coaches and junior athletes, as well as on the intersection of gender and sexuality with other identities and social categories of difference. Combining anti-discrimination policy implementation with gender and sexual diversity education for all those involved in sport could lead to positive changes in some of the issues that GSM athletes and coaches face in sport.

Keywords: diversity; gender identity; LGBTIQ; sexuality; sport

Introduction

Gender and sexual minorities (GSM) are ‘individuals who identify with a gender identity other than cisgender and/or a sexual orientation other than heterosexual’ (Smalley, Warren, & Barefoot, 2018, p. 9). The term cisgender is used to describe people whose gender identity matches the sex that they were assigned at birth (American Psychological Association, 2015). Historically, GSM individuals have been relegated to the margins of our sporting cultures and their experiences have been underrepresented in the sport literature (Krane, 2019). This has been well documented by Brackenridge and her colleagues (2008), who reviewed the scholarship on sexual orientation in sport and found substantial gaps in what we know about the experiences of GSM people in sport. Particularly, the authors found that bisexual and transgender identities were underrepresented in sport research and there was limited knowledge on how anti-discrimination policies were implemented by sport clubs and organisations, as well as what was the impact of homophobia and transphobia on athletes and coaches (Brackenridge et al., 2008). Yet, over the decade following the Brackenridge et al. (2008) review, scholarship on GSM in sport has increased (e.g. Kokkonen, 2014; Krane, 2019; Linghede & Larsson, 2017). Researchers have explored a variety of issues, such as attitudes towards gender and sexual diversity in sport (Anderson & Adams, 2011; Magrath, Anderson, & Roberts, 2013; Piedra, García-Pérez, & Channon, 2017), media coverage and online comments about GSM athletes and coaches (Coche & Le Blond, 2018; Kian, Anderson, & Shipka, 2015), and the development and complexities of sport-related, GSM-inclusive events, spaces, programmes and policies (Caudwell, 2018; Shaw, 2018).

While some of these studies reveal an attitudinal shift towards greater inclusiveness in the Western sporting world (Anderson & Adams, 2011; Kian et al.,

2015; Magrath et al., 2013), others have found persistent prejudice, homophobia, and transphobia in sport (Coche & Le Blond, 2018; Hargie, Mitchell, & Somerville, 2017), often under the cover of a ‘pseudo-inclusive’ climate (Piedra et al., 2017, p. 1023). For example, derogatory humour targeted at gay people continues to exist in sporting cultures (Coche & Le Blonde, 2018) and transgender people continue to be excluded from sport in multiple ways (Hargie et al., 2017). Consequently, GSM people are more likely to avoid participation in organised sport (Doull, Watson, Smith, Homma, & Saewyc, 2018). Some scholars have also argued that, owing to their marginalised status, GSM athletes have higher rates of substance use (Veliz, Boyd, & McCabe, 2016) and are at higher risk for mental health problems (Kroshus & Davoren, 2016) than their heterosexual counterparts.

Understanding how to facilitate inclusive sporting environments is important, as the numbers of ‘out’ athletes and coaches are now higher than ever before (Krane, 2019). Through providing better support and enhancing visibility for GSM athletes and coaches, we can establish sport cultures of openness and respect for everyone (Krane & Barber, 2019). This scoping review was conducted in order to provide an updated overview of the empirical scholarship on GSM experiences in sport. The aims were: (1) to describe the current state of the evidence-based knowledge, (2) to identify gaps in the literature, and (3) to provide recommendations for future research, policy and practice. Our scoping review was guided by the question: *What do we know about the sporting experiences of GSM athletes and coaches?* As noted recently by the International Olympic Committee consensus statement (Mountjoy et al., 2016), the experiences of GSM athletes remain largely unknown. To the best of our knowledge, even less interest has been shown in the experiences of GSM coaches, even though it is recognised that they play a key role in destabilising heteronormativity in sport (Kauer, 2009). As far as

we know, research on GSM athletes and coaches has not been comprehensively reviewed in recent years. Other scholars have reviewed the literature on GSM adults' engagement in physical activity (Herrick & Duncan, 2018) and on trans persons' experiences in physical activity and sport (Jones, Arcelus, Bouman, & Haycraft, 2017; Pérez-Samaniego, Fuentes-Miguel, Pereira-García, López-Cañada, & Devís-Devís, 2018).

Methodology

In this scoping review, we followed the framework outlined by Arksey and O'Malley (2005) as it enables the comprehensive coverage of a body of scholarship as compared to other types of review (e.g. systematic reviews) that tend to focus on a narrow range of quality-defined studies and/or on particular study designs or methods. The Arksey and O'Malley (2005) framework comprises five phases: (1) identifying the research question, (2) identifying relevant studies, (3) study selection, (4) charting the data and (5) collating, summarising, and reporting the results. In this review, we also considered methodological enhancements (e.g. the clarification of key terms described in detail below) proposed elsewhere (Daudt, van Mossel, & Scott, 2013; Levac, Heather, & O'Brien, 2010; Pham et al., 2014).

Identifying the research question

As recommended by Levac and colleagues (2010), we used a broad research question combined with clear definitions of the concepts and study populations of relevance to this study. As previously stated, the question that guided our work was: *What do we know about the sporting experiences of GSM athletes and coaches?* In line with other feminist scholars (e.g. Scott, 1992), we see the project of making experience visible as a way of breaking the silence that has been enforced to GSM people in sport and exposing

(and showing the impact of) the challenges that they face due to heteronormativity. Since the Arksey and O'Malley (2005) methodology requires the identification of all the relevant literature regardless of the study design, we did not limit this review to any specific epistemological, theoretical or methodological approach. The umbrella term GSM was also purposefully selected as it includes lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer (LGBTQ) people and other lesser-studied minority groups, such as gaie (Ravel & Rail, 2006) and two-spirited (Jacobs, Thomas, & Lang, 1997). However, we use the term minority with reservations, not wishing to normalise hetero- and cisnormativity, but referring primarily to the unequal distribution of power and resources. On the issue of who counts as an athlete or coach, participants had to be described either directly as such by the authors of the original publications or as having participated in sport competitions or sport leagues.

Identifying relevant studies

After identifying the research question and clarifying the key terms, we searched for relevant studies in four different electronic databases (ScienceDirect, SPORTDiscus with Full Text, PsycINFO, and ERIC) using the terms '(sexual minority OR gender minority OR LGBT* OR gay OR homosexual OR lesbian OR bisexual OR transgender OR queer) AND (athlet* OR sport* OR coach*)'. Owing to limited resources, we restricted our search to peer-reviewed, empirical journal articles written in English. In addition to the database search, we hand-searched the reference lists of 13 relevant papers (e.g. Anderson & Bullingham, 2015; Caudwell, 2014; Klein, Paule-Koba, & Krane, 2018; Ravel & Rail, 2008). The search for articles lasted from June 14 to October 23, 2018. As suggested by Daudt and colleagues (2013), all the references were imported into the web-based bibliographic manager RefWorks, which helped us to

remove duplicate citations.

Study selection

The selection process is shown in Figure 1 using a PRISMA flowchart (Moher et al., 2009). As in Pham et al. (2014), we used a two-level screening process to select studies for inclusion in this review. The first level consisted of screening the titles and abstracts of the identified papers. During this phase, we independently read 200 abstracts and (as suggested by Levac et al., 2010) met frequently to discuss and refine our decisions regarding the inclusion criteria, which were the following: in addition to being empirical, peer-reviewed journal articles published in English, studies had to focus on organised sport contexts. Thus, studies on leisure or physical education were excluded. Also, studies had to be based on personal accounts (e.g. interviews, narratives, stories, or surveys) given by GSM athletes or coaches. Consequently, participants had to self-identify as GSM and be described as athletes (elite or recreational, active or retired) or sport coaches, or as having competed in sport, or as having played in a sports league. Studies in which the participants' self-identification or sport role was not clear were not included (e.g. Cavalier, 2011; Johansson, 2018). However, studies on mixed samples (e.g. athletes and non-athletes, GSM and non-GSM populations) were included. We excluded studies based on the accounts or texts of others (heterosexual and cisgender athletes, coaches, parents, journalists, fans, and policy makers) in such domains as media and social-media studies and studies on attitudes towards gender and sexual diversity in sport. Although important, such studies do not necessarily include first-hand accounts of the experiences, perspectives, or points of view of GSM athletes or coaches. Finally, we excluded studies that did not focus on subjects' experiences per se, but instead assessed the health (mental or physical) or health behaviour (e.g. substance use,

motivation to participate in sport and exercise) of GSM individuals.

The second level of the screening process consisted of obtaining and reviewing the full texts of the articles deemed relevant after the screening of titles and abstracts. Full texts were initially read by the first author. In eight cases where the eligibility decision was difficult, the full texts were read independently by both authors who then met to discuss whether to include them or not.

Charting the data

All citations identified as relevant for inclusion were imported into Microsoft Excel. These articles were then read in full and assigned thematic codes according to the research focus. In addition to the thematic codes, the following data were charted on the Excel worksheet: author(s), year of publication, geographical location, study populations, sport context, methodological approach, theoretical framework, and important results (Table 1). The thematic codes were then grouped into primary themes that were subsequently used to organise, summarise and report the results. In the results section, we first describe the general characteristics of the included studies. Second, we present summaries of the primary thematic areas identified in the studies. At the end of this paper, we identify gaps in the literature and discuss the implications of these results for research, policy and practice.

Results

As shown in Figure 1, the database search generated 4 228 references. After omitting duplicates, 2 037 references remained for screening. To these, we added 22 papers that we identified in the reference lists of relevant articles. The first screening phase (reading titles and abstracts) yielded 176 articles for the second screening phase (reading full texts). Of these, 58 articles met our inclusion criteria (Table 1).

The earliest studies, focusing on lesbian athletes, were published by Krane (1997) and Riemer (1997) in the *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*. More than half (34/58) of the studies were published after the Brackenridge et al. (2008) review. Methodologically, the dominant approach was qualitative and most frequently utilised interview data. Various theoretical frameworks and perspectives were employed, such as feminist standpoint theory (Bowell, 2011), poststructuralist and queer theories (Butler, 1990; Sykes, 2006), cultural studies (Fisher, Roper, & Butryn, 2009), intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991), transfeminism (Enke, 2012), Anderson's (2009) theory of inclusive masculinity, Connell's (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity, and social identity theory (Krane & Barber, 2003). Lesbian athletes were the most commonly studied GSM population. Geographically, most of the studies were from the USA, UK, Canada and Australia. Various sporting contexts were investigated, the commonest being collegiate sports and women's soccer. Five primary themes were identified in the literature. Researchers have studied: (1) identity (i.e. the selves and subjectivities of GSM athletes and coaches), (2) discrimination (i.e. whether GSM athletes and coaches experience negative attitudes and stereotypes, and/or violence, harassment, and abuse), (3) coming out (i.e. experiences of disclosing GSM identities in sport), (4) the body (i.e. how social ideals about the body are linked to the experiences of GSM individuals in sport), and (5) strategies for social change (i.e. strategies for resisting and changing heteronormativity in sport). Below, we describe these areas of research and what they reveal about the experiences of GSM athletes and coaches. It is noteworthy that these content areas are interconnected and that many of the reviewed studies address more than one of the themes described below.

208 ***Identity***

209 The identities, selves, and subjectivities of GSM athletes and coaches was the most
210 studied content area, accounting for 27 (47%) of the identified articles. With the
211 exception of two quantitative (Higgs & Schell, 1998; Krane, Barber, & McClung, 2002)
212 and two mixed method articles (Caudwell, 1999; Stewart, Oates, & O'Halloran, 2018),
213 these studies were qualitative in nature and mostly focused on non-heterosexual women
214 in sport. Various understandings of identity were adopted by different scholars, those
215 drawing on poststructuralist and queer theories emphasising the fluidity of identity (e.g.
216 Semerjian & Cohen, 2006), those drawing on feminist standpoint theory viewing gender
217 and sexual identities as fixed (e.g. Krane, 1997) and those drawing on social identity
218 theory viewing identity as the product of perceived membership in a social group (e.g.
219 Kauer & Krane, 2006).

220 Several scholars explored women's teams as spaces that contribute to the
221 development of same-sex relationships and lesbian identities (Davis-Delano, 2014;
222 Mennesson & Clement, 2003; Riemer, 1997; Sanders, 2015; Shire, Brackenridge, &
223 Fuller, 2000). In these studies, lesbian identity was understood as a construct that could
224 be discovered or acted out in women's sports, as the social atmosphere of women's
225 teams involves accepting, protecting, and even celebrating lesbian relationships and
226 identities (Sanders, 2015). These studies framed sport as an empowering context for
227 non-heterosexual women. For example, Higgs and Schell (1998) reported that lesbian
228 Alaskan recreational softball players were silent about their homosexual identities in
229 their workplaces but felt comfortable expressing their sexual orientation in the softball
230 context. More recently, McGannon, Schinke, Ge, and Blodgett (2018) found boxing to
231 be an inclusive context for GSM female athletes in Canada, allowing for the expression
232 of a variety of sexual identities. Participation in the Gay Games was also found to be an

empowering experience with a positive impact on social identity (Krane et al., 2002; Lambert, 2009).

Other studies reported that negative stereotypes associated with a lesbian identity are a concern for many sporting women (Caudwell, 1999; Cox & Thompson, 2001; Fynes & Fisher, 2016; Kauer & Krane, 2006; Krane, 1997). For example, Caudwell (1999) found that the butch lesbian label worries female athletes in the UK. According to Kauer and Krane (2006), homophobia affects all athletes regardless of their sexual orientation. Lesbian athletes might try to pass as heterosexual, and heterosexual athletes might try to disassociate themselves from lesbian teammates (Cox & Thompson, 2001; Krane, 1997). The homophobic nature of sport was also found by Krane and Barber (2005), who studied the identity tensions of lesbian coaches in the USA. Owing to the heterosexist climate prevalent in their professional contexts, the participants concealed their lesbian identities to some degree. While at times they found subtle ways to counter the heterosexist atmosphere in their sporting contexts, at other times they ended up reproducing the dominant social norms. The lesbian athletes studied by Fynes and Fisher (2016) also felt unable to be completely authentic in all spheres of their lives and had to negotiate their identities depending on the context.

A few scholars also examined the hierarchies between different minority identities. Walker and Melton (2015) studied the intersection of race, gender and sexual orientation and found that women with multiple marginalised identities may be viewed as a threat to the hypermasculine, heterosexist norms of intercollegiate sports. Similarly, Melton and Cunningham (2012) explored the experiences of lesbian and bisexual athletes of colour and found that in the sporting context certain aspects of an athlete's identity (i.e. sexual orientation) were less valued than others (i.e. athletic identity, race). Caudwell (2007) explored femme, butch and trans identities in an 'out' lesbian soccer

team in the UK. Based on ethnographic data, the author argued that while lesbian-identified teams challenge the heteronormativity of football spaces, hierarchies between different gender and sexual identities nevertheless exist, privileging certain players (e.g. femme lesbians) and marginalising others (butch lesbians). Similarly, Ravel and Rail (2006, 2007) and Drury (2011) drew on feminist poststructuralist theory to explore how subjectivity was constituted through discourses and social practices and how non-heterosexual female athletes positioned themselves along several discourses of sport, gender and sexuality. Participants in these studies constructed their sporting contexts as spaces of resistance to heteronormativity and homophobia. While a light version of lesbian sexuality was celebrated as a new norm, participants reproduced discourses that maintained the pre-existing hierarchical relations between certain identities (e.g. marginalise butch femininity; Rail, 2006, 2007).

While the identity tensions of cisgender non-heterosexual women have been widely researched, very few scholars have addressed the identity issues of other GSM individuals in sport. In an autoethnographic study, Carless (2012) found that a gay male athlete identity is viewed as disrupting the heterosexist culture of sport rather than as a product of it (as has been claimed for lesbian identities). Filiault and Drummond (2008) also considered the identity tensions of gay male athletes who experience the masculine/sporting body and their identities as male athletes as in conflict with the gay body and their identities as gay. Four studies investigated trans identities in sport (Cohen & Semerjian, 2008; Lucas-Carr & Krane, 2012; Semerjian & Cohen, 2006; Stewart et al., 2018). Lucas-Carr and Krane (2012) argued that transgender athletes' gender identity is constantly under negotiation. Stewart and colleagues (2018) found voice of central importance for trans women's identities and their integration in sporting settings. Using interviews, Semerjian and Cohen (2006) studied the multiple ways that

transgender athletes' gender identities were informed by and influenced their sport participation. The authors highlighted the critical concern of trans individuals 'to be recognised as they perceive themselves to be' (p. 41). Cohen and Semerjian (2008) also explored the experiences of one male-to-female transgender athlete's disqualification from an ice-hockey competition. The authors saw as problematic the ways through which decisions about this athlete's identity were ultimately 'left in the hands of the legal and medical community' (p. 138).

Discrimination

Several authors explored whether GSM athletes and coaches experience different types of discrimination (from negative attitudes and stereotypes, to violence, harassment, and abuse). This theme was predominant in 13 (22%) articles. Two of them were quantitative (Kokkonen, 2019; Vertommen et al., 2016), two employed a mixed methods approach (Hekma, 1998; Symons, O'Sullivan, & Polman, 2017), and the remainder employed qualitative designs. The majority of the studies were based on the accounts of non-heterosexual women and men, with the exception of two articles that discussed the experiences of transgender people in sport (Cohen & Semerjian, 2008; Tagg, 2012).

The earliest study (Krane, 1997) focused on the negative and discriminative attitudes experienced by lesbian collegiate athletes. According to Krane (1997) the lesbian label in sport is associated with negative stereotypes and is used to marginalise players who do not conform to gender norms. The interviewed lesbian athletes felt powerless to challenge these negative stereotypes and, to avoid prejudice and discrimination, often concealed their sexual orientation. Hekma (1998) reported resembling findings; most gay men and lesbians in organised sports in the Netherlands

307 kept silent about their sexual orientation, fearing that they might face discrimination if
308 they came out. Similarly, gay male team sport athletes interviewed by Anderson (2002)
309 disclosed a culture of silence and invisibility surrounding gay athleticism. They reported
310 an absence of physical harassment or formal bans against gay athletes but a strong
311 presence of homophobic discourses that were used to discredit homosexuality. Such
312 subtle everyday inequalities were also experienced by female lesbian coaches in the
313 UK, whose inferiorisation was strongly linked to the structural conditions prevailing in
314 their sporting spaces (Norman, 2012, 2013). Norman (2013) argued that the problem
315 centres on the lack of sociocultural and social justice education for coaches, the
316 ‘absence of any strategic direction, action or guidance from the governing bodies at a
317 national level’ (p. 1332), and other structural practices that ignore male privilege and
318 homophobia. In this heterosexist working environment, lesbian coaches felt that they
319 were treated as paedophiles and predators (because of their sexual orientation), and as
320 less capable coaches (because of their gender). Fletcher (2014) studied the experiences
321 of LGBTQ sporting people in Australia, foregrounding the role of language in processes
322 of inclusion and exclusion in sport.

323 Extreme homophobic sentiment affected the experiences of lesbian and gay
324 athletes in the Muslim context of Tunisia (Hamdi, Lachheb, & Anderson, 2016, 2017),
325 where homosexual athletes seemed to fear the social stigma of homosexuality and lived
326 in a culture of silence. Tagg (2012) examined the lived experiences of two male-to-
327 female transgender netballers in New Zealand. The author argued that, in theory, the
328 netball context is now less transphobic than it used to be and that gender-conforming
329 female transgender players have a range of choices about how they can engage in
330 competitive netball. However, the barriers remain enormous since transgender players
331 are required to prove their eligibility to compete in one of the two gender categories by

undergoing various medical and bureaucratic procedures (see also Cohen & Semerjian, 2008). For those who do not conform to the gender binary (i.e. gender-transforming transgender players) there still appears to be no possibility to openly participate anywhere (Tagg, 2012).

Vertommen et al. (2016) surveyed over 4 000 adults from the Netherlands and Belgium about their childhood experiences of organised sport. LGB athletes reported significantly more experiences of interpersonal violence than their heterosexual counterparts. A few scholars also studied the impact of discrimination experienced in sport on the well-being of GSM individuals (Kokkonen, 2019; Symons et al., 2017). Symons and colleagues (2017) surveyed 294 non-heterosexual sporting people in Australia and found that participants experienced sexism and homophobia, with women reporting more experiences of sexism and men reporting more homophobic events. The most often mentioned impacts of discrimination were negative emotions (e.g. sadness, anger, distress and shame), followed by negative engagement with sport (e.g. disliking sport, or avoiding or leaving sport). Kokkonen (2019) surveyed 155 GSM sport participants in Finland. This was one of the few studies that included children and young people (10,3% of the participants were minors) and the results revealed a relationship between harassment by a coach and psychological ill-being for male but not female participants. The more frequently male GSM sport participants were harassed by their coaches, the more frequently they experienced depressive symptoms, psychosomatic symptoms, and stress. The author concluded that male gay athletes are in a more vulnerable situation than their female counterparts and that coming out in sport might be more psychologically demanding for them.

355 ***Coming out***

356 Much research has focused on the experiences of coming out in sport. This theme was
357 predominant in 11 (19%) articles. All employed qualitative designs. Five studies
358 focused on the coming out experiences of non-heterosexual women in sport (Anderson
359 & Bullingham, 2015; Fink, Burton, Farrell, & Parker, 2012; Iannota & Kane, 2002;
360 Ravel & Rail, 2008; Stoelting, 2011), five on male gay athletes (Anderson, 2011;
361 Fenwick & Simpson, 2017; Gaston, Magrath, & Anderson, 2018; Gough, 2007; Mullin,
362 Leone, & Pottratz, 2018), and one on a trans male athlete (Klein et al., 2018).

363 Iannota and Kane (2002) found that lesbian coaches used alternative strategies
364 for coming out, other than linguistically naming oneself lesbian. Ravel and Rail (2008)
365 challenged the linearity of the coming out process and the idea that one is born with a
366 fixed sexuality. Participants in their study constructed their sexuality as fluid (i.e. they
367 could be non-heterosexual on some occasions and heterosexual on others) and
368 ‘downplayed the idea of coming out as a “once-and-for-all” process’ (p. 21).
369 Nevertheless, sport appeared to play a crucial role in the coming out process, certain
370 sport contexts being more inclusive than others. The presence/visibility of other non-
371 heterosexual athletes was linked to positive experiences of being out in sport (see also
372 Fink et al., 2012).

373 Stoelting (2011) discovered that collegiate lesbian athletes were motivated to
374 come out by factors such as ‘the desire to be, and to be perceived as, honest people,
375 self-acceptance, and an attempt to normalise their identities’ (p. 1193-1194). Anderson
376 and Bullingham (2015) found that most of their interviewed collegiate lesbian athletes
377 experienced little resistance to their coming out in sport and felt supported by their
378 teammates, although a few reported experiencing direct hostility after coming out to

their teammates. The authors concluded that athletic capital influences the experiences of coming out in sport.

Anderson (2011) compared the experiences of gay male athletes who came out during 2008-2010 to those of gay male athletes who came out during 2000-2002. The author concluded that homophobia is decreasing in sport and that gay athletes are having more positive coming out experiences than in the past. In another comparative study, Gaston et al. (2018) investigated the coming out experiences of the world's first two openly gay active professional soccer players: Justin Fashanu who came out in 1990 and Anton Hysén who came out in 2011. While Fashanu faced overt homophobia and ridicule that eventually resulted in the termination of his career and his life, Hysén's experience of coming out was mostly positive and he was praised for his courage in disclosing his sexual orientation. Based on these findings, the authors argued that a generational shift was occurring in the coming out stories of athletes, due to a decline in homophobic attitudes in the Western sporting world. Gough (2007) also found that coming out in sport is difficult but rewarding for gay male athletes. More recently, Fenwick and Simpson (2017) revealed that gender stereotypes and rigid definitions of masculinity in sport affected the experiences of gay athletes from the USA, who felt fear of rejection during the coming out process. Mullin et al. (2018) explored the coming out experience of a male gay volleyball player and argued that coming out could affect positively athletes' confidence and performance in sport.

Klein and colleagues (2018) reported that the experiences of a transgender male athlete when coming out to his team were mostly positive. Authors identified two factors that can impact emotional states during the transition and coming out process (and should be provided by athletic departments and sport institutes): social support and financial resources.

The body

Several scholars focusing on the body as a site for experiencing and performing gender and sexuality explored how social ideals about the body are linked to the experiences of GSM individuals in sport. The body was the focus of 6 (10%) articles. All employed qualitative designs. Four studies focused on the experiences of male gay athletes (Bridel & Rail, 2007; Filiault & Drummond, 2008, 2009, 2013) and two on the transgender body (Caudwell, 2014; Cohen & Semerjian, 2008).

Bridel and Rail (2007) combined autoethnography with interviews to explore the bodily practices of male gay marathon runners in Canada. Participants constructed their bodies 'as a vessel used in the achievement of personal goals' (p. 136). These goals were related to marathoning and to being perceived as good looking. However, their discursive constructions of the marathon body conflicted with the beauty ideals circulating in the gay culture.

Filiault and Drummond explored the body image of gay male athletes, particularly in relation to body ideals (2008), hair removal practices (2013) and clothing (2009). Gay male athletes seemed to idealise the natural body, marginalise the unnatural, modified body, and resist the depilatory practices that are widespread among gay men (Filiault & Drummond, 2013). By constructing the masculine athletic body as natural and useful and the gay body as unnatural and useless, gay athletes themselves reproduce hegemonic masculinity (Filiault & Drummond, 2008).

Two studies looked at the embodied experiences of two transgender men in the UK (Caudwell, 2014) and one transgender female in the USA (Cohen & Semerjian, 2008). Both studies showed that the gendered body remains central to processes of exclusion, rejection, and objectification in sport. Transgender and transitioning bodies are marginalised at the institutional and policy level, as well as at the level of individual

interactions. Transgender participation in sport continues to be surrounded by ignorance and prejudice (Caudwell, 2014).

Strategies for social change

The strategies employed by GSM athletes and coaches to enhance queer visibility and/or bring about change in the heterosexist world of sport was a central topic in 10 (17%) articles. With the exception of Krane et al. (2002), all studies employed a qualitative design. The majority of studies included non-heterosexual sporting women in their samples, with three including non-heterosexual male athletes (Eng, 2006, 2008; Gough, 2007) and two discussing transgender issues (Caudwell, 2007; Travers & Deri, 2011).

One of the strategies employed to subvert the heterosexist sport culture has been the development of queer alternative spaces (Caudwell, 2007; Eng, 2006, 2008; Krane et al., 2002; Litchfield, 2011; Travers & Deri, 2011). Travers and Deri (2011) studied a lesbian soft-ball league with a radical trans-inclusive policy and argued that such leagues, despite their complexities, can offer a model for ‘a less sex-binary-based sporting future’ (p. 503). Krane and colleagues (2002) showed that participation in the Gay Games can enhance the participants’ motivation for social change activities. Eng (2006, 2008) found that while creating queer alternative spaces was a strategy often used by female sexual minority athletes in Norway, male athletes used other strategies, such as acting openly as homosexual in ways that disrupt hegemonic beliefs about homosexuality. For example, doing masculinity as openly gay in sport makes it possible to tear down powerful myths about gays as non-masculine and non-athletic men (Eng, 2006). A few other scholars (Kauer, 2009; Kauer & Krane, 2006; Gough, 2007) also discussed how coming out publicly can facilitate social change. Yet, while the coaches

(Kauer, 2009) and athletes (Kauer & Krane, 2006) in these studies could be open about their lesbian identities and engage in social change activities in some contexts, in others they themselves reproduced the existing status quo and the presence of the lesbian closet. Gay male athletes in Gough's (2007) study were 'galvanised by their [coming out] experiences into becoming more political within and through their sport' (p. 167). While queer visibility is not possible for athletes who live in the Muslim context of Tunisia, lesbian athletes in Hamdi et al. (2016) employed other strategies, such as developing silent social networks.

Discussion

The purpose of this scoping review was to map the empirical scholarship on the experiences of GSM athletes and coaches, to identify gaps in the literature, and to provide recommendations for future research, policy and practice. Five content areas were identified as dominant in the 58 reviewed studies, namely identity, discrimination, coming out, the body, and strategies for social change. Consistent with the Brackenridge et al. (2008) review, our findings indicate that identity remains the most researched topic. One of the strengths of this area of research is the spread of fluid understandings of identity that have helped to disrupt binary systems of sex, gender, and sexuality (see also Waldron, 2019). Disrupting these binary categories is important, as the reviewed scholarship shows that gender stereotypes and rigid perceptions of masculinity and femininity are the antecedents of homophobia and transphobia in sport. In addition, the sporting experiences of GSM athletes and coaches are shaped by social ideals about the body, which are often linked to the marginalisation of transgender people in sport. In the face of visible lack of institutional structures for tackling homophobia and transphobia in sport, GSM athletes and coaches themselves have played a key role in

477 mobilising change. Through being open about their GSM identities in sport and creating
478 queer alternative spaces and social networks, they have instigated positive change
479 towards inclusion and diversity in sport.

480 In sum, the present review shows positive developments regarding GSM
481 acceptance in sport, at least in the Western world. However, findings on the levels of
482 inclusion are conflicting, some minority groups (e.g. LG athletes) reporting more
483 positive experiences than others (e.g. trans athletes, LG coaches). For example, research
484 with lesbian coaches shows that they experience discrimination owing to both their
485 gender and sexuality (Norman, 2012, 2013), while research with transgender athletes
486 reveals that they encounter enormous barriers to competing in sport (Cohen &
487 Semerjian, 2008). In general, there is evidence that certain contexts are far more
488 inclusive than others, and thus the sporting experiences of GSM people can differ
489 substantially. Even in the most tolerant contexts, where direct forms of discrimination
490 are absent, homophobic and transphobic discourses seem slow to change. Research
491 shows that GSM sporting people themselves are so subjected to these discourses that at
492 times they even end up reproducing them (e.g. Kauer, 2009; Ravel & Rail, 2007).
493 Overall, it seems that despite the progress made in the inclusion of GSM people in
494 sport, intolerance and hostility towards GSM athletes and coaches has not been
495 eradicated in all areas.

496 ***Research gaps and suggestions for future studies***

497 Despite the increasing number of studies on GSM in sport, many of the weaknesses that
498 Brackenridge and her colleagues (2008) identified in the literature seem to remain
499 unchanged. For example, knowledge on the topic continues to be largely based on the
500 experiences of lesbian and gay athletes, while bisexual, transgender and intersex
501 identities continue to be underrepresented in the literature. Moreover, calls to examine

502 how GSM identities intersect with other categories of socio-cultural difference (e.g.
503 race, ethnicity, age, class, disability) remain largely unanswered, with the exception of
504 two studies that looked into the experiences of sexual minority athletes of colour
505 (Melton & Cunningham, 2012; Walker & Melton, 2015). It was also evident in our
506 review, that different questions have been studied with different minority categories.
507 For example, identity research was primarily based on the study of lesbian athletes and
508 research on the body primarily based on the study of male gay athletes. Among coaches,
509 a few studies investigated the experiences of non-heterosexual women, whereas
510 knowledge on the experiences of gay male and transgender coaches remains lacking.
511 Additionally, our review revealed a significant research gap on the experiences of GSM
512 children and youth in sport. This gap is particularly problematic as children and youth in
513 sport are regarded more vulnerable in experiencing discrimination (including
514 harassment and abuse) and are having great difficulties in reporting such incidents
515 (Kirby, Demers, & Parent, 2008). Furthermore, this gap in the knowledge makes it
516 difficult to evaluate the impact of heteronormative sporting cultures on GSM children
517 and youth and we would like to press the need for research on this topic.

518 Given that most studies so far have drawn on interview or survey data only, we
519 believe that future research could benefit from mixed method designs. Combining
520 different methods and looking at a variety of cultural contexts could help us to
521 understand the paradoxes and contradictions in research findings (e.g. some studies
522 show high levels of GSM acceptance, while others reveal climates of hostility and
523 discrimination). On the use of theoretical frameworks, we agree with Waldron (2019)
524 that researchers could use multiple approaches to explore GSM experiences in sport, as
525 long as they recognise that certain approaches aim at disrupting the existing systems of

526 sex, gender, and sexuality, while others frame GSM sporting experiences within these
527 systems.

528 *Implications for policy and practice*

529 The present findings have several practical implications. Many of the reviewed studies
530 have seen the culture of silence that surrounds GSM athletes and coaches as problematic
531 and argued that raising awareness of issues related to GSM identities in sport can
532 enhance inclusivity and bring about social change. Sport organisations could achieve
533 this through adopting and communicating GSM-inclusive values and using inclusive
534 language, symbols and imagery. Raising awareness and visibility is particularly
535 important for the identities of those who are only now getting on the radar, such as
536 transgender, intersex and bisexual athletes and coaches, and for GSM sporting people
537 from diverse cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Currently, scholarship, media,
538 and policy focus disproportionally on white, able-bodied, middle-class and western
539 GSM sporting people and, as Krane (2019) recently argued, this carries the risk of
540 reinforcing western ideals in our efforts to promote GSM inclusion in sport.

541 Furthermore, all actors involved in sport (coaches and coach educators, athletes,
542 sport-administrators, sport-leaders, referees, sport psychology consultants, physicians
543 etc.) should be provided with education on how to avoid reinforcing heteronormativity
544 and how to facilitate supportive climates for those who are out. These actors play a key
545 role when it comes to translating policy into practice in the field and thus should be well
546 equipped to prevent, recognise and deal with prejudice and discrimination. Many of the
547 participants in the reviewed studies reported that sport organisations are lacking both
548 expertise in dealing with homophobia and transphobia in sport and protective structures
549 and procedures. Bringing the elements of education, policy, infrastructure and expertise

together more effectively could lead to positive change in some of the issues that GSM athletes and coaches face in sport.

Nevertheless, as argued by Krane and Barber (2019), the cultural change that we are hoping for will not be realised while the organisation of sport is based on binary understandings of sex and gender. Reconstructing the sexed and gender norms that have been the pillars of sport for centuries is a necessary step if we aim to achieve equality in sport.

Limitations and conclusions

Our review was limited to English language articles, and thus most of them were based on accounts given by white Western participants from Anglo-Saxon countries. The experiences of GSM athletes and coaches in other (non-Western, non-Anglo-Saxon) cultural contexts are missing from this review (and international scholarship) with the exception of the two studies by Hamdi and colleagues (2016, 2017) conducted in the Muslim context of Tunisia and a few studies conducted in non-English speaking European countries, such as Finland (Kokkonen, 2019), the Netherlands (Hekma, 1998; Vertommen et al., 2016), Belgium (Vertommen et al., 2016), France (Mennesson & Clément, 2003) and Norway (Eng, 2006, 2008).

Another limitation of this scoping review is that it was limited to peer-reviewed journal articles. Future reviews could take into account book chapters and grey literature on gender and sexual diversity in sport as those might offer additional insights on this topic. In addition, we assessed neither the quality of the identified studies nor the risk of bias. While these steps would strengthen this review, they are considered optional in the Arksey and O'Malley (2005) framework. Moreover, the critical appraisal of this paper was limited to identifying gaps in the existing empirical literature and briefly considering its strengths and weaknesses. Future reviews could apply more quality-

defined (e.g. systematic review) or critical frameworks (e.g. meta-study) in analysing and synthesising the GSM literature in sport.

Despite its limitations, the present review furthers our knowledge on GSM issues in sport by summarising the growing body of empirical studies on GSM athletes and coaches, identifying persisting gaps, and offering suggestions for research, policy and practice. Clearly, the different groups that were discussed in this paper under the umbrella of GSM have unique needs and thus more research is needed to better understand how to ensure safe and inclusive sporting environments for all. However, despite the many differences in the populations that make up the GSM sporting community, they also share certain commonalities, such as a historically marginalised social status that is linked to prejudice. Overcoming this marginalisation in our sporting settings and scholarly work is a critical goal if we wish to eliminate some of the disparities discussed in the reviewed studies.

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Table 1. Included studies

No	Authors	Date	Country	Sample	Sport	Focus	Methodological	Theoretical	Important Results
							Design	Framework	
1	Krane	1997	USA	12 lesbian athletes	Various collegiate sports	Homonegativism and stereotypes experienced by lesbian athletes	Qualitative (interviews)	Feminist standpoint epistemology, Krane's theory of lesbians in sport	Lesbian athletes experienced negative stereotypes and felt powerless to challenge homonegativism.
2	Rierner	1997	USA	24 women	Softball	Lesbian identity formation in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Krane's theory of lesbians in sport	The softball context provided social support for forming positive lesbian identities.
3	Higgs & Schell	1998	USA	165 women	Softball	The presentation of frontstage and backstage selves (self at work and self at leisure)	Quantitative (survey)	Goffmanian theory	Participants silenced their lesbian identities at work, but felt comfortable to express them in the softball context.

4	Hekma	1998	Netherlands	18 men and 18 women interviewed; 185 men and 98 women surveyed	Various sports	Discrimination experienced by gay men and lesbians in sport	Mixed methods (interviews and survey)	Not clearly mentioned	Participants did not experience much discrimination in sport because they silenced their sexual orientation.
5	Caudwell	1999	UK	14 women interviewed and 437 surveyed	Football (soccer)	Unpacking the butch lesbian identity	Mixed methods (interviews and surveys)	Poststructuralist theory	The butch lesbian image was a concern for all players.
6	Shire et al.	2000	UK	26 women	Field hockey	The shifting composition of a field hockey team from predominantly heterosexual to lesbian	Qualitative longitudinal (interviews)	Feminist poststructuralist and queer theory	Women's sexual identities were fluid. The culture of the team contributed to the sexual identities of female players.

7	Cox & Thompson	2001	New Zealand	16 elite female players	Football (soccer)	Discourses of sexuality in sport and how they manifest in a woman's team	Qualitative (interviews and participant observations)	Feminist poststructuralist theory	Homophobia affected the interactions and experiences of all players.
8	Krane et al.	2002	Most participants were from USA, UK, and Canada	123 non-heterosexual female athletes	Various sports	Impact of Gay Games participation on social identity and self-esteem	Quantitative (survey)	Social identity theory	Gay Games participation increased self-esteem and participants' motivation to work towards social change.
9	Iannotta & Kane	2002	USA	13 lesbian coaches	Various collegiate sports	Strategies of lesbian coaches to resist homophobia	Qualitative (interviews)	Narrative approach	Non-linguistic strategies of coming out can also resist social injustice.
10	Anderson	2002	USA	26 male openly gay athletes	Various sports	How openly gay athletes experience sport and negotiate gender	Qualitative (interviews); Grounded theory approach	Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity	Participants did not experience physical harassment but a culture of silence.

11	Mennesson & Clément	2003	France	18 professional female players	Soccer	The effects of team sociability on the ways that female players constructed their gender and sexual identities	Qualitative (interviews and observations)	Becker and Goffman's theories	The homosociability manifested in the studied teams facilitated players' involvement in homosexual practices.
12	Krane & Barber	2005	USA	13 lesbian coaches	Various collegiate sports	Lesbian coaches' experiences and identity negotiation	Qualitative (interviews)	Social identity theory	Participants experienced homonegativity and identity tensions. They acted towards social change in some situations, but reproduced the existing norms in others.
13	Eng	2006	Norway	18 LGB athletes	Various sports	Discourses of sex, gender and sexuality in sport and how they	Qualitative (interviews)	Queer and poststructuralist theory	When queer existence in sport appeared as something deviant, it did not have the ability to

						shaped LGB athletes' experiences			threatened the dominant discourses of heteronormativity.
14	Semerjian & Cohen	2006	USA	4 trans athletes	Various sport	How gender identity influences (and is influenced by) sport participation	Qualitative (interviews)	Queer theory	Gender identity was unstable and constantly (re)written through embodied performances.
15	Kauer & Krane	2006	USA	15 female student-athletes	Various collegiate sports	Female athletes' reactions to stereotypes about women in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Social identity theory	Both heterosexual and lesbian athletes had to learn how to cope with negative stereotypes of female athletes being gay or manly.
16	Ravel & Rail	2006	Canada	14 non-heterosexual women	Various sports	Discursive constructions of gender and sexuality	Qualitative (interviews)	Feminist poststructuralist theory	Participants constructed “gaie” sexuality as a more feminine and less disturbing sexuality,

									reproducing lesbo-butcher phobic ideas.
17	Bridel & Rail	2007	Canada	12 gay male athletes	Marathon running	Discursive construction of the body	Qualitative (autoethnography combined with conversations and written- stories)	Foucauldian theory	Participants at times resisted and at others reproduced dominant bodily discourses.
18	Ravel & Rail	2007	Canada	14 non- heterosexual women	Various sports	Discursive constructions of sporting spaces	Qualitative (interviews)	Feminist poststructuralist theory	Participants constructed their sporting spaces as inclusive, yet they marginalized certain forms of sexuality (e.g. butch).
19	Caudwell	2007	UK	Players of a lesbian- identified team	Soccer	Exploring the spatiality of sexuality	Qualitative (ethnography)	Feminist-queer theory	Certain identities were privileged (e.g. femme) and others marginalized (e.g. butch, transsexual).

20	Gough	2007	Participants were from USA	8 gay male athletes	Various sports	Coming out	Qualitative (online accounts)	Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity	Coming out to the team is difficult but rewarding
21	Filiault & Drummond	2008	Australia	3 openly gay male players	Tennis	Implications of body ideals for gay male athletes' sense of body and self	Qualitative (interviews)	Phenomenology; Social identity theory; Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity	The masculine athletic body was seen as natural and useful, while the gay body as unnatural and useless.
22	Ravel & Rail	2008	Canada	14 non-heterosexual women	Various sports	The coming out process and the expression of nonconventional sexualities in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Feminist poststructuralist and queer theory	Sexuality was not fixed and participants positioned themselves differently depending on the context.
23	Eng	2008	Norway	18 LGB athletes	Various sports	The subversive effect of queer visibility in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Feminist and queer theory	Lesbian athletes created queer sporting spaces, while male athletes challenged

									heteronormativity by being openly gay in sport.
24	Cohen & Semerjian	2008	USA	1 male-to- female transgender athlete	Ice hockey	One transgender athlete's disqualification experience from Ice Hockey	Qualitative (interviews)	Feminist theory	The participant did not have the power to assert her gender identity, but ultimate decisions were left in the hands of the medical community.
25	Kauer	2009	USA	8 lesbian coaches	Various collegiate sports	How lesbian coaches engaged in social change through coming out	Qualitative (interviews)	Cultural studies praxis, feminist poststructuralist and queer theory	While in some contexts participants could be open about their lesbian identities and engaged in social change strategies, in others they reproduced heteronormativity.
26	Lambert	2009	Australia	5 non- heterosexual women	Soccer	The intersection of sexuality, sport, and space	Qualitative (interviews,	Queer theory	Participating in Gay Games was an empowering experience.

							poetic representation)		
27	Filiault & Drummond	2009	USA, Canada, Australia	16 elite gay male athletes	Various sports	Body image and clothing	Qualitative (interviews)	Phenomenology; Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity	There are hegemonic aesthetics related to clothing, based upon the setting. Clothes can impact a person's body image.
28	Stoelting	2011	USA	16 lesbian athletes	Various collegiate sports	Disclosure of sexual orientation	Qualitative (interviews)	Disclosure as an interaction	Participants disclosed their sexual orientation because they wanted to be perceived as honest, achieve self-acceptance, normalize their sexual identities, and establish close relationships with teammates.

29	Anderson	2011	USA	26 openly gay male athletes	Various sports	Coming out experiences	Qualitative (interviews)	Inclusive masculinity theory	Athletes who came out between 2008-2010 had more positive experiences than athletes who came out between 2000-2002.
30	Travers & Deri	2011	USA	12 transgender people	Softball	Transgender participants' experiences in lesbian leagues	Qualitative (interviews and participant observation)	Feminist, queer and transgender theories	Most participants reported positive experiences of inclusion. Trans women had more positive experiences than transmen.
31	Drury	2011	UK	5 female players	Football (soccer)	How women resist homophobic discourses in a lesbian-identified club	Qualitative (interviews and participant observations)	Feminist poststructuralist and queer theories	Lesbian identities were normalized, but hierarchical relations between certain identities were maintained.
32	Litchfield	2011	Australia	8 women	Field hockey	Lived experiences of inclusiveness in women's sports	Qualitative (interviews)	Critical feminist framework	Participants experienced their club as an inclusive and empowering context.

33	Norman	2012	UK	10 lesbian coaches	Various sports	Lived everyday experiences of homophobia	Qualitative (interviews)	Theory of everyday gendered homophobia	Participants experienced discrimination due to their gender and sexuality.
34	Fink et al.	2012	USA	14 LB athletes	Various collegiate sports	Factors that influence coming out	Qualitative (interviews)	Feminist standpoint theory	Athletes who had come out before them and acceptance of teammates were important facilitators. Participants experienced stereotypes, lack of departmental support, and a culture of silence.
35	Carless	2012	UK	1 gay male	School sport	Negotiating and developing sexuality in school sport	Qualitative (autoethnography)	Storytelling approach	Sexuality was independent of sociocultural factors, intruding the heterosexist culture of sport, rather than being a product of it.

36	Tagg	2012	New Zealand	2 male-to-female transgender retired players	Netball	The lived experiences of transgender netballers	Qualitative (interviews)	Critical feminist interpretive framework	Netball has become more inclusive for gender-conforming transgender participants. Yet, enormous barriers remain.
37	Lucas-Carr & Krane	2012	USA	3 trans athletes	Various sports	How do transgender athletes experience sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Queer-feminist framework	Lack of official policies on transgender inclusion. Trans athletes had to advocate for themselves and (re)claim their identities.
38	Filiault & Drummond	2013	USA, Australia, Canada	17 male openly gay athletes	Various sports	Body image and perceptions of body hair	Qualitative (interviews and questionnaires)	Phenomenology	Participants shared a lack of concern regarding body hair and view depilation as unnecessary, idealizing the natural body.

39	Norman	2013	UK	10 lesbian coaches	Various sports	Lived everyday experiences of homophobia	Qualitative (interviews)	Theory of everyday gendered homophobia	Everyday inferiorizations of female coaches were connected to structural practices.
40	Melton & Cunningham	2013	USA	13 LB student-athletes	Basketball and softball, collegiate sports	Experiences of lesbian athletes of color	Qualitative (interviews)	Minority stress theory	Certain aspects of the athletes' identity (i.e. sexual orientation) were devalued while others (athletic, race) were more welcomed in sport.
41	Caudwell	2014	UK	2 trans men	School sports (football, hockey, tennis)	Transgender experiences in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Queer theoretical approaches, critical paradigm	Lack of understanding on transgender issues. Sport and PE are not safe spaces for trans people.
42	Davis-Delano	2014	USA	56 women	Various sports	Factors that hinder or nurture same-sex attractions in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Grounded theory approach	Sport nurtured same-sex attractions of women.

43	Fletcher	2014	Australia	26 male and female sport participants	Various sports	The experiences of sexual minorities in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Languaging lens	The process of languaging (i.e. constructing realities through talk) can either enable or constrain inclusivity in sport.
44	Anderson & Bullingham	2015	USA	12 lesbian athletes	Various collegiate sports	Experiences of lesbians in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Anderson's homophobia theory	Athletes with athletic capital had an easier time coming out.
45	Sanders	2015	Australia	8 female players in	Australian football	Homosexual practices in a woman's team	Qualitative (participant-driven visual methodologies and interviews)	Homosociality	Women's same-sex interactions manifested in various ways. A gendered hegemony impacted social bonds.
46	Walker & Melton	2015	USA	15 lesbians who worked in sports	Various collegiate sports	How sexual prejudice affects racial minorities	Qualitative (interviews)	Intersectionality	Racial minorities had a more difficult time working in college sports.
47	Vertommen et al.	2016	Netherlands and Belgium	4000 adults	Various sports	Prevalence of interpersonal	Quantitative (survey)	Not clearly mentioned	LGB athletes reported significantly more

						violence against children			experiences of interpersonal violence in sport.
48	Hamdi et al.	2016	Tunisia	3 lesbian elite athletes	Various sports	Experiences and coping strategies of lesbian Muslim athletes	Qualitative (interviews)	Not clearly mentioned	Due to the extreme homophobia, lesbian athletes adopted various defense mechanisms such as self-policing their identities and establishing silent networks.
49	Fynes & Fisher	2016	USA	10 lesbian athletes	Various collegiate sports	The congruence of identity	Qualitative (interviews)	Postpositivist paradigm	Participants felt that they could not be completely authentic or integrated in their sporting contexts.
50	Fenwick & Simpson	2017	USA	6 gay male athletes	Various sports	Experience of coming out in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Phenomenology	Homophobia affected participants' decision to come out. Their coming

									out resulted to a positive change in the climate.
51	Hamdi et al.	2017	Tunisia	1 closeted gay male athlete	Bodybuilding	The construction of stigma in the Muslim context and how it affects the experiences of a gay athlete	Qualitative (interviews)	Anderson's homohysteria theory	Due to extreme homophobia in the Islamic context, the participant had a difficult time identifying as gay.
52	Symons et al.	2017	Australia	294 non-heterosexual participants	Various sports	Discrimination experienced by LGB people in sport	Mixed methods (survey with some open-ended questions)	Minority stress theory	Women experienced more sexism, while men more homophobia. Discrimination was linked to negative emotions and negative sport engagement.
53	McGannon et al.	2018	Canada	10 elite female athletes	Boxing	Intersecting identities	Qualitative (mandala	Cultural praxis, social constructionism	LGBT identities could be openly expressed in boxing.

							drawings and interviews)		
54	Mullin et al.	2018	USA	1 gay male athlete	Volleyball	Coming out experience	Qualitative (interviews and social-media posts)	Social identity perspective, athletic identity theory	Coming out was beneficial for performance.
55	Gaston et al.	2018	UK	1 gay male athlete	Football (soccer)	Measuring the progress towards the acceptance of homosexuality in sport	Qualitative (interviews)	Anderson's inclusive masculinity theory	A gay athlete who came out in 2017 had positive experiences, while an athlete who came out in 1992 was ridiculed.
56	Klein et al.	2018	USA	1 trans male athlete	Cross country, track and field	Coming out and transition experiences	Qualitative (interviews)	Transfeminism	Coming out in sport was a positive experience. Social support and financial resources influenced the participant's emotional states during transition.

57	Stewart et al.	2018	Australia	20 trans women	Various sports	Experiences of voice use in sporting environments	Mixed methods (interviews and survey)	Phenomenology	Trans women perceived their voices to be the main barrier to their participation in sport.
58	Kokkonen	2019	Finland	155 LGB participants	Various sports	Harassment by a coach and psychological ill-being	Quantitative (survey)	Not clearly mentioned	A relationship between harassment by a coach and psychological ill-being was found for males but not for females.