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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

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40 Gender and sexual minorities (GSM) are 'individuals who identify with a gender 41 identity other than cisgender and/or a sexual orientation other than heterosexual' 42 (Smalley, Warren, & Barefoot, 2018, p. 9). The term cisgender is used to describe 43 people whose gender identity matches the sex that they were assigned at birth 44 (American Psychological Association, 2015). Historically, GSM individuals have been 45 relegated to the margins of our sporting cultures and their experiences have been 46 underrepresented in the sport literature (Krane, 2019). This has been well documented 47 by Brackenridge and her colleagues (2008), who reviewed the scholarship on sexual 48 orientation in sport and found substantial gaps in what we know about the experiences 49 of GSM people in sport. Particularly, the authors found that bisexual and transgender 50 identities were underrepresented in sport research and there was limited knowledge on 51 how anti-discrimination policies were implemented by sport clubs and organisations, as 52 well as what was the impact of homophobia and transphobia on athletes and coaches 53 (Brackenridge et al., 2008). Yet, over the decade following the Brackenridge et al. 54 (2008) review, scholarship on GSM in sport has increased (e.g. Kokkonen, 2014; Krane, 55 2019; Linghede & Larsson, 2017). Researchers have explored a variety of issues, such 56 as attitudes towards gender and sexual diversity in sport (Anderson & Adams, 2011; 57 Magrath, Anderson, & Roberts, 2013; Piedra, García-Pérez, & Channon, 2017), media 58 coverage and online comments about GSM athletes and coaches (Coche & Le Blond, 59 2018; Kian, Anderson, & Shipka, 2015), and the development and complexities of 60 sport-related, GSM-inclusive events, spaces, programmes and policies (Caudwell, 2018; 61 Shaw, 2018). 62 While some of these studies reveal an attitudinal shift towards greater 63 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

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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

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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 selfidentify 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.

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The identities, selves, and subjectivities of GSM athletes and coaches was the most studied content area, accounting for 27 (47%) of the identified articles. With the exception of two quantitative (Higgs & Schell, 1998; Krane, Barber, & McClung, 2002) and two mixed method articles (Caudwell, 1999; Stewart, Oates, & O'Halloran, 2018), these studies were qualitative in nature and mostly focused on non-heterosexual women in sport. Various understandings of identity were adopted by different scholars, those drawing on poststructuralist and queer theories emphasising the fluidity of identity (e.g. Semerjian & Cohen, 2006), those drawing on feminist standpoint theory viewing gender and sexual identities as fixed (e.g. Krane, 1997) and those drawing on social identity theory viewing identity as the product of perceived membership in a social group (e.g. Kauer & Krane, 2006). Several scholars explored women's teams as spaces that contribute to the development of same-sex relationships and lesbian identities (Davis-Delano, 2014; Mennesson & Clement, 2003; Riemer, 1997; Sanders, 2015; Shire, Brackenridge, & Fuller, 2000). In these studies, lesbian identity was understood as a construct that could be discovered or acted out in women's sports, as the social atmosphere of women's teams involves accepting, protecting, and even celebrating lesbian relationships and identities (Sanders, 2015). These studies framed sport as an empowering context for non-heterosexual women. For example, Higgs and Schell (1998) reported that lesbian Alaskan recreational softball players were silent about their homosexual identities in their workplaces but felt comfortable expressing their sexual orientation in the softball context. More recently, McGannon, Schinke, Ge, and Blodgett (2018) found boxing to be an inclusive context for GSM female athletes in Canada, allowing for the expression 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 lesbianidentified 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 nonheterosexual 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

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

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

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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.

# Coming out

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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.

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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

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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

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

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

# Research gaps and suggestions for future studies

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

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

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

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

# Implications for policy and practice

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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27	Filiault &	2009	USA,	16 elite gay	Various sports	Body image and	Qualitative	Phenomenology;	There are hegemonic
	Drummond		Canada,	male athletes		clothing	(interviews)	Connell's theory	aesthetics related to
			Australia					of hegemonic	clothing, based upon
								masculinity	the setting. Clothes can
									impact a person's body
									image.
28	Stoelting	2011	USA	16 lesbian	Various	Disclosure of	Qualitative	Disclosure as an	Participants disclosed their
				athletes	collegiate	sexual orientation	(interviews)	interaction	sexual orientation because
					sports				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	Various sports	Coming out	Qualitative	Inclusive	Athletes who came out
				male athletes		experiences	(interviews)	masculinity theory	between 2008-2010 had
									more positive experiences
									than athletes who came
									out between 2000-2002.
30	Travers &	2011	USA	12 transgender	Softball	Transgender	Qualitative	Feminist, queer	Most participants reported
	Deri			people		participants'	(interviews and	and transgender	positive experiences of
						experiences in	participant	theories	inclusion. Trans women
						lesbian leagues	observation)		had more positive
									experiences than transmen.
31	Drury	2011	UK	5 female players	Football	How women resist	Qualitative	Feminist	Lesbian identities were
					(soccer)	homophobic	(interviews and	poststructuralist	normalized, but
						discourses in a	participant	and queer theories	hierarchical relations
						lesbian-identified	observations)		between certain identities
						club			were maintained.
32	Litchfield	2011	Australia	8 women	Field hockey	Lived experiences	Qualitative	Critical feminist	Participants experienced
						of inclusiveness in	(interviews)	framework	their club as an inclusive
						women's sports			and empowering context.

33	Norman	2012	UK	10 lesbian	Various sports	Lived everyday	Qualitative	Theory of	Participants experienced
				coaches		experiences of	(interviews)	everyday gendered	discrimination due to their
						homophobia		homophobia	gender and sexuality.
34	Fink et al.	2012	USA	14 LB athletes	Various	Factors that	Qualitative	Feminist	Athletes who had come
					collegiate	influence coming	(interviews)	standpoint theory	out before them and
					sports	out			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	Qualitative	Storytelling	Sexuality was independent
						developing	(autoethnograp	approach	of sociocultural factors,
						sexuality in school	hy)		intruding the heterosexist
						sport			culture of sport, rather
									than being a product of it.

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

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

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

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

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

							drawings and		
							interviews)		
54	Mullin et al.	2018	USA	1 gay male	Volleyball	Coming out	Qualitative	Social identity	Coming out was beneficial
				athlete		experience	(interviews and	perspective,	for performance.
							social-media	athletic identity	
							posts)	theory	
55	Gaston et al.	2018	UK	1 gay male	Football	Measuring the	Qualitative	Anderson's	A gay athlete who came
				athlete	(soccer)	progress towards	(interviews)	inclusive	out in 2017 had positive
						the acceptance of		masculinity theory	experiences, while an
						homosexuality in			athlete who came out in
						sport			1992 was ridiculed.
56	Klein et al.	2018	USA	1 trans male	Cross country,	Coming out and	Qualitative	Transfeminism	Coming out in sport was a
				athlete	track and field	transition	(interviews)		positive experience. Social
						experiences			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	Mixed methods	Phenomenology	Trans women perceived
						voice use in	(interviews and		their voices to be the main
						sporting	survey)		barrier to their
						environments			participation in sport.
58	Kokkonen	2019	Finland	155 LGB	Various sports	Harassment by a	Quantitative	Not clearly	A relationship between
				participants		coach and	(survey)	mentioned	harassment by a coach and
						psychological ill-			psychological ill-being
						being			was found for males but
									not for females.