

Editorial

Sport and migration in the age of superdiversity

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EDITORIAL: SPORT AND MIGRATION IN THE AGE OF SUPERDIVERSITY

Abstract

Taking Steven Vertovec's concept of *Superdiversity* as a starting point, this special issue examines the dynamic interaction of diversity variables in the field of sport and migration issues. The articles published here span from studies on sports labour migration (*sports as migration*) to consideration of the role sport plays in the everyday lives of disparate groups of migrants (*sport in migration*). Considering the contemporary diversification of migration, we argue that it is more relevant than ever to expand the empirical focus of research in sports and migration issues, but also the breadth of theoretical and methodological approaches utilized. To this end, we illustrate the value of postcolonial theory and intersectionality as theoretical frameworks that can focus on multiple axes of differentiation along with structuring conditions that impact sports and migration issues. Further, we call for researchers in the field to consider the value of methodologies that are novel to their work such as participatory action research and approaches that avoid methodological nationalism.

Introduction

The seminal book: *The Age of Migration* was first published in 1993 and has been revised and republished several times since. Even though the editors argue that there is nothing new about migration, they point to the contemporary salience of migration in the most recent edition of the book (Castles, de Hass and Miller, 2020). Further, they chronicle six current trends: 1. *The globalization of migration*; meaning that more and more countries are significantly affected by international migration, 2. *The changing direction of dominant migration flows*; migration being directed into rather than away from Europe in particular, 3. *The differentiation of migration*; to encompass a variety of types of voluntary and forced migration, 4. *The proliferation of migration transition*; due to growing transit migration for specific countries, 5. *The feminization of labour migration*; involving increasing numbers of women migrating independently and growing aspirations among female youth and young women for transnational mobility, 6. *The growing politicization of migration*; encompassing issues related to both national and international migration policies, asylum, integration, and security. In sum, *The Age of Migration* (Castles et al, 2020) both theorizes and explores how contemporary international migration trends entangle significant societal transformation.

While the idea for this special issue is informed by such fundamental work in migration studies, we are specifically concerned with exploring migration and sport in *The Age of Superdiversity*. In recent years, a growing number of migration scholars have turned their attention to the diversification of migration, both in types and direction as well as how it is impacted by the interaction of multiple forces and variables such as gender, class, age, and legal status. It was Steven Vertovec, the director of the Max-Planck-Institute for the Study of Ethnic and Religious Diversity, who coined the concept ‘Superdiversity’ (Vertovec 2007). Based on his analysis of immigration in Britain and London in particular since the early 1990s, Vertovec identifies multidimensional variables of diversity within and between migrant groups. He argues that today, diverse forms of migration are layered on top of existing societal diversity creating a degree of population complexity that surpasses what cities and countries have previously experienced. The dynamic interaction and complexity of these variables is what defines superdiversity (Vertovec 2007). Further, Vertovec points out that such dynamic interplay of variables is stratified in ways that lead to the reassertion of social positions and reproduction of social inequities. He notes:

Superdiversity is a summary term proposed also to point out that the new migration patterns not only entailed variable combinations of these traits, but that their combination produced new hierarchical social positions, statuses or stratifications. These in turn entail: new patterns of inequality and prejudice including emergent forms of racism, new patterns of segregation, new experiences of space and ‘contact’, new forms of cosmopolitanism and creolization (including what’s more recently discussed in terms of conviviality and multicultural), and more (Vertovec 2019, 126).

According to Vertovec (2023), superdiversity provides a number of challenges as well as socio-political opportunities. For example, he argues that policy-makers, local authorities and public service providers must collaborate with (super)diverse community organisations to ensure that the needs and aspirations of migrant groups are not simply understood as a product of their membership of a specific ethnic and cultural group, but rather tied to their multiple identities and complex axes of social differentiation.

Beyond the policy sphere, the idea of superdiversity also provides new challenges for social scientific research on migration. In introducing this concept, Vertovec (2007) critiqued migration studies as continuing an old and threadbare focus on the ‘acculturation’ of what are often considered as homogenous migrant populations. However, his work is contributing to an understanding of migration and the lives of migrants as being much more complexly constituted and shaped by the intersections of multiple forces and factors. He argues that if we are to better capture the growing complexity of migration and the superdiverse communities and societies it produces, there is a need for theoretical and methodological innovation in this field.

It is important to note that while most researchers agree that the scale, speed and spread of diversity extends beyond what has occurred previously, some have questioned whether superdiversity is a novel enough concept to guide contemporary migration studies (Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018). Others contend that ‘superdiversity’ may act as a new homogenizing concept that merely turns attention to complexity and multiplicity (Ndhlovu, 2016). While we acknowledge these concerns, we argue that employing the concept of superdiversity to sport and migration issues provides opportunities for scholars in this field to expand the empirical focus of the extant research, consider alternative methods, and utilize theoretical frameworks that can help to build a nuanced understanding of the role of sport in superdiverse contexts and how sport contributes to diversification processes.

The objective of this special issue is to showcase research that is moving in this direction and that examines the lived experiences of disparate groups of migrants with, in and through sports, including their social reception as ‘newcomers’, exposure to political strategies of integration and/or assimilation as well as civil and mediated responses to their participation in sports. To accentuate how these papers enable us to better grasp the complexity of sport and migration issues in the context of superdiversity, this editorial offers some brief considerations about how the wide-ranging field of

research in sports and migration may be defined, what it has revealed, and how it might be theorised and studied in the future in ways that better capture superdiversity.

Defining the field

As an empirical field, research in sports and migration sits between studies of *sports as migration* and studies of *sports in migration*. *Sports as migration* concerns itself with domestic (intra-national) and transnational movements of athletes, coaches and other ancilliary workers in the global sports system. Also defined as *sports labour migration*, research within this field frames this type of migration as voluntary, often involving highly skilled labour, and thereby also ‘desired’ migration that is actively pursued by migrants whose movements are often marked by short-term sojourning. Yet there are a number of contradictory characteristics at play. First, voluntary engagement in migration as a sports professional may, at points, appear as forced migration driven by external conditions (e.g., the sport-media complex). Second, even if athletes are highly skilled, their physical skills are transient by nature, and must be transferred to the more fundamental forms of economic, social and cultural capital (Ungruhe and Agergaard 2021). Third, due to the short-term nature of athletic careers, migration may position athletes as new ‘precariats’ (Standing 2011), employed in areas with low prospects for building an alternative career (Agergaard and Ungruhe 2016).

Despite the growing numbers of individuals who aspire to produce transnational mobility through a sporting career, it is important to acknowledge that in the global sports system there is a massive surplus of lapsed and deselected athletes, who find it difficult to retool themselves and salvage their futures. These sobering realities are never divulged to the millions of adolescents who shape their everyday lives and hopes for the future around the dream of an athletic career abroad. Studies of *Sports as migration* have much to say about the surplus of aspiring or disillusioned sports migrants. Such studies examine the aspirations, lived experiences and post-career trajectories of sports migrants and

consider the interplay of conditions, institutions and actors that shape their options for producing and sustaining their mobility.

Studies of *sport in migration* consider the role that sports play in the everyday lives of various types of migrants, including refugees, who migrate for non-sport reasons as well as those who belong to diasporic groups. These, and other migrant groups often experience a devaluation of their skills upon arrival in, for example, the European context, where educational requirements and language demands often consign them to the status of low skilled workers. Many also encounter rigid immigration infrastructures and are required to navigate numerous political and administrative barriers to secure their right to legally reside in the country they have moved to (Agergaard et al 2021).

Thus, research on *sports in migration* often reflects on the political and public expectation that sport can serve as a means to integrate migrant groups. Yet, bearing on the lengthy tradition within sociology for conceptualizing social integration and thinking in social reciprocity it has been pointed out that studying sports-related integration processes involve paying attention to not only migrant groups but also the receiving contexts, e.g., the sports club setting (Agergaard 2018a). Furthermore, studies of *sports in migration* have also examined the diverse role that sports play in the everyday lives of refugees and other types of migrants in promoting feelings of belonging, building a social network and enhancing their well-being, while also pointing to the significance of sports settings for negotiating ethnic and cultural identities.

In comparison to studies of voluntary, desired and short-term sojourning of sport labour migrants, scholarly work on the role of sports in the everyday lives of refugees and other migrant groups often pays attention to their less privileged living conditions. However, migrants and refugees participating in sport may find that while sport and physical activity is often foisted on them, sport may also enhance their sense of belonging and well-being (Lenneis, Evans, and Agergaard 2022). It is therefore important to keep in mind the potentially multi-faceted and contradictory role of sport in the everyday lives of migrants.

State of the art; through the lens of IRSS

The preceding discussion should illustrate that there is a broad literature on sport and migration issues, one that reflects both how sport may contribute to superdiversity and serve as a vehicle to address the challenges that arise from it. The *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* (IRSS) has been at the forefront of publishing work in this field. Indeed, a brief overview of studies previously published in IRSS reveals what is state of the art for the research field and helps to foreground the future directions that the research might traverse in terms of empirical focus, theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches.

Numerous articles have been published in IRSS on what we term *sport as migration*. In fact, some of the earliest studies on sports labour migration were published in IRSS by, among others, Joseph Maguire and David Stead (1996, 1998), as well as John Horne with Wolfram Manzenreiter (2004) and Yoshio Takahashi (2006). This was followed by a string of articles that expanded the empirical focus of the field of research through considering migration in a range of sports disciplines and areas of the world (e.g., Carter 2007, 2013, Elliott 2012, Evans and Stead 2012, Kanemasu and Molnar 2012). The research also expanded theoretically, employing perspectives beyond basic push and pull theorisation (e.g., Carter 2011, Choi 2018, Elliott and Weedon 2011, Poli 2010, Roderick 2012, van Campenhout and van Sterkenburg 2019). In addition, the methodological scope of research on sports migration has expanded to increasingly employ micro-sociological designs focusing on specific groups of sports migrants, not least female transnational athletes (Agergaard 2008, Engh and Agergaard 2013, Kanemasu and Molnar 2019) and women migrating as accompanying wives (Onwumechhili and Akpan 2020).

An increasing number of articles in IRSS have also examined *sports in migration* or the role of sports for minority ethnic and diaspora groups (e.g., Bradbury 2010, Burdsey 2010, Campbell and Williams 2013, Fletcher 2011, Krouwel et al 2006, Joseph 2012, Spracklen and Spracklen 2008,

Thangaraj 2010). In the wake of the so-called refugee crisis around 2015 such literature has expanded further (e.g., Buser et al 2021, Dowling 2019, Kyeremeh 2019, McSweeney and Nakamura 2019). This has led to specific attention being paid to racialized and politicised groups in sport, such as Muslim women (e.g., Kay 2006, Toffoletti and Palmer 2015, Lenneis, Evans and Agergaard 2022) and Black minority ethnic groups in western contexts (e.g., Adjepong 2019, Campbell and Williams 2013, Doidge 2013, Parry, Cleland and Kavanagh 2019).

While IRSS has already published a range of studies on sport and migration issues, diversification processes call for expanding the field of research in sports and migration issues further. Considering diversification processes and the political salience of migration today, we argue that it is more relevant than ever to expand the empirical focus, theoretical conceptualization and methodological approaches to research in sports and migration issues. In the three sections below we will reflect on opportunities for such expansion.

Empical focus of research on sport and migration issues

As indicated, the existing literature in *sport as migration* has focused predominantly on males within a limited range of team sports, and with an emphasis on global south-global north mobilities. Football has been the focus of the vast majority of studies on sports labour migration including those published in IRSS and beyond (Elliott and Harris 2016). There has been some attention paid to migration in other team sports such as: Cricket; baseball; basketball; and ice hockey (Maguire and Falcous 2010). However, only scant attention has been paid to sports labor migration in other sports disciplines such as rugby, wrestling, running (Besnier, Calabrò and Guinness 2020), and labour force migration, e.g., in connection to big sports events as the World Cup in football (Millward 2017). Increasing attention has been paid to migrating transnational coaches (Kjær and Agergaard 2022, Orlowski, Wicker and Breuer 2018). Further, while there are reasons for studying migration from the Global South to the Global North; particularly from (West) African countries into Europe, the potential for widening the

geographical scope of the research field is significant given the lack of studies of sports labour migration within the Southern hemisphere, and studies of domestic and intracontinental migration. Several publications have alerted us to the fact that sports labour migration starts much earlier than the point at which individuals sign contracts of employment, and this highlights the need for work exploring the longitudinal, multispatial and multidimensional conditions of sport migration (Darby, Esson and Ungruhe 2022).

Of particular note in the empirical focus of research on *sport in migration* has been the work of Ramon Spaaij, a contributor to this special issue, who has examined the role sports play for refugees. His recent, co-authored critical review of the literature on forced migration and sports identified what research in this field has explored and where the empirical gaps are (Spaaij, et al., 2019). The review highlighted that the primary focus of this work has been on the role of sports for health promotion and integration for refugees as well as an accompanying preoccupation with barriers and facilitators for participation. Such a focus is dominated by deficit-based approaches that consider refugees as powerless groups. Finally, in line with this editorial, Spaaij and colleagues point to the problem that refugees are often analysed singularly with reference to their ethnicity or religion. This excludes attention to factors such as social capital in their local communities, or immigration policy, that shapes refugees' access to sports and leisure time physical activity (Agergaard et al 2021).

The review of Spaaij and colleagues also points to new areas for empirical investigation of *sports in migration*. Due to the dominant focus in the existing literature on sports as health promotion and integration of newcomers, attention to diverse experiential dimensions of sports and physical activity is lacking. More research on subjects such as refugees' bodily and emotional experiences when participating in sports, considering the role that sports and physical activity may play in evoking refugees' memories from their countries of origin and/or developing belonging in new societies is needed. From a theoretical perspective, Spaaij et al (2019) are critical of the relative absence of decolonizing approaches that attempt to circumvent Eurocentric knowledge production in the research

on sport for refugees. Applied to the study of sport and migration more broadly, we argue that greater engagement with postcolonial theory as well as the theoretical framework of intersectionality represents a potential route to decolonizing research in this field and adding more nuanced, critical understandings of the role of sports in the lives of those migrants often consider as ‘other’.

Theoretical perspectives

A variety of perspectives, including process sociology, glocalization theory, the global value chain model, and neocolonialism have already been used in studying sport and migration issues (see e.g., Besnier 2015, Darby 2002, 2009, Klein 2006, 2009, 2010, Maguire, Liston and Falcous 2021). Below we will briefly look at the role of postcolonial theory and the framework of intersectionality as potentially contributing to critical approaches to migration.

Spaaij and colleagues (2019) noted the lack of research seeking to decolonize approaches to sport and migration. While sociological studies on the use of sport to promote integration and health promotion policies are often critical, they also have difficulties escaping the colonialist thinking that is widespread in many sports programs (Darnell and Hayhurst 2011). While research on sports as migration has been critical to the colonial legacy present in sports career trajectories, this approach may contribute further to the growing field of research on sport in migration.

In so doing it is relevant to pay attention to postcolonial theorists such as Edward Said, Homi K. Bhaba and Frantz Fanon, who share an interest in critically examining discourses that legitimize colonialism and scrutinizing the ongoing impact of European colonial rule. Said’s (1978) concept of ‘Orientalism’ is particularly prominent in postcolonial theory and in its original iteration it sought to explain how the Eastern world is perceived and (mis)represented by the West. Said argued that Western depictions (through literature, design and art) of the Middle East in particular are often essentialized so that societies and people there appear as homogeneous and are constructed as backward and undeveloped relative to the West (Said 1985). This widespread, patronizing view of the

East is juxtaposed with portrayals of the West as ‘civilised’, rational and superior. Postcolonial scholars have sought to eclipse this East-West binary by promoting concepts such as ‘hybridity’ (see Bhaba 2004). According to postcolonial scholars hybridity is not a simple melding of two preexisting distinct cultures, but rather an ongoing reinvention of cultural practices. Insights from postcolonial theory offer potential in addressing the often patronizing attitudes found in the ways that coaches and media commentators portray athletes with migrant backgrounds (see the articles by Campenhout and van Lieden and by Choi in this special issue), and also in sports programs directed towards refugees and migrants which often tend to reinforce assimilationist hierarchies (see article by Barrick).

Another framework that has gained attention in the social sciences due to its capacity to describe multiple identities and complex social differentiation is the concept of intersectionality. While having evolved particularly in feminist studies this framework has been described as having impacted the social sciences in game changing ways (Christensen and Jensen 2012). The concept is attributed to Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) who in the *Stanford Law Review* (1991) described the intersecting dimensions that shape violence against women of color. Accordingly, the concept has been expanded to point to the ways in which gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability and age interact with each other and how such intersecting axes are both constituted by and productive of power relations and social inequities (Collins 1989, 2015).

Key for the framework of intersectionality is the ‘non-additive principle’ (Collins 1998, Christensen and Jensen 2012) which suggests that race and gender do not simply become a sum of the two statuses, but reverberate into a series of unique experiences, producing multiple layers of identity. While the framework was originally used to critically examine what has been described as situations involving double and triple oppression, the concept has later been used with a variety of qualitative and quantitative approaches (McCall 2005). Still, while some scholars emphasize the obligation of researchers to critically examine social inequalities, others argue that this framework can also be used to examine privilege and in so doing have suggested the majority-inclusive principle (Staunæs 2003).

In sum, intersectionality may be considered an analytical strategy (Collins 2015) that can be used to examine the interplay between different lived experiences and identities at the micro-level and different structures and institutions at the macro-level (Christensen and Jensen 2012). Within studies of sport and migration there is some work that draws on the framework of intersectionality (Nobis and El-Kayed 2019, Spaaij et al 2019). In this special issue Cottingham writes about the intersecting identities of disabled immigrant athletes, while Liu and Pringle describe the complexities of limiting stereotypes and cultural predispositions which orient and inform physical activity choices and experiences among mainland Chinese immigrants to New Zealand. Yet much more attention could be devoted to the ways in which the lives and social identities of sports labour migrants as well as other types of migrants are shaped by a variety of factors, not only their ethnicity, but also their class, gender, age, education and legal status along with disparate structuring dimensions, including policies for asylum and immigration, civil responses to migration, and migrants' membership of social networks.

Methodological renewal

In tandem with the need to expand the research on sport and migration empirically and theoretically, we argue that it is important for scholars in this field to be open to alternative methodological approaches. For example, as pointed out by Spaaij et al. (2019) when it comes to researching the role of sport in the lives of particularly vulnerable migrants such as refugees and those enduring forced migration, there is a need to employ research designs that are currently underused, such as participatory action research (see the article by Luguetti and Spaaij in this special issue). Furthermore, Spaaij and colleagues point to the value of making greater use of mixed methods, visual methodologies, longitudinal research designs, and autoethnography. We concur and we also advocate a greater consideration of methods that may help counteract methodological nationalism.

Methodological nationalism is a term coined by Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller (2003) in their critique of mainstream social science and postwar research on migration in particular.

They argued that the nation state privileges a comprehension of itself and produces a methodology that fosters its reproduction. They isolate three manifestations of this in social scientific research. First, a *systematic blindness* to the nationalizing sentiments inherent in the focus on societies as nations. Second, *naturalization* of national discourses, agendas and loyalties that appear to be taken for granted in many social scientific studies. Third, a *territorial limitation* of analytical focus which leads to research being hemmed in by nation-state boundaries.

Such tendencies do not only shape social scientific research but also sports policies and programs. A critical review of sports policies and programs directed towards minority ethnic groups in Denmark identified a systematic blindness to nationalizing sentiments in cases where club organized sports are represented as places for migrants to adapt Danish values and norms (Agergaard 2018b). Further a naturalization of national discourses and agendas are identified in sports programs along with research that focuses on how sports may integrate minority ethnic groups into society. In the review of policies and programs of sports-related integration in Denmark, there was no attention paid to specific groups of migrants' experiences before arriving in Denmark or to their embodied experiences and the ways in which sports may evoke feelings of belonging to their homeland. Such shortcomings in policies and programs may easily be reflected in research unless attention is devoted to also asking questions such as how transnational belonging may promote rather than simply hinder integration into new societies (Vertovec 2007).

The limitations of methodological nationalism may be avoided when researchers make an effort to conceptualize and examine the embodied experiences that migrants and refugees have brought with them. The organization of international research teams that engage in crossborder studies that employ multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork (Marcus 1995) also constitutes a way of ensuring that the research in the field is not limited to the territories of the researcher's homeland and that it adequately captures the transnational dimensions of sports labour migration as well as the role that sports and leisure time physical activity play in the lives of migrants and diaspora groups.

Contributions in this special issue

The articles in this special issue each address sport and migration issues in superdiverse contexts and each helps to extend the field either empirically, theoretically or methodologically or through a combination of these things. Carla N. Lugetti and Ramon Spaaij look at a super-diverse context in Melbourne, Australia exploring interactions of what they term culturally and ethnically diverse (CALD) migrants with sports experiences. Their article evaluates a collaborative project which sought to enhance the diversity and inclusivity of sports club environments. They reflect on an ongoing Action Research (AR) approach whereby researchers, facilitators and community sports leaders co-designed and delivered sessions to enhance capacity for club leaders to identify and understand inequities. Amidst the complexities and challenges (and indeed limitations) they argue AR approaches can play a role in promoting a collaborative and beneficial learning process in working toward enhancing social inclusion.

Gijs van Campenhout, Arne van Leinden and Jacco van Sterkenburg explore one of the most visible manifestations of how migration and sport coalesce to produce (super-)diversity in the contemporary era, the multi racial/ethnic make up of national football teams in countries with a rich migration history. Their focus is on how media coverage, specifically television commentary, of an increasingly diverse Dutch national football team serves as a site for the (re)construction of discourses around nationality and race/ethnicity in Holland. The paper employs a novel historical approach by engaging in content analysis of media commentary at three particular time points, specifically the World Cups of 1978, 1998 and 2014. This approach lays bare the historically fluid, dynamic nature of the meanings given to nationality and race/ethnicity and in particular, how these meanings are often dependent on (and feed into) wider public and political attitudes to migrants and diversity at particular temporal junctures.

Yeomi Choi keeps the focus on how national, ethnic and racial diversity in the composition of international sports teams is represented through media discourse. Choi's paper takes as its empirical focus the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games where a number of North-American born male ice hockey players were naturalised into the South Korean national team. Using critical discourse studies, transnationalism, and critical multiculturalism, the study examines how these players were reproduced in media coverage both in Canada and South Korea. The methodological and theoretical frameworks employed in the study allow Choi to illuminate how both Canada and South Korea came to (re)construct their own imagined national community through those transnational sporting migrants who represented South Korea in the 2018 Winter Olympics. The paper also reveals how concepts of immigration, citizenship, whiteness, masculinity, and multiculturalism intersect in this process.

The Cottingham article provides an illuminating examination of intersecting identities, in this instance of immigrants who are also disabled athletes. Not only does this research indicate that these athletes find a meaningful path toward assimilation, but it directs our attention to the meaningful ways that they find agency through their sports. It is as athletes that these individuals can claim an empowered sense, one that eluded them in their countries of origin. In a subtle way, these disabled athletes are not only migrants, but also refugees. Whereas their disability was stigmatized in their country of origin, their adopted nation offered them an escape, and a path to self-esteem through sport making them simultaneously economic immigrants and refugees from disabled stigmatization. Disability and immigrant status intersect to yield new insights.

The integrative potential for recent immigrants in a novel Canadian program, WinSport Newcomer's Program, is featured in the Barrick article. Here we see a detailed examination of how immigrant families find ways of building social links with Canadian citizens through an array of winter sports. This was born out not only for the children in the program, but even more for their parents. It is shown that as immigrant parents are incorporated into these sports programs, their ability to reinforce

the experiences of their children is enhanced. These novel experiences enable families to strengthen bonds that are often weakened in the wake of such a difficult move. Assimilation may be the hoped for outcome of such a program, but Barrick also points to the strengthened intrafamily bonds that result.

Liu and Pringle's paper turns the conversation toward questions surrounding the oft-cited policy assumption that social cohesion will be improved for culturally and linguistically diverse migrants if their sport participation rates are increased. Their site of investigation is the superdiverse city of Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand, where they explore how mainland Chinese first-generation immigrants and Pākehā (white New Zealanders) understood each other in the context of sport and physical activity. They are able to reveal the complexities of both limiting stereotypes and cultural predispositions which orient and inform Chinese immigrants physical activity choices and experiences. In doing so, they reveal how sport participation does not necessarily enhance ethnic and cultural understandings *per se*, nor produce acceptance of cultural diversity as policymakers often assume. Such observations, Liu and Pringle argue, make clear that without specific policy strategies to help migrants participate in sport that affords them recognised benefits (i.e., cultural capital) in the dominant culture, the simplistic strategy of encouraging sport participation as socially unifying requires a more sophisticated understanding.

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