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PhD Dissertation
SPORT AND MIGRANTS' ACCULTURATION

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- Morela, E.**, Kouli, O., & Hatzigeorgiadis, A. (2011). Sport participation and social integration in multicultural groups: relationships between team cohesion and ethnic-cultural identity. *Proceedings 19th International Congress of Physical Education and Sport*, (pp. 8-9), Komotini, Greece.
- Morela, E.**, Kouli, O., & Hatzigeorgiadis, A., (2012). Team cohesion and ethnic-cultural identity in adolescent migrant athletes. *Proceedings 12th National Congress of Sport Psychology*, (pp. 65-67), Athens, Greece.
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Abstract

In the era of globalization, multicultural societies are common-place in most developed countries. Therefore, new challenges at both national and international level have come to the fore, and successful acculturation appears to be the key for maintaining social cohesion and promoting multiculturalism. Sport is considered to be a vehicle for bringing people together, and recently there has been an increasing policy interest in the use of sport as a venue for promoting social integration and intercultural dialogue. Regardless of its political significance, research on the integrative role of sport is limited and findings seem equivocal. Overall the purpose of the present study was to investigate whether participation in organized sport can affect the acculturation process of young adolescents from both minority and majority populations in Greece, and to explore features of the sporting environment that are likely to associate with positive acculturation outcomes. Four separate studies were conducted. The first study is a systematic review that aims to provide a complete and exhaustive summary of the current literature relevant to the integrative role of sport, in order to better understand the acculturation process and to identify factors that may regulate the acculturation process through sport participation. The second study focuses on adolescent migrants and aimed at identifying differences in acculturation attitudes and acculturative stress among young migrants who participate in sports and those who do not. Furthermore, it investigates the role of the coach-created sporting environment in the acculturation process within those participating in sport. The results revealed significant differences regarding the level of acculturative stress with migrant participants engaging in sports scoring lower on acculturative stress than their counterparts that did not. In addition, valuable findings emerged regarding the coach's influence on young migrants' acculturation, where an autonomy supportive coaching style was positively linked to integrative patterns and negatively related to

acculturative stress. Considering that acculturation is a two-way process involving both migrant and host populations, the next two studies were conducted with Greek young adolescents in order to enhance our understanding of the complexity of the acculturation process. In this regard, the purpose of the third study was to explore the acculturation attitudes of Greek adolescents as a function of sport participation, and, for those participating in sport, to investigate the role of the motivational environment. The results showed that athletes scored higher than non-athletes on attitudes towards multicultural contact. Furthermore, an empowering motivational environment characterized by a mastery climate, supportive of the needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness, was positively linked to attitudes favoring migrants' maintenance of their culture and development of interaction with the host culture, whereas a disempowering motivational environment characterized by a performance climate and controlling coaching behaviour was negatively linked to such attitudes. Based on the results of the third study, the final study aimed to provide a preliminary insight into the socio-moral factors that may explain why an empowering motivational climate is associated with integrative acculturation attitudes among the host population. Towards this direction, empathy and altruism were examined as potential mediators of the relationship between empowering motivational climate and acculturation attitudes. The results revealed that an empowering motivational environment could predict empathy and altruism, which in turn predicted positive acculturation attitudes of the host population towards migrants. Overall, the present dissertation provides valuable evidence regarding the role of sport as an acculturation agent, with particular emphasis on the importance of appropriate motivational environment. This evidence enhances our understanding of how sport can be used as an effective socializing

context and introduces new directions for further investigating acculturation in a diversifying world.

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Over the last decades, rapid socioeconomic and sociopolitical changes around the world have resulted in a great influx of migrants in many European countries. This migration presents both opportunities and challenges for receiving societies. Ethnic and cultural heterogeneity within European societies have created a growing need to understand and enhance intercultural relations and issues related to migration and the increasing ethno-cultural diversity have become central on the political and economic agendas in many European countries (Hatziprokopiou, 2004). As European societies are coping with diversifying migration streams, successful acculturation appears to be the key for maintaining social cohesion under conditions of rapid change in a multicultural reality.

The multicultural environment creates many opportunities for intercultural interactions. When cultural diverse individuals or groups come into contact with one another, an interchange of cultural attitudes and behaviours, known as acculturation, might occur (Berry, 1997). A large part of acculturation research has been conducted to understand acculturation process among adults (Berry & Sam, 1997), and much less has addressed acculturation experiences among youth (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Adolescence is often characterized as a period of transformation and a time of extensive identity changes (Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006). It has been argued that during adolescence many of the attitudes, beliefs, and values that young people develop may remain with them for life (Brighton, 2007), thus emphasizing in the importance of developing positive attitudes and behaviours in adolescents for achieving social adaptive long term outcomes in adults' world. Acculturation has been considered as a fundamental aspect of psychological development for migrant

adolescents (Sam & Oppedal, 2003). The process of acculturation during adolescence is especially complex because migrant adolescents are exposed to highly diverse environments (e.g. school), in which they might experience positive intergroup contact (Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer, 2001), but also social exclusion and discrimination (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2013). During this period of life, migrant children and adolescents have to confront not only developmental challenges (Masten, Burt, & Coatsworth, 2006), but also acculturative challenges that arise from the need to adapt to at least two cultures (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), namely the culture of their host country and that of the receiving country. Interactions with peers and adults either from their own cultural group or from the host culture are becoming increasingly important for young adolescents, in order to get acceptance and to be acknowledged as a part of their ethnic community or the dominant culture. In this regard, intercultural interactions can be used as a powerful tool to reduce prejudice (Pettigre & Tropp, 2006) and facilitate acculturation processes for both young migrants and host community members, thus promoting tolerance and acceptance in multicultural societies.

The Greek context

During the last decades, Greece has been transformed from a traditional emigration country since the end of the 19th century, to a transit country mainly for people from Central and Eastern Europe, Middle East and Africa. According to the Hellenic Statistical Authority (2013) approximately 910,000 migrants lived in Greece in 2011, representing 8.5% of the overall population. Recently it has been estimated that undocumented migrants have raised the number of migrants to more than one million i.e. approximately 10% of the Greek population (Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2005). The majority of migrants come from neighboring Albania while the second

largest group of migrants comes from former Soviet Republics (Aspridis & Petrelli, 2011). Greece and the Greek society in general, although a country of origin for generations of migrants, has been unprepared to receive such a large inflow of new ethnic groups (Nikolaou, 2000) and public sentiment towards migrants in Greece appears to be intolerant and xenophobic (Levinson, 2005).

The new diversity of the Greek population becomes evident in Greek state schools, where it is estimated that more than 10% of the student population has a non-dominant background (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradovic, & Masten, 2008). In recent years, several shortcomings and drawbacks have been identified regarding Greek schools and the Greek educational system with respect to migrant students. A large number of migrant youth are experiencing school failure and other school-related problems (Nikolaou, 2000). In addition to learning problems, migrant students also face psycho-social adjustment problems (Palaiologou & Evangelou, 2008) within or/and without school setting. Furthermore, research has shown that native Greeks have a lot of prejudice against migrants (Krakatsanis & Swarts, 2007) and Greek students' attitudes towards migrants are negatively biased (Dimakos & Tasiopoulou, 2003, 2011). Due to rapid socioeconomic and sociopolitical changes in the world, the Greek society will continue to change and transform with regard to demography, economy and socio-politics. The modern Greek multicultural society consists of people from diverse backgrounds that face the actual task of living with cultural diversity. Despite episodes of intolerance, conflict and social tension between majority and minority members, contact and sharing across members of different groups may reduce negative intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954) and enhance mutual acceptance (Amir, 1969). Sport environment, a field that can provide intergroup contact under conditions of equal treatment and respect for human rights, seems to

offer a fruitful context for enhancing positive intercultural contact across cultural diverse individuals and groups.

Sport as a context to cultivate integration

The idea that sport can be used as a promising context for positive youth development has received considerable attention in the sport psychology literature (Fraser-Thomas, Cote, & Deakin, 2005). More specifically, among others, it has been argued that sport experiences can produce socially desired outcomes; foster socialization and cooperation (Wuest & Lombardo, 1994), positive peer relationships (Evans & Roberts, 1987), empathy, responsibility, and citizenship (Elley & Kirk, 2002; Cote, 2002). Furthermore, youth sport participation has been positively linked to adult involvement in community activities (Eccles, & Barber, 1999), while young athletes have been found to acquire better emotional control, appreciate team work, and exhibit initiative (Larson, Hansen, & Moneta, 2006), which are valuable social skills that can contribute to a better community.

Migrant adolescents' and youths' successful acculturation and adaptation have been acknowledged as of outstanding importance for both migrant groups and individuals and for society as a whole (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chrysoschoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012). Policymakers in Western countries often claim that sport can act as 'social glue' that binds communities (Sport Canada, 2002; Sport England, 2004). Strong support for the value of sport can be found in many European countries that have started to emphasize the role of sport as a way to promote intercultural dialogue and to actively integrate minority groups into the host societies (Sagatun, Kolle, Anderssen, Thoresen, & Sogaard, 2008). A growing body of research supports that sport, as an effective socializing agent, can play a significant social and inclusive role in society (Seippel, 2002) and contribute to enhance social challenges (Coalter, 2007).

Sport has also been perceived as a powerful way to facilitate and promote cultural interaction across various groups and individuals, and numerous of benefits regarding sport participation in minority groups have been acknowledged. These relate to enhancing social networks with the host culture and overcoming social barriers (Rosenberg, Feijgin, & Talmor, 2003), improving language skills (Ito, Nogawa, Kitamura, Walker, 2011), and giving individuals a sense of belonging (Ennis, 1999) just to name but a few.

Besides the opportunities for cultural interaction within the sport setting, relevant research regarding the acculturative role of sport has shown that minority groups often seek involvement in sport activities with members of their own ethnic communities, in order to preserve links with their ethnic values and traditions (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004). Cultural maintenance and cultural interaction, both identified within the sport setting, have been acknowledged as important cultural functions of the acculturation process that promote integration and multiculturalism in plural societies (Berry, 1980, 1997). However, there are also studies that revealed less desired outcomes for minority groups within the sport context, such as social discrimination and prejudice (Doherty & Taylor, 2007), aggression and polarity (Krouwel, Boostra, Duyvendak, & Veldboer, 2006), marginalization and unsuccessful social relations with teammates (Walseth, 2008). Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Elbe, Kouli and Sanchez, (2013) in a recent review of the relevant literature discussed possible explanations for the inconsistent findings and highlighted that sport participation itself cannot automatically produce positive acculturation outcomes. The effects seem to depend on the environment within which sport takes place, thus emphasizing the key role of the sporting environment in regulating the integrative power of sport both for host and migrant populations.

The role of the sport environment

Research has identified sport participation as a promising field for positive character building experiences (Coakley, 2006); however, the potential of sport to produce the desired outcomes seems to depend on the environment within which sport takes place (Bredemeir & Shields, 2006). It is influenced by a number of factors associated with the sport environment such as motivational climate, goal orientations, and coaching style.

Based on the abovementioned approach, recent studies conducted in Europe tried to provide valuable descriptive evidence regarding the integrative profiles of the migrant participants/athletes and to explore sporting factors that may contribute to the promotion of sport as an acculturative agent in modern contemporary societies. Females, team sport athletes, and athletes competing at higher levels, were found to display more adaptive integration patterns compared to males, individual sport athletes and athletes competing at lower levels (Elbe, Sanchez, Ries, Kouli, & Hatzigeorgiadis, 2011). In addition, important features of the sport environment were found to affect migrant participant's acculturation patterns. Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Kouli, Elbe, and Sanchez (2013), in a sample of young migrant athletes in Greece, who participated in sport teams comprising host and migrant athletes, found that team cohesion could negatively predict feelings of fringe and lack of interaction with members of the dominant culture. This suggests that participation in cohesive sport teams can facilitate the development of an adaptive identity towards the goal of successful acculturation in migrant adolescents. Furthermore, Elbe, Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Ries, Kouli and Sanchez (2016) found that the motivational environment and in particular a mastery-oriented climate and autonomy support were linked to an adaptive integrative profile in male adolescent migrants.

Acculturation framework

From a cross-cultural psychological perspective, interactions between migrant groups and host communities have been framed using the concept of acculturation (Sam, 2006). *Acculturation* can be defined as the process of bi-directional change that takes place when the members of two ethno-cultural groups experience sustained intercultural contact (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). At the group level, acculturation refers mainly to cultural changes in social structures and institutions. At the individual level acculturation refers mainly to psychological changes in a person's attitudes and behaviour (Berry, 2005). These changes can take place in all groups and all individuals in contact.

One of the most prominent models of acculturation was developed by Berry (Figure 1) who argued that acculturation is a process of mutual adaptation when two or more different cultural groups get into sustained contact (Berry, 1997). According to Berry (1997), groups and individuals may hold different attitudes towards their acculturation and there are two dimensions along which individuals orient themselves, namely cultural interaction and cultural maintenance. *Cultural interaction* refers to the degree to which individuals or groups wish to interact with the host culture, and *cultural maintenance* refers to the degree to which individuals or groups wish to maintain their cultural heritage when cultural interaction occurs. The positions that they hold towards these two dimensions reveal different intercultural attitudes that both minority and majority members may follow during acculturation. When these attitudes are examined among non-dominant ethno-cultural groups they are described as *acculturation strategies*, and when examined among the dominant group, as *acculturation expectations*.

From the point of view of the non-dominant groups, when individuals distance themselves from their original ethnic-cultural background and seek absorption by the dominant culture it is described as *assimilation*. In contrast, when individuals avoid interaction with the host culture and remain attached to their original ethnic identity it is described as *separation*. When individuals are seeking to both culturally maintain their heritage and to interact with the dominant culture it is described as *integration*. Finally, showing little interest in both maintaining one's original ethnic-cultural background and having little interaction with the dominant culture is described as *marginalization*.

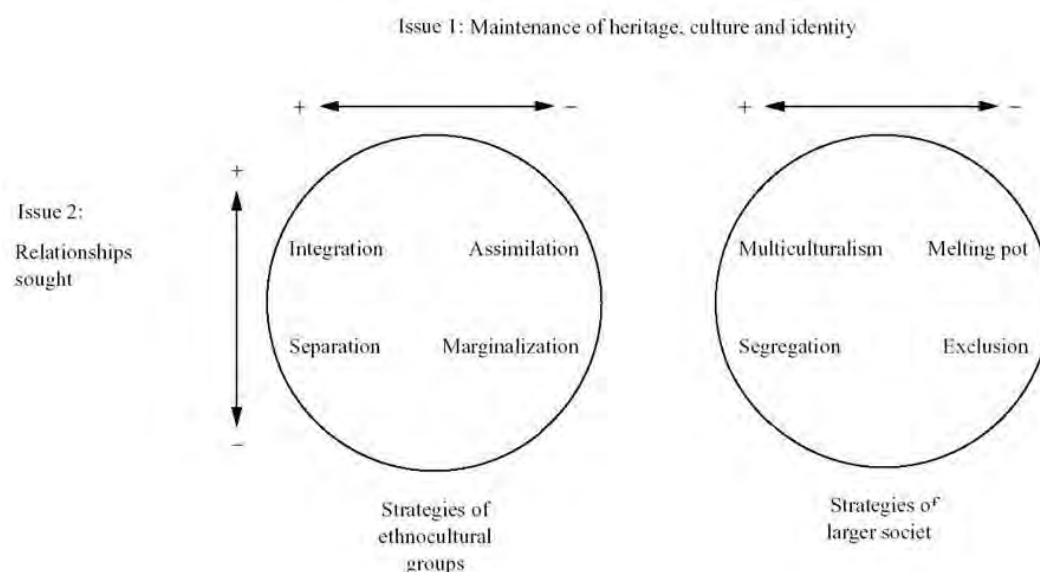


Figure 1: Intercultural strategies of ethnocultural groups and the larger society (adapted from Berry, 2005).

As Berry (2008) acknowledges, the host society plays an important role in influencing the way in which acculturation takes place. Therefore he introduced four acculturation expectations that the host society may adopt towards migrants. When

the dominant group does not favor the maintenance of the migrants' cultural heritage and seeks their assimilation, this is described as *melting pot*. When separation is forced by the dominant group is described as *segregation*. When the dominant group allows the expression of migrants' cultural heritage but also allows them to actively participate in the host society, this is described as *multiculturalism*; and finally, when marginalization is imposed by the dominant group, this is described as *exclusion*.

The acculturation model proposed by Berry has been widely accepted within acculturation psychology research and several researchers have expanded theories and models based on Berry's bi-dimensional model (e.g., Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Navas, García, Sánchez, Rojas, Pumares, & Fernández, 2005). Among them, Bourhis and his colleagues (1997) taking into consideration the emphasis placed on the role of the host population developed an Interactive Acculturation Model to better access the relationships between minority and majority members. The Interactive Acculturation Model proposes that the acculturation orientations of the host society can have a major impact on the acculturation orientations of minority groups (Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009). Drawing on Berry's (1997) acculturation orientations, the Interactive Acculturation Model proposes that host community members may endorse five acculturation orientations towards migrants. *Assimilationism* corresponds to the concept of absorption where host community members expect migrants to relinquish their heritage culture and adopt the dominant culture. *Segregationism* refers to host community members who accept that migrants maintain their heritage culture and at the same time they distance themselves from host members. *Integrationism* is endorsed by host community members who accept that migrants maintain their heritage culture and also accept that they adopt important features of the host majority culture. *Exclusionism* is adopted by host community

members who deny migrants' choice to maintain their heritage culture and also deny them the right to adopt features of the host community culture. Finally, *individualism* is endorsed by host community members who define themselves and others as individuals rather than as members of group categories such as migrants or host community members.

With regards to minority groups, migrants who adopt the assimilationism orientation want to abandon their culture of origin for the sake of adopting the culture of the host country; separatists seek to maintain their culture of origin while rejecting major aspects of the host community culture; migrants who adopt the integrationism orientation wish to maintain their culture of origin while also adopting key features of the host culture; the marginalized migrants feel alienated from their culture of origin and experience rejection by host community members. And, finally, migrants who endorse individualism define themselves and others based on personal characteristics rather than group memberships. The Interactive Acculturation Model proposes that acculturation orientations endorsed by host community members may be concordant or discordant with those held by members of migrant communities. The degree of concordance between the acculturation orientations of host community and migrant groups or individuals may result in harmonious, problematic, or conflictual relational outcomes (Bourhis et al., 1997).

When considerable levels of conflict are experienced, the acculturation process is perceived as distressing, and migrants and minority groups may experience acculturative stress (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). *Acculturative stress* is a physiological and psychological state experienced as a result of intercultural contact (Berry, 2006). Pressures of the majority group (Krishnan & Berry, 1992), differences in acculturation between adolescents and their parents, language difficulties,

perceived discrimination (Vega, Zimmerman, Gil, Warheir & Apospori, 1997), are all associated with high levels of acculturative stress (Vega, Zimmerman, Gil, Warheir & Apospori, 1997). Furthermore, past research has revealed links between acculturative stress and mental health (Gil, Vega & Dimas, 1994), drug use (Romero, Martinez & Carvajal, 2007), and behavioural problems (Vega, Zimmerman, Khoury, Gil & Warheit, 1995) among migrants youth, while elevated levels of acculturative stress have been related to depression (Miranda & Umhoefer, 1998) and interpersonal problems (Nicholson, 1997).

Sport motivational environment

Within the sport psychology field motivation has emerged as a key issue regarding sport participation (Sarrazin, Vallerand, Guillet, Pelletier, & Cury, 2002) together with the participants' socio-moral behaviour (Kavussanu, Roberts, & Ntoumanis, 2002). The Achievement Goal Theory perspective (Nichols, 1989) has been one of the most widely used conceptual frameworks for studying motivation in achievement contexts such as school and sport (Meece, Anderman, & Anderman, 2006). The theory focuses both on individual achievement goals (Nicholls, 1989) and on social context or goal structures that shape such individual goals (Ames, 1992). Achievement goals can be directed toward the aim to develop competence or to demonstrate competence. Competence can be evaluated in two different ways that reflect two different achievement goal orientations; task orientation and ego orientation. A *task orientation* is evident when perceptions of competence are self-referenced and are based upon personal improvement and striving maximum effort. In contrast, an *ego orientation* is evident when competencies normatively referenced and is dependent on outperforming others or achieving success with minimal effort (Nicholls, 1989). Research on youth has demonstrated that a high task orientation is

related to adaptive cognitive, affective, and behavioural patterns (e.g. Duda & Ntoumanis, 2005). Furthermore, positive relationships have been identified between task orientation and moral functioning (Kavussanu & Ntoumanis, 2003), while task orientation has been found to predict prosocial behaviour and low levels of ego orientation (Sage, Kavussanu & Duda, 2006). In contrast, ego orientation has been positively associated with low moral judgment and intention (Kavussanu & Roberts, 2001) and it has been found to predict antisocial judgment and behaviour (Sage Kavussanu & Duda, 2006).

Situational factors, and in particular the motivational climate created by significant others (e.g. coaches, physical education teachers), are assumed to influence young athletes' achievement behaviour (Ames, 1992). The *motivational climate* in sport refers to the psychological environment that the coach creates and structures in training and competitions (Duda, 2001). Similar to goal orientations, the motivational climate can be task-involving (or mastery) and ego-involving (or performance). A mastery oriented climate encourages learning and effort and participants are evaluated on task mastery and skill development rather than on ability. Conversely, a performance oriented climate emphasizes social comparison, normative ability and promotes competition rather than cooperation. Past research in sport (Ntoumanis & Biddle, 1999) has shown that a mastery climate has been related to adaptive cognitions, emotions and behaviours (i.e. well-being, enjoyment, performance satisfaction), whereas a performance climate has been associated with maladaptive cognitive, motivational, and affective responses (i.e. dissatisfaction, amotivation, anxiety). Furthermore and in relation with the acculturative role of sport, Kouli and Papaioannou (2009) found that sport activities taking place in physical education

classes with a mastery climate were positively linked to integration and assimilation, whereas a performance climate was linked to separation and marginalization.

In addition to Achievement Goal Theory, the Self-determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000) has been widely used to describe and interpret motivation and behaviour (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Self Determination Theory distinguishes between self-determined and controlled motivation. Self-determined motivation refers to actions characterized by a full sense of volition and choice (Ryan & Deci, 2002), where individuals are engaged in the activity because they are interesting (i.e., intrinsic motivation), or because it is personally important (i.e., identified regulation). On the contrary, controlled motivation refers to actions characterized by the feeling of pressure (Deci & Ryan, 2000), where individuals are engaged in the activity because of coercive demands and rewards (i.e., external regulation), or because of a sense of guilt or obligation (i.e., introjected regulation). Research based on Self Determination Theory has shown that individuals with a self-determined motivation tend to report positive outcomes such as enhanced persistence, performance, vitality, self esteem and well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2002).

It has further been argued that coaches' behaviour and motivational style can have a powerful role in shaping athletes' psychological experiences in the sport setting (Mageau & Vallerand, 2003). In line with Self Determination Theory, Vallerand and Losier (1999) suggested that the coach's behaviour can be either autonomy-supportive or controlling. In an autonomy-supportive sport environment the coach considers athletes' perspectives, acknowledges their feelings, and provides them with opportunities for choice while minimizing the use of pressures and demands (Black & Deci, 2000). In contrast, in a controlling sport environment the coach behaves in a coercive, pressuring, authoritarian way usually ignoring athletes'

needs and feelings (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Evidence suggests that autonomy-supportive behaviours are related to more self-determined forms of motivation in athletes (Pelletier, Fortier, & Briere, 2001). In addition, autonomous motivation has been found to be positively linked to prosocial attitudes and behaviour (e.g., Gagne, 2003; Weinstein & Ryan, 2010) while controlled motivation has been shown to be positively associated with antisocial attitudes and behaviour (e.g., Ntoumanis & Standage, 2009).

An autonomy-supportive coaching style can enhance athletes' self-determined motivation because it contributes to the satisfaction of their basic psychological needs. Basic Needs Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2001) proposes that individuals have three psychological needs, namely the need for autonomy, competence and relatedness. The need for autonomy is satisfied when individuals perceive that they decide for themselves and their actions are in accordance with their values and they are not being controlled by external forces or internal pressures. The need for competence is satisfied when individuals feel a sense of mastery through effective interaction within their environment. Finally, the need for relatedness is satisfied when individuals feel a sense of belongingness and connectedness to others in their social context. Research in the sport setting has demonstrated that athletes tend to experience greater psychological need satisfaction when coaches display more autonomy-supportive behaviours (Gagne, Ryan, & Bargmann, 2003), whereas controlling behaviours have found to undermine athletes' psychological needs and self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 1985).

Duda (2013) highlighted the importance of integrating basic dimensions of Achievement Goal Theory (Nicholls, 1989) and Self Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985) and proposed a conceptualization of the coach-created motivational

climate that can be either “empowering” or “disempowering”. An empowering motivational climate involves task-involving, autonomy-supportive and socially-supportive features that may enhance athletes’ basic psychological needs, while a disempowering motivational climate is characterized by ego-involving and controlling coach behaviours that may hamper basic psychological needs (Appleton, Ntoumanis, Quested, Viladrich & Duda, 2016).

Research has shown that an empowering coaching climate is positively associated with athletes’ enjoyment (e.g. Cheon, Reeve, Lee, & Lee, 2015), global self-worth (e.g. O’Rourke, Smith, Smoll & Coming, 2014), life satisfaction, self-esteem and health (Papaioannou et al., 2013). Conversely, a disempowering coaching climate holds implications for the thwarting of psychological need satisfaction and has found to be related to anxiety and the intention to drop out from sport (Papaioannou et al., 2013). Furthermore, in the physical education context an empowering motivational climate was positively linked to empathy and cooperating skills, whereas a disempowering motivational climate was related to quick-temperedness and disruptiveness (Kolovelonis, Keramidas, Krommidas, & Goudas, 2015).

Summary and Purpose: Sport Participation and Migrants’ Acculturation

Migration and global mobility are worldwide phenomena creating multi-ethnic societies with a growing number of children and adolescents who have different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Migration creates challenges for both minority and majority populations and successful acculturation and eventually migrants’ integration in the society of settlement have been considered to be of fundamental importance. Recently, there has been a growing interest in the use of sport as a mean for promoting and developing social interaction on disadvantaged and underrepresented

young people (Parnell, Pringle, Widdop, & Zwolimsky, 2015). However, research-based evidence on the acculturative role of sport has not received the required attention. In addition and despite the fact that acculturation implies that both host community members and migrants are influenced and transformed by their intercultural contact, research has mostly focused on migrants' perspectives, thus disregarding the important role of the host society in the acculturation process.

The present PhD thesis was based on Berry's (1997) seminal work on acculturation and on Bourhis and colleagues' (1997) interactive acculturation model, in order to better access intergroup relations between majority and minority members. The overall purpose of this PhD thesis was to investigate migrants' acculturation preferences and host community acculturation expectations in relation to sport participation and sport motivational environment. It has been argued that various positive character traits such as personality and social responsibility can be taught and learned in a sport setting (Parker & Stiehl, 2004). However, further research has shown that sport in itself cannot produce the desired social and integrative outcomes. Rather the sporting environment has to be adapted in order to achieve such positive outcomes (Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013). The social and motivational environment shaped by significant others, such as coaches and physical education teachers, has been found to have a great influence on participants' socio-moral behaviour (Shields, Bredemeier, Gardner & Bostrom, 1995). Achievement Goal Theory (Nicholls, 1989) and Self Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000) are the two main theories that have been applied to analyze and understand motivation in sport as well as the related cognitive, affective and behavioural outcomes (for review, see Vallerand & Losier, 1999). Taking into consideration the important role of sport motivational environment in athletes sporting experience and behaviour, the research design was

based on the distinction between autonomous-supportive versus controlling motivational environment and empowering versus disempowering motivational environment to examine the relationships between sport motivational environment and acculturation attitudes for both migrant and host adolescents.

The PhD thesis includes four separate studies. The first study (Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Sanchez, & Elbe, 2016) is a systematic review of the relevant literature in order to enhance the understanding of issues regarding the acculturative role of sport and to identify those factors of the sport environment that may regulate the relationship between sport and acculturation. In the first part of the review a number of studies are presented and their findings are discussed with regards to the potential role of sport to either facilitate and/or hinder the acculturation process. Subsequently, the review focuses on studies conducted in Europe using a solid/sound theoretical background, more specifically the ethnic-cultural identity framework (Ting-Toomey et al., 2000), to assess the role of the sport environment in the acculturation process of the participants. At the end of the review future directions are discussed that could contribute to enhancing our understanding regarding the potential role of sport participation in promoting integration and multiculturalism in contemporary societies.

The second study (Morela, Elbe, Papaioannou, Hatzigeorgiadis, submitted) is a cross-sectional, quantitative study that focuses on adolescent migrants living in Greece and attending Greek public schools. The purpose of the study was (a) to identify differences in acculturation patterns and psychological outcomes (i.e. acculturative stress) among young migrants who participate in organized sport activities and those who did not, and (b) to investigate the role of the sporting environment created by the coach in migrants' acculturation attitudes and in the level

of acculturative stress, within the participants that were engaged in sports. It was hypothesized that an autonomy supportive coaching style would be positively related to acculturation attitudes reflecting integration and negatively related to acculturation stress, whereas a controlling coaching environment was hypothesized to be negative related to acculturation attitudes reflecting integration and positive related to acculturation stress.

Taking into consideration that acculturation is a two-way process involving both migrant and host community members, the two following studies focused on Greek students' acculturation expectations regarding migrants' acculturation, in order to better understand the role of sport in enhancing intercultural relations and promoting multiculturalism. For the third study (Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe, Papaioannou, & Sanchez, submitted) a cross-sectional quantitative design was adopted. Participants were high school students who identified themselves as Greeks and both of their parents were of Greek origin. The purpose of the study was (a) to explore Greeks students' acculturation attitudes and perceptions as a function of sport participation, by comparing athletes with non-athletes, and (b) to investigate the role of the motivational environment, within those participating in sport. It was hypothesized that an empowering motivational climate would relate positively to acculturation attitudes reflecting multiculturalism, whereas a disempowering motivational climate would relate negatively to acculturation attitudes.

Finally, the fourth study (Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Papaioannou, Elbe, submitted) aimed at exploring factors that may explain a potential link between empowering motivational climate and acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism for the host population. In particular, the relationship between an empowering climate, acculturation attitudes, and prosocial skills that have been

related to sport participation under optimal motivational conditions, namely empathy and altruism, were examined in adolescent Greek athletes. Empathy refers to a persons' ability to understand other peoples' perspective and to experience their emotional state (Davis, 1994), while altruism refers to actions that intend to help other people without any expectation or benefits to oneself (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). It was hypothesized that empathy and altruism would mediate the relationship between empowering motivational climate and acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism.

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CHAPTER 2

PROMOTING ACCULTURATION THROUGH SPORT: AN ETHNIC-CULTURAL IDENTITY APPROACH

Abstract

In the era of globalization, multicultural societies are common in most developed countries. As a consequence, new challenges at both national and international levels have become apparent, and successful adaptation to this new phenomenon of migration appears as a fundamental issue. Sport has traditionally been considered to be a vehicle for bringing people together (Eitzen & Sage, 2003), and recently there has been an increasing policy interest to use sport as a tool to promote integration in multicultural societies. Regardless of its political significance, research on the integrative role sport plays in our society is limited and findings are equivocal (Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Elbe, & Sanchez, 2013). In this chapter, we address these findings within the ethnic-cultural identity approach (Berry, 1980; 1997). In particular, we discuss a number of studies that (a) have used a sound ethnic-cultural identity framework and (b) attempted to identify variables that may influence the effectiveness of sport participation towards the goal of social integration. Lastly, we address future research venues and provide practical implications that can contribute to the further understanding of the potential role of sport in the promotion of social integration in today's multicultural societies.

Key words: integration, acculturation, individual differences, intercultural relations, identity

Migration, a timeless phenomenon related to either seasonal or permanent movement of people, has been vital to human history, cultures and civilizations. In 2013, the number of migrants worldwide was over 231 million – which accounts for 3% of the world population (United Nations, 2013). In light of constant economic, social and political changes that occur globally, migration appears as a major challenge for many societies and thus has become a priority in the social-political agenda in most countries. The integration of migrants is of vital importance in order to maintain social cohesion – with emphasis on diversity management under conditions of equality and respect for human rights (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003).

The process of adjusting to a new culture and of eventually integrating migrants into their local communities and into the wider society in general has always been of fundamental importance. In recent years, the idea that sport participation can potentially be an effective socializing agent that facilitates the integration of migrants into the communities they live in has received political attention (Eitzen & Sage, 2003). For instance, 20 EU countries have lately been using sport as a way of increasing multicultural understanding (European Commission, 2004) and the EU White Paper on Sport demonstrates how sport can be used as an intervention strategy for the integration of migrants and minority groups (European Commission, 2007).

Sport is discussed in connection with the migration phenomenon and with the process of adjusting to a new culture (Grove & Dodder, 1982). Eitzen and Sage (2003) stated that sport is among the few social activities that are globally recognized as a vehicle for bringing people together. Such claims can be attributed to certain characteristics of sport: (a) the large number of children and youth involved; (b) that sport participation is, at least for the vast majority of individuals, a volitional behaviour; (c) the mixed demographic and socio-economic backgrounds of those

participating; and (d) its interactive and highly communicative nature. In addition, and in particular with regard to the integrative role of sport, it has been shown that contact and sharing across members of different groups may reduce negative intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954) and enhance mutual acceptance (Amir, 1969); in particular, under conditions of both equality and the pursuit of shared goals among members (Brown, Vivian, & Hewstone, 1999). These conditions can be accommodated within the context of sport. Furthermore, according to the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971), once people identify themselves as members of a group and find themselves within appropriate environments, they can develop a sense of collective identity which subsequently influences their social behaviour.

A growing body of research stresses that, in addition to improving physical health, sport plays a significant social and inclusive role in society (Seippel, 2002) as well as a positive role in personal and moral development (Bredemeir & Shields, 2006). More specifically, it has been argued that sport provides an arena for the development of social skills such as, cooperation and socialization (Wuest & Lombardo, 1994), intergroup relations (Wankel & Berger, 1990), and citizenship (Elley & Kirk, 2002). Especially team sports have been shown to promote the development of skills like trust (Priest, 1998), empathy (Moore, 2002), personal responsibility (Hellison, 2003), and cooperation (Miller, Bredemeier, & Shields, 1997). The need for individuals to work collaboratively in order to achieve the common team goal is believed to be the reason. Furthermore, team sports are believed to offer a strong feeling of belonging and identification. In addition to positive social effects, there is evidence that sport participation can lead to positive character building experiences (Bredemeir & Shields, 2006), and can be used as an effective

tool for the enhancement of moral behaviours in athletes, as well as for the promotion of moral development in children (for a review see Shields & Bredemeier, 2007).

Recently, there has been a growing policy interest in the use of sport as a potential method of developing social interaction and building citizenship in socially-excluded individuals or groups, focusing mostly on disadvantaged and under-represented young people (Kelly, 2011; Parnell, Pringle, Widdop & Zwolimsky, 2015; Ryom & Stelter, 2015). Sport is promoted as a “positive activity” within mainstream policy for children and young people (HM Treasury, 2007). Indeed, engagement in sport activities is believed to facilitate social inclusion by both offering individuals a place to meet (Keller, Lamprocht, & Stamm, 1998) and giving them a sense of belonging, whether it is to a team, club or a wider community (Ennis, 1999).

The purpose of this chapter is to address the role of sport in the promotion of social integration among individuals and groups with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds in order to better understand the acculturation process and to identify factors that may facilitate the acculturation process through sport participation. Acculturation is defined as the process of cultural and psychological change that follows intercultural contact (Berry, 2003). To that end, the chapter will take an individual differences approach; that is, we will focus on specific identity factors (e.g. ethnic and cultural identity) of both the dominant and non-dominant sport participants. First, we introduce relevant terminology, then Berry’s integration framework will be described. Subsequently, empirical evidence based on the ethnic-cultural identity approach will be presented, and finally directions for future research will be discussed.

Social inclusion and exclusion

In ethnic and migration studies, social inclusion is often conceptualized in terms of social capital. The Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD, 2001) defined social capital as the “networks together with shared norms, values and understanding which facilitate cooperation within or among groups” (p. 41). In contrast, social exclusion is referred as “the multiple and changing factors resulting in people being excluded from the normal exchanges, practices and rights of modern society” (Commission of the European Communities, 1993, p. 1). The long-standing belief in the potential of sport to promote tolerance and combat social exclusion (Committee for the Development of Sport, 1998) has led to the development of sport-based programs that might promote social inclusion in multicultural societies. However, social inclusion and social exclusion are challenged concepts (Levitas et al., 2007) and the processes through which the sports-based intervention programmes might facilitate social inclusion require further investigation.

Acculturation

As mentioned earlier, acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological change that follows intercultural contact (Berry, 2003). Cultural changes refer to changes in a group’s customs, and in their economic and political life, while psychological changes refer to changes in an individual’s attitudes toward the acculturation process, their cultural identities, and their social behaviours in relation to the groups in contact (Phinney, 2003). These changes can take place in all groups and all individuals in contact. Berry (2006) argued that both migrants and host communities are influenced and transformed by their intercultural contact and that they have to find a way to adapt to cultural diversity. Therefore, intercultural relations

are viewed as mutual and reciprocal, and all groups have to face two basic issues in the acculturation process based on the distinction between orientations towards one's own group, and those towards other groups (Berry, 1980). Accordingly, Berry (1997) proposed that there are two independent dimensions underlying the process of acculturation: "cultural maintenance" and "contact and participation". Cultural maintenance refers to the degree to which people wish to maintain their heritage culture and identity. Contact and participation refers to the degree to which people seek involvement with the larger society. Findings from sport and migration studies support Berry's (1997) conceptual model for acculturation; migrants and minority groups use sport as a vehicle to either maintain their cultural identity or interact with the dominant culture (Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013). Subsequently, we briefly discuss findings within the sport literature that have either challenged or supported the dual cultural role of sport.

Sport and acculturation: Can sport enhance intercultural relations?

The potential of sport to positively contribute to improving a range of social challenges is widely celebrated (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; Coalter, 2007): it is stated that sport participation can facilitate social inclusion (e.g., reduce crime, develop communities and improve health; Coalter, 2007). Sport has been described as, among others, an arena for equal opportunities and racial equality (Green & Hardman, 2000) and as a field wherein to reinforce understanding and respect of cultural diversity (Niessen, 2000). To date, research on the integrative role of sport in plural societies is limited, and findings seem ambiguous. A number of studies have supported the notion that sport can facilitate the relationships between groups (cultural interaction; e.g., Rosenberg, Feijgin, & Talmor, 2003) while others indicate that sport is linked to both cultural interaction and cultural maintenance (e.g., Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004).

Finally, some findings reveal that sport participation may lead to undesired outcomes and may even highlight ethnic and cultural differences and evoke tensions (e.g., Krouwel, Boostra, Duyvendak, & Veldboer, 2006). Therefore, we are going to present the most relevant findings with regards to the potential role of sport to either facilitate and/ or hinder the acculturation process.

A number of studies have supported the role of sport in facilitating and promoting cultural interaction across a diverse array of contexts, cultures, and participants. Among others, several studies have highlighted numerous benefits regarding sport participation in minority groups, such as overcoming social barriers and improving social networks with the majority group (Rosenberg et al., 2003; Guerin, Diiriye, Corrigan, & Guerin, 2003) as well as improving language skills (Ito, Nogawa, Kitamura, & Walker, 2011). Furthermore, it has been shown that sport participation can help individuals of minority groups adapt well to the stressful acculturation process, and feel included in the dominant society (Stack & Iwasaki, 2009). Sport can also, indirectly, increase structural integration, as individuals of minority groups are led to participate in other areas of society (Walseth & Fasting, 2004).

The above mentioned studies have supported the role of sport in facilitating cultural interaction. However, according to Berry's (1980, 1997) framework, the goal of integration requires, in addition, the maintenance of cultural heritage. For individuals or groups who have preserved their cultural heritage, the cultural interaction provided through sport can facilitate integration. However, for individuals who have been absorbed by the dominant culture, integration involves seeking association with members of their own group to initiate or preserve links with their cultural traditions. In that context, a number of studies have supported the dual

cultural role of sport. Their findings indicate that migrants can use sport activities to either interact with the dominant culture by taking part in activities with the mainstream population, or by socializing with their own community and preserving their ethnic values by participating in sports with individuals of the same ethnic background (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Lee, 2005). It is not entirely clear whether the cultural maintenance and cultural interaction objectives can be accomplished in the same sport environment; this would mostly depend on the identity and the goals of the team members. However, research has identified both cultural functions (Allen, Drane, Byon & Mohn, 2010), and evidence suggests that, given the appropriate mixed composition of a team, the features of the sport environment can help promote integration through both cultural functions of sport.

However, there are findings that have challenged the role of sport as an inclusion agent; members of minority groups, occasionally, prefer to participate in sports with members of their own group, thus strengthening their sense of belonging and reinforcing their ethnic identity through homogeneous sport activities (Krouwel et al., 2006; Lee, Dunlap, & Scott, 2011). In addition, other researchers highlight that migrants, within the sport context, can feel marginalized and fail to develop friendships with their teammates (Walseth, 2008), because they can experience social discrimination due to language barriers, unfamiliarity with the activities, and origin-related prejudice (Doherty & Taylor, 2007).

Furthermore, it is important to be aware that sport cannot automatically improve intercultural interaction and tolerance. Some findings even suggest that sport participation may lead to undesirable outcomes such as aggression, hostile attitudes, and polarity (Krouwel et al., 2006). Hatzigeorgiadis et al. (2013) listed a number of potential explanations for the inconsistent findings and address the limitations of these

studies with regard to theoretical underpinning, study design and sample size. Furthermore, Hatzigeorgiadis et al. (2013) discussed future research directions, which could enhance our understanding of the integrative role of sport.

Based on an extensive literature review, the above mentioned researchers argued that a possible reason for the different findings with regard to the integrative role of sport can be the lack of and/or unclear use of a theoretical framework for investigating the phenomenon. Another important conclusion is that most of the studies were qualitative and hence aimed to generate rather than to test hypotheses. Furthermore, the number of participants in the qualitative studies was small, making inferences for a larger group impossible. In line with the lack of theoretical underpinning, the investigated factors were of an outcome nature (e.g. did the participants improve their language skills, did more contact take place between groups, did sport participation increase?). These variables, however, do not assess the underlying variables responsible for successful acculturation in line with e.g. an individual differences approach. With regard to the small number of quantitative studies, it can be stated that they were basically descriptive, rather than hypothesis testing and provided limited information regarding the instruments and the measures developed to assess acculturation.

A further consequence evolving from the limited volume of research concerns the societal context within which acculturation occurs that might influence individuals' integration. Thus, the different (demographic) characteristics of the individuals participating in the acculturation process should be considered as well as the cultural environment of the host society and its background in receiving incoming individuals (e.g. differences between or within continents, such as the US, Northern Europe, Southern Europe) (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). To date,

these differences have not yet been addressed. As Van Osch and Breugelmans (2012) recently suggested, perceived differences by the members of the involved groups may be a determinant of intergroup relations in culturally diverse societies. Accordingly, the role of sport may differ from group to group, given individual differences, and depending on the dominant cultural environment.

Ethnic-cultural identity framework: Individual differences approach

Taking into consideration the shortcomings identified above and trying to create a stable theoretical basis for developing improved and sound research on migrants' acculturation through sport, we propose the use of a framework that focuses on the underlying factors for acculturation in line with a focus on individual differences. This approach is based on Berry's (1980, 1997) seminal work, which proposes that migrants' integration involves the goal of interacting with the host society and adopting aspects of its culture (cultural interaction), while maintaining the links with the traditions and the heritage of the original culture (cultural maintenance). This two-dimensional model of acculturation for pluralistic societies is based on the principles of cultural maintenance and contact-participation (Berry, 1980, 1997). This model describes different intercultural strategies based on the interaction of (a) individuals' wish to maintain their ethnic identity and (b) their desire to interact with the broader culture. When examined among the non-dominant population, these are described and classified as *acculturation attitudes* and, when examined among the dominant population, as *acculturation expectations*.

With regard to *acculturation attitudes*, the impulse of non-dominant groups to distancing from their original ethnic-cultural background and to seeking to be absorbed by the dominant culture is described as *assimilation*. In contrast, avoiding interaction with the host culture and remaining attached to the original ethnic identity

is described as *separation*. Seeking to both maintain ethnic-cultural heritage and interact with the dominant culture is described as *integration*, and is considered the most effective acculturation strategy. Finally, showing little interest to both interaction with the dominant culture and maintaining one's original ethnic-cultural background, is described as *marginalization*.

In addition, to the perspective of the incoming ethno-cultural group, this model identifies the importance of the host society's willingness to accept such populations, based on a similar two-dimensional model. Respectively, with regard to *acculturation expectations*, when the dominant group seeks the assimilation of migrants, this is described as *melting pot*; when separation is forced by the dominant group, this is described as *segregation*; when the dominant group seeks integration, this is described as *multiculturalism*; finally, when marginalization is imposed by the dominant group, this is described as *exclusion*. According to Berry (2011), this framework can be used to compare individuals and their ethno-cultural groups as well as the non-dominant groups and the larger society, in order to enhance acculturation research.

In the acculturation literature, Berry's model, which has attracted the most interest, is considered the most effective in explaining, from a social-psychological perspective, the acculturation processes in multicultural societies (Bourhis et al., 1997). Ting-Toomey et al., (2000), taking into consideration Berry's framework about migrants' acculturation, presented an ethnic-cultural identity salience framework to facilitate the understanding and provided a means for intercultural research. Within this conceptualization, ethnic identity is described as the importance attached to one's own ethnic background, its values and practices, and reflects the cultural maintenance dimension of Berry's model; whereas cultural identity is described as the importance attached to the broader cultural context and reflects the cultural interaction dimension

of Berry's model. Both concepts address a specific aspect of individual differences, namely one's cultural/ethnic identity. Ting-Toomey et al.'s (2000) conceptual model comprises two dimensions of ethnic identity, which are a sense of *belonging* to a group and *feelings of fringe*, and two dimensions of cultural identity, which are *assimilation* and *lack of interaction*. Precisely, *belonging* is indicative of high ethnic identity and refers to the sense of recognition and reveals the extent to which a person feels attached to his/her own ethnic group. The dimension *feelings of fringe* reflects low ethnic identity, and refers to the confusion a person feels concerning his/her ethnic identity. *Assimilation* reflects a high cultural identity and refers to the level of identification of individuals with the dominant culture they live in. Finally, *lack of interaction* reflects low cultural identity and refers to the absence of interaction among the members of different groups. Ting-Toomey et al. (2000) suggested that, depending on ethnic and cultural identity salience, individuals evaluate their group and the culture they live in, and may be more or less involved in ethnic or cultural practices.

Preliminary evidence for the use of the ethnic-cultural identity framework in sports literature was provided for the physical education context. Kouli and Papaioannou (2009) explored the relationship between motivational climate in physical education classes and ethnic-cultural identity among culturally diverse high school students in Greece. Findings revealed that task orientation and a mastery oriented motivational climate, which places emphasis on learning and improving skills on the basis of self-referenced criteria, was related to cultural maintenance and to cultural interaction, which have been linked to integration. In contrast, ego orientation and a performance oriented motivational climate, which place emphasis on outperforming others based on comparative criteria, related to lack of interaction and

feelings of fringe, which have been linked to marginalization and separation (Kouli & Papaioannou, 2009). These findings suggest that the environment in which the activity takes place, rather than the participation in the activity/sport per se, may well be the key to promote integration through sport.

Based on an initiative by the European Federation of Sport Psychology (FEPSAC), a research program was developed to further explore the integrative role of sport, with particular interest in identifying the factors that may regulate the integrative power of sport for both host and migrant populations (Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013). This research program has, to date, involved five European countries (Denmark, Germany, Greece, Spain, and the UK), and progressed through a number of stages, from instrument development and exploratory descriptive data collection to the assessment of sport related factors that may contribute to the promotion of sport as an integrative agent in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic societies. Currently, the research program is investigating if sport environment interventions can promote the integration of migrants. These studies have focused on individual differences of the participants and investigated whether sport participation can affect the construction of ethnic-cultural identity and the acculturation process. The research was developed within the theoretical model provided by Berry (1980; 1997) and the conceptualization of the Ethnic-Cultural Identity Salience questionnaire developed by Ting-Toomey et al. (2000), as adapted for youth and used in the physical education context by Kouli and Papaioannou (2009). The key findings of this project are described and discussed below.

Elbe, Sanchez, Ries, Kouli, Pappous and Hatzigeorgiadis (2012) examined sport factors related to the ethnic and cultural identity of young athletes with non-dominant background in different European countries. The results showed differences among

migrants in ethnic-cultural identity dimension as a function of sex and type of sport, with females and team sport athletes scoring higher on assimilation and lower on lack of interaction, thus showing a more integrative profile compared to male and individual sport athletes. The superiority of females over males on integrative patterns can be attributed to the greater importance female athletes place on the social aspects of sport participation (Flood & Hellstedt, 1991). In addition, team sport athletes experience greater interaction through their sport, due to the nature of the sport, and may have developed more socially adaptive attitudes. Lastly, a significant effect was identified for country with several differences emerging across them on ethnic and cultural identity, suggesting that the structures of the different countries, and the tradition in receiving migrants should be considered for the interpretation of the findings.

Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Kouli, Elbe and Sanchez (2013) reported on the relationship between team cohesion and ethnic-cultural identity in young migrant athletes (aged 13 to 18) living, but not born, in Greece. Findings showed that cohesion negatively predicted feelings of fringe and lack of interaction, which suggests that sport participation, particularly in cohesive teams, can facilitate the development of an adaptive identity towards the goal of social integration in migrant adolescents, thus stressing the important role structures of the sport environment play in promoting participants' integration.

Elbe et al. (in press) examined the role of the team motivational environment in predicting ethnic and cultural identity in two heterogeneous samples: one from Spain including young South American athletes playing on teams consisting of South Americans only, and one from Greece including migrants, mostly from Eastern Europe and the Balkans, participating in mixed teams. Considerable differences in the

dimensions of ethnic and cultural identity were identified between the sub-samples from the two countries. Examination of differences in ethnic and cultural identity between the two samples showed that migrants playing on mixed teams scored higher on feelings of fringe, but also on assimilation; but lower on lack of interaction, compared to migrants playing on pure migrant teams. These findings suggest that the athletes sampled in Greece were more confused about their ethnic identity and were seeking contact with the host culture, possibly through sport, whereas the sampled in Spain had stronger ethnic identity and were interested in maintaining or strengthening this identity through sport participation. For migrants in mixed teams (Greece), a positive motivational environment (task motivational climate and autonomy support) was linked to an adaptive integrative profile, whereas no links emerged between motivational environment and ethnic-cultural identity for athletes playing on pure migrant teams (Spain). For the sample from Greece, findings supported that appropriate sport environments can promote integrative patterns of cultural identity. The lack of significant findings for the sample from Spain was attributed to the South American identity of the teams, which possibly strengthened ethnic belonging and weakened tendencies for interaction with the larger (Spanish) culture. These findings, once again, stress the need to consider the team composition (e.g. how many dominants/non-dominants) in addition to the environment that can be shaped from the coach in promoting the integrative role of sport.

As mention earlier in the chapter, research should also focus on the dominant culture and the attitudes of the receiving society towards acculturation. Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe, and Sanchez (submitted) examined acculturation attitudes and perceptions of the host population as a function of sport participation and the role of motivational environment in acculturation process of Greek adolescents. The findings

showed that students who were participating in organized sport activities had more positive attitudes towards contact with individuals coming from different cultural background comparing with their counterparts who were not engaging in sports. In addition, the results revealed a significant effect for city with adolescents living in urban areas (Thessaloniki) appearing more receptive to migrant's interaction with the host culture than those who were living in county (Trikala) where daily intercultural interactions are scarce. In addition, important finding were emerged with regards to the structure of sport environment, where mastery oriented motivational climate and the satisfaction of athlete's basic needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence were positive related with host community attitudes towards migrants' acculturation. Overall, the findings of the present study suggest the participation in organized sport activities may contribute in shaping participants attitudes towards acculturation but it seems to depend on the environment that the activities take place. A sport environment manipulated in a way that encourages cooperation and socialization of all individuals and acknowledge athletes' feelings and attitudes, can facilitate acculturation and promote multiculturalism in cultural diverse societies.

Research has identified team sport participation as a promising approach to socially integrating individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds (Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013). It has also been argued that sport participation may induce desired socio-moral outcomes, but that these outcomes depend on the environment within which sport takes place (Bredemeir & Shields, 2006). Adopting such a perspective, and based on the aforementioned findings, two interventions were recently developed and implemented. Ryomand Stelter (2015) investigated the participation of young migrants in football teams as a social tool to develop social capability, identity and active citizenship in an area with major social challenges in Denmark. The study was

conducted in Copenhagen's most diverse district Nørrebro, where approximately 24% of the population is migrants. A two-year intervention study was conducted at a lower secondary school aiming to develop life-skills and social resilience of young migrant boys by playing football and by being part of a sport team. The intervention included three weekly training sessions (1-1½ hours), matches and coach education in addition to a number of social activities outside of the football training. Qualitative interviews and observations showed that participants were able to develop their social capabilities in the school environment. By comparing the interviews before, during and after the intervention, participants indicated a more profound understanding of the structure of the local society. Participants of the coach education stressed better self-confidence, commitment and collaboration skills. The interviews also showed that the social and cultural coherence was enhanced by the intervention. The results of this study indicated that football can be a tool to promote active citizenship and possibly also personal development in an area with major social challenges.

In the physical education context, Dankers, Elbe, Sanchez, Otten & van Yperen (2015) explored the extent to which team sport activities within multicultural PE classes in Denmark can facilitate the social inclusion of students with differing cultural backgrounds. A four-month physical education class intervention program targeting the class motivational climate was implemented. More specifically, by applying the TARGET framework (Ames, 1992), the physical education environment was manipulated in order to create a mastery motivational climate, characterized by a focus on cooperative learning, individual effort, and individual progress. During sport classes, pupils participated in a variety of new and cooperative team sport activities, engaged in individual decision-making processes, and performed exercises in small, mixed-ability groups with sufficient time for task completion. To identify the impact

of the intervention, pupils' perceptions of the motivational climate, perceived inclusion and identification at the class-level, as well as ethnic and cultural identification/identity, were assessed at pre- and post-intervention. Preliminary results showed that the program seemed to be more effective in female students than in male students, with females reporting increased levels of perceived class inclusion as well as class identification. However, students' ethnic and cultural identification profiles did not change from pre- to post-intervention.

The preliminary results of these two intervention studies shed light on the importance of manipulating the sport/physical activity environment in a specific way in order to promote integration goals and in line with participants' ethnic-cultural background. However, a more systematic investigation of sport environmental factors and participants' characteristics should be sought in order to fully understand and exploit the potential integrative role of sport in multicultural societies. Considering the lack of field work in the area and the identified limitations some of the most basic future research directions are discussed in the next section.

Future perspectives

Sport seems an ideal setting for bridging the gap between people with different ethno-cultural backgrounds and for overcoming social and cultural barriers (Rosenberg et al., 2003). Despite the significance and intuitive appeal of such propositions, empirical evidence is still limited, especially in Europe, and the potential of sport as an integrative agent remains a scantily explored field.

The topic of this chapter addresses an issue of considerable importance for promoting intergroup relations in culturally diverse societies. The findings so far suggest that sport can play an important role in the acculturation process and can influence the ethnic-cultural identity construction, but that the outcome depends on

the environment within which sport takes place. Recent studies conducted in European countries highlight the importance of using a solid theoretical framework based on individual differences when investigating the role of sport participation in the acculturation process of ethnically diverse individuals or groups. Through intercultural contact both minority groups and host communities can be influenced and transformed to adapt to a new multicultural reality (Berry, 2006). In Berry's bi-dimensional model, acculturation attitudes and perceptions are being examined from both the migrants' and dominant population's perspective, underlining that individual differences should be taken into consideration to better understand the complex process of acculturation.

The ambiguous research findings indicate that differences across various ethnic groups could be either accentuated or overcome in the sport arena; the effect of sport participation seems to depend on the dominant cultural environment and individual differences of the participants. Future research should consider individual differences (see Laborde & Allen, Chapter 9) such as ethnic-cultural identity, gender, nature and type of sport, and the fit between incoming and host populations when examining the integrative potential of sport. The role of sport may differ from group to group, and individuals with different characteristics probably face different challenges with regards to their sport participation. Therefore, intervention programs that address the different needs of individuals from different backgrounds should be developed to facilitate their participation in sport and to improve social integration and multiculturalism.

Successful acculturation should be among the priorities on the political agenda in contemporary multicultural societies. The potential of sport to promote intercultural interaction needs to come to the foreground. Research in this field should be further

developed based on solid theoretical background and should take into consideration both the structures of sport teams (e.g. team composition, team size, homogeneity and heterogeneity of members) and the attributes of the sport environment (e.g. team dynamics, motivational orientations). Furthermore, it is essential to thoroughly consider individual differences and the characteristics of the dominant and non-dominant populations involved. The examination of such factors will help developing systematic research, as these factors may regulate the relationship between sport participation and acculturation, and will enhance our understanding of the potential role of sport in promoting integration and multiculturalism.

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CHAPTER 3

SPORT PARTICIPATION AND ACCULTURATION OF YOUNG MIGRANTS IN GREECE: THE ROLE OF MOTIVATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

Abstract

Sport has been considered a suitable context for promoting cultural interaction, however the desired socio-cultural outcomes seem to depend on the environment within which sport takes place. The purpose of the present study was to examine migrants' acculturation attitudes and the level of acculturative stress as a function of sport participation, and investigate the role of motivational environment. Participants were 127 (60 girls) migrant high school students (14.14 ± 1.46 years of age). Among them, 48 were athletes competing in either team ($N = 31$) or individual sports ($N = 17$). All participants completed measures of acculturation attitudes and acculturation stress, while those participating in organized sport additionally completed measures of autonomy supportive and controlling environment. The results revealed that migrant participating in sport scored higher than those not participating on attitudes towards maintain their cultural heritage and reported lower acculturative stress. Furthermore, an autonomy supportive coaching environment was positively linked to acculturation attitudes favoring integration and negatively related to acculturation stress, whereas controlling coaching style was acculturation attitudes favoring integration and positively related to acculturation stress. The results of the present study suggest that sport can play an important role in young migrants' acculturation process and highlight the key role of the motivational environment in young athletes' acculturation experiences.

Keywords: integration, coaching behaviour, acculturation attitudes, acculturative stress

Over the last decades Europe has been confronted with a considerable and increasing multi-ethnic migration flow bringing about a political debate about the concepts of cultural diversity and intercultural integration. Cross-national migration is having a deep effect on EU countries and intercultural relations. Hence, psychological and socio-cultural adaptations to a new country have been emerging as important and controversial topics in Europe (Berry & Sam, 2013).

One country that has been especially affected by migration is Greece and over the last decades Greece has undergone a considerable demographic, economic and sociopolitical (Nikolaou, 2000) change. Since 1990, the minorities that migrated to Greece were mainly from the former communist countries of Eastern Europe, the Balkans, Africa, and Asia (Sakka, 2009). However, Greece and the Greek society were unprepared for receiving this large influx of new ethnic groups and their arrival has led to numerous challenges.

One of the challenges is associated with the Greek school system. Migrant students have altered the demographic composition of Greek schools and it is estimated that more than 10% of the student population has a non-dominant cultural background (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradovic, & Masten, 2008). The majority of the migrant students in Greek schools are from Albania and the former USSR countries, which are the largest groups of migrants in Greece (Aspridis & Petrelli, 2011). To meet the increasing schooling needs of migrants, the Greek authorities established intercultural schools aiming at providing an educational platform for contact between native and migrant students. These schools, in addition to the typical curriculum, offer migrant students Greek language support courses, but also courses on the language of their country of origin. Thus, children in Greece who have a different cultural background can choose to either join general schools (mostly

comprising native students), or intercultural schools (mostly comprising migrant students) (Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe, Papaioannou, & Sanchez, 2016). Intercultural schools in Greece function more as foreign schools rather than intercultural learning places for both migrant and native children, as Greek students do not choose to attend these schools fearing that they offer limited learning opportunities (Nikolaou, 2000). Studies conducted in Greek schools have shown that Greek students' attitudes towards migrants are negatively biased (Dimakos, Spinthourakis, & Tasiopoulou, 2011) and a large number of migrant students are experiencing school failure and stress related to other school-related problems (Nikolaou, 2000).

Although Greece is becoming increasingly multiethnic and multicultural, Greeks' attitudes towards cultural diversity seem to be characterized by xenophobia and prejudice (Karakatsanis & Swarts, 2007). Furthermore, studies indicate that especially young migrants in Greek schools are experiencing large difficulties. This indicates that investigations about multicultural awareness and enhancing integration should become a priority on the Greek political and educational agenda.

Definitions

When investigating multicultural societies and (youth) migration numerous it is important to define the terms used. Interactions between migrant groups and host communities have been framed using the concept of acculturation (Sam, 2006). *Acculturation* has been described as the dual process of cultural and psychological change that occurs when two ethno-cultural groups come in sustained contact (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). This change can occur in both groups in contact (the migrants and the host populations). However, migrant communities are more likely to be transformed by such intergroup contacts than the members of the

host society (Deux, 2006). The widely applied model of acculturation was developed by John Berry (e.g. Berry, 1980, 1997). The model suggests that migrants are confronted with two basic issues regarding their acculturation: the degree of maintenance of their heritage culture (*cultural maintenance*) and the degree of interaction with the host society (*cultural interaction*). However, not all groups and individuals go through acculturation processes in the same way and their way to engage in the process differs. The group or individual preferences towards acculturation have been called acculturation strategies (Berry, 1980) and have been identified as *integration*, reflecting the interest in both maintaining one's heritage culture in daily interactions with the host population; *assimilation*, reflecting the interest to become absorbed into the dominant society with low interest in maintaining one's own culture; *separation*, reflecting the interest in holding on to one's original culture and simultaneously avoiding interaction with others; and *marginalization*, reflecting low interest in heritage cultural maintenance and in having relations with the others (Berry, 2010).

When cultural diverse individuals or groups come into contact with one another, an interchange of cultural attitudes and behaviours occurs (Berry, 1997). Although this exchange can lead to experiences of positive intergroup contact (Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer, 2001), the process of acculturation can also be associated with negative experiences as illustrated in negative attitudes towards migrants in the Greek school context. It is not uncommon for migrants to encounter social exclusion and discrimination (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2013). Hence, in the process of acculturation and adapting to the new culture, migrants and minority groups may experience substantial stress referred to as *acculturative stress* (Berry & Anis, 1974).

Acculturative stress has been defined as a response to life events that are rooted in the process of acculturation (Berry, 2006). However, acculturation does not necessarily lead to a stress reaction (Williams & Berry, 1991) and there are a number of factors that influence the level of acculturative stress. These are social (e.g. cultural interaction; Ward & Kennedy, 1999), familial (e.g. intergenerational conflicts'; Lee, Choe, Kim & Ngo, 2000) and environmental factors (e.g. lack of cultural diversity in community; Benet-Martinez, & Haritatos, 2005). Furthermore, one major factor that influences the degree of acculturative stress is the magnitude of cultural distance between the migrants' culture of origin and the new culture, across a number of domains such as language, gender, family life, religion etc. (Berry, Poortinga, Segal & Dasen, 2002). Also, the time spent in the new country and whether one is a first or second generation migrant has been shown to be related to the level of experienced stress (Rogers-Sirin, Ryce, Sirin, 2014).

Elevated levels of acculturative stress have been associated with interpersonal problems (Nicholson, 1997), language difficulties, nostalgia and perceived discrimination (Aroian, Norris, Tran, & Schappler-Morris, 1998). Thus, acculturative stress can lead to feelings of marginalization, depression, and socio-cultural adjustment difficulties (Hwang & Ting, 2008; Lee, Koeske, & Sales, 2004). In general, young children adapt more easily to a new culture than adolescents and adults, who have more experiences in their home country and a more strongly defined cultural identity (Kurtz-Costes & Pungello, 2001), thus may experience higher levels of acculturation stress. However, acculturation attitudes can influence the level of acculturation stress, and past research has shown that acculturative stress is positively correlated with separation and marginalization but negatively associated with integration (Krishnan & Berry, 1992). This underscores the need for finding possible

ways for helping vulnerable groups such as young adolescents to be better adjusted to the receiving society and to cope with stressful demands of the acculturation process.

One arena that can potentially help especially young adults better adjust to the receiving society, to shape their acculturation attitudes and to better cope with the stressful demands of the acculturation process is sports. In general, regular exercising has shown numerous positive effects on psychological well-being including stress reduction (Buckworth & Dishman, 2002), anxiety reduction (Petruzzello Landers, Hatfield, Kubitz, & Salazar, 1991) and mood enhancement (Berger & Motl, 2000). However, organized youth sports offer additional opportunities for positive experiences in addition to the ones outlined for exercising. The potential for sport to be an arena for promising social encounters and positive experiences, which can potentially also positively impact acculturation attitudes and lower stress, has been broadly acknowledged (Bloyce & Smith, 2010).

Sport is widely perceived as an effective socializing agent (Grove & Dodder, 1982) as well as a tool for positive character building experiences (Bredemeir & Shields, 2006). Participants often report social reasons for engaging in sport activities including affiliation, social status and being part of a team (McCullagh Matzkanin, Shaw, & Maldonado, 1993; Passer, 1981) while others indicate fun, enjoyment and higher life satisfaction (Gilman, 2001) as powerful motives for sport participation. Especially during adolescence it has been argued that sport participation could have a positive impact on youth development and could provide a fruitful field for socially desirable outcomes (Coakley, 2011). Several researchers have identified social aspects of motivation in youth sport. These are positive social experiences and social acceptance (Lewthwaite & Piparo, 1993), contributing to the team, pleasing others as well as affiliation (Schilling & Hayashi, 2001). In addition, sport activities appear to

be attractive for youth participants because of opportunities of enjoyment, improving skills, learning, being with friends, winning and health (e.g. Gaston-Gayles, 2005; Mouratadis, Vansteenkiste, Lens, & Sideris, 2008; Murcia, Coll, Martin-Albo, & Gimeno, 2010; Waldron & Dieser, 2010). Whatever the motives are, individuals have the opportunity through sport to experience positive intergroup relations (Wankel & Berger, 1990) which can be potentially also be associated with positive acculturative attitudes and lower levels of stress.

The acculturative role of sport

Due to the positive outcomes associated with sport youth participation several EU countries have started to use sport as a way of promoting integration and increasing multicultural understanding (European Commission, 2004). Successful acculturation may be considered as one of the most important prerequisites for integration into a new society lately there has been growing interest in the role of sport in facilitating the acculturation process among cultural diverse individuals and groups (Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Sanchez, Elbe, 2016). Sport has been described, among others as a promising field reinforcing understanding and respect of cultural diversity (Niessen, 2000), and as a potential intervention strategy for integration of migrants and minority groups (European Commission, 2007). However, findings regarding the integrative role of sport seem ambiguous (Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Elbe, & Sanchez, 2013). On the one side, there is evidence suggesting that sport participation can become beneficial for migrant participants' by helping them in adapting well to the new culture (Ito, Nogawa, Kitamura, & Walker, 2011) and facilitating networking and cultural interaction with host majority members (Guerin, Diiriye, Corrigan and Guerin, 2003). On the other hand, there are indications that sport participation can highlight ethnic-cultural differences and hinder cultural

interaction with the dominant culture (Lee, Dunlap, & Scott, 2011), thus evoke tensions among the host and the migrant groups (Krouwel, Boostra, Duyvendak, & Veldboer 2006).

A recent review of existing literature on the acculturative role of sport (Hatzigeorgiadis, et al., 2013) indicated that sport participation in itself does not guarantee positive acculturation outcomes. Rather, sport must create appropriate environments so that the goals of multiculturalism and integration can be reached. An important aspect of the sporting environment which has been associated with numerous positive outcomes of sport participation is motivation.

Sporting environment

Motivation is considered to be an important variable predicting intentions and outcomes of sport participation (Sarrazin, Vallerand, Guillet, Pelletier, & Cury, 2002) as well as the participants' socio-moral behaviour (Kavussanu, Roberts, & Ntoumanis, 2002). One of the most influential individuals with regards to athletes' motivational sport experiences is the coach and the contextual environment that she/he creates (e.g., Bartholomew, Ntoumanis, & Thogersen-Ntoumani, 2010). Self Determination Theory (SDT, Deci & Ryan, 2000) assumes that the social environment created by the coach, has an important impact on athlete motivation. The coach can either satisfy or thwart an individual's basic psychological needs for autonomy (perceptions of personal initiative and volition), competence (perceptions of ability) and relatedness (perceptions of connectedness to others) (Deci & Ryan, 2000). These three psychological needs are regarded as fundamental for optimal functioning and well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

In line with Self Determination Theory, Vallerand and Losier (1999) suggested that a coach's behaviour can be viewed in terms of two interpersonal styles;

an autonomy-supportive style where coaches promote choice and freedom, encourage decision-making and acknowledge athletes' feelings and perspectives and a controlling style where coaches act in a coercive, pressuring and authoritarian way (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In previous research, autonomy supportive coaching environments have been related to more self-determined forms of motivation (Pelletier, Fortier, Vallerand, & Briere, 2001) and have been positively linked to athletes' basic psychological need satisfaction for competence, autonomy and relatedness (Adie, Duda & Ntoumanis, 2012). In contrary, controlling coaching environments have been associated with behavioural disaffection and athletes' psychological need thwarting (Curran, Hill, & Niemiec, 2013).

The literature has so far provided some evidence for positively linking autonomy supporting coaching style with prosocial attitudes (Ntoumanis & Standage, 2009) and sportpersonship orientations (Vallerand & Losier, 1994), while controlling coaching style was found to have positive relation with immoral and antisocial behaviour (Vansteenkiste, Mouratidis, Lens, 2010). Prosocial behaviours have been defined as acts intended to help or benefit another person (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Weinstein & Ryan, 2010), whereas antisocial behaviours have been defined as acts intended to harm or disadvantage another individual (Sage, Kavussanu, & Duda, 2006). Duquin and Scroedeer-Braun (1996) argued that coaches can play a crucial role in developing prosocial behaviour by the way they structure the sporting environment, transmit values and cultivate empathetic relations between athletes. Autonomy-supportive coaches who foster mutual trust among young athletes, encourage open communication and consider their individual differences (e.g. ethnic-cultural identity) and emotions (e.g. stress), may induce desired socio-moral outcomes

an could improve the effectiveness of sport participation toward the goal of integration(for young migrants).

Adopting the acculturation framework developed by Berry (1997), several studies explored the factors of the sporting environment that may regulate the integrative power of sport in modern European societies and contribute to achieving positive acculturative outcomes. Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Kouli, Elbe, and Sanchez (2013) examined the links between team cohesion and acculturation patterns in young migrant athletes living in Greece. Findings showed that cohesion could negatively predict feelings of fringe and the lack of interaction among migrant athletes participating in mixed teams. In addition and regarding the role of the motivational environment Elbe et al. (2016) found that a mastery oriented motivational climate and autonomy support were positively related to an adaptive acculturation profile in male adolescent migrant athletes. Furthermore, in a study focusing on the members of the host population Morela, Hatzigerordiadis, Papaioannou, Elbe, and Sanchez (2016) found that students participating in organized sport were more receptive towards multicultural contact compared to those individuals not involved in sports. In addition, important finding emerged regarding the characteristics of the motivational environment, where mastery-oriented motivational climate and the satisfaction of athletes' basic needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence were positively linked to the host community's multiculturalism attitudes towards migrants' acculturation. Overall, the aforementioned findings suggest that participation in organized sport may serve the desired acculturation outcomes. However, these studies also highlight the key role of the motivational environment in developing and establishing the appropriate conditions within which integration can be cultivated.

The purpose of the study is twofold. First, acculturation attitudes and the level of acculturation stress of migrant adolescents living in Greece will be examined as a function of sport participation; it is expected that migrants participating in sport will report more integrative acculturation attitudes and lower levels of stress than migrants not involved in sports. Second, the relationships between the motivational environment created by the coach and acculturation attitudes and stress will be investigated; it is expected that an autonomy supportive coaching environment will be positively related to acculturation attitudes reflecting integration and negatively related to acculturation stress, whereas a controlling coaching environment will be negatively related to acculturation attitudes reflecting integration and positive related to acculturation stress.

Method

Participants and Procedures

Participants were 127(14.14±1.46 years of age) migrant high school students (60 girls), who were born either outside Greece (first-generation migrants, n = 74), or in Greece (second generation migrants, n = 52). The majority of the participants came from Albania (n = 65) and the former USSR (n = 55). The average length of time in Greece was 8.29 (±2.26) years and students had attended Greek schools for an average of 7.52 (± 2) years. Regarding family income, 67% reported low to moderate income (up to 1000 euros), 12.6% moderate income (between 1000 and 2000 euros), and 3.2% moderate to high income (more than 2000 euros). Regarding parental education, 4.7% of students had fathers who completed primary education, 60.6% secondary education, and 18.1% higher education. In addition, 4.7% of students had mothers who completed primary education, 60.7% secondary education, and 22.8% higher education. Among all the participants, 48 were athletes competing in either

team ($n = 31$) or individual sports ($n = 17$). The average length of sport participation was 2.52 (± 1.7) years and the average length of participation in the current club was 2.09 (± 1.16) years. In Greece migrants who wish to participate in organized sport have to join sport teams which are mostly dominated by native Greeks, since pure ethnic teams do not exist (Elbe et al., 2016).

The study was approved by the Institution's Ethics Committee and the Ministry of Education. For participants under the age of 16, parental consent was obtained. Students completed anonymous questionnaires in their classes in the presence of a researcher who provided explanations if and when needed. Completion of the questionnaires took approximately 15 min.

Instruments

Migrants' attitudes towards acculturation. All participants completed the Immigrant Acculturation Scale (IAS; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) which comprises 12 items assessing two dimensions of in-group attitudes (cultural maintenance and cultural contact) and two dimensions of out-group perceptions (cultural maintenance and cultural contact). In-group attitudes reflect personal attitudes towards maintaining the culture of origin (3 items; e.g., "I think it is important that my cultural group in Greece maintains its culture"), and interacting with the host population (3 items; e.g., "I think it is important that members of my cultural group also spend time with Greeks after school"). Out-group perceptions reflect perceptions regarding Greeks' desire that migrants maintain their culture of origin (3 items; e.g., "I believe that the Greeks do not mind if members of my cultural group maintain their own culture"), and interacting with the host population (3 items; e.g., "I believe that Greeks think it is important that members of my cultural group have Greek friends). Responses were given on a 5-point scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree).

Acculturative stress. All participants completed the Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory (RASI; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). The RASI comprises 15 items that represent culture-related challenges in five life domains: language skills (3 items; e.g. “I often feel misunderstood or limited in daily situations because of my Greek skills”, school (3 items; e.g. “Because of my cultural background, I have to work harder at school than most Greeks”, intercultural relations (3 items; “I have had disagreements with Greeks for liking my cultural group customs or ways of doing things”), discrimination (3 items; e.g. “I have been treated rudely or unfairly because of my cultural background” and cultural isolation (3 items; “I feel that there are not enough people of my ethnic group in my living environment”. The responses were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Autonomy support. The three subscales assessing dimensions of autonomy support from the Basic Need Satisfaction in Sport Scale (BNSSS; Ng, Lonsdale & Hodge, 2011) were used. In particular, the instrument assessed autonomy as reflected in choice (4 items; e.g. “In my sport, I get opportunities to make choices”), internal perceived locus of causality (3 items; e.g. “In my sport, I feel I am pursuing goals that are my own”) and volition (3 items; e.g. “I feel I participate in my sport willingly”). Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (not true at all) to 7 (very true). Morela and colleagues (submitted) provided sufficient support for the psychometric integrity of the Greek version of the BNSSS in adolescents by evidencing factorial validity and reliability

Controlling coach behaviours. Actively competing athletes ($n = 48$) additionally completed the Controlling Coach Behaviours Scale (CCBS; Bartholomew Ntoumanis, & Thogersen-Ntoumani, 2010), which assesses athletes’ perceptions of four controlling motivational strategies in the sport domain. The

questionnaire comprises four subscales: controlling use of rewards (4 items; e.g. “My coach tries to motivate me by promising to rewards me if I do well”); negative conditional regard (4 items; e.g. “My coach is less friendly with me if I don’t make the effort to see things his/her way”); intimidation (4 items; e.g. “My coach shouts at me in front of others to make me do certain things”); and excessive personal control (3 items; e.g. “My coach tries to control what I do during my free time”). Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale 1 (not true at all) to 7 (very true). Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe, Papaioannou, and Sanchez (2016) provided sufficient support for the psychometric integrity of the Greek version of the CCBS in adolescents by evidencing factorial validity and reliability.

Results

Confirmatory factor analysis testing the integrity of the factor structure for the IAS and the RASI yielded satisfactory results. In particular, the CFI and RMSEA indices were as follows: for IAS .909 and .075, and for RASI.920 and .099. Analyses of internal consistency also supported the reliability of the scales. Cronbach’s alpha coefficients are presented in Table 1. Descriptive statistics for all psychometric variables are presented in Table 1. Participants scored moderately to high on the dimensions of the Interactive Acculturation Scale and moderately to low on acculturation stress. Moreover, they scored moderately to high on autonomy support and moderately to low on controlling coach behaviour.

Descriptive statistics and correlations for all psychometric variables are presented in Table 1. Participants scored moderately to high on the dimensions of the Interactive Acculturation Scale and moderately to low on acculturation stress. Moreover, they scored moderately to high on autonomy support and moderately to low on controlling coach behaviour.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and Cronbach's alpha for all variables

	Descriptive statistics		Cronbach's alpha
	M	S.D.	
<i>Interactive Acculturation Scale</i>			
In-group cultural maintenance	3.26	1.09	.91
In-group contact	4.06	.91	.71
Out-group cultural maintenance	3.15	.89	.92
Out-group contact	3.24	.96	.85
<i>Acculturation Stress</i>			
School challenges	2.94	1.10	.75
Language skills	2.18	.98	.67
Intercultural relations	2.38	1.11	.85
Discrimination	3.02	1.12	.74
Cultural Isolation	1.95	.93	.78
<i>Need satisfaction</i>			
Autonomy – choice	4.50	1.94	.90
Autonomy – locus of causality	6.05	1.07	.85
Autonomy – volition	5.68	.91	.89
<i>Controlling coaching behaviour</i>			
Use of rewards	2.63	1.54	.86
Negative conditional regard	2.71	1.69	.82
Intimidation	2.64	1.70	.84
Excessive personal control	2.91	1.65	.78

Preliminary analyses

Analysis of variance testing for differences in acculturation attitudes as a function of demographic characteristics revealed non-significant effects for generation, $F(4, 106) = .80, p = .53$, gender, $F(4, 108) = 1.66, p = .16$, family income, $F(4, 88) = .78, p = .54$, mother's education, $F(8, 178) = 1.22, p = .29$, and father's education, $F(8, 166) = .66, p = .72$.

Analysis of variance testing for differences in acculturative stress as a function of demographic characteristics revealed a significant effects for generation, $F(5, 92) = 3.34, p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$, with one and a half generation migrants (i.e., children who immigrated after the age of 6 years old) scoring higher than second generation

migrants (i.e., children who were born in the host country) on the stress dimensions of school ($p < .01$), language ($p < .05$), relationships ($p < .05$), and discrimination ($p < .05$); and non-significant effects for gender, $F(5, 95) = 1.88, p = .11$, family income, $F(5, 78) = .21, p = .96$, mother's education, $F(10, 156) = 1.57, p = .12$, and fathers education, $F(10, 146) = .37, p = .96$.

Acculturation as a function of athletic status

A MANOVA was conducted to test for differences in the dimensions of acculturation attitudes as a function of athletic status. The analysis revealed a multivariate effect that approached significance, $F(4, 108) = 2.02, p = .09$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. Examination of the univariate statistics revealed that athletic status had a significant effect on in-group attitudes towards cultural maintenance, $F(1, 419) = 6.66, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, and out-group attitudes towards cultural maintenance, $F(1, 419) = 6.66, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, with athletes scoring higher than non-athletes. No significant differences were found for in-group attitudes towards contact, $F(1, 419) = 0.01, p = .98$, out-group attitudes towards contact, $F(1, 419) = 0.43, p = .51$. Nevertheless, the significant univariate results should be cautiously interpreted due to the lack of multivariate effect.

A MANOVA was conducted to test for differences in the dimensions of acculturation stress as a function of athletic status, controlling for generation because its significant effect was identified in the preliminary analyses. The analysis revealed a significant multivariate effect for athletic status, $F(5, 92) = 2.34, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. Examination of the univariate statistics revealed that athletic status had a significant effect on acculturation stress in school, $F(1, 99) = 3.84, p = .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, and discrimination, $F(1, 99) = 6.99, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, with athletes showing lower stress than non-athletes. No significant differences were found for

language, $F(1, 99) = 0.18, p=.67$, relationships, $F(1, 96) = 0.01, p=.57$, and isolation, $F(1, 96) = 3.84, p=.95$. The mean scores for acculturation attitudes and stress as a function of athletic status are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Mean scores for acculturation attitudes and stress as a function of sport participation.

	Athletes	Non-Athletes
<i>Interactive Acculturation Scale</i>		
In-group cultural maintenance	3.58±1.05	3.11±1.06
In-group contact	4.05±.89	4.07±.93
Out-group cultural maintenance	3.33±.82	3.04±.92
Out-group contact	3.35±.86	3.18±1.01
<i>Acculturation Stress</i>		
School challenges	2.76±1.09	3.04±1.10
Language skills	2.32±1.03	2.10±.99
Intercultural relations	2.42±1.22	2.38±1.03
Discrimination	2.80±1.23	3.16±1.01
Cultural Isolation	2.02±.99	1.92±.90

Acculturation and motivational environment.

A structural equation path model was tested to investigate the degree to which autonomy supportive and controlling motivational environment could predict acculturation attitudes and stress. Composite factors were used to represent the different constructs. Perceptions of choice, locus of causality and volition formed a latent factor for autonomy support. Perceptions of controlling use of rewards, negative conditional regard, intimidation, and excessive personal control formed a latent factor for controlling coaching behaviour. Regarding acculturation attitudes, a latent factor was created including in-group attitudes towards cultural maintenance, in-group attitudes towards contact, outgroup attitudes towards cultural maintenance, and outgroup attitudes towards contact, formed a latent factor for acculturation attitudes.

Regarding acculturation stress, a latent factor was created including language skills, school, intercultural relations, discrimination, and cultural isolation. In the first model, the two latent motivational environment factors were hypothesized to predict acculturation attitudes, whereas in the second model, the two latent motivational environment factors were hypothesized to predict acculturation stress.

For acculturation attitudes, the analysis revealed a good fit for the hypothesized model (CFI = .98, RMSEA = .05). A positive path was revealed between perceptions of autonomy and acculturation attitudes, whereas a negative path was revealed between perceptions of controlling coaching behaviour and acculturation attitudes. The model predicted 34% of the acculturation attitudes variance. The structural model is presented in Diagram 1.

For acculturation stress, the analysis revealed a relatively good fit for the hypothesized model (CFI = .93, RMSEA = .14). A negative path was revealed between perceptions of autonomy and acculturation stress, whereas a positive path was revealed between perceptions of controlling coaching behaviour and acculturation stress. The model predicted 15% of the acculturation stress variance. The structural model is presented in Diagram 2.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the acculturation attitudes and the level of acculturation stress of migrants' adolescents living in Greece as a function of sport participation. Furthermore, we investigated whether the sporting environment was related to acculturation attitudes and acculturation stress.

Figure 1. Motivational environment and Acculturation Attitudes

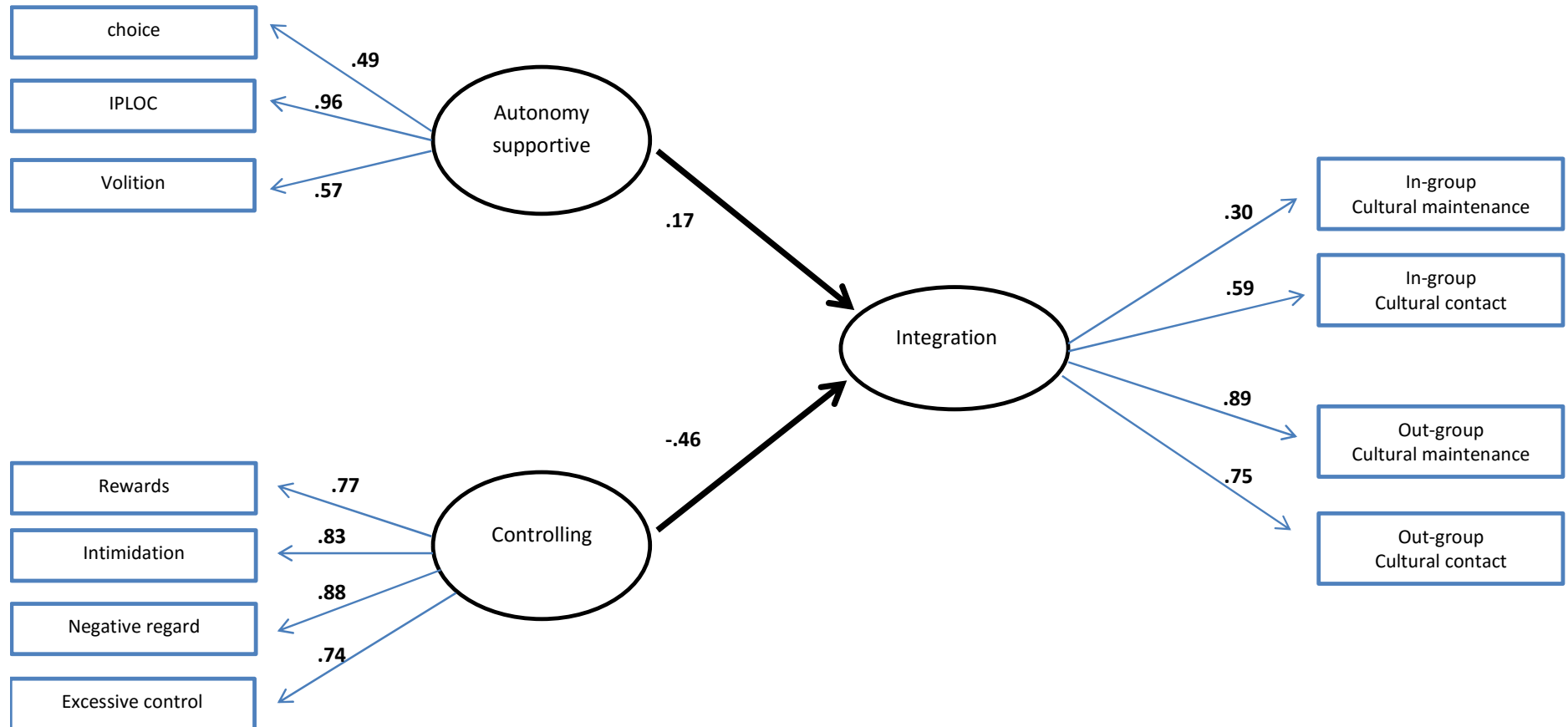
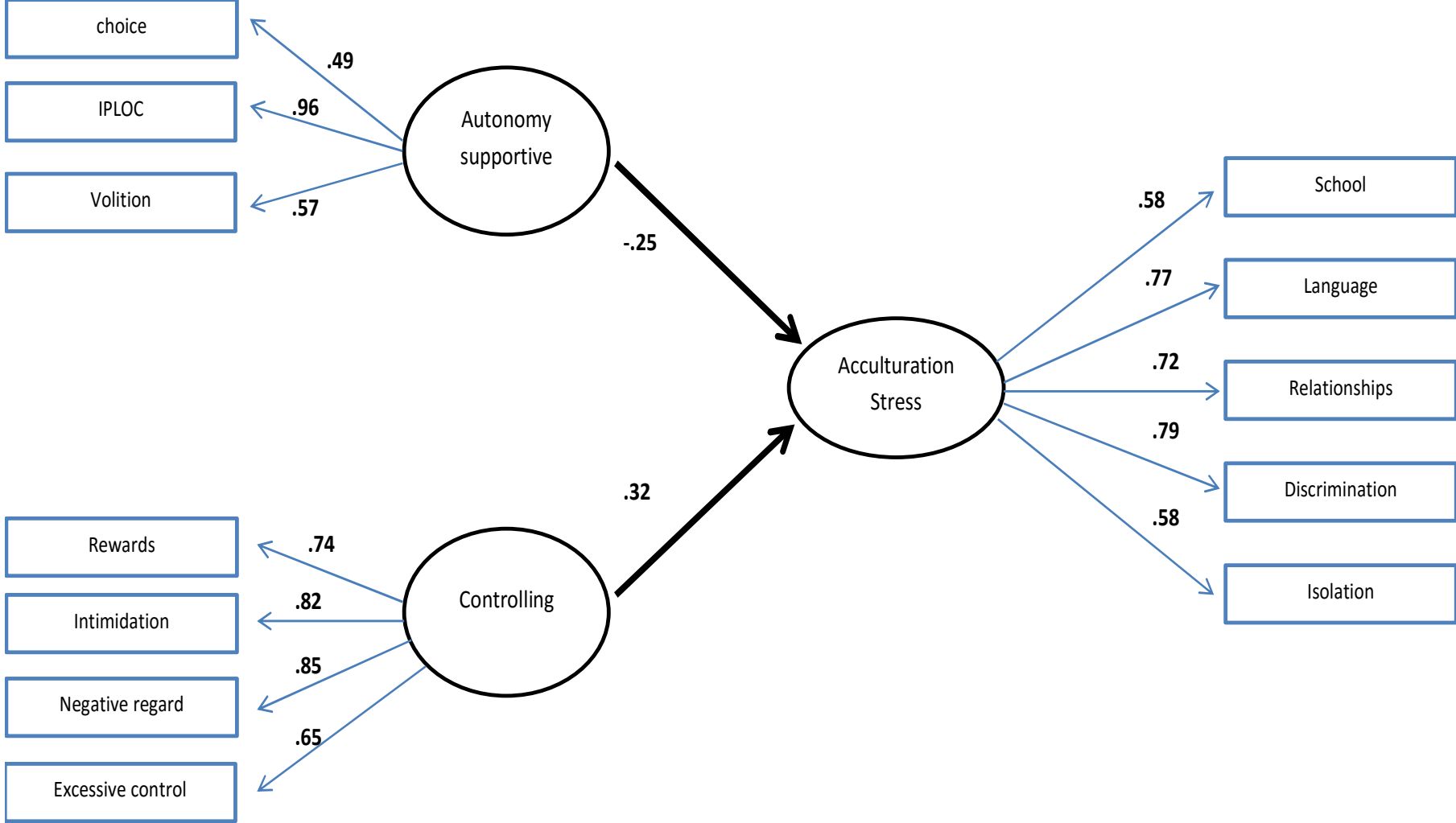


Figure 2. Motivational environment and Acculturation Stress.



The results showed no differences in acculturation attitudes between migrant adolescents participating in sport and those who did not, in most of the acculturation dimensions. However, regarding in-group cultural maintenance, migrant athletes scored higher than non-athletes. Previous studies regarding the acculturative role of sport found that migrants often participate in sport activities as a mean of reinforcing their ethnic identity and preserving their cultural heritage (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Lee, 2005), usually by participating in sport with people from their ethnic group. Migrants in Greece do not have the opportunity to participate in pure ethnic teams (Elbe et al., 2016); however, it appears that for young migrants, sport serves as a factor that facilitates the retention of ethnic identity, even though the sporting environment is mostly dominated by Greek players. A possible explanation may be that those in sport experience more acceptance to preserve their identity through their interaction with teammates.

Furthermore, significant differences were found between athletes and non-athletes, regarding the level of acculturative stress with migrant adolescents participating in sport scoring lower on acculturative stress than their counterparts that did not participate in sport activities. Previous studies have shown that young people participating in sport were found to report lower levels of emotional distress (Harrison & Narayan, 2003) and reduced social anxiety (Dimech & Seiler, 2011) compared to non-sport participants that often report increased anxiety levels (Dimech & Seiler, 2011). Sport in general has been positively linked with positive youth development (Zarrett et al., 2009) and sport participation has shown numerous benefits such as lower social anxiety (Dimech & Seiler, 2011), lower social isolation (Barber, Eccles & Stone, 2001), better social self-concept (Marsh, 1993), and improved self-esteem (Pedersen & Siedman, 2004). Young migrant adolescents who are engaged in

organized sports may experience positive social outcomes that may facilitate their acculturation experiences in the society of settlement.

Importantly, valuable findings emerged regarding the structure of the sport environment created by the coach and its influence in young migrants' acculturation profiles. An autonomy supportive coaching style, that creates conditions for athletes to experience a sense of volition and choice and to freely express their feelings, was positively linked to both cultural functions of acculturation (cultural maintenance, cultural contact), favoring integration patterns. On the contrary, a controlling coaching style where the coach behaves in a coercive, pressuring, and authoritarian way was negatively related to both cultural maintenance and contact. These coaching style findings were similar to previous research that identified links between mastery-oriented climate and autonomy supportive coaching style and acculturation profiles for both migrant and host populations (Elbe, et al., 2016, Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe, Papaioannou, & Sanchez, 2016). According to Bandura (2002, 2004), the social context plays an important role in determining moral thought and action. In this regard, coaches who are autonomy-supportive promote a mastery-involving motivational climate and provide social support to young athletes could enhance positive emotional, cognitive and behavioural outcomes across individuals of different cultural backgrounds and may help develop positive social skills that could facilitate their integration process in the society of settlement. In contrast, coaches who behave in a controlling and authoritarian way and employ strategies such as manipulation and punishment may lead young athletes to less desired behaviours and undermine their feelings of personal achievement and enjoyment, thus hinder their successful adaptation in host country.

Furthermore, important findings emerged regarding the role of coaching environment and acculturative stress. Autonomy-supportive coaching behaviours were negatively related with acculturative stress whereas controlling coaching behaviours were positively linked with acculturative stress. Research carried out in the sport setting has clearly demonstrated that coaching behaviour has a significant influence on psychological experiences of young athletes (see Smith & Smoll, 2002). In this regard, when coaches display more autonomy-supportive behaviours and orient their athletes toward paying more attention to others, athletes tend to experience greater psychological need satisfaction and physical well-being. In contrast, when coaches exhibit controlling behaviours and distance themselves emotionally from their athletes, may impede feelings of connectedness and negatively affect their emotional health, detriment their well-being and increase the levels of the anxiety (Baker, Côté, & Hawes, 2000). In a sport environment where coach behaves in more supportive, nurturing and encouraging way, athletes may experience greater social support and higher levels of relatedness and connectedness, thus improving their sporting experience. In migrants populations acculturative stress has been strongly correlated with lack of social support and research has shown that support from social network could moderate acculturative stress levels which resulted in less depressive symptoms (Choi, 1997). Young migrants participating in sport clubs in an autonomy supportive environment that promotes multicultural understanding and integrative intergroup relations, could develop positive acculturative attitudes towards cultural contact and cultural maintenance, thus facilitate their adaptation in the host country.

Overall, our findings suggest that sport teams can play an important role in the acculturation process by offering both migrant and host population a place to meet and interact with each other; however, sport participation itself may not have the

strength to achieve the desirable integrative outcomes. Rather, participation in sport teams or programs where individual differences (e.g. ethnic identity) of the participants are taken into consideration, the social needs of individuals are appreciated (e.g. need for relatedness), and socio-moral values are fostered (e.g. empathy), can be a powerful tool toward the goals of integration and multiculturalism.

Limitations and future research

Although the findings of the present study add to the limited existing literature regarding the acculturative role of sport, there are several limitations that need to be considered. First of all, our sample size may seem relatively small; however, considering the identity of the participants (adolescent migrants attending secondary schools) and the restricted size of the respective population in Greece, in particular with regard to migrants participating in sport teams, the size of the sample appears satisfactory. Research has shown that regardless of the increased numbers of migrant students in Greek schools over the last decades, migrant students tend to drop out of the educational system and particularly the school dropout appears to increase as the level of education increases (Gotovos & Markou, 2003). The percentage of migrant student in primary education is significantly higher than in secondary and higher education. Nonetheless, to better understand the acculturation patterns among migrant athletes, future research needs to target larger samples and consider more features of the sport environment that may influence the acculturation experiences through sport. Another limitation relates to the correlational nature of our study, which does not allow for causal inferences; longitudinal designs, and intervention studies testing the acculturative role of sport programs are therefore still warranted. Based on the present findings, future research could test whether establishing a motivational environment

that promotes altruist prosocial behaviour could produce desirable results towards successful intercultural contact and integration.

Overall, our findings suggest that sport can play an important role in the acculturation process for young migrants, but the outcome seems to depend on the environment within which sport takes place, thus illustrating the complexity of sport participation in acculturation process.

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CHAPTER 4

EMPOWERING YOUTH SPORT AND ACCULTURATION: EXAMINING THE HOSTS' PERSPECTIVE IN GREEK ADOLESCENTS

Abstract

Research on the role of sport as a context for the acculturation of young migrants has mainly focused on migrant populations. Considering that acculturation is a two-way process involving both the migrant and the host populations, research investigating the perspective of the hosts will enhance our understanding of the acculturation process. The purpose of the present study was to explore acculturation attitudes of adolescents from the host population as a function of sport participation, and, for those participating in sport, to investigate the role of the sporting environment. A cross-sectional quantitative design was adopted. Participants were 626 (316 girls) Greek, high school students (13.88 ± 1.01 years of age). Among them, 271 (92 girls) were athletes competing in individual and team sports. While all participants completed measures of acculturation attitudes, the athletes additionally completed measures of motivational climate, basic need satisfaction, and controlling coaching behaviour. Athletes scored higher than non-athletes on attitudes towards multicultural contact. Analysis of structural models revealed that a motivational environment characterized by a mastery climate, supportive of the needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness, was positively linked to attitudes favoring migrants' maintenance of their culture and development of interaction with the host culture, whereas a motivational environment characterized by a performance climate and controlling coaching behaviour was negatively linked to such attitudes. Conclusion: These findings provide useful insights concerning the perspective of the host population

regarding migrants' acculturation and the role sporting environments play in promoting integration.

Keywords: multiculturalism, social integration, motivational environment, receiving society, migrants

Within the field of sport psychology there has been a growing interest in the social mission of sport (Schinke & Hanrahan, 2012). This mission has been described as processes and actions aiming at improving the lives of individuals and groups in relation to various contexts, such as health and well-being, youth development, and intercultural exchange (Schinke, Stambulova, Lidor, Papaioannou & Ryba 2015). Within this area, an important focus has been placed on the socio-cultural aspects of sport and specifically on acculturation processes. Two distinct, yet interrelated, key paradigms that have attracted research attention within the cultural sport psychology literature can be identified. The first paradigm focuses on the acculturation of athletes migrating to pursue or develop their sport career, whereas the second investigates the role of sport as an acculturation context. The first paradigm focuses, for example, on the challenges athletes face in the acculturation process like the upsets and the problems, their coping strategies and the adaptations that take place. This literature has been recently accommodated within a new framework, the cultural praxis of athletes' careers (Stambulova & Ryba, 2014). This framework was developed to promote the study of athletes as multidimensional identities within and outside the athletic context. The second paradigm explores the potential of sport as a context wherein effective acculturation can take place, and examines the dynamics of cultural interaction within sport for the promotion of social integration. The two approaches have different foci but share ideas and grounds surrounding the understanding that acculturation is a dynamic process reflecting cultural and psychological change following intercultural contact (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). The present investigation adopts the acculturative role of sport perspective. This focus allows us to address the sport context as a means for acculturation which has been identified as an issue of particular importance for the functioning of contemporary societies.

The process of acculturation, has always been considered to be of fundamental importance for both intergroup relations and migrants' adaptation to the society of settlement, and has attracted significant research attention (see special issues by Berry & Sam, 2013; Leong & Liu, 2013; Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). The potential of sport to contribute positively to a range of social issues is widely acknowledged (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; Schinke & Hanrahan, 2012), and this has generated a growing policy interest to encourage the use of sport as a vehicle to promote social integration and intercultural dialogue (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004). Nevertheless, a review of the relevant literature (Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Elbe, Kouli, & Sanchez, 2013) has revealed contradictory findings. On the one hand, research has identified potential benefits of sport participation for minority groups, such as cultural adaptation and effective coping with acculturation stress (Stack & Iwasaki, 2009), and the development of social networks with host majority members (Guerin, Diiriye, Corrigan, Guerin, 2003). On the other hand, it has been argued that sport may be a field in which discrimination may evolve (Doherty & Taylor, 2007), and that the potential bridging effect of sport is almost fully countered by the tensions arising from outside sport (Krouwel, Boostra, Duyvendak, & Veldboer, 2006). The review concluded that sport participation per se may not be sufficient to facilitate fruitful acculturation and that research should explore the features of the sport environment that may help towards reaching the goals of integration. In addition, the review identified that only a small number of studies were based on solid theoretical frameworks, stressing the need for theoretically driven research (Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013).

Theoretical framework and relevant research

Berry's (1997; Berry & Sam, 2013) acculturation model provides a suitable framework for the study of migrants' acculturation. The model suggests that there are two independent dimensions underlying the acculturation process, based on the distinction between orientations towards one's own group and those towards other groups. These are cultural maintenance, and cultural contact and participation. Cultural maintenance refers to the conservation of one's ethnic heritage and cultural traditions, while cultural contact and participation refer to the interaction and exchange of experiences between members of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

The prevalence of these orientations determines the strategies that members of both the migrant and the host populations adopt (Berry, 2008). Among the migrant groups, these preferences are described as acculturation strategies, and have been identified as *integration*, reflecting high orientations towards both maintenance and contact (identification with both cultures); *assimilation*, reflecting high orientations towards cultural contact and low towards cultural maintenance, (identification mostly with the dominant culture); *separation*, reflecting high orientation towards cultural maintenance and low orientations towards cultural contact (identification mostly with one's own heritage culture); and *marginalization*, reflecting low orientations for both cultural maintenance and contact (low identification with both cultures). Among the dominant group of the host society the preferences are described as acculturation expectations and have been respectively identified as multiculturalism, in which cultural diversity maintenance and equitable participation are an accepted feature of the host community society (corresponding with integration); melting pot, in which host members are resistant to migrants' cultural maintenance and wish for their absorption in the dominant host community (corresponding with assimilation);

segregation, when host members accept migrants' cultural maintenance but at the same time feel that interaction should be avoided (corresponding with separation); and exclusion, when host members deny migrants' cultural maintenance as well as their integration into the dominant society (corresponding with marginalization) (Berry, 2010). The bi-dimensional model of acculturation was further extended by Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal, (1997) who highlighted the importance of the fit between the goals of the two populations, and suggested that acculturation orientations of the dominant population can influence the orientations adopted by migrants (Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009). Bourhis et al. (1997) described the interactive acculturative model, which emphasizes the role of the host majority members' expected acculturation orientations towards migrant groups.

The role of the sporting environment

Adopting the framework developed by Berry, two studies have explored aspects of the sport environment in relation to ethnic and cultural identity in migrants. In these studies ethnic identity was conceptualized as a composite of preferences migrants hold to preserve their ethnicity, whereas cultural identity refers to their preference to be involved with the larger society (Ting-Toomey et al., 2000). Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Kouli, Elbe and Sanchez (2013), in a sample of young migrant athletes in Greece, who participated in sport teams comprising athletes with dominant and non-dominant background, found that team cohesion could negatively predict feelings of fringe and lack of interaction with members of the dominant culture for migrant adolescents playing on mixed teams. In a similar study, Elbe et al. (2016) found that motivational environment and particularly mastery climate and autonomy support were linked to an adaptive integrative profile in male adolescent migrants.

With regard to the motivational environment, there is considerable evidence that the climate created by the coach can facilitate socially desirable outcomes. From an achievement goal perspective, a mastery climate, i.e., a climate fostering learning, promoting cooperation, and focusing on effort and personal improvement has been linked to prosocial attitudes and behaviour. In contrast, a performance climate, i.e., a climate fostering superiority over others and focusing on outcomes and normative criteria of success, has been linked to antisocial attitudes and behaviour (Kavussanu, 2006; Miller, Roberts, & Ommundsen 2004). In addition, from a self-determination perspective, autonomous motivation has been shown to be positively linked with prosocial behaviours such as volunteering (Gagné, 2003) and helping others (Weinstein & Ryan, 2010). Self-determined motivation is defined as being intrinsic and satisfying the three basic psychological needs; the need for competence, i.e., a sense of mastery through effective interaction within their environment; the need for autonomy, i.e. perceptions of choice and an authentic sense of self-direction and volition; and the need for relatedness, i.e., a sense of mutual caring and connectedness with others (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Supporting evidence regarding the importance of the motivational climate for the facilitation of acculturation has been provided by a study conducted in the physical education context. Kouli and Papaioannou (2009) studied ethnic and cultural identity in relation to achievement goals and motivational climate, and found that sport activities taking place in physical education classes with mastery climates were linked to integration and assimilation, whereas a performance climate was linked to separation and marginalization.

The host culture

In addition to the need for theoretically driven research, and the examination of the sport environment factors that facilitate effective acculturation, a look into the

relevant literature within the sport for acculturation research paradigm reveals that research has largely focused on migrants, thus neglecting to a large degree the perspective of the host population. The important role of the host population has been identified within the acculturation of migrating athletes' research paradigm. Schinke and McGannon (2014) argued that our understanding of the role of the social context within which acculturation takes place is limited, and put forward the idea of shared acculturation (Kontos, 2009; Ryba, 2009). Shared acculturation suggests that involving all partners in the acculturation process would be more fruitful than solely focusing on migrants. Within this approach two interactive processes were identified, namely the limited reciprocity and the immersed reciprocity (Schinke & McGannon, 2014). The limited reciprocity refers to the provision of encouragement and support from members of the host culture, such as the coach and teammates, to help migrants understand the dominant culture and assimilate, without, however, considering the person's cultural identity and heritage. In contrast, the immersed reciprocity refers to a mutual understanding, from hosts and migrants, of the responsibilities involved in the acculturation process, accepting that sport contexts are culturally diverse, and attempting to learn, understand, and share each other's cultural values. The adoption of such processes provides the greatest potential for social integration.

Two studies that have partly involved members of the host culture seem to confirm the ambiguity of the findings. Krouwel et al. (2006) reported that sport participants from The Netherlands were interested in the social dimension of sport participation, including the contact with people from other cultural groups; however, they also desired to distinguish themselves from other groups. In addition, the authors argued that competitions between homogeneous teams of different origins (teams consisting exclusively of athletes from the dominant culture versus teams

consisting exclusively of athletes from non- dominant cultures) may evoke tension and result in incidents of violence. Muller, VanZoonen and DeRoode (2008) on the occasion of a multicultural football tournament for migrants, which aimed at enhancing cultural interaction in The Netherlands, collected data from several sources. Among members of the host population, the organizers of the tournament viewed the tournament as a means to enhance contact, mutual understanding and respect across cultures; and spectators reported that they attended the tournament to socialize with friends, but also to interact and enjoy other cultures. In summary, research on the role of hosts regarding migrants' acculturation within the sport context is limited, and the findings are ambiguous.

Summary and objectives

Regardless of its political and social significance, research-based evidence on the social-facilitating role of sport, in particular with regard to acculturation, has not received the required attention. In addition, research has almost exclusively focused on the migrants' perspectives, thus disregarding the important role of the host society in the acculturation process. Based on the conceptualization of Berry's (1997) acculturation model and taking into consideration the emphasis placed on the role of the host population by Bourhis et al.'s (1997) interactive acculturation model, the present study aimed at investigating the hosts' perspective regarding migrant's acculturation in relation sport participation and the sport motivational environment. Considering the motivational environment from a more global perspective, Duda (2013) argued for the importance of integrating the tenets of achievement goal theory (Nicholls, 1989) and self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), and introduced the terms empowering and disempowering motivational environment. An empowering environment is described as having a mastery climate and being

autonomy and socially-supportive (Duda & Appleton, 2016). Such an environment is ideal for the satisfaction of the three basic psychological needs as described by the self-determination framework (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In contrast, disempowering coaching is described as a performance oriented and controlling environment, perceived as coercive, pressuring, and authoritarian that undermines athletes' psychological needs and sense of self-determination.

Research has shown that empowering coaching is related to enjoyment and quality of life variables such as subjective vitality, life satisfaction, self-esteem, and health; whereas disempowering climate is related to anxiety and intention to drop out (Papaioannou et al., 2013). More closely related to the purposes of this study, Kolovelonis, Keramidas, Krommidas, and Goudas (2015) examined relationships between motivational climate in elementary school physical education and aspects of social competence. The results showed that an empowering motivational climate was positively related to empathy and cooperating skills, whereas a disempowering motivational climate was related to quick-temperedness and disruptiveness. Considering the restricted relevant literature on the socially valued outcomes of the sport environment, we expected that adopting the approach of combining the two motivational theories would maximize the potential of the study of sport and integration, and contribute to a better understanding of the factors contributing to positive acculturation outcomes.

Summarizing the above, the purpose of the present study was to (a) explore acculturation attitudes and perceptions of adolescents from the host population as a function of sport participation, by comparing adolescent athletes with non-athletes, and (b) to investigate the role of the motivational environment, within those participating in sport. For the first research objective, given the existing inconsistent

findings, no hypotheses were formulated. For the second research objective, a mastery climate and the satisfaction of basic needs in sport were hypothesized to form an empowering motivational environment that would relate positively to acculturation attitudes reflecting multiculturalism, whereas a performance climate and controlling coaching behaviour were hypothesized to form a disempowering motivational environment that would relate negatively to acculturation attitudes reflecting multiculturalism.

Method

Research Design

This was a cross-sectional, quantitative study, assessing young Greek high school students' attitudes towards migrants as a function of sport participation. Adolescence is a time of comprehensive identity changes (Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006) during which many of the attitudes, beliefs, and values that young adolescents develop may remain with them for life (Brighton, 2007). In this respect, exploring and developing adolescents' attitudes towards migrants or other disadvantaged groups can be regarded as an important developmental task for promoting social cohesion and multiculturalism.

Cultural context

Today, more than 10% of the students enrolled in Greek public schools are of immigrant origin (Motti-Stefanidi, Masten, & Asendorpf, 2015). The legislative framework of Greek educational policy guarantees schooling for all children, citizen or foreign (regardless of the legal status of residence) from the age of 6 to the age of 15. To meet the increasing schooling needs of migrants, the Greek authorities established intercultural schools aiming at providing an educational platform for contact between native and migrant students. These schools, in addition to the typical

curriculum, offer to migrant students Greek language support courses, but also course on the language of their country of origin. Thus, children in Greece who have a different cultural background can choose to either join general schools (mostly comprising native students), or intercultural schools (mostly comprising migrant students). Intercultural schools in Greece have been strongly criticized for being unable to manage diversity proactively and for marginalizing foreign students (Damanakis, 2005), as the vast majority of these schools have turned into migrant schools. The reasons for this is that Greek parents refrain from sending their children to these schools because they are afraid that the cultural and linguistic identity of the students will negatively affect the level of their children's learning (Paroutsas, 2013). Nevertheless, research has shown that students who coexist in the classroom with foreign students show greater respect and acceptance of differences compared to students who do not mix with children from other cultures (Damico & Sparks, 1986). This reinforces the view of the positive influence of intercultural contact (Unicef, 2001). Data for this study were collected from typical high schools in Greece (intercultural schools were excluded from the study) with an average of 14.6% migrant students, which is representative of the Greek school population. The majority of the migrant students in these schools were from Albania and the former USSR countries, which are the largest groups of migrants in Greece (Aspridis & Petrelli, 2011).

Intercultural contact influences both minority groups and host community members and sport teams may offer a suitable context for developing cultural interaction and promoting intergroup relations in culturally diverse societies (Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013). Previous research has shown that migrants choose either to take part in sport activities with the people from the host culture, attempting

to enhance interaction with the mainstream population, or to participate in sports with individuals coming from the same ethnic and cultural background, attempting to strengthen their ethnic identity (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004). However, in Greece migrants who wish to participate in organized sport have to join sport teams where the vast majority of athletes are native Greeks, since pure ethnic sport teams do not exist (Elbe et al., 2016), thus maximizing the opportunities for cultural interaction with the host population.

Participants and Procedures

Participants were 626 (13.88 ± 1.01 years of age) native Greek high school students (316 girls), who were living either in Thessaloniki (a large city in Northern Greece, $n = 136$) or Trikala ($n = 490$; a medium size city in Central Greece). Regarding family income, 42.5% reported low income (up to 1000 euros), 46.6% moderate income (between 1000 and 2000 euros), and 10.9% moderate to high income (more than 2000 euros). Regarding parental education, 22% of students had fathers who completed primary education, 40.5% secondary education, and 37.5% higher education. In addition, 12.5% of the students had mothers who completed primary education, 42.7% secondary education, and 44.8% higher education. Among all the participants, 271 (92 girls) were athletes competing in either team ($n = 175$) or individual sports ($n = 96$). The average length of sport participation was 4.13 (± 2.42) years and the average length of participation in the current club was 3.38 (± 2.34) years.

The study was approved by the Institution's Ethics Committee and the Ministry of Education. Parental consent was obtained prior to the data collection. Students completed anonymous questionnaires in their classes in the presence of a researcher who provided explanations if required. The questionnaires were numbered

and participants were instructed to complete the parts of the questionnaires that corresponded to their athletic identity. Completion of the questionnaires took approximately 20 min.

Instruments

Host community attitudes and perceptions towards migrants.All participants completed the Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001) which comprises 12 items assessing two dimensions of in-group attitudes (cultural maintenance and cultural contact) and two dimensions of out-group perceptions (cultural maintenance and cultural contact). In-group attitudes reflect personal attitudes towards migrants maintaining their culture (3 items; e.g., “I don’t mind migrants maintaining their own way of living”), and interacting with the host population (3 items; e.g., “I think it is important that migrants have Greek friends”). Out-group perceptions reflect perceptions regarding migrants’ desire to maintaining their culture (3 items; e.g., “I think migrants wish to maintain their culture”), and interacting with the host population (3 items; e.g., “I think migrants wish to have Greek friends”). Responses were given on a 5-point scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Sanchez, and Elbe (2014) provided sufficient support for the psychometric integrity of the Greek version of the HCAS in adolescents through evidence of factorial validity and reliability.

Motivational environment. Actively competing athletes ($n = 271$) completed additional instruments assessing the team motivational environment, in particular, the Perceptions of Coach’s Emphasis on Goal Orientations questionnaire (Papaioannou, Ampatzoglou, Kalogiannis, & Sagovits, 2008), the Basic Need Satisfaction in Sport Scale (Ng, Lonsdale & Hodge, 2011), and the Controlling Coach Behaviours Scale (Bartholomew Ntoumanis, & Thogersen-Ntoumani, 2010).

The *Perceptions of Coach's Emphasis on Goal Orientations* questionnaire (PCEGO; Papaioannou, et al., 2008) was used to assess mastery climate (4 items; e.g. "The coach pays particular attention whether I improve myself in the training"), performance approach climate (4 items; e.g. "The coach insists that we should compete to prove that we are better than the others"), and performance avoidance climate (4 items; e.g. "The coach often makes me worry about how others see my sporting abilities"). Responses were given on a 5-point scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree).

The *Basic Need Satisfaction in Sport Scale* (BNSSS; Ng, Lonsdale & Hodge, 2011) was used to assess the satisfaction of participants concerning the psychological needs of competence (7 items; e.g. "I can overcome challenges in my sport"), relatedness (8 items; e.g. "In my sport, I feel close to other people"), and autonomy as reflected in choice (5 items; e.g. "In my sport, I get opportunities to make choices"), internal perceived locus of causality (4 items; e.g. "In my sport, I feel I am pursuing goals that are my own") and volition (5 items; e.g. "I feel I participate in my sport willingly"). Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (not true at all) to 7 (very true).

The *Controlling Coach Behaviours Scale* (CCBS; Bartholomew et al., 2010) was used to assess athletes' perceptions of four controlling motivational strategies in sport domain. The questionnaire comprises four subscales: controlling use of rewards (4 items; e.g. "My coach tries to motivate me by promising to reward me if I do well"); negative conditional regard (4 items; e.g., "My coach is less friendly with me if I don't make the effort to see things his/her way"); intimidation (4 items; e.g., "My coach shouts at me in front of others to make me do certain things"); and excessive personal control (3 items; e.g., "My coach tries to control what I do during

my free time”). Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (not true at all) to 7 (very true).

Data Analyses

Confirmatory factor analysis was used to provide evidence of factorial validity for all psychometric instruments. In addition, Cronbach’s alpha coefficients were computed to estimate internal consistency. Analysis of variance was conducted to test for differences in attitudes towards acculturation as a function of athletic status, sport type and competition level; whereas correlations were calculated to identify relationships with age, years of sport experience, years in the current team, and percentage of non-Greek players on the team. Finally, a structural equation path model was tested to investigate the degree to which an empowering and disempowering motivational environment could predict attitudes towards multiculturalism.

Results

Confirmatory factor analysis testing the integrity of the factor structure for all psychometric instruments yielded satisfactory results. In particular, the CFI and RMSEA indices were as follows: for HCAS .963 and .055, for PCEGO .942 and .056, for BNSS .938 and .045, and for CCBS .938 and .055. Analyses of internal consistency also supported the reliability of the scales. Cronbach’s alpha coefficients are presented in Table 1.

Descriptive statistics and correlations for all psychometric variables are presented in Table 1. Participants scored moderately on the dimensions of the Host Community Acculturation Scale. Athletes scored relatively high on mastery climate, moderately on performance approach, and moderately to low on performance avoidance climate. They also scored moderately to moderately high on need satisfaction, and moderately low for controlling coaching behaviour.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics, Cronbach's alpha coefficients, and correlations.

	Descriptive statistics		Cronbach's alpha	Correlations			
	M	S.D.		1	2	3	4
<i>Host Community Acculturation Scale</i>							
1. In-group cultural maintenance	3.57	1.06	.88				
2. In-group contact	3.22	0.57	.67				
3. Out-group cultural maintenance	3.61	0.82	.84				
4. Out-group contact	3.54	0.77	.67				
<i>Motivational climate</i>	3.24	0.60					
Mastery	4.18	0.73	.74	.14*	.10	.22**	.20**
Performance approach	2.90	1.00	.77	-.18**	.04	-.01	-.05
Performance avoidance	2.24	0.96	.81	-.09	-.03	-.00	-.13*
<i>Need satisfaction</i>							
Competence	5.73	1.04	.80	.03	.11	.15*	.02
Relatedness	5.74	1.16	.84	.11	.08	.16**	.13*
Autonomy – choice	4.69	1.48	.81	-.01	.04	.14*	-.01
Autonomy – locus of causality	5.92	1.20	.65	.17**	.04	.20**	.09
Autonomy – volition	6.10	1.21	.71	.14*	.11	.22**	.23**
<i>Controlling coaching behaviour</i>							
Use of rewards	2.98	1.60	.80	-.06	.03	-.04	-.02
Negative conditional regard	2.67	1.40	.73	-.17**	.04	-.07	-.12
Intimidation	2.38	1.45	.79	-.19**	-.04	-.08	-.10
Excessive personal control	2.74	1.57	.70	-.14*	-.03	-.08	-.05

Acculturation attitudes as a function of sport participation

A MANOVA was conducted to test for differences in the dimensions of host community acculturation attitudes as a function of athletic status. A number of demographic and socio-economic variables that could potentially influence the dependent measures were included in the analysis as independent factors: sex, family income, parents' education, and size of city. The analysis revealed a significant multivariate effect for athletic status, $F(4, 407) = 2.40, p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. Examination of the univariate statistics revealed that (a) athletic status had a significant effect on in-group attitudes towards contact with the host community, $F(1,$

419) = 6.66, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, with athletes scoring higher than non-athletes. No significant differences were found for in-group attitudes towards cultural maintenance, $F(1, 419) = 0.01$, $p = .98$, out-group attitudes towards maintenance, $F(1, 419) = 0.43$, $p = .51$, and out-group attitudes towards contact, $F(1, 419) = 1.43$, $p = .23$. The mean scores are presented in Table 2.

To control for the potential effect of differences related to participants' sport involvement a number of sport variables was considered. Correlations were calculated to test the relationships between acculturation attitudes and athletes' characteristics: age, years of sport experience, years in the current team, and percentage of non-Greek players on the team. The analysis revealed low and non-significant relationships (r ranging from $-.09$ to $.11$).

A two-way MANOVA was conducted to test for differences in the dimensions of host community acculturation as a function of sport-type and competitive level. The analysis revealed a non-significant multivariate effect for sport-type, $F(4, 209) = 1.54$, $p = .19$ and level, $F(8, 420) = .65$, $p = .73$ and a non-significant sport-type by level interaction, $F(8, 420) = 1.34$, $p = .22$. The mean scores for the different groups are presented in Table 2.

Acculturation attitudes and motivational environment

A structural equation path model was tested to investigate the degree to which an empowering and disempowering motivational environment could predict host community acculturation attitudes. Composite factors were used to represent the different subscales. Mastery climate, supportive of competence, relatedness, and autonomy formed a latent factor for empowering motivational environment.

Table 2. Mean scores for acculturation attitudes for the different groups.

	In-group		Out-group	
	cultural maintenance	contact	cultural maintenance	contact
Athletic status				
Athletes	3.55±1.08	3.27±0.56	3.60±0.83	3.54±0.82
Non-athletes	3.59±1.05	3.18±0.57	3.62±0.81	3.55±0.73
Sport type				
Individual sports	3.74±0.94	3.29±0.52	3.53±0.87	3.59±0.85
Team sports	3.51±1.12	3.27±0.58	3.66±0.80	3.55±0.78
Level				
Local	3.53±1.11	3.25±0.56	3.63±0.82	3.50±0.77
National	3.66±0.97	3.17±0.54	3.61±0.89	3.58±0.91

Performance approach and performance avoidance climate, along with controlling coaching behaviour formed a latent factor for disempowering motivational environment. Finally, in-group attitudes towards cultural maintenance, in-group attitudes towards contact, out-group attitudes towards cultural maintenance, and out-group attitudes towards contact, formed a latent factor for the host community acculturation attitudes. The two latent motivational environment factors were hypothesized to predict acculturation attitudes. The analysis revealed a good fit for the hypothesized model (CFI = .92, RMSEA = .06). A positive significant path was revealed between empowering motivational environment and acculturation attitudes, whereas a negative significant path was revealed between disempowering motivational environment and acculturation attitudes. The model predicted 9% of the acculturation attitudes variance. The structural model is presented in Diagram 1.

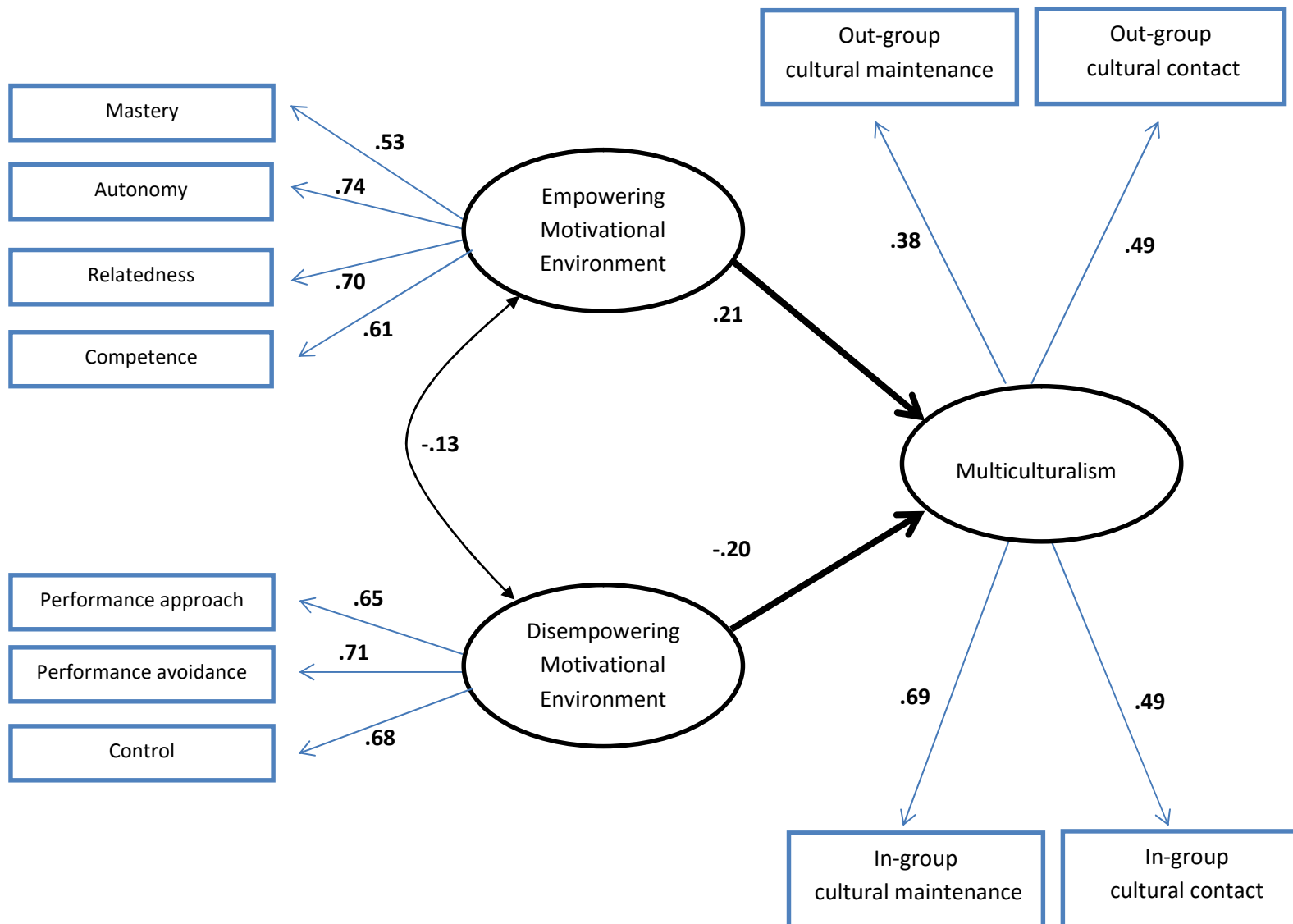


Figure1. The structural model

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into the role of sport for the acculturation process and, particularly, the perspective of the host population regarding migrants' acculturation. To that end, the attitudes and perceptions of the host population as a function of sport participation were explored. The role of motivational environment was also investigated. Overall, our findings suggest that participation in organized sport may be linked to attitudes favoring an adaptive acculturation attitude, but this also depends on the environment wherein the activities take place.

The results showed that adolescents participating in sport scored higher than those not participating on in-group contact, thus showing more accepting attitudes for the development of interaction between migrant and host populations. Previous research regarding intercultural relations between Greek students and students with a migrant background revealed that Greek students' attitudes towards migrants were negatively biased (Dimakos, Spinthourakis, & Tasiopoulou, 2011). Contact among members of different cultural groups may reduce negative intergroup attitudes and enhance mutual acceptance (Amir, 1969) especially when pursuing common goals (Brown, Vivian, & Hewstone, 1999). Sport, a field that provides both contact with and the pursuit of shared goals, seems to offer a context for fruitful contact, thus supporting Niessen's (2000) suggestions that sport is suitable for reinforcing the respect for cultural diversity and overcoming existing prejudices. Sport is also a context in which cooperation and competition take place. Cooperation within a team and the feeling of unity when pursuing common goals may enhance the understanding of similarities between people from different cultures. Morela et al. (2013) in a sample of young migrant athletes reported that perceptions of team cohesion were

related to integrative strategies. Engaging in competition teaches important values that youngsters can benefit from when the emphasis is not placed on winning but on the enjoyment of the competition (Hellandsig, 1998) and on striving for achievement with respect for the sport and the people (Shields & Bredemeier, 2009). In such a context, competition may teach participants that cultural characteristics do not really matter in attaining one's, or a team's, goal, thus fostering the development of links within, but also outside, the sport context. Developing positive attitudes towards migrants is significant because it facilitates interaction, but also because migrants will seek interaction more comfortably when they perceive that hosts are open for such interaction. Yet, as identified in the introduction, sport that includes cooperation and the enjoyment of competition, *may* lead to desirable outcomes when the environment is appropriate.

Importantly, valuable findings emerged regarding the structure of the sport environment and in particular the motivational environment. An empowering motivational environment, characterized by a mastery climate, supportive of autonomy, competence and relatedness, was positively linked to what is described by Berry (2010) as multiculturalism attitudes, favoring cultural maintenance and cultural contact between migrant and host populations from the host perspective. In contrast, a disempowering environment characterized by a performance climate and controlling coaching behaviour was negatively related to multiculturalism attitudes. The results coincide with previous findings conducted with migrant populations that identified links between factors of the sport environment, and in particular mastery climate and autonomy supportive coaching, and ethnic-cultural identity in young migrant athletes (Elbe et al., 2016). Papaioannou, Zourbanos, Krommidas and Ampatzoglou (2012) argued for the beneficial influence of a mastery

motivational climate for both the individuals and society. Previous research has revealed positive links between a motivational environment and socio-moral attitudes within (Kavussanu, 2006; Miller et al., 2004) and outside (Weinstein & Ryan, 2010) sport. A sport environment that places emphasis on learning and improvement, thus promoting a more controllable sense of competence, provides options and decision making roles to support autonomy, and supports fruitful cooperation and meaningful interpersonal relationships, enhances the quality of the sport experience and may help develop socially constructive attitudes, including multiculturalism. In contrast, an environment fostering social comparisons and placing emphasis on outcomes (e.g. winning), accompanied by a controlling interpersonal coaching style, may overemphasize rivalry and values related to status (Lee, Whitehead, Ntoumanis, & Hatzigeorgiadis, 2008), thus introducing conflict and undermining socially facilitating outcomes.

There are two issues that need to be addressed with regard to this study. First, it has to be acknowledged that the magnitude of the prediction was relatively low, as only 9% of the multiculturalism variance was explained; however, its practical significance may be important. Considering that an abundance of economic, social, and geographical dynamics may influence acculturation attitudes, even a small effect arising within the universally widespread sport context can be a useful starting point for the development of targeted actions and policies aiming at utilizing sport for the achievement of socially crucial goals, particularly in culturally diverse and conflictual contemporary societies. Second, it should be stressed that the study adopted a cross-sectional design which cannot support causal inferences. Nevertheless, the results provide the platform for the development of evidence-based interventions to support causal relationships and to test the power of sport in influencing acculturation

attitudes of both the migrant and the host populations and thereby promoting social integration.

Future directions and implications

Research to increase the strength of the predictions identified in the present investigation is warranted, as our model predicted only a limited amount of multiculturalism attitudes. Such research would enhance our confidence about the meaningful role that sport plays towards migrants' integration. In line with the abovementioned limitation of the study's cross-sectional design, longitudinal, evidence-based research investigating youth sport interventions which provide the chance for multicultural contact in the sport arena, within an environment promoting mastery orientations, and satisfying individuals' basic psychological needs, are warranted. A further line of research should investigate why an empowering environment may lead to socially valued acculturation outcomes. Brunelle, Danish and Forneris (2007) reported that participation in a sport-based community service program enhanced adolescents' levels of empathic concern and social responsibility. Moreover, Kolovelonis et al. (2015) found positive relationships between empowering climate, empathy and cooperating skills. Sport in an empowering environment may be linked to the development of such skills, which may in turn relate to multiculturalism attitudes.

The findings yield useful insights on the perspective of the host population regarding migrants' acculturation and the role of sporting environments in relation to multiculturalism. The environment of the sport experience is shaped primarily by the coach. An empowering motivational environment that emphasizes skill development and cooperation, where the athletes' basic needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness are met, could enhance positive interactions across individuals of different

ethnic origin and could facilitate the adoption of positive attitudes towards acculturation. On the contrary, a performance oriented motivational environment, based on comparative standards, emphasizing superiority, combined with a controlling interpersonal coaching style seems detrimental for the promotion of acceptance and mutual understanding regarding the goals of effective acculturation. Coaches can be educated and trained in providing appropriate environments, thus maximizing the potential of sport as an integrative agent.

Finally, based on the above propositions and in relation to the particular cultural context of the study some suggestions are worth mentioning. The Greek context shows a lack of ethnic clubs which is not the case in other countries like Spain, for example (Elbe et al., 2016). Ethnic clubs are sometimes more attractive for migrants because they offer opportunities to strengthen their ethnic identity and because migrants sometimes feel more comfortable in such clubs. This lack of ethnic clubs in Greece means that those migrants who want to participate in sport have to join sport teams dominated by natives; this could mean that some migrants choose not to participate in sports at all. A suggestion therefore could be to increase the availability of attractive sport environments where migrant adolescents would choose and desire to participate in. These sport environments, however, would also need to be attractive for members of the dominant culture so that they could offer opportunities for intercultural contact. Providing services from experts in cultural psychology in these sport environments would greatly facilitate the acculturation process and ensure that the goals for acculturation are reached. Such support would be important for both coaches and athletes. Placing an emphasis on an empowering environment, for example, is ideal for the promotion of socio-moral values, such as cooperation, fair-play, empathy, altruism, understanding, and acceptance of differences (Gagné, 2003;

Weinstein & Ryan, 2010). Moreover, the promotion of in-club and out-of-club social activities with cultural content where adolescents could satisfy their needs for autonomy and relatedness would further assist the development of links favoring the goals of shared acculturation (Kontos, 2009; Ryba, 2009). Finally, a challenging suggestion could be made in relation to the Greek context and the seemingly failure of intercultural schools to reach the objectives of acculturation through contact. Installing physical activity centers in these schools could eventually enhance their attractiveness and the possibilities for contact. Even if native parents do not wish to send their children to such schools during the day, after school recreational sport activities open for both migrants and natives, within an empowering environment fostering life-skills (Kolovelonis, et al., 2015), would provide a suitable platform for interaction between different groups.

The present study is to our knowledge the first focusing on the role of the host population regarding migrant's integration within the literature examining the potential of sport as an agent for acculturation. The findings suggest that sport is a suitable context. The study provides valuable evidence regarding the role of sport participation in the acculturation process. This evidence encourages further research exploring additional sport attributes that can positively impact this important social encounter and promote the social mission of sport.

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CHAPTER 5

YOUTH SPORT MOTIVATIONAL CLIMATE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS MIGRANTS' ACCULTURATION: THE ROLE OF EMPATHY AND ALTRUISM.

Abstract

Previous research has shown that participation in organized sports may have an important role in shaping acculturation attitudes of young adolescents towards migrants. In particular, among host populations, a mastery oriented motivational climate supportive of autonomy, competence and relatedness has been linked to attitudes favoring multiculturalism. The purpose of the present study was to explore factors that may explain the relationship between motivational climate and acculturation attitudes for the host population. In particular, this study explored the degree to which empathy and altruism could mediate the relationship between motivational climate and acculturation attitudes in adolescent Greek athletes. Participants were 338 ($13.61 \pm .95$ years of age) native Greek athletes (167 girls) competing in individual and team sports. Participants completed measures of acculturation attitudes, motivational environment and prosocial skills. Analysis of structural models revealed that an empowering motivational environment could predict empathy and altruism, which in turn predicted acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism. The results of the present study provide useful evidence concerning the role of both empowering sport environment and prosocial skills such as empathy and altruism, in promoting intercultural relations and facilitating acculturation process of migrants.

Key words: Multiculturalism, receiving society, prosocial skills, sport environment

Increasing migration and global mobility have contributed to the shaping of the new contemporary European societies in the 21st century. The potential impact of migration on the development of these new societies is quite complex and multidimensional. Policymakers across Europe therefore have different views on migrants' successful acculturation and the most appropriate strategies to achieve this. Lately, several EU countries have started to promote the idea that sport can potentially be an effective acculturative agent that facilitates intercultural relations and migrants' integration process (European Commission, 2007). However, Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Elbe, Sanchez (2013) outlined that sport can produce both positive and negative integrative outcomes and drew attention to the influential role of the sport environment to promote desirable acculturation attitudes for both majority and minority populations.

Previous research regarding the acculturative role of sport has revealed that the social and motivational environment created by the coach can influence both minority and majority members' behaviour and attitudes towards acculturation (Elbe, Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Ries, Kouli & Sanchez, 2016; Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Sanchez & Elbe, 2016). Acculturation has been considered to be a dual process of mutual adaptation, where both migrants and host community members are expected to transform some aspects of their life and culture in order to live successfully in the new society (Berry, 2005). With regard to minority members, Elbe and colleagues (2016) found that a coach-created motivational environment that focuses on the mastery of skills and self-improvement in a way that supports athletes' autonomy was related to adaptive integrative profiles in young migrant athletes. With regard to majority members, Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe and Sanchez (2016) found that an empowering motivational environment characterized as mastery-oriented and

supportive of the needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness, was positively associated with multicultural attitudes (favoring both migrants' maintenance of their culture and their interaction with the host culture) in young Greek athletes.

To date, the research-based evidence on the acculturative role of sport is small. In addition research has almost exclusively focused on migrants' attitudes, thus overlooking the essential role of the host population in the acculturation process. Building on the results of a previous study (Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe, Papaioannou, & Sanchez, 2016), where an empowering motivational climate could predict positive multicultural attitudes among Greek adolescent athletes, the present study aimed to further explore and identify possible factors that could explain the potential role of an empowering motivational climate in shaping positive acculturation attitudes. Potential factors that could play a role in shaping positive acculturation attitudes in an empowering sport environment are social and moral skills.

Sport and social outcomes

It has been widely acknowledged that sport can play a positive role in developing social and moral skills, and can lead to positive character building experiences especially for adolescents and children (Bredemeir & Shields, 2006). Considering that a substantial number of young people participate in organized sports every year sport has been discussed as an optimal setting for cultivating social skills and promoting positive youth development (Gould & Carson, 2008). Research has shown that youth sport participation is related to numerous positive developmental outcomes such as higher levels of self-esteem, emotional regulation, problem solving and social skills (e.g. Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001, Eccles, Barber, Stone & Hunt, 2003; Richman & Shaffer, 2000). Furthermore and with regard to the social character of sport, sport participation is commonly believed to be associated with a range of

positive social outcomes like affiliation and being part of a team (McCullagh, Matzkanin, Shaw, & Maldonado, 1993; Passer, 1981), friendship opportunities, social recognition (Scanlan, Carpenter, Lobel, & Simons, 1993), and opportunities for socialization and cooperation (Wuest & Lombardo, 1994). It has further been argued that sport provides an arena for the development of social skills like trust (Priest, 1998), empathy (Moore, 2002), and personal responsibility (Hellison, 2003), as well as being a fruitful field for the promotion of citizenship (Elley & Kirk, 2002) and intergroup relations (Wankel & Berger, 1990). Most closely related to the purpose of this study, Kavussanu (2008) argues that the social character of sport generates opportunities for both prosocial and antisocial behaviour, which also refer to the proactive and inhibitive aspects of morality (Sage, Kavussanu, & Duda, 2006). *Prosocial behavior* has been described as voluntary behaviour intended to help or benefit another person while *antisocial behaviour* has been described as voluntary behaviour intended to harm or disadvantage another person (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998).

However, another body of literature suggests that sport participation does not necessarily lead to positive character development (Weiss & Smith, 2002) and highlights that sport could develop antisocial or immoral behaviour (Bredemeier & Shields, 1984). Studies drew attention to the negative outcomes that could also emerge from sport participation, including engagement in delinquent behaviours (Begg, Langley, Moffitt, & Marshall, 1996), feelings of rivalry (Brustad, Babkes, Smith, 2001), and alcohol misuse (O'Brien, Blackie, Hunter, 2005). Furthermore, the potential of sport participation to contribute to the development of prosocial behaviours has been challenged by researchers who found that individuals engaged in competitive sports are less likely to engage in prosocial behaviours (Bredemeier &

Shields, 1986). It has also been argued that the competitive nature of sport which focuses on winning or losing can lead to unethical and aggressive behaviour and can have a negative impact on young athletes' well-being (Nucci & Kim, 2005).

These controversial findings lead to the assumption that the sport arena may be a suitable context for youth development, but could also be a context that entails developmental risks (Endresen & Olweus, 2005). The above findings highlight the key role of social contextual factors, such as coaches and the way they structure the sport environment in order to produce positive outcomes (Duda & Ntoumanis, 2005; Shields & Bredemeier, 1995). Duquin and Schroeder-Braum (1996) emphasized the important role that coaches can play in developing prosocial behaviour. Coaches structure the sport environment and can promote empathic relations and guide young people toward prosocial responsibilities. In addition, perceiving the sport environment to be caring has been positively associated with empathic ability and prosocial behaviour, and negatively related to antisocial behaviour (Gano-Overway et al., 2009). These results indicate that prosocial attitudes and behaviours can be taught within the sport context when the perceived sport environment encourages such behaviours.

The motivational aspects of the environment, within which sport activities take place, have received considerable research attention, and have found to be related to social outcomes. Interventions in the physical education context have shown that the application of cooperative learning programs, based on the premises of mastery motivational climate, enhance responsibility and feelings of caring (Dyson, 2001), communication skills (Dyson, 2002), and most important for the purpose of this study, cooperative skills and empathy (Goudas & Magotsiou, 2009). Furthermore, interventions based on the principles of an empowering climate were found to

increase social responsibility (Hassandra & Goudas, 2010), empathy and cooperation skills (Kolovelonis, Keramidas, Krommidas & Goudas, 2015).

Correlational studies in the sport context have shown that a mastery-oriented climate that focuses on cooperation and personal improvement is related to prosocial attitudes and behaviour. A performance oriented climate that focuses on superiority over others and on normative criteria has been related to antisocial attitudes and behaviour (e.g. Kavussanu, 2006; Miller, Roberts, & Ommundsen, 2004). Furthermore, promoting autonomous motivation has been positively associated with a range of prosocial behaviours such as volunteering (Gagné, 2003) and helping others (Weinstein & Ryan, 2010). Finally, Kavussanu, Stamp, Slade, & Ring (2009) reported moderate positive correlations between a mastery motivational climate and empathy.

Empathy and altruism: the antecedents of prosocial behaviour

Empathy and altruism have been considered to be the antecedents of prosocial behaviour (Lay & Hoppmann, 2015). *Empathy* has been described as a multidimensional construct that consists of both cognitive and affective-emotional dimensions. The cognitive dimension refers to the ability of an individual to understand other persons' perspectives (perspective taking) while the emotional dimension refers to an individual's ability to experience the emotional state of others (empathic concern) (Davis, 1994). *Altruism* has been described as attitudes and actions intending to help others without any expectation of benefits to oneself, characterized by purely internal motives (Feigin, Owens, & Goodyear-Smith, 2014; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987).

Past research has revealed a positive link between empathy and prosocial behaviour (e.g. Davis, 1996; MacMahon, Wesnsman & Parnes, 2006). Empathy has been related to a range of positive psychological conditions like life satisfaction,

positive social networks, higher self-esteem and reduced aggressive behaviour (e.g. Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Richardson, Hammock, Smith, Gardner, & Signo, 1994). In addition to positive psychological outcomes, empathy has been linked to behaviours such as civic volunteering, social cooperation, and helping other people in need (Rumble, Van Lange, & Parks, 2010; Wilhelm & Bekkers, 2010). Allport (1954) argued that high empathic individuals are more tolerant of others. Furthermore, empathy has been found to improve intergroup relations and reduce existing prejudices (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008).

Empathy is considered an important motivator for engaging in prosocial behaviour and decreasing antisocial behaviour (Hoffman, 2001). Kavussanu and Boardley (2009) found that empathy was positively related to prosocial behaviour involving opponents (e.g. helping an opponent up from the floor) and negatively linked to antisocial teammate and opponent behaviours. In this respect, empathy could be considered as the precursor of moral development and one of the qualities prosocial athletes should have. Furthermore, it has been argued that considering others' perspectives could eliminate the arousal that could lead to aggression (Richardson et al., 1994). In a competitive sport context where athletes may act aggressively due to elevated arousal levels, empathy could reduce aggressive behaviours (Bredemeier & Shields, 1986)

Researchers and theorists have suggested that the ability to empathize often motivates altruism (e.g. Eisenberg, 1986; Batson, 1991). Batson (2011) argued that individuals who understand the situation of a person in need and demonstrate empathy towards him/her are more likely to display altruistic behaviour. The empathy-altruism hypothesis states that feelings of empathy for the other can produce an altruistic motivation to increase other people's welfare (Batson, 1990; Batson, Lishner, &

Stocks, 2015). The main assumption is that empathy involves feelings and emotions for other people while altruism is comprised of non-egoistic prosocial values and behaviours. The perceived situation of others is activated through emotional arousal (Dovidio, 1991) which in turn creates altruistic motivation.

To our knowledge, the relation between the sport motivational environment and altruistic behaviours has not yet been examined in the sports psychological literature. Therefore we reference relevant results from other domains in order to enhance our understanding of their potential role in positive youth developmental outcomes. In the educational setting, Davis (1983) found that students who displayed empathy donated more money to medical charities than less empathic students. Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, and Freifeld (1995) found that more empathic college students were more likely to engage in volunteer work. Stalikas and Homodraka (2004) argued that children who perceive other peoples' feelings of pain or sadness may exhibit empathy and tend to act towards comforting them. Children who are interested in helping others have been found to interact more easily with other children and become more popular and more capable to engage in close friendships (McGuire & Weisz, 1982).

Both empathy and altruism have been considered to be prosocial skills characterized by feelings of helping, sharing and comforting other people. A large body of research suggests that empathy is positively linked to helping behaviours (e.g. Batson, 1991) and that considering other people's perspectives can facilitate interpersonal understanding, fosters social bonds and contributes to social coordination (Galinsky, Ku & Wang, 2005). More recently, empathy has also been investigated with regard to intergroup relations (for a review see Batson & Ahmand, 2009) to see whether empathy improves intergroup relations and reduces prejudice. It

has been argued that empathy is related to positive attitudes toward stigmatized groups and that improved attitudes towards stigmatized groups increases the motivation to help them (Batson Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002). In Pettigrew and Troop's meta-analysis (2008) it was found that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice by increasing the knowledge about the out-group, decreasing anxiety during intergroup interaction, and increasing empathy/perspective taking. Perspective taking can play an important role in promoting positive intergroup relations as the knowledge about the cultural background and cultural norms of the out-group may help in understanding their perspective and beliefs (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Inducing empathic concern for minority group members can lead to positive feelings towards the minority group (Dovidio et al., 2010; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003), while feelings of social injustice such as anger and indignation can play a crucial role in reducing prejudice especially in multicultural contexts (Dovidio et al., 2004; Finlay & Stephan, 2000).

In addition to improving intergroup relations, high levels of empathy have been positively related to decreased aggressive or other externalizing behaviours (e.g. Kaukiainen et al., 1999; Mehrabian, 1997), while low levels of empathy have been related positively with antisocial behaviours (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2004). Several projects involving children and adolescents that were designed to increase awareness for the feelings and emotions of others, revealed the positive effect of empathy on children's emotional development and perspective-taking skills which in turn led to reduced aggressive behaviour and increased helping and sharing skills (e.g. Schonert-Reichl, 2005). With regards to intergroup relations, Nesdale, Milliner, Duffy, and Griffiths (2009) found that high levels of empathy in children were related to lower aggression behaviours towards out-group members. Similarly, several programs

especially for young people were developed to encourage imagining how they would feel if they were targets of discrimination, aiming at increasing understanding and awareness of how the individuals suffering from discrimination feel (e.g. Byrnes & Kiger, 1990). Finlay and Stefan (2000) found that college students who received perspective-taking instructions showed lower levels of bias towards out-groups. As a result of learning about discrimination against out-group members (African Americans) they reported feeling more negative emotions (e.g. anger) toward in-group members (White Americans) compared to their counterparts who were in the control group. In addition, Stewart, LaDuke, Bracht, Sweet, and Gamarel (2003) in their study with college students in the U.S. found that those students who were trained and instructed in empathy reported more positive attitudes towards various minority groups (Asian Americans, Latino/Latina individuals, African Americans) than those who were in the control groups.

Motivational environment, social skills, and acculturation

Sport is widely perceived to have a social impact and it has been strongly linked to enhancing social cohesion and social capital among young people and adults in communities (Coalter, 2007). It is important to encourage positive peer relationships between young people through sport activities, regardless of the participants' ethnic and cultural background. Previous research regarding the acculturative role of sport has revealed that sport has the potential to influence and promote integrative patterns among young adolescents from both minority and majority groups, and placed an emphasis on the role of the motivational environment created by the coach, in achieving the desired acculturation outcomes (Elbe et al., 2016; Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe, Papaioannou, & Sanchez, 2016).

In one of the few studies within the sport context that considered the power of the host population in migrants' acculturation process, Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe, Papaioannou, and Sanchez (2016) found that Greek students participating in organized sport held more positive attitudes towards migrants and scored higher on attitudes towards multicultural contact compared to those who did not participate in sports. In addition, it was found that an empowering motivational climate, characterized by a mastery climate and supportive of athletes' basic needs could positively predict multicultural attitudes. With respect to the abovementioned findings and considering the sport context as an appropriate framework for the development of a broad range of social skills, the present study focuses on identifying prosocial attitudes and behaviours fostered within an empowering sport environment, which could further explain the potential of an empowering environment for promoting integration and multiculturalism.

A large body of research suggests that empathy can act as a motivator for engaging in prosocial behaviour (Eisenberg, 2005) and empathic ability has been linked with behaviours such as being more tolerant of others and helping other people in need (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Within the sport context, high empathic athletes can display more prosocial attitudes and behaviours and may reduce aggressive behaviours towards their teammates or their opponents. Taking into consideration the important role of empathic abilities in promoting intercultural relations and reducing prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) and the powerful role of a coach created motivational environment for athletes attitudes and behaviour, we speculate that an autonomy-supportive motivational environment that focuses on athletes' personal improvement and promotes empathy and altruistic behaviours can produce socially

desired outcomes and facilitate intercultural relations between ethnic and culturally diverse individuals and groups.

Based on the interactive acculturation framework that highlights the powerful role of the host society in migrants' acculturation process (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997), the present study aimed at exploring relationships between the motivational environment, prosocial skills, and acculturation attitudes in Greek adolescent athletes. More specifically, it was hypothesized that an empowering motivational climate (mastery-oriented and supportive of athletes' basic needs) would relate positively to the prosocial skills of empathy and altruism, which in turn could predict acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were 338 ($13.61 \pm .95$ years of age) native Greek athletes (167 girls) competing in individual ($N = 86$) and team sports ($N = 252$) at local (72.1%), national (21.8%), and international (6.1%) level. The average length of sport participation was $4.43 (\pm 2.63)$ years and the average length of participation in the current club was $3.30 (\pm 2.34)$ years. The study was approved by the institutions' ethics committee. Parental consent was obtained prior to the data collection. Athletes individually completed anonymous questionnaires in a quiet room under the supervision of the researcher before the start of a training session. Completion of the questionnaires took approximately 20 min.

Instruments

Host Community Acculturation Scale. The Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001) comprises 12 items assessing two dimensions of in-group attitudes (cultural maintenance and cultural contact) and two

dimensions of out-group perceptions (cultural maintenance and cultural contact). In-group attitudes reflect personal attitudes towards migrants maintaining their culture (3 items; e.g., “I don’t mind migrants maintaining their own way of living”), and interacting with the host population (3 items; e.g., “I think it is important that migrants have Greek friends”). Out-group perceptions reflect perceptions regarding migrants’ desire to maintain their culture (3 items; e.g., “I think migrants wish to maintain their culture”), and interacting with the host population (3 items; e.g., “I think migrants wish to have Greek friends”). Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Sanchez, and Elbe (2014) provided sufficient support for the psychometric integrity of the Greek version of the HCAS in adolescents by evidencing factorial validity and reliability.

Interpersonal Reactivity Index. The Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI; Davis, 1980) was used to assess athletes’ empathic ability. The questionnaire comprises four subscales including perspective taking, fantasy, empathic concern and personal distress. Two subscales were used in this study namely perspective taking (7 items; e.g., “I try to look at everybody’s side of disagreement before I make a decision”) and empathic concern (7 items; e.g., “I often have tender, concerned feeling for people less fortunate than me”). Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (does not describe me well) to 5 (describes me very well). Patera and Vassilopoulou (2009) provided sufficient support for the psychometric integrity of the Greek version of the IRI in students by evidencing factorial validity and reliability

Altruistic Behaviour questionnaire. The Altruistic Behaviour questionnaire (ABQ; Leontopoulou, 2010) was used to measure adolescents’ altruistic behaviour. The questionnaire is comprised of 20 items (e.g. “Do you cooperate with your peers for achieving a good cause or purpose?”, “Do you show a classmate how to play a

sport he/she does not know?”). The answers were given on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (almost never) to 4 (always). Leontopoulou (2010) provided sufficient support for the psychometric integrity of the Greek version of the ABQ in children by evidencing factorial validity and reliability

Perceptions of Coach's Emphasis on Goal Orientations. The Perceptions of Coach's Emphasis on Goal Orientations questionnaire (PCEGO; Papaioannou, Ampatzoglou, Kalogiannis, & Sagovits, 2008) was used to assess mastery climate (4 items; e.g. “The coach pays particular attention whether I improve myself in the training”). Responses were given on a 5-point scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). Papaioannou and colleagues (2008) provided sufficient support for the psychometric integrity of the Greek version of the PCEGO in children and adolescents by evidencing factorial validity and reliability

Basic Need Satisfaction in Sport Scale. The Basic Need Satisfaction in Sport Scale (BNSSS; Ng, Lonsdale & Hodge, 2011) was used to assess the satisfaction of participants' basic psychological needs. The questionnaire comprises five subscales assessing the psychological needs of competence (5 items; e.g. “I can overcome challenges in my sport”), relatedness (5 items; e.g. “In my sport, I feel close to other people”), and autonomy as reflected in choice (4 items; e.g. “In my sport, I get opportunities to make choices”), internal perceived locus of causality (3 items; e.g. “In my sport, I feel I am pursuing goals that are my own”) and volition (3 items; e.g. “I feel I participate in my sport willingly”). Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (not true at all) to 7 (very true). Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Elbe, Papaioannou, and Sanchez (2016) provided sufficient support for the psychometric integrity of the Greek version of the BNSSS in adolescents by evidencing factorial validity and reliability

Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations for all psychometric variables are presented in Table 1. Examination of Cronbach's alpha showed adequate internal consistency for all variables except for one. Empathic concern showed a low reliability ($\alpha = .52$) and therefore was removed from subsequent analyses. Participants scored moderately on the dimensions of the Host Community Acculturation Scale, relatively high on mastery climate, and moderately to moderately high on satisfaction of autonomy, competence, and relatedness.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and reliability for all variables.

	Mean	SD	Cronbach's alpha
<i>Interactive Acculturation Scale</i>			
In-group cultural maintenance	3.75	.88	.84
In-group contact	3.24	.50	.71
Out-group cultural maintenance	3.73	.79	.82
Out-group contact	3.15	.49	.71
<i>Need satisfaction</i>			
Competence	5.63	.95	.81
Relatedness	5.58	1.16	.87
Autonomy	5.49	1.04	.86
Mastery climate	4.10	.75	.73
<i>Social skills</i>			
Perspective taking	3.61	.80	.67
Altruism	2.79	.42	.80

Acculturation attitudes and motivational environment

Direct model. A structural equation path model was tested to investigate the degree to which an empowering motivational environment could predict host community acculturation attitudes. Composite factors were used to represent the different subscales. Mastery climate and need satisfaction for competence, relatedness, and autonomy formed a latent factor for the empowering motivational environment. In-group attitudes towards cultural maintenance, in-group attitudes

towards contact, out-group attitudes towards cultural maintenance, and out-group attitudes towards contact formed a latent factor for the host community acculturation attitudes. An empowering motivational environment was hypothesized to predict acculturation attitudes. The analysis revealed an adequate fit for the hypothesized model (CFI = .90, RMSEA = .08). A positive significant path was revealed between an empowering motivational environment and acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism. The model predicted 9% of the acculturation attitudes variance. The structural model is presented in Figure 1.

Mediation models. Subsequently a partially mediated model was tested to investigate whether prosocial behaviour could mediate the relationship between an empowering environment and acculturation attitudes. Perspective taking and altruism formed a prosocial skills latent factor. An empowering motivational environment was hypothesized to predict acculturation attitudes but also prosocial skills, which in turn would predict acculturation attitudes. It was hypothesized that the addition of prosocial skills as a mediator would change the direct path from the motivational environment to acculturation attitudes to a non-significant one. The analysis revealed a good fit for the hypothesized model (CFI = .90, RMSEA = .06). Positive significant paths were revealed between an empowering motivational environment and between prosocial behaviour and acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism, whereas the direct effect from an empowering motivational environment to acculturation attitudes became non-significant. The indirect path from empowering motivational environment to acculturation attitudes was .12. The model predicted 19% of the acculturation attitudes variance. The partially mediated model is presented in Figure 2.

Finally, a fully mediated model, where the direct path from motivational environment to acculturation attitudes was removed, was tested. The analysis revealed a good fit for the hypothesized model (CFI = .90, RMSEA = .07). Positive significant paths were revealed between empowering motivational environment and between prosocial behaviour and between prosocial behaviour and acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism. The indirect path from an empowering motivational environment to acculturation attitudes was .11. The model predicted 18% of the acculturation attitudes variance. The full mediated model is presented in Figure 3.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to gain further insight into the role of the sport motivational environment in predicting prosocial skills and positive acculturation attitudes of the host population regarding migrants' acculturation. To that end, the links between an empowering climate, the prosocial skills of empathy and altruism, and acculturation attitudes were explored. It was hypothesized that empathy and altruism would mediate the relationship between an empowering environment and acculturation attitudes. Overall, the findings revealed that an empowering climate positively predicted prosocial skills, which in turn positively predicted acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism, thus providing support for the mediation hypothesis.

At the global level, the findings yielded positive associations between an empowering motivational climate and attitudes favoring multiculturalism, i.e., attitudes favoring interaction among individuals of different cultural groups, but also accepting the need of the different cultural groups to maintain their cultural heritage. This finding coincides with previous research with migrants identifying links between acculturation attitudes and aspects of the sport environment, such as the functioning

of the team, and in particular cohesion (Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Kouli, Elbe, & Sanchez, 2013), and motivational climate (Elbe et al., 2016). Furthermore, the results are in accordance with previous findings examining relationships between motivational climate and acculturation attitudes in the physical education context (Kouli & Papaioannou, 2009). Finally, they replicate Morela et al.'s result

Figure 1.Structural models: The direct mode

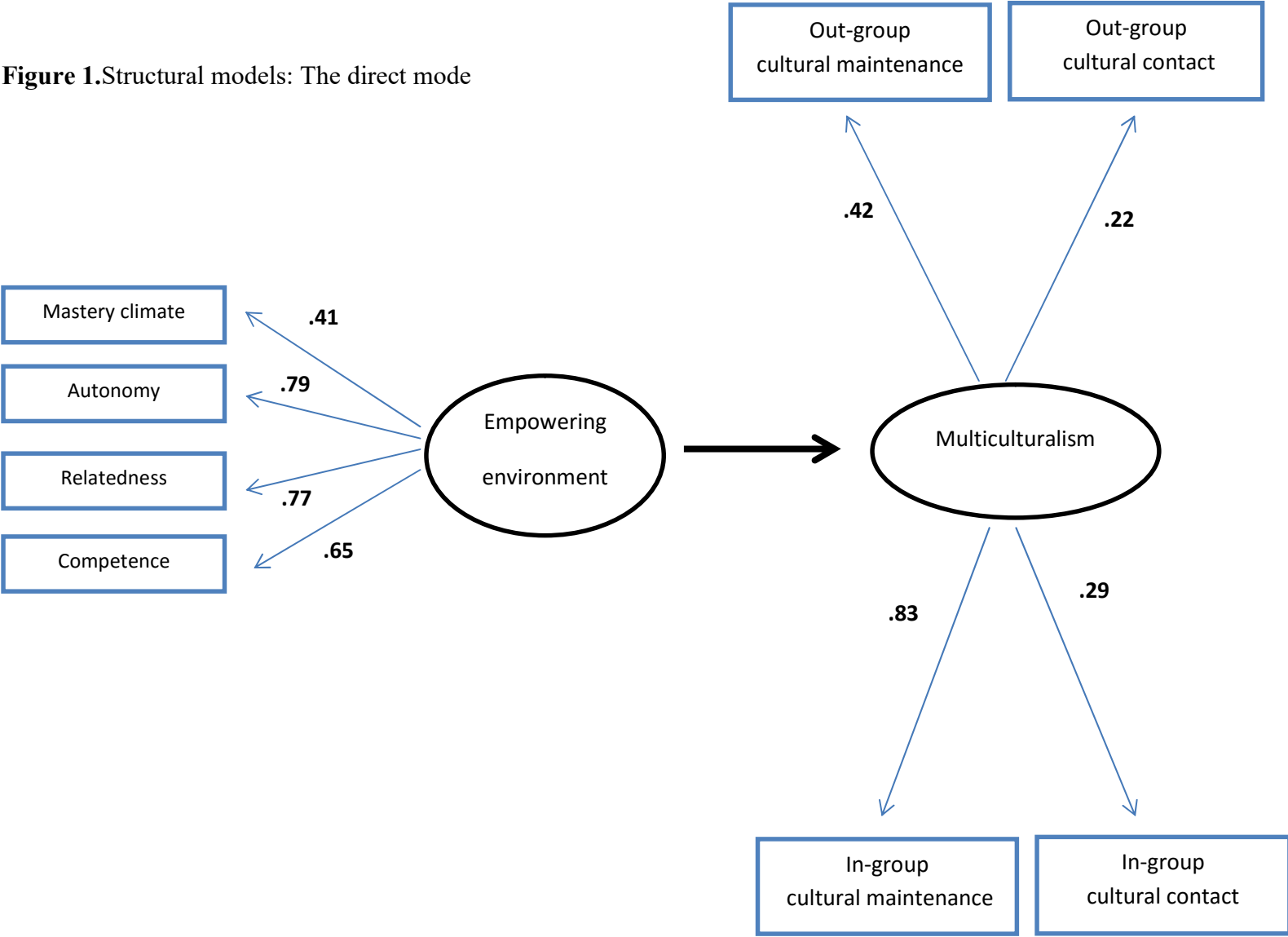


Figure 2.Structural models: The partially mediated model.

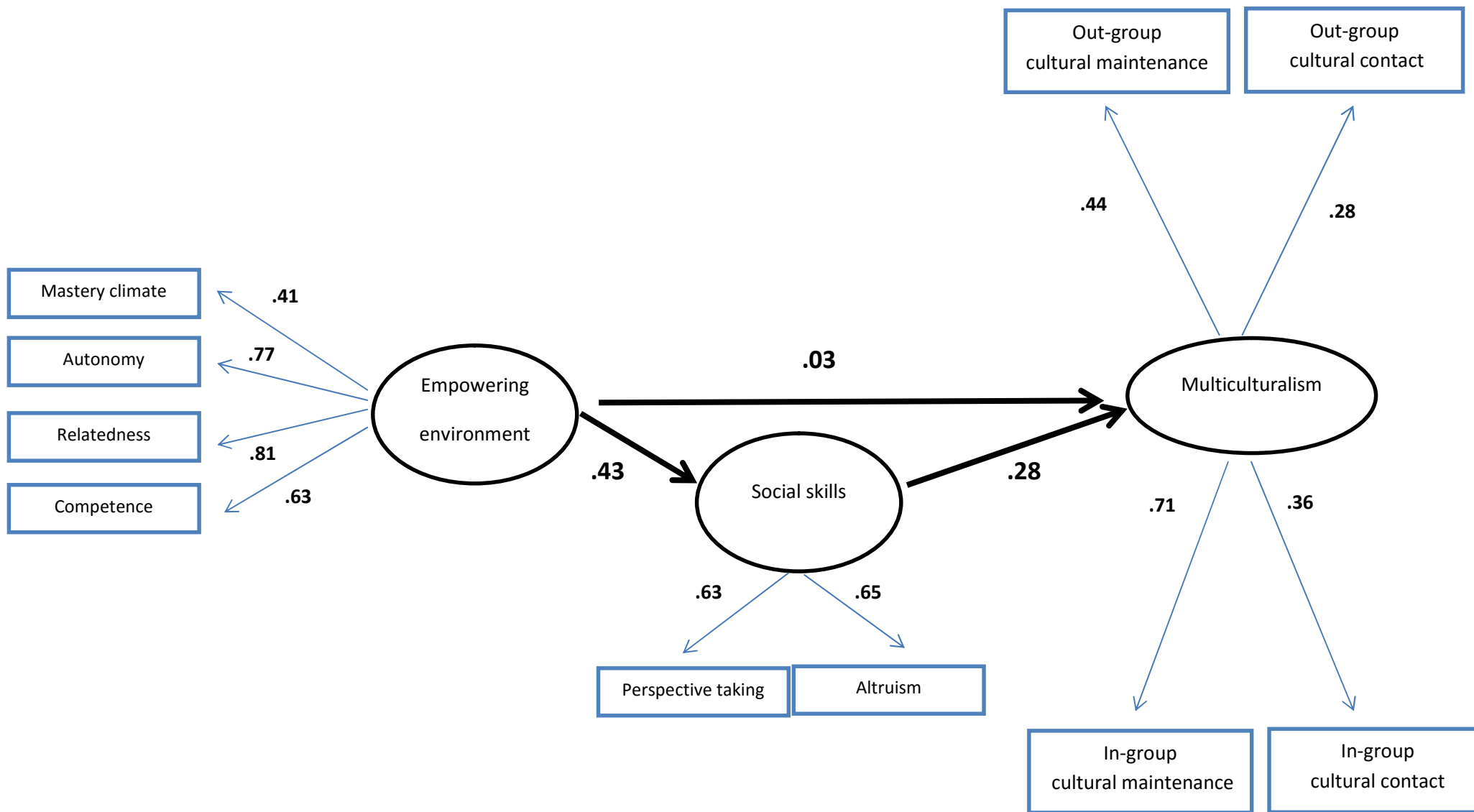
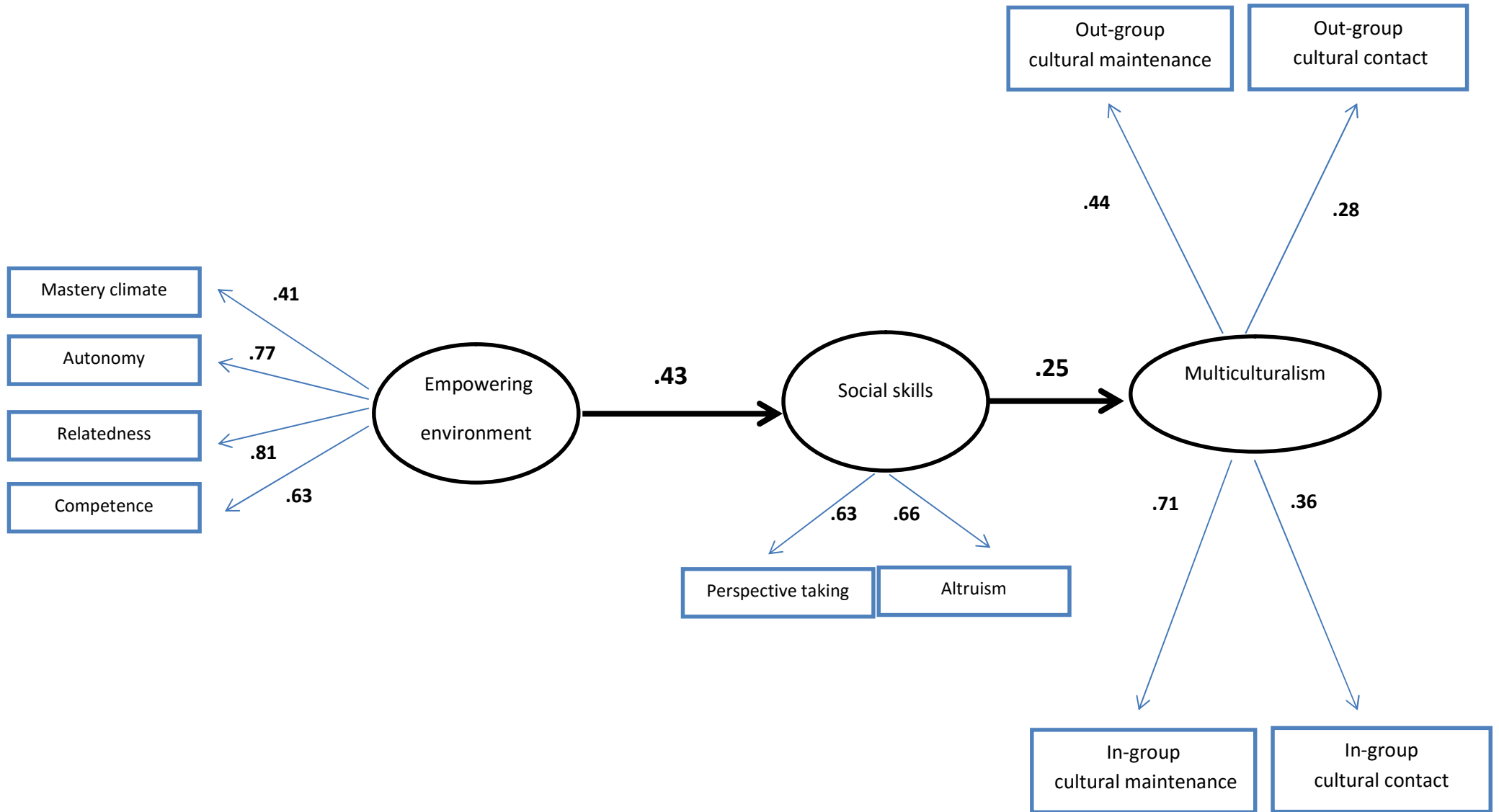


Figure 3. Structural models: The full mediated model.



(submitted). Thus, there is now considerable evidence linking the motivational environment with acculturation attitudes favoring integration and multiculturalism.

The additional question this study attempted to explore was to identify prosocial skills as mediators of this relationship. On the one hand, a motivational environment that focuses on a mastery climate and creates conditions for athletes to satisfy their basic needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness was positively related with valuable prosocial skills, namely empathy and altruism. An empowering motivational climate may be linked to prosocial outcomes because it is a climate fostering cooperation and places emphasis on personal improvement, rather than superiority over others. Most importantly, a socially supportive climate, accommodating meaningful interpersonal relationships satisfies the need for relatedness. Support for such claims has been provided through past research supporting that a mastery motivational climate is linked to prosocial behaviour (Gano-Overway et al., 2009; Kavussanu, 2006), and that perceiving a caring atmosphere has been related to empathic ability and volition to help others in need. In addition, autonomous motivation has been positively associated with prosocial behaviours such as volunteering (Gagné, 2003) and helping others (Weinstein & Ryan, 2010).

On the other hand, the prosocial skills of perspective taking and altruism were related to attitudes favoring interaction between hosts and migrants and acceptance of migrants' need to remain attached to their previous cultural heritage. Considering other people's perspective has been positively linked with interpersonal understanding (Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005) and increased helping and sharing behaviours (Schonert-Reichl, 2005), while empathy has been associated with improved intergroup relations and reduction of prejudices (e.g. Vescio, Sechrist & Paolucci, 2003).

In light of these findings, it is suggested that despite the ambiguous results regarding the potential role of sport in promoting prosocial behaviour in youth in general (Danish, Petitpas, & Hale, 1990) and acculturation in particular (Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013), the appropriate sport environment seems an advantageous ground for developing adaptive social behaviours and fostering fruitful acculturation. Researchers argued that organized activities such as sport may enhance a persons' ability to deal with the major developmental tasks of childhood and adolescence (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). Participation in organized sport where care is taken to create an environment that promotes prosocial values and attitudes can become a promising way of developing intercultural dialogue and enhancing positive intercultural relations between hosts and migrants in contemporary societies.

Limitations, implications and future research

Despite the importance of the present findings in relevant research regarding the potential of sport to influence intercultural attitudes, the cross-sectional design of our study does not allow for causal inferences. Therefore, longitudinal designs and intervention programs assessing the acculturative role of sport are still warranted. In line with our findings, sport programs developed in accordance with appropriate sport environments could enhance our understanding regarding the potential of sport to produce socially desired outcomes and promote intercultural relations in cultural diverse settings and environments. Targeting perspective-taking skills may be a point of intervention worth pursuing when attempting to improve intergroup, and in particular intercultural, relations and promote multicultural attitudes in a variety of contexts, such as school and sport. An imagined self-perspective can increase awareness of the pressures faced by minority group members and cultivate more positive attitudes towards them. Coaches can play a key role in promoting successful

acculturation through sport by acting as important role models that guide youth towards social adaptive values of tolerance and acceptance of the difference.

The prediction of acculturation attitudes from the empowering climate and through the prosocial skills of empathy and altruism seems relatively low. Thus, future research to explore additional elements of the sport environment, and possibly elements related more directly to socio-moral skills, in addition to motivational attributes, is warranted. Such research could possibly increase the magnitude of the predictions identified in the present study and help understand the features of the sport context that can foster adaptive social behaviours. In addition to the environment created by the coach, emphasis should be placed on the role of significant others such as peers and parents. This will help understand the influence of additional social contextual factors in facilitating acculturation through sport, as there is evidence supporting that (a) parents can play an important role in shaping their children's sporting experience, as well developmental outcomes that result from sport participation (Fredrick & Eccles, 2004), and (b) interactions with peers can affect young athletes' skills, attitudes, and behaviours that influence their development (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006).

Acculturation through sport is a quite complex process and for the positive socially integrative outcomes to occur emphasis should be placed on the way in which sport is delivered and experienced. The present study offers valuable evidence suggesting that an environment fostering learning and personal improvement and satisfying individuals' psychological needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness, may be linked to enhanced prosocial skills, such as empathy and altruism, thus providing a fertile ground for promoting intercultural relations and facilitating acculturation processes for both minority and majority member

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CHAPTER 6

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the potential role of sport as a context for the acculturation of young migrants. Considering acculturation as a two-way process that engages both the migrant and the host populations, we investigated acculturation attitudes of both dominant and non-dominant adolescents as a function of sport participation. For those participations in organized sport, we examined the role of the sporting environment. This final chapter is comprised of several parts. In the first part, the findings of the studies conducted are presented and discussed. Next, based on the overall findings, practical implications are suggested. Finally, main strengths and weaknesses of the studies are identified and suggestions are provided for how future research may build upon the findings.

Overview and discussion of the findings

Chapter 2 is a systematic review of the existing literature conducted to better understand relevant issues dealing with the acculturative role of sport and to identify important features of sport environment that may regulate the relationship between sport and acculturation. The findings of relevant studies revealed the ambivalent role of sport to either facilitate or hinder acculturation process and draw the attention to the key role of sport environment in order to produce socially desired outcomes. Taking into consideration the ascertainments of the review the empirical studies following tried to gain a further insight into the relationship between sport motivational environment and acculturation process for both migrant and host populations.

Chapter 3 explored acculturation attitudes and the level of acculturation stress of migrant adolescents living in Greece as a function of sport participation. In

addition, the role of the sporting environment created by the coach, within migrant athletes and its relationship to migrants' acculturation attitudes and acculturation stress were investigated. The results showed that migrant adolescents participating in sport scored higher than those not participating on in-group cultural maintenance, thus highlighting the potential role of sport in preserving migrants' cultural heritage. Furthermore, significant differences emerged regarding the level of acculturative stress, where migrant athletes scored lower on acculturative stress than non-athletes. In addition, in relation to the role of the sport environment, support for the need of autonomy was positively linked to both cultural functions of acculturation (cultural maintenance, cultural contact), favoring integration patterns, whereas controlling coaching style was negatively linked to both cultural maintenance and contact indicating a less favorable integration pattern. Along with acculturation attitudes, the sport environment was found to be related to the level of acculturation stress. An environment supporting the need for autonomy was negatively related to acculturative stress, whereas a controlling coaching style was positively linked to acculturative stress. These results highlight the key role of the sport environment in general and the coach in particular in shaping young athletes' psychological experiences (Smith & Smoll, 2002).

In line with Berry's suggestions (2008) about the important role that the host society can play in migrants' acculturation process, Greek adolescents' acculturation behaviour in relation to the sport context were assessed in chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 explored acculturation attitudes and perceptions of native Greeks as a function of sport participation and subsequently investigated the role of the motivational environment within those participating in sport. The results showed that Greek adolescents participating in sport scored higher than those not participating on in-

group contact, thus demonstrating more accepting attitudes towards cultural interaction with the migrant population. In addition, the sport motivational environment was found to have a significant impact on native Greeks acculturation attitudes. An empowering motivational environment, characterized by a mastery climate, supportive of autonomy, competence and relatedness, was positively linked to multiculturalism attitudes, favoring cultural maintenance and cultural contact between migrant and host populations, whereas a disempowering environment characterized by a performance climate and controlling coaching behaviour was negatively linked to multiculturalism attitudes. Chapter 5, aimed at further exploring factors that may explain the relationship between empowering motivational climate and acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism for the host population. To that end the relationships between an empowering coaching climate, acculturation attitudes and prosocial skills, such as empathy and altruism was examined. The results revealed that an empowering motivational environment could predict empathy and altruism, which in turn predicted positive acculturation attitudes, thus supporting the mediating role of prosocial skills in the relationship between empowering sport environment and acculturation attitudes favoring multiculturalism.

Overall, the findings of the present dissertation suggest that youth participation in organized sport may be linked to behaviours favoring adaptive intercultural strategies for both migrant and host populations. However, in order to produce socially desired outcomes through sport, the sport environment has to be developed in a way that promotes adaptive social behaviours towards the goal of successful acculturation. In all the studies conducted within this dissertation, the role of the coach and the way he/she structures the sport environment appeared to be associated with both migrant and host adolescent athletes' intercultural attitudes, thus

highlighting his/her influential role on positive youth development (Vella, Oades, & Crowe, 2011). In line with Achievement Goal Theory (Nicholls, 1989) and Self Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), that have been broadly used to understand motivation in sport and relative behavioural outcomes (Vallerand & Losier, 1999), we found that an autonomous-supportive coaching style and an empowering motivational environment were related to positive intercultural attitudes for both migrant and host populations. An autonomy-supportive coaching environment where the coach targets athletes' personal improvement and creates conditions for athletes to satisfy their basic needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness, can promote both cultural functions of acculturation, favoring cultural maintenance and cultural contact, attitudes that encourage multiculturalism and integration. These results are in line with Berry's (1997) suggestions that the goal of acculturation and the successful integration of migrants require both cultural interaction and cultural maintenance. The results identified that both cultural functions, maintaining one's own culture and interacting with the new culture, can be endorsed in sport,—thus emphasizing the potential role appropriate sport environments can play in promoting integration and multiculturalism in contemporary societies.

With regard to migrant adolescents and adaptive acculturation strategies the results also revealed that sport participation may have the power to regulate the level of acculturative stress. In accordance with the literature suggesting that participation in sports can reduce social anxiety and social isolation (Dimech & Seiler, 2011; Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001), the findings showed that sport participation could help migrant adolescents to deal with stressful acculturation experiences that may result from their transit from their home country to the society of settlement. Furthermore, the appropriate sport environment was found to play a key role in young

migrants' acculturation experiences. An autonomy-supportive coaching behaviour was negatively related to acculturative stress whereas a controlling coaching behaviour was positively linked to acculturative stress. Research has shown that an autonomy-supportive coaching environment has been positively linked to athletes' basic psychological need satisfaction of competence, autonomy and relatedness (Adie, Duda, & Ntoumanis, 2012) while social support has been found to play an important role in reducing stressful symptom and in buffering acculturative stress (Lee, Koeske & Sales, 2004; Choi, 1997). In this regard, an autonomy-supportive environment where the coach encourages open communication, acknowledges athletes' feelings and perspectives, and provides social support, may lead to young migrants experiencing greater need satisfaction and higher levels of relatedness and connectedness, thus facilitating their acculturation experiences and reducing the levels of acculturative stress

With regard to adolescents from the host society and social role of sport for them, an empowering motivational environment was found to be positively related positively with important social skills, namely empathy and altruism. Athletes from the host society who perceive the sport environment to be supportive, caring and to focus on personal improvement and cooperation seemed to display high levels of empathic and altruistic behaviour. This in turn seemed to be positively related to their acculturation attitudes and perceptions towards the goal of successful acculturation. These results further support the prevalent view about the significant social and inclusive role of sport in society (Seippel, 2002) and highlight the critical role of the appropriate sport environment in pursuing socially adaptive integration goals. An empowering motivational environment that promotes the development of social skills such as empathy and altruism may induce positive acculturation attitudes towards

migrants and minority groups and encourage positive intercultural relations. Considering other people's perspective have been positively related to improved intergroup relations and reduction of prejudices (Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003), thus encouraging the development of such skills within the sport motivational environment which then may positively influence acculturation attitudes and promote intercultural relations.

Research has identified sport participation as a promising approach to socially integrating individuals and groups from diverse cultural backgrounds (Hatzigeorgiadis, Morela, Elbe, Sanchez, 2013). However, in light of the present findings it is stressed that sport participation in itself cannot guarantee socially adaptive outcomes. Instead, in order for the desired outcomes to be achieved, the sport environment has to be developed in a way that promotes such objectives, thus highlighting the complexity of sport participation in the acculturation process. Developing an empowering sport environment and promoting prosocial attitudes and behaviours within the sport context may become a promising venue for cultivating intercultural relations and promoting successful acculturation for both migrant and host populations.

Practical implications

The findings of the conducted studies may have a number of important practical implications. First, the results underline that policy makers should take into consideration the perspectives of both migrant and host populations when developing potential methods for socially integrating minority groups. Perhaps the most consistent finding across our studies is that both cultural functions of acculturation, namely cultural maintenance and cultural interaction that have been identified as equally important for a successful acculturation, were linked to appropriate sport

environments for both migrants and hosts. Policies and approaches that aim to facilitate migrant groups' acculturation process should acknowledge the importance of both cultural functions of acculturation and try to develop their strategies based on integration and multiculturalism values.

Second, the results indicate that sport can be considered a context of vital importance for the socialization of youth and can play a key role in building and promoting intercultural relations between minority and majority members, thus facilitating migrants' integration. However, the outcomes seem to depend on the environment within which sport takes place, thus emphasizing the important role of the sport environment. Youth sport programs seem to be a promising way for smoothing migrants' integration and promoting intergroup relations. However, it needs to be ensured that the sport environment is created in a specific way. This research has been conducted in order to determine which environmental characteristics can help achieving the desired outcomes. Sport activities should target on improving in-group relations and enhancing participants' social skills by creating a positive sport environment that emphasizes personal improvement and supports individuals' basic needs to enable successful acculturation processes.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Research

A notable characteristic of the present research concerns the research design and in particular the quantitative nature of the empirical studies conducted. Relevant research in the sport and exercise psychology field has been mainly dominated by qualitative methodologies. These studies provided great insight into the acculturation experiences of cultural diverse individuals in the sport context. However, these studies generated rather than tested hypotheses (Hatsigeorgiadis et al., 2013). Additionally, the number of participants in the qualitative studies was small, making

inferences for a larger group impossible. The studies conducted within this dissertation were quantitative, involving a considerable number of participants and aiming at testing hypotheses. The selection of the instruments was based on the theoretical background of the studies and the factorial validity of all psychometric instruments was tested and confirmed. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods have several advantages and disadvantages, depending upon the researcher's aim and area of focus. In the present studies quantitative approach has been chosen in order to look more close at the relationships between sport environment and acculturation variables in the population of interest and try to interpret the findings with subjectivity.

In addition, another important strength of the present research is that it is based in a solid theoretical framework that considers individual differences (migrants and host perspectives) when investigating the role of sport participation in the acculturation process of ethnically diverse individuals or groups. Based on the conceptualization of Berry's (1997) acculturation model and considering the important role of the host population in migrants' acculturation process as it was emphasized by Bourhi, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal (1997) interactive acculturation model, the empirical studies conducted aimed at further expanding our knowledge regarding both migrant and host population acculturation perspectives as a function of sport participation. The studies underlined that both migrant and host population perspectives should be taken into consideration in order to better understand the complex process of acculturation. In addition, taking into consideration the ambiguous literature findings regarding the acculturative role of sport and acknowledging the important role of the sport environment with regard to positive social outcomes, the present studies are based on sound theoretical frameworks which

have been broadly used in the sport literature to explain and understand athletes' behaviours and attitudes within the sport context.

Despite the importance of the present findings when investigating the acculturative role of sport, there are several limitations that need to be considered. First of all, the sample size of the migrant adolescents may seem relatively small. However, considering the identity of the participants (adolescent migrants attending Greek state high schools) the size of the sample seems satisfactory. In addition, although international migration continues to flourish in Greece and the numbers of migrant students in Greek schools have vastly increased over the last decades, migrant students tend to drop out of the educational system and in particular the school dropout appears to increase as the level of education increases (Gotovos & Markou, 2004). In this regard the percentage of migrant students in primary school is significantly higher than in secondary and higher education. Furthermore, one important think that needs to be acknowledged is that the sample was recruited from school that is a social setting where migrants' youth acculturation process is taking place and acculturation preferences of other group members are assessed (Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). Within the school context migrant adolescents interact daily with peers and adults from the host culture and they have some acculturation experiences, thus assuming that to a degree they are already acculturated. In this respect, future research needs to target migrant youth outside the school context for a more wide view of the process of acculturation, how it occurs and under what conditions.

Another limitation relates to the correlational nature of the studies conducted, which does not allow for causal inferences. This means that we cannot state with certainty that sport, and in particular empowering sport environment, creates conditions for successful acculturation, but rather that these are linked. Therefore,

longitudinal designs and intervention programs assessing the acculturative role of sport are warranted. In line with the present findings, sport programs developed in accordance with appropriate sport environments could enhance our understanding regarding the potential of sport participation to produce the desired integrative outcomes and promote multiculturalism in cultural diverse societies. Targeting the sport coach in developing positive social attitudes and behaviours and emphasizing the positive motivational environment may be a key point of intervention worth pursuing when trying to promote successful acculturation through sport. In addition, and in line with sport literature that has broadly demonstrated the influential role of significant others such as peers and parents in children and adolescent athletes' profiles (Chan, Lonsdale, & Fung, 2011), future research could further explore the role of more social contextual factors, such as parents and peers. Exploring their influence to athletes' sporting experience, will enhance our understanding on young migrants' acculturation through sport.

Additionally, research to increase the strength of the predictions identified in the present studies is warranted, as our model only predicted a limited amount of acculturation attitudes, thus stressing once again the complexity of the acculturation process. In the last study involving Greek adolescent athletes the percentage of the prediction of empowering motivational climate in multicultural attitudes increased after considering that valuable social skills (empathy and altruism) could mediate the relationship between empowering motivational climate and acculturation attitudes. Based on these last findings an interesting path for future research is to explore whether other important social skills and competences introduced within the sport context, such as, cooperative skills, prosocial sport behaviour, and life skills in general, will further enhance socially adaptive attitudes favoring multiculturalism.

Furthermore, taking into consideration that the perspective-taking component of empathy could enhance in-group relations and reduce the existing prejudice towards minority groups (Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003), and based on the present findings that athletes' ability to consider other people's perspective could positively influence their attitudes towards migrants, sport programs that focus on developing perspective-taking skills could assist in promoting more positive attitudes towards migrants and minority groups through sport participation.

Concluding remarks

According to Niessen (2000) sport seems an ideal setting for reinforcing the respect of cultural diversity and overcoming existing prejudices. Despite the significance of such suggestions/propositions, empirical evidence remains limited, especially in Europe, and the potential of sport as an acculturative agent remains a scanty explored field. The present dissertation addresses an issue of considerable importance for promoting intergroup relations and facilitating migrants' integration in host societies. All the studies conducted within this dissertation substantially enhance our understanding of how sport can be used as an effective tool for achieving socially adaptive outcomes. It is my hope that will this work will open many new avenues for further investigating and managing acculturation in a diversifying world.

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