

IMMIGRATION, SCHOOL, PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AND SPORT. ANALYSIS OF SPORT ACCULTURATION IN SPAIN

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Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to understand the role of physical activity and sport in the process of acculturation of immigrant students in secondary schools enrolled in formal education in the province of Almeria (Spain). For this purpose, we have created the Physical Activity and Sport Acculturation Index (PASAI), following the main dimensions that define the social integration of immigrants in the field of physical activity and sport (PAS): mixed relationships, cultural references, engagement and transnationality. A survey was administered to 221 immigrant students, aged 14 to 18 years, enrolled in secondary schools. The results show that the levels of participation in physical activity and sport in young immigrants were lower than the Spanish. Moreover, generation and origin emerged as important elements in the process of sport acculturation; young African – Sub Saharan and Maghrebi – immigrants obtained a lower degree of sports acculturation; and the first generation students attained a lower level of sports acculturation than those of the 1.5 and second generations. In conclusion, schools should review their educational activities if they want to eliminate inequalities in the acculturation process of students from different origins.

Key words: *immigrants, integration, high school, physical activity and sport, acculturation index*

Introduction

Cultural diversity is not a new phenomenon appearing in the recipient countries of immigration, such as Spain. Since immigrants come to settle, they try to secure a new position within society, both in the material sense (employment, housing, education, etc.), and in the social and cultural sphere. Hence, integration includes at least three different analytical dimensions, depending on which one can help them to become an accepted part of society: the political-legal, economic, cultural and religious dimensions.

However, if there is an ambiguous and polysemic concept in migration, it is social integration. This term has taken many forms in political practice and public discourse. Therefore, it is easy to find countries that have understood integration as assimilation, or equally, that immigrants should adopt the cultural norms of origin. Other countries have defined it as multiculturalism, accepting cultural diversity, in some cases offering the same scope to all other cultures, and in other cases establishing a hierarchy. Also, there are countries that have

understood integration as border control. Similarly, numerous definitions have been given by the scientific literature on social integration, but here there is greater consensus: the most widely accepted is that social integration is a process of mutual acculturation between two different sociocultural segments which are nonetheless equal in rights and obligations (Giménez, 1997).

Moreover, the social integration of immigrants, as Portes and Rumbaut (2005) argue, depends on two strategies: firstly, the immigrants themselves, especially with regard to their group characteristics – age, gender, educational level, marital status, number of people, and above all, their origin and generation – which determine the possibilities and efforts made to adapt to new surroundings; and secondly, the receiving society, since it will design policies to incorporate the different cultural groups. Hence, these authors speak of hostile, neutral and favourable contexts in line with the host's border policies and the welfare state.

In any case, social integration involves a process of acculturation that responds to a multidimensional

phenomenon, and it affects people who interact with a new culture, which produces changes in attitudes, values, behaviour or identity, both at the social and personal level. It is at this point that physical activity and sport (PAS) can play an important role. It is widely accepted among the scientific community that sport, among other values, can foster respect, self-control, self-esteem, empathy, effort, autonomy, cooperation, mutual help for others, understanding, communication and coexistence, basic elements to combat disparities and xenophobia; in short, to improve social integration in an intercultural framework (see, among others, Kennett, 2008; Giess-Stüber & Grimiminger, 2008; Llopis-Goig, 2009, 2010). Thus PAS practice can be a tool for intercultural communication and acculturation (Müller, Zoonen & Van Roode, 2008; Afable-Munzuz, Ponce, Rodríguez, & Perez-Stable, 2010). Moreover, in recent years sport and physical activity have entered the political agenda as an immigrant's right (Kennett, 2006).

Similarly, the recreational nature that PAS imply could be a factor in the relationship of young immigrants with the natives, when compared to other activities (Fernández Enguita, Gaete, & Terrén, 2008). In fact, after-school programmes have been postulated as possible leisure time alternatives for the social and personal development of young people with different cultural backgrounds (Bailey, 2006; Hellison & Walsh, 2002; Hellison, 2003; Jiménez, 2008; Soler Prat, 2009).

However, the positive values of PAS are neither automatic nor extended to all aspects of daily life, since it is necessary to establish structures and specific strategies and use them properly to develop and promote the concepts outlined above. Indeed, PAS incorrectly designed, by public or private institutions, instead of becoming an integral element may take the opposite direction by increasing antagonism or violence, favouring "identity withdrawal" and the rejection of others (Pardo & Bodin, 2010).

As mentioned previously, there have been several theoretical models that have guided and explained the process of adaptation, with differing results. The assimilation philosophy, for instance, assumes that there is a natural process by which different ethnic groups end up sharing a common culture and acquire a similar structure of opportunity in society. In other words, immigrants gradually abandon their cultural and behavioural patterns of origin for the patterns of the host society. More specifically, they consider that the immigrant population must be incorporated into the PAS of the native population, by participating in their sports competitions and by using the existing facilities to build a shared collective identity (Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy, 2004).

Nevertheless, it is well known that culture is neither homogeneous nor static. Hence, multicultur-

alism appears as a second great explanatory current of the immigrants' adaptation process that refers to societies as the result of a heterogeneous collection of ethnic and racial groups, in which immigrants actively shape their own lives. Moreover, in its interculturalist trend it recognizes the equality of groups and cultures settled in the same physical space and converging in terms of symmetry. So, in the field of PAS, it proposes exchange and joint participation between the native and foreign population.

Despite their differences, both models are too linear, because they leave explanatory gaps when considering the insertion differences between the groups and their descendants. Thus, Portes and Rumbaut (2005, 2006) propose another alternative model called *segmented assimilation theory*. It maintains that there are three possible paths of adaptation among "bridgehead" immigrants and their children: the first involves a process of acculturation and integration into the country's middle class, which coincides with the classical concept of assimilation. The second takes the opposite direction, that is, a situation of permanent poverty and assimilation with the underclass. The latter states that, despite possible economic progress, they choose deliberately to preserve their own values of origin through the community social networks and the support of solidarity within groups (*selective acculturation*). Consequently, it consists of a process of the multiple factors involved – family, individual and contextual – but does not operate separately.

This approach is, as a point of departure, the most appropriate for the initial objective of this article, since both concepts – generation and origin – become the central axis of the *Physical Activity and Sport Acculturation Index (PASAI)* as will be pointed out later. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to present the PASAI, with the intention of measuring the role of PAS among young foreigners as a potential integration tool.

To be precise, we have applied this index to young immigrants settled in the region of Almeria (Spain). The choice of this region is of particular interest in this type of study for several reasons. First, its location: Almeria is situated in the south of the country, so it has become one of the main gateways for Africans to Spain and Europe. Second, it has the second highest rate of immigration in Spain (21.6%), after Alicante (24.1%). And third, it receives people coming from all continents adding up to over one hundred different nationalities.

Methods

Subjects

The category of second generation immigrants includes, as recommended in international literature (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006), the children of immigrants born in Almeria ("pure second gen-

eration”) and the children of immigrants born in their country of origin who arrived in Spain aged under fourteen (“generation 1.5”). In addition, we introduced into the analysis children, aged over 14 years (“generation 1.25”), of foreign-born immigrants coming to Spain with their parents, and finally, the immigrants that arrived alone aged over 16 (first generation). Spanish official statistics do not provide specific data on second-generation immigrants. This limitation of official sources made it necessary to devise our own research design and methodology. A survey was administered with the following peculiarities to:

- Latin-American, African and non-EU (referring to the Europe of fifteen) foreign secondary students aged 14-18 years. We did not consider the 2004 and 2007 enlargements of the European Union, because they corresponded mainly to countries which send workers to the rest of Europe.
- Secondary students registered in 2009 in the towns and cities of the region of Almeria with a high density of immigrants. The locations selected were: Almeria (city), Roquetas de Mar, El Ejido, La Mojonera, Níjar, Vícar, Pulpí and Cuevas del Almanzora.

Surveys were conducted in 10 public high schools where immigrants represent 15% of the enrolled secondary students, according to the Education Regional Delegation of Almeria. The confidence level was set at 95.5% with an estimation error of ± 5 . Final sample results were obtained from 221 surveys.

Instrument

PAS benefits, according to social integration, are structured in two levels: personal and social. In this study we focused on the latter, since it refers to the individual relationship with the community. An original and pioneering index was created to test the role of PAS in the acculturation of immigrant groups in the host society. It uses the term *acculturation* because it is a multidimensional process, which produces changes at the level of attitudes, values, behaviour or identity among members of the groups (Berry, 1990).

The PASAI was constructed with the dimensions that literature identifies in the process of the social integration of immigrants (Guarnizo, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Safi, 2006) with a significant contribution from the PAS: 1) mixed relationships, 2) cultural references, 3) engagement, and, to a lesser extent, 4) transnationality. Each dimension contributed two items to the index (Table 1).

To quantify these dimensions, a value of 1 was given to those alternative responses that, in theory, are likely to promote acculturation and participation, and a value of 0 to the opposite situations. Hence, the index ranged between 0 and 8, in which a value

of 0 indicated null acculturation, and a value of 8, total sport acculturation.

These dimensions will be explained below. As regards mixed relationships, the first item used is the reason for PAS practice (Domínguez, 2009; García Ferrando, 2001), giving a value of 1 to respondents who answered that they do sports to establish social relationships. Physical activity and sport can be tools that promote interpersonal relationships among those who participate, developing social skills such as solidarity, cooperation, empathy and self-esteem (González Arranz, 1999). As Martinek, Schilling and Johnson (2001) point out, the “highly interactive and emotional character of sport activity allowed us to teach humanistic values and promote social and emotional growth” (p. 31). The second item refers to the chosen population group for doing physical activity regularly (Reshef, 1990). A value of 1 was given to respondents who answered that they practice PAS with everybody, without distinction of origin. A sport done only with co-ethnics contributes to the maintenance of origin patterns and a lower acculturation (Gasparini & Weiss, 2008).

The second dimension, cultural references in PAS, attempt to measure the activity identification characteristics. For this purpose we asked, firstly, about the frequency of PAS practice (Domínguez, 2009; García Ferrando, 2001), giving a value of 1 to those who participated regularly (from daily to 1 or 2 times a week) and a value of 0 to those who practiced sporadically or did not do any exercise. And secondly, the type of physical activity (Reshef, 1990), corresponding to the value of 1, the universal physical activities (those with a supra-character, with common rules and elimination of language barriers) compared to a value of 0, which was given to activities from the country of origin or destination. Therefore, these two items measured the possibility of interaction of the groups according to the frequency of PAS practice, and the sort of activity; in other words, the more often sport was done, and belonging to a universal discipline, the higher level of acculturation would be showed.

The dimension of engagement measured the degree of engagement of PAS activities organized by different institutions (Domínguez, 2009; García Ferrando, 2001) whose purpose is to facilitate intercultural communication. In other words, we considered whether immigrants take part, with equal rights with the natives, in physical and sports activities as part of the previously mentioned literature (see, among others, Durán, 2009; Domínguez, 2009; Heinemann, 2002) which argues that the participation of immigrants in sport is, almost always, lower than of the native population. Therefore, in the first item the value of 1 was given to those responding that they were aware of the public PAS offer. With this item information was requested about

the degree of knowledge of the sports on offer in the place of residence. In the second item the value of 1 was added to those who did these activities in high school during extracurricular hours, because these activities have voluntary and educational bases (Hellison, 1993).

Finally, the transnational dimension measures the contact that the immigrant has with the origin. So, for the first and second generation, continuous contact, over time, prevents total assimilation in dimensions like mixed relationships, cultural references, and even engagement. This means that the greater the contact measured, the lower the levels of acculturation that are expected. This dimension has been included because, apart from elite athletes, there is no research that addresses the phenomenon of transnationalism and sport. This dimension exceeds the experience of living in a fragmented space – “here” and “there”. Therefore, for this study we used general issues affecting all immigrants in their migration process. The first item addressed the frequency with which the respondents obtained information from their home country, assigning a value of 1 to those whose answer was at least “once a month”. Sporadic information from the origin implies a distancing effect from familiar roots and a greater attachment to the host society (Gualda, 2010). The second question about the sense of identity conferred the value of 1 for any individual who felt Spanish and foreign (universalists), compared to those who felt only Spanish (assimilationist) or foreign (segregationists), in which case they were given the value of 0. Obviously, an assimilationist feels further away from origin patterns.

To sum up, the index is original as for its application to the area of PAS; the dimensions used, its construction and the concept of acculturation have been already developed. Only Dominguez (2009) used similar variables to observe sport behaviour of the Ecuadorian community in the city of Madrid. To check the reliability of the index, we performed two tests: the first through the technique of test and retest, in which the Pearson *r* coefficient reached .78. For the second test, we performed the Kuder Rich-

ardson 2.0, with a coefficient of .71. However, future studies are needed and should be applied elsewhere to determine the degree of validity of the index.

In terms of validity, we have used the construct technique. For this purpose, previous studies have been used that measure the acculturation and social integration of immigrants (see, among others, Checa & Arjona, 2009; Gualda, 2010; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Safi, 2006), to define the dimensions of the index. Similarly, factor analysis was performed with all the variables to see how they group together, proving that the variables saturate with a high percentage of the variance for each of the dimensions assigned.

Moreover, the independent variables introduced in the regression model, as found in similar national and international research (Afaible-Munzuz, et al., 2010; Berrigan, Dodd, Toriano, Reeve, & Ballard-Barbash, 2006; Dominguez, 2009), correspond to both individual and structural levels. The first type included gender (1=male), age, marital status (1=single), origin (Sub-Saharan Africans were taken as base), generation (1=first), family income (1=low, less than € 600 monthly), subjective social class (1=high), house ownership (1=owner), religion (Jews were taken as base), ideology (1=left-wing ideology), number of languages spoken, knowledge and practice of the destination language (1=understand and speak properly), contact with origin (1=yes), the idea of returning (1=yes), current status (1=enrolled at school) and years of schooling. In the second type we included neighbourhood composition (1=mostly Spanish), father’s educational level, (1=illiterate), identification of native people to immigrants (1=otherness) and number of household members.

In short, in this research one questionnaire was used which was constructed with two types of variables. Thus, the questionnaire included a total of 26 items, 8 of them belonging to the dependent variable (PASAI) and 18 the independent ones, including individual and group levels.

Testing Procedure

All the participants formally agreed to fill in the questionnaire and consent was obtained to collaborate in the research. We collected the data in the public schools from the locations selected. The subjects filled in the questionnaires individually and considered the added instructions. Investigators who carried out the research were present to answer any questions and explain any possible difficulty at the moment of filling in the questionnaire.

Statistical analysis

The data analysis implied a) descriptive statistical analysis for the dimension frequencies, and b) the regression analysis (correlation coefficients) of the variables for the regression models of the PASAI,

Table 1. Dimensions and items that define the variable PASAI

Dimensions	Items
Mixed relations	- reason for participation in PAS - population group for regular participation in PAS
Cultural references	- frequency of participation in PAS - PAS type
Engagement	- knowledge of PAS public offer - participation in PAS extracurricular activities
Transnationality	- information about the country of origin - sense of identity

with a confidence level of 95%. Both nominal and ordinal independent variables were converted into dummy variables to be used in the regression model. Finally, data were analysed with the PASW statistical program v.18.

Results

The analysis of the dimension frequencies from the index (Table 2) found that in mixed relationships the main reason why the immigrant youth practised PAS was health (60.4%), followed at a great distance by pleasure and socializing. The practice was, in general, carried out individually (33.5%).

In terms of cultural references, it was observed that the frequency of PAS in immigrant students was important out-of-school, though the most repeated answer was 1 or 2 days a week. A very small percentage never did exercise in extracurricular hours, and most of the activities were identified as universal. In relation to the engagement, results showed that the vast majority of foreign youngsters were not aware of public PAS provision. Finally, transnationality indicators showed that 26.7% of

immigrant students did not get information from their country of origin or their parents.

Focused on the foreign students, the PASAI as an inter-group cohesion element, in reference to the origin (Table 3), shows that the average was 3.8, which means it did not reach the scale average. Moreover, in no case was the maximum score of the index reached. Taking into account the origin, it was found that Africans – Sub-Saharan and Maghribi – obtained the lowest scores to the point that no one reached the values of 7 and 8 on the scale.

When the analysis takes the generation into account (Table 4), we found that the greater the distance from the first generation, the greater the involvement of individuals, to the extent that the second generation immigrants did not have the two lowest values on the scale.

Finally, based on both individual and structural independent variables, we have estimated two regression models that predict the rate of PAS acculturation (Table 5). In Model 1 we examined the role of isolated socio-demographic variables. In model 2 we added the structural variables related to the context. In both models the correlation coefficients

Table 2. Frequencies and percentages of items from the PASAI dimensions

			n	(%)
Mixed relations	Reason for participation in PAS	- health	122	60.4
		- social relationships	33	16.3
- leisure		36	17.8	
- competition		3	1.5	
- adventure		3	1.5	
- other		5	2.5	
Population group for regular participation in PAS	- alone	68	33.5	
	- most from my country	52	25.6	
	- most from Spain	25	12.3	
	- most from other countries	13	6.4	
	- with all alike	45	22.2	
Cultural references	Frequency of participation in PAS	- every day	38	17.9
		- 1-2 days a week	53	25
		- 3-4 days a week	41	19.3
		- 5-6 days a week	28	13.2
		- irregular	40	18.9
		- never	12	5.7
	PAS type	- from my country	19	8.5
- from Spain		26	11.9	
- universal		176	79.7	
Engagement	Knowledge of PAS public offer	- yes	142	64.3
		- no	79	35.7
Participation in PAS extracurricular activities	- yes	42	18.7	
	- no	179	81.3	
Transnationality	Information about the country of origin	- never	59	26.7
		- less than once a month	56	25.3
		- once a month	29	13.1
		- several times a month	29	13.1
		- once a week	15	6.8
		- several times a week	21	9.5
		- everyday	12	5.4
	Sense of identity	- only Spanish	13	5.7
		- as foreign and Spanish	151	68.5
		- only foreign	57	25.8

Table 3. Relationship between PASAI and origin (%)

PASAI	Sub-Saharan Africa	Eastern Europe	Latin America	Maghreb	Total
0	3.0	1.4	.9	5.6	1.4
1	4.1	5.4	4.3	5.6	5.0
2	21.4	10.8	13.9	10.6	12.7
3	28.6	16.2	17.4	21.7	17.6
4	14.3	25.7	42.6	34.4	35.3
5	14.3	21.6	11.3	11.1	14.9
6	14.3	14.9	7.8	11.1	10.9
7	-	4.1	1.7	-	2.3
8	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100
\bar{x}	3.5	4	3.7	3.6	3.8

$X^2=64,010^a$; $df=19$; $p=.000$

Table 4. Relationship between PASAI and generation (%)

PASAI	First generation	Generation 1.25	Generation 1.5	Second generation
0	14.3	1.9	.6	-
1	10	4	3	-
2	18.6	10.8	10.1	6
3	57.1	18.5	16.6	27.3
4	-	37	35.8	30
5	-	14.8	15.9	20.3
6	-	11.1	12.5	10.1
7	-	1.9	5.5	6.3
8	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100
\bar{x}	2.4	3.8	3.9	4.3

$X^2=51,091$; $df=20$; $p=.000$

Table 5. Regression coefficients of individual and structural variables over the PASAI

Variables		Model 1	Model 2
Individual variables	Eastern European origin	.243**	.241**
	Latino origin	.233**	.233**
	Maghrebi origin	.102**	.07**
	Years of schooling	.325**	.333**
	Level of language skills (understanding and speaking)	.321*	.343*
	Subjective social class (high)	.034*	.08*
	House owner	.030**	.03**
	Christians	.279**	.246**
	Gender (male)	.179**	.100**
	Generation (First)	-1.214**	-1.208**
	Muslims	-.848**	-.867**
	Income (less than €600 monthly)	-.240*	-.242*
	Age	-.232**	-.218**
	Contact with origin (Yes)	.277***	.144***
	Languages spoken	-.212***	-.218***
	Atheists	.110***	.040***
Ideology (left-wing)	.08***	.09***	
Idea of returning (affirmative)	-.003***	-.001***	
Structural variables	Composition of the neighbourhood (Spanish)	-	.212**
	Identified (foreigner)	-	-.132*
	Number of household members	-	-.07*
	Father's educational level (illiterate)	-	-.02*
Coefficient R ²		.42	.47

* $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$; *** $p<.200$

(.42 and .47, respectively) showed that there was an acceptable explanation of the individual and structural variables according to the dependent variable.

In the first model, the main variable that predicts changes in the index was the generation, with a negative relationship. There was also a negative relationship to profess the Muslim religion, had a low income and be older. So, the young Muslim immigrants who are members of families with low incomes and are older had less sports acculturation. Conversely, years of education, sufficient knowledge of Spanish, being a man and different origins showed positively. So, the more years of schooling, the better the knowledge of the language, and if the person in question was a man, more acculturation was achieved. Moreover, Eastern Europeans, Latin Americans and Maghrebi students, in this order, had better attitudes toward PAS practice than the Sub-Saharanans.

In the second model, after adding structural variables, individual values remained almost unchanged. A positive relationship was found for living in a neighbourhood of mostly Spaniards, with a negative relation for the fact of always being identified by the local population as a foreigner.

Discussion and conclusions

This study demonstrates that generation and origin, as alleged by the segmented assimilation theory, are fundamental variables in explaining the process of integration of immigrants in the context of reception. So, there is a positive association between later generations (1.25, 1.5 and 2) and PAS. This means that being born in the country of destination, or arriving at an early age positively affects the degree of participation in PAS. Consequently, the process of acculturation is more evident over time, and almost inevitable.

There are several aspects that influence these differences in participation in PAS. Firstly, the first generation immigrants enrolled at school usually do economic activities after their academic obligations, since they have the responsibility of the financial support not only of family members in the country of destination but also of the regroup members of the country of origin not yet regrouped. Therefore, during weekends, it is common to observe African students helping their parents in street trading or other activities, while children who belong to another generation, usually have all or most of the family at home, so that economic responsibility falls on other family members. Such a situation permits more time for leisure activities, such as PAS. This also explains that the index of acculturation varies as these students get older and leave the educational stage. Consequently, time spent in the labour market is so great that it drastically reduces leisure time. The second explanatory variable ascribes a negative relationship to being described as a Muslim, so that

when the population is expressed as Muslim, there is a lower level of participation in PAS. Third, years of schooling and the degree of Spanish knowledge were positive predictors, that is, the more years in school and the greater the knowledge of the language (understanding and speaking correctly), the more they participated in PAS.

In line with the principles of segmented assimilation, acculturation does not occur uniformly in all groups. In our case, different origins are showed positively: Eastern Europeans, Latin Americans and Maghrebi students, in this order, have better attitudes toward participation in PAS than the Sub-Saharanans. In fact, despite the low figures reached in the index by all groups, the Africans – especially Sub-Saharan students – showed a lower participation. Firstly, most of the Africans living in Almeria come from countries that profess the Islamic faith, where the role of physical activity, both in daily life and in the education system is secondary, a situation strongly reflected, as observed, in the first-generation immigrants. Secondly, the African population is the one which least undergoes family reunification despite being the longest-running group based in the province of Almeria, which means that a young immigrant assumes a major economic responsibility, as we highlighted previously, added to the fact that there is an extended family concept. Therefore, as demonstrated by other studies (see, Eyler, Matson-Koffman, Vest, Evenson, & Sanderson, 2002; Stevens, Kymanyka, & Keil, 1994), there are other priorities before physical activity practice.

Beyond the theory of segmentation itself – or segmented pluralism – there are other variables, as noted by Heinemann (2002), which define the strategies of participation in PAS. For example, historically, women in Spain have always presented lower levels of sporting activity participation than men (García Ferrando, 2001, 2006). In our results, men predict the variability in the PASAI better, so this situation is repeated with regard to the immigrants settled in Almeria. To the arguments already discussed about generation and origin (religion) which limit the time and dedication to regular exercise (Sagarzazu, 2007), the situation for women is even more complex, due to their dedication to household chores. Therefore, gender acts independently of nationality, that is, all women do less PAS activities than men (Llopis Goig, 2010). However, it should be noted that authors such as Roberts (1997) argue that gender is becoming less relevant to describe the leisure practices of the population.

According to subsequent studies on Spanish sports habits (García Ferrando, 2001, 2006), social status is a determining factor in PAS. Spaniards with a low social position do less physical activity, in contrast to those with a high status. A similar situation occurs among young immigrants settled in Almeria. In the results, income and age predict

the index negatively, so that the poorer and the older the students, the less their tendency to exercise. The labour market in the region of Almeria is characterized by being very flexible, temporary and ethnically divided (Arjona, 2006). The final results translate into low salaries that mean a reduction in debt capacity not only in the PAS sphere – equipment, facilities, etc. – but also in food, clothing or housing, which are of major importance.

Among the contextual variables that explain the variability, the identification rate of immigrants as foreigners stands out, even of those born in Spain or with dual nationality. So, residing in Spanish-majority districts and being more likely to interact with them increases the participation in PAS. However, to be recognized as “other” and different discourages participation in physical activities, as well as having an illiterate father and living in a house with many people. There is, to a large extent among the Spaniards, an endo-group bias also called endo-group favouritism, based on the social identity theory, which consists in benefitting and valuing one’s own group more than another, according to attitudes, perceptions or preferences, which determine, in some cases, discrimination or conflict. Translated into PAS, immigrants are seen more as opponents than potential partners, making mixed participation in PAS and therefore intercultural communication through PAS difficult, beyond the school courtyards. Hence, even sports associations, which compared with non-sportive ones have the highest rates of affiliation in Spain (Ariño & Castelló, 2007), correspond to

homogeneous groups in age, origin, gender, etc. Immigrants, therefore, reduce their sports practice to within their associations to compete with other immigrants from other associations or against the Spaniards in local leagues organized by themselves or the local government.

Almerian local institutions, beyond the educational context, do not create spaces for sports co-existence. Political interventions that match programmes organized by various immigrant associations encourage segregation and/or marginalization, since they make room for homogeneous teams in terms of population, and they do not guarantee intercultural communication *per se*.

In short, results show that PAS acculturation of young immigrant students is very low outside the education field, which calls into question, not the values that enable PAS, but the structures and strategies that promote it, either because of the curricular definition, the teacher’s performance or the lack of means for its development. It is evident that in the context of cultural changes occurring in the current globalized society participation in PAS has not been left out (García Ferrando, 2006). Finally, we do not want to end without underlining that those immigrants who obtained top scores in the index are necessarily more globally integrated into the host society, because integration corresponds to a very complex and multifactorial process that goes beyond sport. The index presented here is a positive aid for constructing a more accurate interpretation of social inclusion as it contributes to an overall understanding of the migration phenomenon.

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IMIGRACIJA, ŠKOLA, TJELESNA AKTIVNOST I SPORT. ANALIZA SPORTSKOG KULTURNOG STAPANJA U ŠPANJOLSKOJ

Cilj je ovog članka objasniti ulogu tjelesne aktivnosti i sporta u procesu integracije useljenika učenika srednjih škola, uključenih u formalno obrazovanje u pokrajini Almeria (Španjolska). S tim ciljem kreirali smo *Akulturacijski indeks tjelesne aktivnosti i sporta* (Physical Activity and Sport Acculturation Index – PASAI) prateći glavne dimenzije koje definiraju sociološku integraciju useljenika na području tjelesne aktivnosti i sporta: miješani socijalni odnosi, kulturološke reference, angažiranost i transnacionalnost. Istraživanje je bilo provedeno na 221 useljeniku srednjoškolcu, u dobi od 14 do 18 godina. Rezultati su pokazali da je razina sudjelovanja mladih useljenika u tjelesnim aktivnostima i sportu niža nego li razina uključenosti Španjolaca. Što-

više, generacija i zemlja porijekla su se pokazali kao važni faktori u procesu sportske akulturacije; mladi afrički useljenici iz područja Sahare i zemalja Magreba zabilježili su niži stupanj sportske integracije; isto tako prva generacija učenika postigla je niže razine sportske integracije u odnosu na 1,5 i drugu generaciju. Zaključno, škole bi trebale preispitati svoje obrazovne aktivnosti žele li eliminirati nejednakosti u akulturacijskim procesima učenika porijeklom iz različitih zemalja.

Ključne riječi: useljenici, integracija, srednja škola, tjelesna aktivnost i sport, akulturacijski indeks