

## Stereotypes and prejudices in pre-service physical education teachers towards immigrants

### Estereotipos y prejuicios hacia los inmigrantes en los futuros profesores de educación física

### Estereótipos e preconceitos dos futuros professores de educação física em relação aos imigrantes

Pastor-Vicedo, J.C.\*, Contreras-Jordán, O.R., Gil-Madróna, P. and Cuevas-Campos, R.

*Department of Physical Education. EDAF Research Group, University of Castilla-la Mancha (UCLM), Spain*

**Resumen:** El propósito de este estudio fue descubrir los estereotipos que prevalecen en los futuros profesores de Educación Física (EF) cuando se les preguntó sobre la población inmigrante y observar si dentro del estereotipo, existen actitudes racistas sutiles, actitudes racistas explícitas, o actitudes igualitarias. La muestra que participó en este estudio fue de 2524 futuros profesores de educación física. Se utilizó un cuestionario para conocer los estereotipos racistas en la formación inicial de profesores de EF, así como una escala que distingue entre el prejuicio sutil y el prejuicio manifiesto. Para analizar los datos se hizo uso de estadística descriptiva, el análisis Univariado y Multivariado. Los resultados mostraron que los futuros docentes poseen un falso estereotipo tolerante, donde las variables contextuales de género y preferencia religiosa fueron cruciales, puesto que los chicos respecto de las chicas, así como los católicos respecto a los no creyentes o de otras religiones, reflejaron estereotipos menos igualitarios.

**Palabras clave:** Educación Física, Actitudes, Racismo, Estudiantes de Profesor.

**Abstract:** The purpose of this study was to find out which stereotypes prevail in future Physical Education (PE) teachers when asked about immigrant population and to see if within that stereotype, there are subtle or blatant racist attitudes, as well as egalitarian attitudes. A sample of 2524 volunteer pre-service Physical Education teachers (PPET) was used to participate in this study. A questionnaire on Racist Stereotypes in Initial Training of PE Teachers and a Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale were used.

Descriptive, univariate and multivariate statistics were used to analyse the information gathered. The data showed PPET with a false tolerant stereotype, where the contextual variables gender and religious preference were crucial, since the boys respect girls, as well as Catholics regard non-believers or other religions, they are reflected less egalitarian stereotypes.

**Keywords:** Physical Education, Attitudes, Racism, Student Teachers.

**Resumo:** O objetivo deste estudo foi investigar os estereótipos que prevalecem nos futuros professores de Educação Física (EF) quando são perguntados sobre a população de imigrantes e observar se a partir deste estereótipo, existem atitudes racistas sutis, atitudes racistas explícitas, ou atitudes igualitárias. A amostra do estudo foi composta por 2524 futuros professores de educação física. Utilizou-se um questionário para avaliar os estereótipos racistas na formação inicial de professores de EF, assim como uma escala que distingue entre o prejuízo sutil e o explícito. Para análise dos dados foi empregada estatística descritiva, análise Univariada e análise Multivariada. Os resultados mostraram que futuros professores possuem um falso estereótipo de tolerância, onde as variáveis de género e preferência religiosa foram fundamentais, uma vez que meninos respeitaram as meninas, assim como os católicos respeitaram pessoas de outras religiões e pessoas sem religião, refletindo estereótipos menos igualitários.

**Palavras chave:** Educação Física, Atitudes, Racismo, Futuros Professores.

## Introduction: immigration and society

In Spain, there has been an unprecedented influx of people from various parts of the world in the last few years, which has contributed to building a society of increasing language, religious, ethnic and cultural diversity. In fact, Spain was being transformed from an emigration country to an immigration country (Zapata-Barredo, 2010), showing that Spanish is an example of multiple diversities (Kymlicka, 2010).

This diversity has soon become evident in schools, shaping a reality that is reflected in the fact that, in Spain, it has gone from 460,518 immigrant students registered in non-universi-

ty education in the 2004-2005 school years, to over 712,098 in the 2014-2015 school year, representing 8.5 per cent of all registered students (MECD, 2015). Therefore, these students are referred to as second-generation migrants.

Thus, according to the data reported by the national center for education statistics (MECD, 2015), the distribution of the immigrant student population per school level would be as follows: 20.88 per cent in Pre-school (3 to 6 years of age), 34.50 per cent in Primary School (6 to 12 years of age) and 25.22 per cent in Compulsory Secondary School (12 to 16 years of age). Of these, 30.6 per cent are from Africa, 28.6 America, 27.6 Europe, and 9.1 Asia/Oceania.

Dirección para correspondencia [Correspondence address]: Juan Carlos Pastor Vicedo. E-mail: [JuanCarlos.pastor@uclm.es](mailto:JuanCarlos.pastor@uclm.es)

This new social reality has helped modify and increment negative attitudes in the Spanish population towards the immigrant population, something barely perceptible in Spain until now (Checa y Arjona, 2011). However, as shown in the survey carried out by Cea (2005), these xenophobic attitudes are not blatant but rather subtle, as they are socially frowned upon. It is therefore logical that, if these xenophobic attitudes exist among the native population, they are also likely to exist among educators, representing an obstacle to immigrant children's integration in schools (Vand den Berg et al., 2010).

Regarding this matter, as indicated by Benn, Dagkas, and Jawad (2011), and Dagkas, Benn, and Jawad (2011), immigrant students have a series of traits stemming from their home culture, religion, language and way of perceiving and understanding the body and physical activity, different from Spanish norms. This leads to situations for which teachers have not been properly trained, unconsciously creating or consolidating racist attitudes and stereotypes towards the multicultural student population (Columna, Foley & Lytle, 2010; Vand den Berg et al., 2010).

Therefore, this social and educative context requires identify what types of attitudes and stereotypes are prevalent between PPET in order to guarantee equal education opportunities, free of any bias associated to racism or intolerance.

### Future Physical Education Teachers: Stereotypes and Prejudices

Attributing certain characteristics, attributes, and behaviours to the members of a social group based on the perception or belief that it has about that group is known as *stereotyping* (Hilton & Hoppel, 1996; Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1994), and is quite resistant to change (Myers, 1993). Furthermore, although stereotypes are not necessarily negative in nature, stereotypes about out-group members are more likely to have negative connotations than those about in-group members, even when the attributes they include may seem objectively positive (Haddock, Zanna & Esses, 1994).

In this sense, when stereotypes are based on relatively enduring characteristics of the person, such as race, religions, or gender, have enormous potential for error (Hilton & Hoppel, 1996). For that, when a stereotype is founded on mistaken conclusions and limited or manipulated information, it tends to be removed from reality and to describe unfavourable or negative traits. Furthermore, when stereotypes are based on extensive social and cultural knowledge, they do not usually generate conflict and have potential to be positive (Harrison, 2001; Steele, 1997). But it has to be careful with this, because a positive erroneous stereotype can also be problematic as it may stimulate higher expectations that may eclipse one's abilities. In fact, in the sport world it can see that as well, when the exceptional performances by European American athletes

is often attributed to hard work, intelligence and skilled, while the same performance in African American athletes is often characterized as athletic and possessing natural abilities (Coakley, 2007; Harrison, 2001; Harrison, Lawrence & Bukstein, 2011; Turner & Jones, 2007).

Nevertheless, what is known, what is believed or what one thinks of a social group is one thing, but it is quite another what one feels inside, intimately and personally, i.e., subtly. Por ello, una cosa es el estereotipo, cargado de ideas, cogniciones y creencias previas, y otra muy distinta es el prejuicio, entendido este como un sentimiento, emoción o actitud negativa dirigida hacia un individuo o exo-grupo, basada en una generalización equivocada e inflexible (Petersen and Martens, 1995, 2001), es decir, el prejuicio sería una evaluación negativa, injusta y sobregeneralizada (Navas, 1997). Therefore, one thing it is to have a stereotype full of ideas, cognitions, and prior beliefs, and quite another to have a prejudice, understood as a feeling, emotion or negative attitude directed towards an individual or exogroup, based on a mistaken and inflexible generalization (Allport, 1977). In other words, prejudice is a negative, unjust and over generalized assessment. Los estereotipos y prejuicios no solo afectan a la población general, sino que también se encuentran inmersos en profesores, entrenadores y otros profesionales del ámbito educativo (Harrison, 1995, 2001b; Majors, 1998).

Prejudice and stereotypes affect both the population in general and teachers, coaches and other educational professionals in particular (Harrison 2001; Vand den Berg et al., 2010). Harrison, Harrison and Moore (2002), point out that racist struggles are continuously present in school experiences and that black people suffer the greatest amount of negative stereotyping. Regarding this subject, there are papers that highlight how important schools are in the moulding and making of such stereotypes (Harrison & Lawrence, 2004). In fact, teachers who hold negative stereotypes about students from minority cultures, tend to have lower educational expectations for such students (Vand den Berg et al., 2010). Thus, the observations of those teachers on the performance, the efforts or the skills of immigrant students are not totally objective.

All the same, the role of the teacher during this educational stage is extremely important, as it will explicitly or implicitly instil stereotypes, attitudes or beliefs in students and have a very significant effect on the teaching-learning process. However, those stereotypes exhibited by teachers who work in multicultural settings are usually not completely free of racial prejudice (Columna, Foley & Lytle, 2010). Thus, it is relatively easy to find teachers in schools who condemn racist stereotypes while exhibiting prejudices in an unconscious, hidden or subtle way, but there are so many educators who condemn stereotypes and racist attitudes toward immigrants, yet continue stereotyping the foreign people because most stereotypes takes place below the conscious level (Cross,

2005; Douglas & Halas, 2013; Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001). But for an effective teacher preparation to this diversity environment, it must be must find out whether pre-service teachers have the correct attitude toward immigrants, that will enable them understand the multicultural reality.

On this matter, the review of the literature have proven the coexistence of anti-racist and egalitarian attitudes with subtle prejudices (Douglas & Halas, 2013; Vand den Berg et al., 2010) of which individuals are not always aware (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Such attitudes seek to hide racist stereotypes towards cultural diversity which can, at times, become manifest. With these new forms of racism, the individual shuns more traditional, blatant and explicit prejudice while resorting to more subtle, indirect yet similarly exclusive forms of discrimination (Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001).

In the field of Sports and Physical Activity, there are a very fertile ground for the development, use and maintenance of stereotypes (Harrison, 2001). The stereotype is to organize and simplify information about things or people in order to preserve social values that are important for the group, maintain the beliefs and justify the collective actions and characteristics (Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1994).

This has prompted several studies, such as those by Harrison (2001), Harrison and Lawrence (2004), who have studied stereotypes and mention their presence in the area of physical activity and sports. They reveal the existence of a common racial stereotype in a great part of the American society based on the belief that African Americans having natural athletic ability would represent a positive stereotype, while having less intelligence, even in a sport context, was classified as a negative attribute. In contrast, for European American athletes, having less natural athletic ability where perceived as a negative attribute, but being intelligent and perhaps harder working was perceived as positive attributes.

Biological differences have been offered as a possible explanation for this, but no scientific evidence has been concluded that clearly states African American are athletically superior because of genetic endowment (Carter et al, 2010). The study of race as a biological or genetic variable, especially with regard to sport, has a historically inauspicious and questionable reputation. So, the tendency to explain Black sporting success solely in terms of inherited factors, and thus devalue Black achievements, may be indicative of subtle racism affecting the perception that African Americans athletes are over-represented within specific sports and sporting positions at nearly all levels of sport participation.

However, research efforts give a convincing evidence that race is a social variable (Douglas & Halas, 2013; Frisby, 2011), therefore, scholars and sport sociologists maintain that differences between European American and African American athletes and their performances, can only be explained by a complex combination of political, economical, social, histori-

cal, ideological, and cultural factors, including opportunities and sports motivation (Coakley, 2007; Turner & Jones, 2007).

Based on the above, this survey aims to find out what stereotype prevails in PPET, by questioning them about the immigrant population in order to examine their attitudes and stereotypes and see if these reveal blatant or subtle racial prejudices. Esto nos llevó a plantearnos las siguientes hipótesis: (1) el futuro profesor de Educación Física refleja un falso estereotipo favorable cuando es expuesto a situaciones de tratamiento desigual de la persona o alumno inmigrante; (2) el futuro profesor en EF presenta un prejuicio de carácter sutil, alejado de posturas igualitarias o manifiestas de rechazo. This led us to pose the following hypotheses: (1) PPET reflects a false favourable stereotype when exposed to situations of unequal treatment of an immigrant person or student; (2) PPET have biased subtle attitudes, far from egalitarian attitudes or overt rejection. Además, pensamos que la forma de estereotipar al grupo de inmigrantes así como el tipo de prejuicio inmerso dentro de ese estereotipo, puede verse condicionado por una serie de condiciones contextuales. Therefore, this study attempts to find out the stereotype and kind of prejudice that becomes apparent in the PPET population and attempts to find out the potential of the contextual variables involved in said process within the Spanish educational context.

## Method

### Participants

The sample for the survey, drawn from a non-clinical population, was taken from among the students of University of Castilla-La Mancha (Spain). Participants had to be pursuing a degree in PE to teach in primary schools (6 – 12 years of age) or secondary schools (12 – 18 years of age). The total number of participants was 2524, 66.8 per cent of which were males and 33.2 per cent females and an average age of 20.5. All of them are from Spain and there weren't foreign students.

### Instruments

In order to respond to the aim of this research, two instruments were used. The first instrument was the questionnaire about Racist Stereotypes in PPET (RSPPET), developed to determine the stereotype that PE teachers show towards immigrants and immigration during their initial training. For the development of the questionnaire, several previous investigations were taken into consideration, where the existence of racist stereotypes towards the immigrant population in the field of physical activity and sports and in the area of initial teacher training was studied (Cross, 2005; Harrison, Azzarito & Burden, 2004).

For this purpose and to decide what specific dimensions and items should be included or, in other words, what elements were relevant, two complementary strategies were followed. (1) The review of the literature about racial stereotypes in sport and pre-service physical education teachers (Harrison, 2001; Harrison, Harrison & Moore, 2002; Hodge, Burden, Robinson & Bennett, 2008), and questionnaires such as Navas, García, Rojas, Pumares and Cuadrado (2006) or Li, Harrison, and Solmon (2004), were considered to find out those dimensions are important. (2) With two focus groups, one with professionals of physical education and the other one with pre-service physical education teachers, have been implemented a qualitative research to find out the dimensions and essential elements that compose the questionnaire. (3) A pilot study was done with a group of respondents ( $n = 257$ ) with similar characteristics to the studied sample. They were asked to make verbal comments in order to verify their understanding of the content of the questionnaire. (4) Two models (five dimensions; six dimensions), were conducted in an exploratory and confirmatory analysis to find out the best one.

A factorial analyses of the type *Principal Axis Factoring* with Varimax rotation and factor loadings greater than or equal to .30 was used. To verify the factorial aspect of the RSPPET, the KMO tests were used as criteria. The results showed that the KMO index was .88 and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity  $\chi^2(24) = 4127.7, p < .001$ . Both these data indicated that it was appropriate to carry out the factorial analysis. The results showed by exploratory analysis suggested six factors for RSPPET, called: Immigrants as a problem ( $\alpha = .74$ ), Stereotype of superiority ( $\alpha = .76$ ), Attitude towards immigrants and immigration ( $\alpha = .77$ ), Multiculturalism ( $\alpha = .76$ ), Training ( $\alpha = .58$ ) and Immigrant's home culture ( $\alpha = .59$ ). The results obtained by confirmatory analysis (SRMR

$= 0,056$ ; RMSEA = 0,066; TLI = 0,883 and CFI = 0,889), show the model with six factors were acceptable.

The reliability coefficient of the questionnaire has been obtained on the global scale and was 0.88 (Cronbach's alpha), which is within the generally accepted level in survey research. So that, the questionnaire consisted of twenty-four items measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from (1) "absolutely disagree" to (5) "strongly agree". La fiabilidad obtenida para este cuestionario fue de 0.88 (Alfa de Cronbach), la cual está dentro del nivel generalmente aceptado en investigaciones con encuesta. Table 3 contains the exact items that made up this questionnaire, grouped into the dependent variables represented.

La Tabla 3 incluye los ítems exactos que formaron parte de este cuestionario, agrupados dentro de las variables dependientes que representan. The second instrument used was the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale (SBPS) designed and used by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) to study the new forms under which racism towards immigrants may appear today. It consists of twenty items measured on a five-point Likert scale, which allow us to identify three types of subjects: egalitarians, subtle racists and blatant racists. For this study, a Spanish-language version of the scale used in other research was used (Espelt, Javaloy & Cornejo, 2006; Navas et al., 2006). Internal consistency of the SBPS was determined utilizing reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha). The resulting reliability was 0.85.

#### Dependent and Independent Variables

Table 1 lists the nine dependent variables used in this research and a brief description explaining the information they provide. The first six (1-6) are developed from the RSPPET questionnaire, whereas the last three (7-9) are developed from the SBPS.

Table 1. Description of dependent variables.

Dependent Variable	Description
1. Immigrants as a problem.	The six items in this variable aim to find out whether future PE teachers perceive immigrants students as a possible problem in their classes.
2. Stereotype of superiority.	The five items comprising this variable seek to identify racist stereotypes in future PE teachers based on the belief of the superiority of the native Spanish population over the immigrant population.
3. Attitude towards immigrants.	Made up of four items that attempt to reveal the attitude exhibited by future PE teachers towards immigration and immigrants.
4. Multiculturalism.	The three items in this variable, aim to find out the opinion of future PE teachers on multiculturalism.
5. Training.	Made up of four items, this variable seeks to learn whether these PE pre-service teachers feel adequately trained to educate children from other countries and cultures.
6. Immigrant culture.	Variable made up of two items seeking to understand the importance given to the immigrant's culture in the performance of physical/sport activity.
7. Subtle.	It groups together those individuals who have a covert prejudice attitude.
8. Blatant.	It groups together those who openly express their contempt for immigrants.
9. Egalitarian.	It groups together those participants who express an attitude of complete tolerance and respect for all immigrants.

In order to offer a better definition of the sample used and its contextual reality, five independent variables were created. Table 2 shows the description of these variables, as well as the percentage distribution for the sample in each variable.

**Table 2.** Description and descriptive analysis of the independent and control variables.

Variable	Description	Mean (sd)	N	% N
Age		20,5 (2.3)	2524	100
Gender	Male		1685	66.8
	Female		839	33.2
Context	< 10.000		644	25.5
	10.000 - 20.000		805	31.9
	20.000 - 50.000		368	14.6
	> 50.000		707	28.0
Level or grade	1º		800	31.7
	2º		714	28.3
	3º		767	30.4
	4º		243	9.6
My knowledge of immigrant people is:	High		96	3.8
	Average		2294	90.9
	Low		134	5.3
Religion	Catholic		1161	46
	Other religion		687	27.2
	Non-believer		676	26.8

All variables, except the control variable *age* were taken into account with the intention of capturing the potential impact of the contextual characteristics on the way immigrants are stereotyped. Así, la variable sexo pretende conocer si el estereotipo es diferente entre chicos y chicas. Thus, the variable *gender* aims to find out whether the stereotype is different between boys and girls. Con el contexto, se midió la realidad social de cada uno de los participantes. The social reality of each participant was measured in context. It appears that people who have lived or live in bigger cities are more likely to express positive attitudes toward immigrant groups (Escandell & Ceobanu, 2009). La variable curso, se utilizó como forma de conocer si el estereotipo hacia las personas extranjeras era diferente entre los futuros docentes que acababan de empezar sus estudios de formación y aquellos que los estaban terminando. The variable *level* was used as a way to find out whether stereotypes towards foreigners were different between pre-service teachers who were just beginning their training and those who were finishing. Por otro lado, también se pretendió conocer la influencia de tener un mayor o

menor conocimiento de la persona inmigrante. The influence of having greater or lesser knowledge of the individual immigrant was also sought. Y por último, se consideró la variable religión, ya que parece ser que las creencias religiosas pueden influir de manera importante en la idea que se tiene del grupo de personas extranjeras (Cea, 2004). Finally, the variable *religion* was considered, as it seems that religious beliefs can have a significant bearing on the idea about a group of foreigners (Cea, 2005).

### Data Collection

Before collecting the data, letters were sent out to teacher schools in order to introduce the research project, to explain the work that was to be carried out and its importance and to request permission to administer the questionnaires. Participants were told about the purpose of the survey, that all information would be treated as confidential and that answering the questionnaire was not compulsory. Before administering the questionnaires, the researchers explained the rules to take into account. Both instruments were administered at the same time. In general, the questionnaires were completed within the expected time, thereby guaranteeing that there was no sample fatigue.

### Statistical analysis

In order to meet the objectives of the present study, several statistical analyses were performed. The exploratory factor analysis were used to determine the possible factor structure. The confirmatory factor analysis was performed to examine the previous factor models from the RSPPET and to determine which model would be supported. A descriptive analysis was carried out in order to determine the sample characteristics and distribution with respect to the different study variables. By the other hand a variance analysis (ANOVA), and a multivariate analysis (MANOVA) were carried out to contrast the average scores of all dependent variables of the questionnaires, with each-one of the independent variables considered, to confront the various variables and compare the goals of the study. Data were analysed using SPSS 19.0 statistical software. Exploratory and confirmatory analysis were performed using Amos 21.0. In all analyses, a significance level of  $p < .05$  was considered.

### Results

First, it will present what PPET think about immigrants and immigration and try to explain the possible variables that may have an influence on such thinking in order to learn the type of prejudice hidden in the aforementioned stereotype, as well as the contextual variables that may cause it.

### Racist Stereotypes in Pre-service PE Teachers (RSPPET) questionnaire

The *RSPPET* questionnaire was proposed in order to obtain more information about racial stereotypes exhibited by pre-service PE teachers and confirm or reject the first hypothesis posed. Table 3 shows the mean and standard deviation for each of the dependent variables and the items within them.

The poor results obtained in the first variable indicate that PPET seem to understand that immigrants are not trouble-makers. They do not perceive immigrants as a threat responsible for lowering the educational level of the class or increasing the instances of lack of discipline associated to misbehaviour on their part. Dentro de la segunda variable dependiente, y debido también a que las puntuaciones medias son bajas, encontramos que los futuros profesores de EF parecen estar en contra de ese estereotipo, vinculado a creencias tradicionales y erróneas de racismo, donde se defiende la existencia de una superioridad de un grupo étnico sobre otro.

In the second dependent variable and due to the low average scores, the student PE teachers seem to be against the stereotype linked to traditional and mistaken racism beliefs, which support the existence of the superiority of one ethnic group over another. Thus, all future PE teachers seem to think that such superiority does not exist. Los resultados referidos a la actitud hacia el inmigrante y la inmigración que se encuentran agrupados dentro de la tercera variable dependiente, son los más bajos que se obtienen del cuestionario.

The results relating to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration that are grouped within the third dependent variable are the lowest obtained in the test. Estas bajas puntuaciones medias, nos presentan a un conjunto de futuros profesores de EF que parecen presentar una actitud de tolerancia y respeto hacia el inmigrante, y de rechazo hacia cualquier postura que pueda suponer la exclusión de los mismos dentro del ámbito educativo o social. These low mean scores present a set of PPET that appear to have an attitude of tolerance and respect for immigrants and rejection for any viewpoint that may involve their exclusion from the educational or social environment.

The fourth variable attempted to obtain information about the beliefs of future PE teachers regarding multiculturalism.

The high mean scores obtained here reveal a favourable attitude towards the cultural diversity present in most Spanish schools. De hecho, parece existir un cierto grado de acuerdo en considerar la multiculturalidad como un hecho enriquecedor del proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje. In fact, there seems to be some agreement regarding multiculturalism as something enriching in the teaching-learning process.

En una quinta variable, se pretendió conocer la importancia de la formación que estaban recibiendo y si esa formación era la más adecuada para hacer frente a las exigencias que supone el desarrollar la práctica docente dentro de un contexto multiculturalmente diverso. The fifth variable aimed to learn the importance of the training received and whether it was the most appropriate training to meet the challenges involved in teaching within a diverse multicultural setting. Las altas puntuaciones medias obtenidas, parecen indicar que los futuros docentes especialistas en EF valoran positivamente los contenidos de EF y consideran suficiente la formación que están recibiendo al respecto, para poder atender los retos que puede plantear una realidad multicultural. The high mean scores obtained suggest that student PE teachers value positively the PE contents and regard the training they are receiving as sufficient to meet the challenges involved in a multicultural reality. Aunque sin embargo, también consideran que sería bueno incorporar contenidos más específicos vinculados a esta realidad social. However, they also believe it would be good to incorporate subject matter more specifically related to this social reality.

La sexta y última variable, se propuso con la intención de obtener información sobre el conocimiento que se tiene de la cultura de la población inmigrante. Así, las altas puntuaciones obtenidas nos presentan a un futuro profesor de EF cuyo conocimiento de la cultura de la población extranjera, le hace creer que esta puede condicionar su práctica físico-deportiva y prepararlos mejor para el desarrollo de otras actividades relacionadas con el deporte. The sixth and final variable was proposed with the intention of obtaining information about the knowledge regarding the culture of the immigrant population. Thus, the high scores obtained exhibit PPET who think that the culture of the immigrant population will determine his/her physical and sports activities.

**Table 3.** Descriptive analysis of the items in the RSPPET questionnaire.

Variable	Items	Mean	S.D.
<b>1. Immigrants as a problem</b>		<b>2.33</b>	<b>.76</b>
	The presence of children from cultural minorities in the gymnasium is a handicap for other children because they lower the level.	1.90	1.03
	The cultural characteristics of ethnic minority groups are a problem for the teaching of PE.	2.13	.99
	Immigrant children are more problematic than local children in PE classes.	2.49	1.10
	It bothers me that other cultural groups try to introduce their physical and sporting habits in our society.	2.55	1.26
	Children from minority cultures should be dealt with in special classes while adapting to our customs, our values and our language.	2.56	1.20
	Immigrant students are responsible for instances of lack of discipline that occur in PE classes.	2.35	1.07
<b>2. Stereotype of superiority</b>		<b>2.57</b>	<b>.78</b>
	There are differences regarding attitude towards physical activity between students from ethnic minorities and the other students.	2.81	1.11
	White athletes are intellectually superior to black athletes.	2.01	1.09
	Black athletes are superior to white athletes in sports such as basketball or athletics.	2.95	1.36
	White athletes are superior to black athletes in sports such as soccer or swimming.	2.71	1.30
	Native students have better motor skills than immigrant students	2.39	1.11
<b>3. Attitude towards immigrants and immigration</b>		<b>1.73</b>	<b>.66</b>
	Training teachers in multicultural contexts is only necessary when there are students from other cultures in the classroom.	1.98	1.00
	During PE classes, teachers should group immigrants students together, until they are ready to join the rest of the class.	1.76	.97
	I DO NOT think PE is an area through which integration of new students can be worked.	1.52	.88
	Ethnic minorities should have a specific place to develop their own sports practice.	1.66	.85
<b>4. Multiculturalism</b>		<b>3.70</b>	<b>.79</b>
	I would like to do my student teaching in a school with children from ethnic minorities.	3.23	1.05
	Schools should support cultural diversity since it is an enriching experience for all its members.	3.94	1.05
	Having groups of children of various cultures in PE classes, we have more enriching learning experiences.	3.93	.91
<b>5. Training</b>		<b>3.83</b>	<b>.53</b>
	When I finish my degree, I will have enough knowledge to teach PE in multicultural schools and contexts.	3.72	.92
	Any content in PE can promote the integration of pupils from ethnic minorities	3.92	.95
	It is necessary to introduce in my curriculum content linked to education in multicultural contexts.	3.62	.95
	If Spanish students experience games from other countries in PE classes, this will make the integration of new students easier.	4.07	.87
<b>6. Immigrant's home culture</b>		<b>3.20</b>	<b>.98</b>
	Depending on a person's place of origin, he/she will be more prepared to play one sport over another.	3.07	1.30
	The physical and sporting practice of immigrant students is conditioned by their home culture.	3.32	1.12

To sum up, as reflected by the results shown in Table 3, there are PPET whose stereotypes seems to be closer to a tolerant and integrative attitude than to that of inflexibility and rejection. Nos encontramos ante un futuro docente que, en principio, no ve que el inmigrante o la inmigración sean un problema, que no considera que exista un grupo étnico superior a otro y que parece presentar una actitud hacia el inmigrante e inmigración con tendencia integradora. These

student teachers that, initially, do not see immigrants and immigration as a problem, who do not think any ethnic group is superior to another and who seem to exhibit an integrative attitude towards immigrants and immigration. They are un conjunto de futuros profesores que parecen valorar positivamente la existencia y la influencia de la diversidad cultural en los centros educativos y resto de estamentos sociales, que se creen bien formados para afrontar los retos

de una sociedad culturalmente diversa y cuyo conocimiento de la cultura de las personas extranjeras les lleva a pensar, que dicha cultura puede condicionar su práctica físico-deportiva. a group of future teachers who seem to value positively the existence and influence of cultural diversity in schools and other social organizations, who feel adequately trained to meet the challenges of a culturally diverse society and whose knowledge of the culture of foreigners makes them think that said culture can affect their physical and sports practice.

But, what role do contextual characteristics play Pero en este pensamiento, en esta forma de ver al inmigrante por parte de los estudiantes para profesor de EF, ¿qué papel juegan sus características contextuales? in the way future PE teachers see immigrants? Para dar respuesta a esta pregunta se realizó un análisis multivariable (ANOVA), con el programa estadístico SPSS 15.0, en el que se contrastaron los resultados medios de las seis variables dependientes del cuestionario ERPEF, con cada una de las cinco variables independientes consideradas. To answer this question, it was conducted a multivariate analysis (MANOVA) with SPSS 19.0 statistical software, which contrasted the average scores of all six depen-

dent variables of the *RSPPET* questionnaire, with each of the five independent variables considered.

Table 4 shows the mean and standard deviation of each variable and also informs of the results of the multivariate analysis. In this table, it can see how variables *gender* and *religion* seem to have the greatest influence on the way PPET stereotype the immigrant population. This is made evident by the fact that these two variables, *religion* and *gender*, are significantly involved in six and five variables, respectively, in the *RSPPET* questionnaire. En otro nivel de influencia del estereotipo nos encontramos con la variable curso. The variable *grade* or *level* there is on another level of influence of stereotype. Esta variable también parece condicionar el estereotipo que se tiene de las personas extranjeras, pero en menor medida que las dos anteriores. This variable also seems to determine the stereotype people have of foreign people, but less so than the previous two, whereas *Mientras que las variables contexto y conocimiento que se tiene del inmigrante no parecen mostrar ningún tipo de influencia sobre el estereotipo. variables context and knowledge of immigrants do not seem to show any influence whatsoever on the stereotype.*

Table 4. Multivariate analysis (MANOVA) of RASPET questionnaire.

Indp. Varia	Description	Factors											
		1. Immigrants as a problem.		2. Stereotype of Superiority.		3. Attitude towards immigrants.		4. Multiculturalism.		5. Training.		6. Immigrants' home Culture.	
		Mean	D.S.	Mean	D.S.	Mean	D.S.	Mean	D.S.	Mean	D.S.	Mean	D.S.
Gender	Male	2.39 <sup>a</sup>	.81**	2.62 <sup>a</sup>	.79*	1.81 <sup>a</sup>	.69**	3.57 <sup>a</sup>	.77**	3.88	.58	3.03 <sup>a</sup>	.82*
	Female	2.08 <sup>a</sup>	.71**	2.49 <sup>a</sup>	.75*	1.57 <sup>a</sup>	.58**	3.88 <sup>a</sup>	.61**	3.94	.58	2.89 <sup>a</sup>	.74*
Context	< 10.000	2.27	.77	2.49	.77	1.70	.61	3.68	.71	3.90	.58	3.01	.76
	10.000 - 20.000	2.24	.75	2.63	.77	1.65	.55	3.68	.79	4.02	.52	3.02	.80
	20.000 - 50.000	2.27	.84	2.60	.75	1.69	.65	3.73	.66	3.91	.54	2.80	.79
	> 50.000	2.31	.80	2.63	.80	1.81	.75	3.65	.77	3.86	.62	3.01	.82
Level	1º	2.23	.80	2.49 <sup>a</sup>	.84**	1.79	.70	3.58	.79	3.98 <sup>a</sup>	.58*	2.87 <sup>a</sup>	.84*
	2º	2.21	.81	2.49 <sup>b</sup>	.76**	1.73	.66	3.73	.70	3.95	.56	3.00	.75
	3º	2.35	.73	2.66	.72	1.70	.64	3.73	.72	3.81 <sup>a</sup>	.60*	3.03	.78
	4º	2.47	.83	2.84 <sup>a,b</sup>	.64**	1.58	.58	3.74	.64	3.80	.53	3.23 <sup>a</sup>	.70*
Knowledge	High	2.29	.94	2.56	.80	1.66	.67	3.62	.97	3.94	.75	3.01	.87
	Average	2.27	.74	2.57	.77	1.72	.66	3.70	.68	3.91	.55	2.99	.80
	Low	2.30	.89	2.60	.80	1.82	.68	3.59	.78	3.84	.60	2.96	.73
Religion	Catholic	2.38 <sup>a</sup>	.79**	2.66 <sup>a</sup>	.79**	1.78 <sup>a</sup>	.68**	3.62 <sup>a</sup>	.74**	3.91 <sup>a</sup>	.58**	3.03 <sup>a</sup>	.79*
	Other religion	2.48	.70	2.95 <sup>b</sup>	.58**	1.94	.66	3.13 <sup>b</sup>	.98**	3.33 <sup>a,b</sup>	.93**	3.15	.65
	Non-believer	1.99 <sup>a</sup>	.73**	2.31 <sup>a,b</sup>	.71**	1.57 <sup>a</sup>	.58**	3.88 <sup>a,b</sup>	.67**	3.93 <sup>b</sup>	.54**	2.85 <sup>a</sup>	.82*

Notes: \*y<sup>b</sup>Indicates in which descriptions the difference in mean is statistically significant (Bonferroni test).

\*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01 (MANOVA test)



Further analysis of the information provided by Table 4, shows that the way males and females stereotype immigrants is different, with the girls exhibiting a different and more liberal stereotype. Por otro lado, la variable curso refleja la existencia de diferencias significativas entre la forma de ver al inmigrante o la inmigración entre los alumnos de primero y los de tercero o cuarto, siendo precisamente los de primero los que reflejan una cierta tendencia hacia un estereotipo más tolerante y los que parecen estar más de acuerdo en considerar que su formación es suficiente. Furthermore, variable *level or grade* reflects significant differences between the way first-year students and third- or fourth- year students see immigrants or immigration, with first-year students being the ones who reflect a certain tendency towards a more tolerant stereotype and who seem to consider their training sufficient. En cuanto a la variable religión, hemos de decir que son precisamente aquellos grupos de futuros profesores de EF que manifiestan ser no creyentes, los que obtienen los mejores resultados y los que parecen ubicarse dentro del grupo de personas que presentan un estereotipo de aceptación y respeto hacia el grupo de personas extranjeras. As for variable *religion*, it must say that it is exactly non-believer PPET, the ones who perform best and seem to be in the group of people with a stereotype of acceptance and respect towards foreigners.

#### Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale (SBPS)

*Escala de Prejuicio sutil y manifiesto.* Como acabamos de ver, entre los futuros profesores de EF parece existir una cierta tendencia hacia la aceptación y la tolerancia del inmigrante, es decir, parece existir un estereotipo positivo. As it has seen, there seems to be a tendency towards acceptance and tolerance of immigrants between PPET, i.e., there seems to be a positive stereotype. Sin embargo, hemos de ser conscientes que tal y como reflejan los trabajos realizados a nivel internacional por Coenders, Scheepers, Sniderman and Verberk, (2001) o los propios de Petergaw and Martens (1995, 2001), así como los desarrollados dentro del ámbito nacional español por García, Navas, Cuadrado y Molero (2003) o los más recientes de Espelt, Javaloy y Cornejo (2006a), o Fernández y Fernández (2006), entre otros, la forma de pronunciarnos ante el racismo y el rechazo hacia el extranjero, ha evolucionado hacia formas más sutiles y menos evidentes. However, as reflected by works of Petergaw and Martens (1995, 2001) or Douglas and Halas (2013), among others, the side the people takes against racism and rejection of foreigners, has evolved into more subtle and less obvious ways. Este hecho hace necesario que se tengan que emplear herramientas como la Escala de Prejuicio Sutil y Manifiesto, con el fin de poder conocer la verdadera realidad en cuanto al estereotipo que se tiene del inmigrante. This fact makes the use of tools like the *SBPS* necessary to learn the truth about the stereotype towards im-

migrants. This scale was employed to find out the type of prejudice hidden within the stereotype previously described, as well as to obtain enough information to accept or reject both the first and second hypotheses posed. This tool becomes a key element to understand and clarify the stereotypical reality of PPET.

Figure 1 shows the percentage distribution for PPET, according to the type of prejudice they exhibit towards immigrants. This figure shows that most individuals surveyed identify with subtle prejudice over blatant prejudice or egalitarian attitudes, which, according to the results of the *RSP-PET* questionnaire, would be expected.

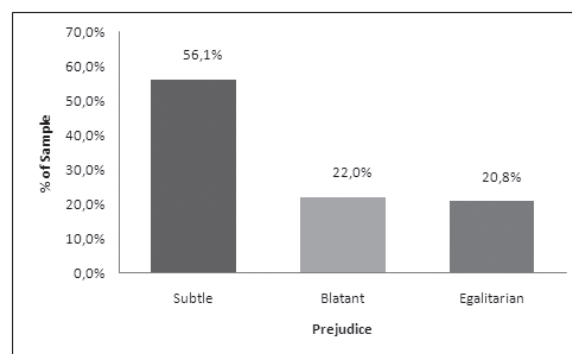


Figure 1. Type of prejudice exhibit by PPET

But, is prejudice actually affected by the contextual variables? If so, which variables can determine biased thinking? To answer this question, a new multivariate analysis was carried out by means of the SPSS 19.0 program, in which variables *subtle prejudice*, *blatant prejudice* and *egalitarian attitudes* were compared and contrasted with each independent variable.

Table 5 shows the mean, the standard deviation and the variables with significant differences. The results show that the independent or contextual variables do not seem to have any type of effect on subtle prejudice or egalitarian attitudes. However, concerning blatant prejudice, which is open and obvious and where the individual openly manifests his/her rejection towards immigrants, there is a different situation. So much so that, just like what happened before with stereotype, the variables *gender* and *religion* seem to determine significantly this type of prejudice. Therefore, boys and the group of pre-service teachers who consider themselves Catholic, the ones with the lowest scores and consequently, those who exhibit greater blatant prejudice; whereas, the differences observed in the rest of the independent variables, such as *context*, *grade or level* and *knowledge of foreign culture* do not seem to be significantly responsible for this type of blatant and obvious rejection of foreigners.

**Table 5.** Mean, standard deviation and MANOVA results for prejudice towards immigrants.

Independent Variable	Description	Prejudice					
		Subtle		Blatant		Egalitarian	
		Mean	D.S.	Mean	D.S.	Mean	D.S.
Gender	Male	.55	.50	.24 <sup>a</sup>	.43*	.20	.40
	Female	.59	.49	.17 <sup>a</sup>	.38*	.23	.42
Context	< 10.000	.56	.50	.21	.41	.22	.42
	10.000 - 20.000	.50	.50	.27	.45	.20	.40
	20.000 - 50.000	.52	.50	.23	.43	.25	.43
	> 50.000	.60	.49	.21	.40	.19	.39
Level	1 <sup>o</sup>	.58	.50	.24	.43	.17	.38
	2 <sup>o</sup>	.56	.50	.21	.41	.23	.42
	3 <sup>o</sup>	.59	.49	.19	.40	.20	.40
	4 <sup>o</sup>	.43	.50	.29	.46	.28	.45
Knowledge	High	.54	.50	.25	.44	.20	.41
	Average	.56	.50	.23	.42	.19	.39
	Low	.57	.50	.19	.40	.21	.41
Religion	Catholic	.54	.50	.28 <sup>a, b</sup>	.44**	.17	.37
	Other religion	.69	.48	.08 <sup>a</sup>	.28**	.15	.38
	Non-believer	.60	.49	.13 <sup>b</sup>	.33**	.27	.45

Notes: <sup>a</sup> y <sup>b</sup> Indicates in which descriptions the difference in Mean is statistically significant (Bonferroni test). \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01 (ANOVA test)

Hence, student PE teachers studied are far from having an egalitarian, respectful or tolerant stereotype towards immigrants. They seem to have racist stereotypes where a subtle and silent character is the predominant characteristic.

## Discussion and conclusions

The present study describes the predominant stereotype in PPET when they are exposed to situations of unequal treatment toward immigrants, for which the *RSPPET* questionnaire was used. And in the second place, it identifies the type of prejudice immersed in the stereotype previously described, and also, locates the contextual variables that can better determine both the stereotype towards immigrants and the type of prejudice immersed in it.

Immigration in Spain is perceived as one of the most important problems in the country, and there are several factors as illegal aliens, management of flows, specific conflicts related to exclusion, massive policies by decree, reactive discourses of political parties (Zapata-Barrero, 2010), or the mass media (Checa & Arjona 2011), are formed this opinion. Therefore, as has been indicated for Benn, Dagkas, and Jawad (2011), Dagkas, Benn, and Jawad (2011) or Frisby (2011), Muslim or immigrants pupils present several problems to practice physical activity or during physical educational classes, particularly for inflexible cultural or dress codes.

However, the results obtained through the *RSPPET* questionnaire show PPET who do not perceive this problematic situation, and moreover, they see this new multicultural situation as a way of enriching themselves and the whole teaching environment, as reflected in similar research carried out by Columna, Foley, and Lytle (2010). But these contradictions should be treated with caution, because it could be due to an apparent ambivalence in the public Spanish opinion, as Zapata-Barrero (2009; 2010).

In the same way, the results obtained exhibit student teachers who do not see any gene-based stereotype ethnic differences. This fact contradicts previous results obtained in other research work carried out by Harrison and Lawrence (2004), Harrison, Lawrence and Bukstein (2011), or Cooper (2012), with American university students where a racial stereotype is evident. This stereotype justifies athletic superiority between groups, supported by the existing physical and intellectual differences between the European American and African American populations.

One explanation to this contradiction could possibly be, as reflected in previous works by Coakley (2007), or Harrison, Lawrence and Bukstein (2011), that this erroneous belief in genetic superiority of one group over another is closely linked to social and cultural influences and experiences. In other words, this belief about stereotypes of African American athletes are firmly established in American folklore, and

these social and cultural experiences are different and certainly recent in the Spanish population, as reflected in the work of Zapata-Barredo (2010).

The present study has also noticed that PPET exhibit an attitude of acceptance towards immigrants, rejecting any type of exclusion or isolation. They also see multiculturalism in schools as something positive, thus agreeing with the work Columna, Foley, and Lytle (2010).

As for the training to deal with the reality of a school with immigrant students, these student teachers see the training received as adequate and sufficient, acknowledging the importance of PE in the integration process of said students. In spite of this, that positive assessment tends to decrease as students go on to higher grades. That is, they see certain deficiencies, which make them feel less sure about the adequacy of their training to deal with the singularities of a classroom with immigrant students. This gradual decrease it could be due to the fact that their experience has been more theoretical than practical up to now, which makes it difficult to have a real awareness of their training deficiencies. This coincides with what was reflected in previous works by Florian (2009), Columna, Foley, and Lytle (2010), or Knez, Macdonald and Abbott (2012), where they indicate that the training received by teachers is not realistic with the needs of a multicultural classroom and immigrant students; therefore, omitting this training in many occasions.

In relation to the influence of the immigrants' home culture in their physical/sports practice, these student teachers think that the sports practice of certain immigrant groups are determined by their cultural and religious beliefs inherited from their country of origin. These findings agree with those obtained by Benn, Dagkas, and Jawad (2011), Dagkas, Benn, and Jawad (2011), or Knez, Macdonald and Abbott (2012). In these works, the authors reveal a lack of general interest toward physical activity and physical education as well, by the fact that sport participation is highly restricted by Islamic living rules especially for females, whom find themselves marginalized by struggles between the norms of the classroom, curriculum and school, and those of their family, religion, and ethnic communities.

Thus, from all the information gathered by means of the *RSPPET* questionnaire, this test seem to find a PPET with a tolerant and respectful stereotype towards immigrant population. However, the results obtained in the *SBPS* show a slightly different image. The results of this scale strongly support both of the hypotheses posed; that is, a false tolerant stereotype and subtle prejudice. Therefore, the PPET profile is considerably different from the one described based on his/her stereotype.

This coincides with the results obtained in earlier research papers developed with students and adults (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Espelt, Javaloy & Cornejo, 2006; Petergew & Martens,

1995, 2001), where they also found subtle prejudice towards immigrants. However, as reflected in the work of Pettigrew and Meertens (1995), Cea (2005), or Vand den Berg et al. (2010), people may not be aware of that feeling of rejection towards immigrants or they may simply refuse to acknowledge or show it. This is because, although these future educators show feelings of awkwardness, threat, anxiety and fear when faced with interaction with the immigrant population, supported by a vindication of their own values, customs, habits and traditions (Columna, Foley & Lytle, 2010; Petergew & Martens, 1995, 2001), they tend to show typical traits of indirect, subtle and many times unconscious prejudice, believing that feelings of rejection are socially frowned upon and penalized by their peers. Nevertheless, this does not rule out the risk of these feelings becoming clear and explicit expressions of racism if the social and contextual circumstances are favourable (Kay, Day, Zanna & Nussbaum, 2013; McKownstein & Weinstein, 2008).

This is of great importance because as shown in other research (Harrison, 2001; Vand den Berg et al., 2010), there seem to be feelings of awkwardness and rejection towards immigrant students on the part of some educators and sports professionals. These feelings can be transmitted to the students consciously or unconsciously, conveying values of rejection and dislike towards immigrants in the schools (Cooper, 2012).

Regarding the influence that contextual variables can have on the thoughts and judgements made by PPET about foreigners, the results show that it is mainly *gender* and *religious beliefs* of the participants what marks the stereotypes, as well as the prejudice, towards immigrants, coinciding with the results presented in Cea (2005), or Columna, Foley and Lytle (2010). A possible explanation for those differences between males and females may be based on the fact that females historically have faced oppression from a male dominated society, particularly in the area of education (Columna, Foley & Lytle, 2010). While the impact of the religious beliefs could be associated with the idea of Hispanidad, which is a political discourse of exclusion based on the idea of a community of people linked together by linguistic (Spanish) and religious (Catholic) criteria (Zapata-Barredo, 2010).

Consequently, the results of this research have been able to identify PPET who advocate a broad-minded stereotype towards immigrants. However, when they are asked about the involvement of immigrants in more intimate and close social issues, they show feelings of rejection and dislike, although of a subtle nature. This shows us student teachers who are subject, like everyone else, to the influences of the society in which they are immersed. Therefore, their opinions are subject to less socially penalized and accepted opinions by their social environment. This indicates that both the way of thinking and the social group to which one belong can modify the way it is perceived and value foreigners.

## Practical applications.

The results of this study could contribute to improve physical education programs and immigrant students' physical education, because as it was said before, the stereotypes are defined as beliefs about certain groups, and many of them takes place below the conscious level. This may be a problem, since if the students physical education teachers don't know the really stereotype toward immigrants, these future physical education teachers could maintain or develop a negative stereotype about students they view as different. So knowledge what thinking the PPET about immigrant people, and what kind of stereotype predominate in them, will be more easy develop effectives formative programs to attend the real gap between academia from school-based multicultural realities. Because

as said Richeson and Nussbaum (2004), the teachers may serve as models for their students in accepting, respecting, and celebrating diversity, but for that, it is necessary a PE teachers with positive attitudes toward immigrants.

To conclude, the analysis sheds some light on what PPET think about immigrants and some seems factors to be relevant to explaining the attitude towards them. But these results are highly contextual and for that, they are difficult to generalize. So the recommendation is increased future research, both in comparative and longitudinal depth, in which other factors could be affect the stereotype, to find a PE teacher with a positive profile toward immigrants, and what the teacher preparation programs should be done to develop that positive attitude and a multicultural knowledge.

## References

- Allport, G. W. (1977). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.
- Benn, T., Dagkas, S. & Jawad, H. (2011). Embodied faith: Islam, religious freedom and educational practices in physical education. *Sport, Education and Society*, 16(1), 17-34.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without racists: color-blind racism & racial inequality in contemporary America*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Carter, R., Chevront, S., Harrison, C. K., Proctor L., Myburgh, K., Brown, M. & Malina, R. (2010). Success, race and athletic performance: Biology, belief or environment? *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes*, 4(3), 207-203
- Cea, M. A. (2005). The exteriorization of xenophobia. *Reis: Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 112, 197-230.
- Checa, J. C. & Arjona, A. (2011). Españoles ante la inmigración: el papel de los medios de comunicación. *Comunicar*, 37, 141-149.
- Coakley, J. J. (9<sup>th</sup> edn) (2007). *Sports in society: issues and controversies*. London: McGraw Hill.
- Columna, L., Foley, J. T. & Lytle, R. K. (2010). Physical Education Teachers' and Teacher Candidates' Attitudes Toward Cultural Pluralism. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 29(3), 295-311.
- Cooper, J. N. (2012). Personal Troubles and public Issues: A Sociological Imagination of Black athletes' Experiences at Predominantly White Institutions in the United States. *Sociology Mind*, 2(3), 261-271.
- Cross, B. E. (2005). New Racism, Reformed Teacher Education, and the Same Ole' Oppression. *Educational Studies: Journal of the American Educational Studies Association*, 38(3), 263-274.
- Dagkas, S., Benn, T. & Jawad, H. (2011). Multiple voices: improving participation of Muslim girls in physical education and school sport. *Sport, Education and Society*, 16(2), 223-239.
- Douglas, D. D. & Halas, J. M. (2013). The wages of whiteness: confronting the nature of ivory tower racism and the implications for physical education. *Sport, Education and Society*, 18(4), 453-474.
- Escandell, X. & Ceobanu, A. M. (2009). When contact with immigrants matters: threat, interethnic attitudes and foreigner exclusionism in Spain's Comunidades Autonomas. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(1), 44-69.
- Espelt, E., Javaloy, F. & Cornejo, J. M. (2006). The paradox of aversive racism against immigrants: An experimental study. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 21(1), 3-20.
- Florian, L. (2009). Preparing teachers to work in "schools for all". *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 25(4), 533-534.
- Frisby, W. (2011). Promising physical Activity Inclusion Practices for Chinese Immigrant Women in Vancouver, Canada. *Quest*, 63, 135-147.
- Haddock, G., Zanna, M. P. & Esses, V. M. (1994). Mood and the expression of intergroup attitudes: The moderating role of affect intensity. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 24(1), 189-205.
- Harrison, C. K. & Lawrence, S. M. (2004). College Students' Perceptions, Myths, and Stereotypes about African American Athleticism: A Qualitative Investigation. *Sport, Education and Society*, 9(1), 33-52.
- Harrison, C. K., Lawrence, S. M. & Bukstein, S. J. (2011). White College Students' Explanations of White (and Black) Athletic Performance: a Qualitative Investigation of White College Students. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 28, 347-361.
- Harrison, L. (2001). Understanding the influence of stereotypes: Implications for the African American in sport and physical activity. *Quest*, 53(1), 97-114.
- Harrison, L., Harrison, K. C. & Moore, L. N. (2002). African American Racial Identity and sport. *Sport, Education and Society*, 7(2), 121-133.
- Hilton, J. L. & Hoppel, W. V. (1996). Stereotypes. *Annual Reviews of Psychology*, 47, 237-271.
- Hodge, S. R., Burden, Jr., J., Robinson, L. & Bennett III (2008). Theorizing on the stereotyping of Black male student-athletes: Issues and implications. *Journal for the Study of Sports & Athletes in Education*, 2(2), 203-226.
- Kay, A. C., Day, M. V., Zanna, M. P. & Nussbaum, A. D. (2013). The insidious (and ironic) effects of positive stereotypes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49, 287-291.
- Knez, K., Macdonald, D. & Abbott, R. (2012). Challenging stereotypes: Muslim girls talk about physical activity, physical education and sport. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Health*, 3(2), 109-122.
- McKown, C. & Weinstein, R. S. (2008). Teacher expectations, classroom context, and the achievement gap. *Journal of School Psychology*, 46, 235-261.
- Kymlicka, W. (2010). The rise and fall of multiculturalism? New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies. In S. Vertovec & S. Wessenddorf (Eds.), *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European discourses, policies and practices* (pp. 32-49). London: Routledge.
- Li, W., Harrison, L. & Solmon, M. (2004). College Students' Implicit Theories of Ability in Sports: Race and Gender Differences. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 27(3), 291-304.

29. M. E. C. D. (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes) (2015). Datos y Cifras. Curso escolar 2015/2016. Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica.
30. Myers, D. G. (1993). *Social Psychology*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
31. Navas, M. S., García, M. C., Rojas, A. J., Pumares, P. E. & Cuadrado, I. (2006). Prejudice and attitudes of acculturation: perspectives of autochthonous and immigrants. *Psicothema*, 18(2), 187-193.
32. Pettigrew, T. F. & Meertens, R. W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25(1), 57-75.
33. Pettigrew, T. F. & Meertens, R. W. (2001). In defense of the subtle prejudice concept: a retort. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 31(3), 299-309.
34. Richeson, J. A. & Nussbaum, R. J. (2004). The impact of multiculturalism versus colorblindness on racial bias. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40, 417-423.
35. Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: how stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, 52(6), 613-629.
36. Turner, D. & Jones, I. (2007). False Start?: U.K. Sprint Coaches and Black/White Stereotypes. *Journal of Black Studies*, 38(2), 155-176.
37. Van den Bergh, L., Denessen, E., Hornstra, L., Voeten, M. & Holland, R. W. (2010). The Implicit Prejudiced Attitudes of Teachers: Relations to Teacher Expectations and the Ethnic Achievement Gap. *American Educational Research Journal*, 47(2), 497-527.
38. Zapata-Barrero, R. (2009). Policies and public opinion towards immigrants: the Spanish case. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(7), 1101-1120.
39. Zapata-Barrero, R. (2010). Dynamics of diversity in Spain. Old questions, new challenges. In S. Vertovec & S. Wessendorf (Eds), *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European discourses, policies and practices* (pp. 170-189). London: Routledge.

