

Jugando en equipo: el rol de las organizaciones deportivas en el apoyo a la integración social de los emigrantes. ()*

Playing together: the role of sport organisations in supporting migrants' integration

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RESUMEN

El artículo presenta la metodología de investigación y los principales resultados del estudio llevado a cabo para estudiar y evaluar el proyecto nacional Diritti in campo (Derechos en el campo de juego), desarrollado por la UISP -la mayor asociación italiana de deporte para todos-. El proyecto tenía como objetivo general utilizar el deporte en el apoyo al proceso de integración social de los inmigrantes de ocho ciudades italianas.

Los objetivos del estudio de investigación fueron: la evaluación del impacto del proyecto sobre la integración social de los inmigrantes; la identificación de los determinantes específicos que pueden haber influido en el éxito del programa, utilizando el deporte como medio principal de intervención; y la proposición de un enfoque metodológico cualitativo en el ámbito de los estudios sobre migración en Italia.

La metodología de investigación fue el estudio de casos (Yin, 2009) y se combinaron varias herramientas de interpolación de observaciones directas, entrevistas semiestructuradas y en profundidad, grupos de discusión y análisis documental.

Sobre la base de las principales conclusiones del estudio, se destacaron ocho determinantes específicos para el éxito, así como cuatro determinantes generales de organización: la relevancia de ludodiversity (Renson, 2004), los cambios necesarios en la cultura organizacional, el requisito de todo un sistema de integración construido como una red y la gestión de los espacios.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Población Inmigrante; Organizaciones Deportivas; Intervención Social; Estudio Cualitativo; Determinantes para el éxito.

ABSTRACT

The paper presents the research methodology and the main findings of the study carried out to monitor and assess the UISP – the largest sport for all Italian association – national project named *Diritti in campo* (Rights in the field). The project had the overall goals to use sport-based programs to support the process of integration of migrants living in eight selected Italian cities.

The aims of the research study were: the assessment of the impact of the project on migrants' social inclusion; the identification of specific determinants for success of a program using sport as main mean of intervention; the proposition of a qualitative methodological approach in the domain of migration studies in Italy.

The research methodology was based on the case-study paradigm (Yin, 2009) and combined several tools interpolating direct observations, semi-structured and in-depth interviews, focus groups, and documentary analysis.

Based on the main findings of the study, eight specific determinants for success as well as four general organizational determinants were highlighted: the relevance of ludodiversity (Renson, 2004), the changes needed in the organizational culture, the requirement of an entire system of integration built as a network, the management of the spaces.

KEY WORDS

Migrants; sport organizations; social intervention; qualitative study; determinants for success.

1. THE PROJECT/INTRODUCTION/AIM OF THE PAPER

The paper discusses the research methodology and the main findings of the study carried out by our research group on the request of the Italian Union of Sport for All (here and henceforth, UISP) - the largest Italian sport for all association - to monitor and assess its national projects called *Diritti in campo: sportpertutti per una società multiculturale* (Rights in the field: sport for all for a multicultural society). The project had the overall goals to use sport-based programs as means to support the process of integration of migrants living in eight selected Italian cities. Specifically, it sought to positively impact individual well-being, social inclusion and cohesion by using the convening power of sport and the role of associations as an interface between the individuals' needs and communities with high level of migrants settlements. The motivation for the development of the project - and the request for the implementation of a specific investigation on its impact - were grounded upon the recognition of the need for a *shifting* toward a cultural and scientific pluralism, derived from the significant dynamics of change that the Italian society is witnessing. In fact, the recent expansion of the European Union to many Eastern Countries and the growing immigration coming from North Africa has accelerated and extended the flows of migrants within the Italian borders; these relatively new dynamics pose theoretical and methodological challenges both for policy makers and for all those disciplines that have this topic as objective of their studies. Furthermore, the role that sport organisations, and the voluntary sector, are taking as reaction to these dynamics, offers an interesting field of investigation in which relevant evidences, about the concrete role that sport organisations and sport-based projects might have in addressing such issue, can be collected and analysed.

Specifically the research study had several aims. Firstly, it sought to assess the impact of the *Diritti in Campo* project on migrants' social inclusion and settlement in the host community. Findings were expected to provide evidence-based information and a better understanding of migrants' processes of integration and of the role that an active participation and memberships in sport activities might have in supporting such a process. Secondly, it wanted to identify, where available, specific determinants for success, i.e. those factors that decisively influence the efficacy of a program that use sport as main means of intervention. Finally, from a methodological point of view, it wanted to propose a different approach in the domain of migration studies and a concrete example for methodological discussions. Such a field is, in fact, quite new in Italian scenario; data available and approaches adopted so far tend to be quantitative in nature by generating statistics that tend to draw static pictures of the phenomenon. However, issues such as the general patterns of migration, context-specific and forms of belonging, the effect of the policies and strategies adopted and the role that associations can play remain, to some extends, underexplored. Hence, in order to reduce this gap of knowledge, it is emerging the need to adopt new, flexible approaches that, besides the relevant quantitative studies already available (see EUROSTAT, 2011; ISMU, 2014; ISTAT, 2013), employ new

methodological approaches and qualitative methods in combination.

2. GENERAL OVERVIEW ABOUT MIGRATION STUDIES AND MIGRANTS' DYNAMICS IN ITALY

The establishment of a Ministry of Integration in Italy in 2011 unveiled the situation concerning migration in a country that today counts 5 millions of migrants (8% of the overall population), whereof 4,4 millions regular, 219.000 regular not residents and 294.000 irregular (ISTAT, 2013). The migrants' population has been increased by twenty times since the '80, especially settling (86%) in the northern and central Regions (ISMU, 2014). The annual growth rate of migrant presence has been one of the highest in the European Union since 2005 (Eurostat, 2011).

Italy, if compared with the recent immigration countries (ISMU, 2014), has historically been familiar with migration flows, for the socio-economical situation and for its peculiar position laying in the middle of the Mediterranean sea, as cross road of Western and Eastern cultures, close to Middle-East and Africa. From the second half of the 19th century, the Country had witnessed a massive emigration process initially toward North and South America and, after the II World War, toward Europe, concurrently with a relevant domestic migration from Centre-South to North and, in the first period after the II World War, from North-East - later become immigration area - to North-West.

As general statistics, it is worth noting that migrants in Italy come from 194 different nationalities, without a clear preponderance in terms of ethnic origins, like may happen in other European countries. The five more represented nationalities are (in thousands) Romanian 968, Albanian 482, Moroccan 452, Chinese 210 and Ukrainian 201 (ISTAT, 2013). One of the most important characteristics of these flows is the *feminization* (49,5%) and, above all, its deep social impact. Around the 40% of the immigrant women, in fact, works as caretaker or housemaid. In particular, for the caretakers, their presence, due to the weakness of the welfare state, the ageing of the population and the relevance of the concept of *family* - so widespread in the Italian culture (nowadays more relevant at legislative than at practical level) - led Italy to have the lowest rate in Europe of elderly people in rest homes (one-third compared to Netherlands and UK) (Riccardi, 2013). Moreover, it is significant to account, as added social, value that such a relevant part of the migrants' work is fulfilled in the Italian families following an alleged "Latin" model based on families rather than institutions (Riccardi, 2013).

Concerning the qualitative aspects of living in Italy, ISTAT and the Ministry of the Interiors (2013) have completed the first sample survey on the "Condition and social integration of foreign nationals" (2011-2012), on a sample of 12,000 households containing at least one foreign national. The survey was conducted by the Italian National Institute of Statistics in partnership with the Ministry of Interior, to deepen individual and family migration patterns, as well as the process

of citizenship acquisition, the linguistic integration, and the main characteristics of three different metropolitan environments (Rome, Milan, Naples).

Concerning the ties with Italy, for example, most respondents stated that they felt belonging to Italy very much (17%) or quite a bit (40%), figures that are decidedly lower if compared with those regarding whether obtaining citizenship in Italy was “very “or “quite “important for themselves or for the children of immigrants. In the first case, the responses for the two categories were 53% and 23%, while in the second they were 68% and 19%. A large portion of the immigrant population has developed a noticeably instrumental idea of citizenship, seen in this perspective not so much as the final stage of a process of integration into Italian society, but rather as a useful tool to improve their own living conditions.

In relation to participation in associations, the 21,8% of the respondents declared to take part in their activities. In the 8,2% of the cases the associations are composed only by foreigners, 9,8% by mixed groups, 3,8% predominantly by Italians.

Overall, the feelings and opinions of Italians toward migrants are not easy to describe in such a turbulent economic period and under the influence of the often-tragic attempts of disembarking in Lampedusa island. However, the attitudes of Italians concerning migrants (ISMU, 2014) are generally positive; around four out of five Italians, in fact, appreciate the cohabitation with diverse cultures. These data have positive correlation with the education level and negative with age (>65). People living in the South and North-East are less positive concerning the cohabitation. Nevertheless, when asked about job, the majority (51,4%) of Italians agree with the following statement: “when there is a lack of job places, the priority should be given to Italians”. Comparing the Italian situation with those in EU countries, however, Italians’ concerns about immigration (4%) is decisively lower than the EU mean (10%) (EC, 2013)

The relatively new social phenomenon of migration and the emerging dynamics shortly described above, has stimulated a great debate among the academic community and researchers interested in the analysis of the phenomenon. At the end of the 90’s, migration studies witnessed in Italy an increasing attention that has determined the proliferation of well-structured statistics, enabling researchers to draw a first description of migrants’ dynamics. Data were useful for a preliminary comprehension and offered a first insight about the sociological aspects of migrants’ dynamics. However, the methodological approaches adopted, quantitative in nature, did not offer a complete explanation of relevant aspects such as the motivations for migration, the national policies and strategies adopted and their application at community level, the role of the voluntary sector in the process of integration of the different ethnic groups. Nowadays, researchers are developing studies focussing on the sociological and political dimensions of the question, trying to excavate causal processes, also adopting a combination of different methodological approaches with a large use of qualitative methods. Their adoption is significantly enhancing researchers’ ability to study migration in Italy both in a sociological and political

sense. Moreover, it gives the opportunity to develop cross-national migration studies that, beside a comparison of the relevant statistics, examine differences in countries' laws, policies and approaches also in combination with a deeper analysis of the economics systems, social institutions, national ideologies and attitudes. The overall purpose is to examine how cultures, norms and institutions affect migrants' dynamics taking into account the specific features of the context and the influences that it has in the mechanism of integration.

In the same vein, researchers are today more and more interested in the identification of a causal effect between the projects developed by the voluntary sector and the management of the migration issues. The presence of the voluntary sector in Italy is relevant and the role that organisations have taken in the sphere of the migration dynamics is preeminent. A growing number of non-profit organisations focus on social services for migrants, by assuming a central role for their well-being and, at the same time, developing a large array of projects and initiatives that often compensate for State's gaps. Their relevant role and the investments that the State, along with other local authorities, has allocated as support for the implemented projects, have stimulated a debate about the effects of these activities on the mechanisms of integration. From an academic point of view, the question is if there is a causal effect between, for instance, the participation of a group of migrants to a project developed by a non-profit organisation and their level of integration within the host community. Furthermore, considering the fact that, within the voluntary sector in itself, operate organisations that are deeply different in term of organisational structures, activities provided, mission and strategies adopted, etc. there is also the need to examine the influence of these organisations and managerial factors. In the last few years, specific research questions are involving also the sport sector, given the growing use of sport-based projects as means to promote integration among migrants.

3. USING SPORT-BASED PROJECTS TO PROMOTE INTEGRATION: A CASE-STUDY

Many studies tend to demonstrate that participation in organised sport activities may have an influence of the level of integration of socially disadvantaged groups (Stewart-Withers & Brook, 2009; Levermore, 2008; Stratton et al. , 2005; Keogh, 2002; Coalter et al., 2000;). The idea that participation in sport, appropriately directed, has some concrete utility in the process of socialisation can be easily traced to the mid-nineteenth-century, in the United Kingdom (Mandell, 1984). But recently, there has been a proliferation of the use of sport as a means of social intervention, with sport organisations clearly stating in their mission that the intended consequences of involving individuals in their projects and activities involve a great deal more that improvements in sport skills. The rationale behind this proliferation is grounded in the recognition of the importance of the body and the movement

not merely as something belonging to the sphere of the leisure time but also as two crucial elements in individuals' life. In parallel, participation in organised sport activities, under certain conditions, is considered as relevant for the process of socialisation. Regardless principal drawbacks observed by scholars - it is difficult to define systems of diachronic analysis capable of monitoring the effects of sport involvement on the process of socialisation (see Coalter, 2008) – there is a general consensus on the fact that participation in organised sport activities may have an impact on the following spheres: acceptance of one's body; understanding of social roles; ability to build relations with other subjects; emotional independence; preparation to family and professional life; assumption of social responsibility; creation of a system of social values and conduct. Within this context, a range of fields of action have been implemented with the overall purpose to support the integration of migrants with the view to promote their socialization, intercultural understanding and mutual respect within and between communities but also education, and cultural policy (Henry, 2005).

The above-described dynamics have been clearly emerging in Italy, too. The more receptive sport organizations, including UISP, began to develop actions in the nineties of the last century achieving, thanks to legislative reforms inclined to improve the role of sport in societal policies, the status of social promotion bodies.

UISP, the largest Italian sport for all association, carries out by now a large array of actions in the field of grassroots sport with a specific focus on social inclusion programmes. For these reasons, in 2002, the State officially acknowledged UISP as a Social Promotion Association and, in 2008, as an association delivering programmes for the benefit of migrants. Nowadays, UISP counts around 1,3 mil. members, 20 regional and 164 local committees, and around 17.800 sport clubs.

The project studied by our research group was funded in force of the Law. 383/2000 on social promotion and carried out for twelve months, between 2011 and 2012. It was the continuation of several actions promoted by UISP at national and local level and one of most evident effect of the settlement, in 2009, of an operative section devoted to the promotion of integration through sport. Following this background, the project aimed at strengthening the already existing local programs about sport and social inclusion delivered by eight different local committees. Within the project frame, the achievement of the general purpose passed through the identification of a model and a methodology to foster migrants' inclusion through sport for all as well as through the raising of the communities' awareness about migrants' hardship and social exclusion. Nonetheless, the main focus was on the role that sport grassroots organizations may assume in this specific field. These aims were expected to be fulfilled by lowering the thresholds of accessibility in the sport clubs for migrants, training them jointly with the UISP staff to the improvement of the conditions for establishing and managing a sport club by the migrants, and involving Local Authorities, as well as other third sector's partners, in the process.

The project, carried out in 2011/12, was a complex, multi-level intervention targeting local districts with high levels of migrants' settlement. It adopted a social-ecological framework, working by acknowledging that a process of integration is affected by, and in turn affects, the formal and informal social, cultural, physical relationships between migrants and the host community. On a practical level, on the basis of UISP's competencies, the project envisaged the development of separate programs in eight committees (from North to South: Turin, Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo). It ended with a final presentation of the eight experiences done during the *Mondiali antirazzisti* (Anti-racist World Cup), a relevant event organized every year by UISP and deeply analysed by Sterchele and Saint-Blanchat (2013). The committees were chosen by UISP following a geographic and competence-based criteria: some of them (such as the committees of Turin, Genoa, and Bologna) had a long-established experience in the field of social intervention and in delivering programs involving migrants; others had only recently developed programs; the remaining were almost inexperienced but showed interest to develop this sector. The committees, all representing big cities with a high rate of migrants' presence, were requested by the national coordinating project sector to share, through meetings and common platforms, their local experience with the aim of creating a network among them. In the same vein, the project and the local programs were expected to intervene with an integrated approach, operating close partnership with the main local stakeholders such as schools, migrant and refugee support organisations, football and cricket organisations, community groups, and informal groups of migrants. Even if the project had a specific focus on soccer and cricket, committees had also the possibility to adopt in their activities other sport disciplines.

According to ISTAT (2013), the demographic situation of migrants in the cities involved in the-UISP project is very different. In fact, even with a greater, recent growth of migration in the Southern Regions, the presence of foreigners is higher in the Centre-North Regions.

The Northern Cities of Turin (13,5% of foreigners, 1st of January 2013), Milan (15,4%), Genoa (8,1%), Bologna (13,6%), and the Central Cities of Florence (13,3%), Rome (9,6%), show a significantly higher rate of registered migrants if compared with the Southern cities of Naples (3,8%) and Palermo (3,3%).

Overall, the program aimed at promoting participants' health and well-being, social inclusion, connectedness, and cross-cultural engagement by promoting an active participation and offering opportunities of interaction between migrants and members of the host community. Migrants involved in the program had the opportunity to take part in the scheduled sport activities, also getting access to additional program components including training modules for sport coaches and sport managers, and management and leadership development workshops.

More in details, *Diritti in Campo* project had four key focus areas:

1. Sport activities: they were a central program element with training sessions and competition regularly offered to migrants and members of the host

community under the coordination of experienced coaches;

2. Empowerment: migrants were stimulated to take an active part as coaches, volunteers and managers; in the implementation of the activities a specific focus was devoted on the mentorship and peer-to-peer education;

3. Capacity building: migrants had the opportunity to participate in free training modules in coaching, refereeing, leadership and project management; they were then stimulated to apply the acquired knowledge and skills as support for the program;

4. Sustainability: the project aimed to create the right conditions to enable migrants to establish their own sport club so that activities started during the implementation of the project could continue also after its formal ending.

4. REFLECTIONS ON THE METHODOLOGY AND THE RESEARCH TOOLS ADOPTED

The research framework has its roots in the case-study paradigm proposed by Yin (2009). Particularly, the multiple-case design seems appropriate to describe the structure of the adopted methodology. The approach enables, in fact, researchers to investigate the phenomenon in-depth and in relation with the contextual condition in which it happens (Yin, 2009). Furthermore, the research method's flexibility offers the opportunity to combine different sources of evidences and apply a socio-diachronic approach through which carefully tracking the development of a case over a certain period of time. Finally, one of the most relevant strength of this research design rests on its ability to support the identification of causal mechanisms in relation to the specific features of the different contexts in which the different cases take place. All these features appeared to be appropriated for the analysis of the *Diritti in Campo* project.

Yet there was a general framework for the project, the fact that it was implemented by UISP local committees in eight different cities required an analysis of each local program as a single case study put in relation with the local geographical and social context and in comparison with the other cases. This appeared to be aligned with a dynamic new research frontier that tries to investigate migration dynamics at the sub-national and local levels, recognising that, despite a national model, mechanisms of integration, and so the efficacy of a program of intervention, depends on the local system and the organisation of the local community (Garbaye, 2005; Bloemraad, 2013). Comparing similar programs implemented in different contexts served also as research strategy to reinforce the validity of the determinants for success that have been identified as key organisational and managerial factors.

Within the frame of the above described project, the research carried out by our university group focussed on three specific purposes: the assessment of the efficacy of the programs implemented in the eight cities involved in the project, the verification of the hypothesis that sport-based programs can support the processes of migrants' integration and - in case the hypothesis was confirmed-,

the identification of the success factors, i.e. those organisational and managerial elements that decisively affect the potential outcomes of a sport-based initiative. The adopted framework of analysis was a complex interplay between observation and interpretation and between diverse qualitative techniques. It was considered as appropriated in the analysis of the processes of integration that implies the collection of data situated in the context and inclusive of different levels of investigation. The processes of integration of an individual are, in fact, the results of personal choices influenced by non-linear interactions between personal cultural traits and the cultural system(s) in which individuals live as migrants. Furthermore, migration is largely a fragmented, transitory and place-specific experience (De Tona, 2006).

In this light, the use of multidimensional approaches based on the interplay between different research tools is required for several reasons. Firstly, the analysis must take into account the context as the circumstance that forms the setting in which an individual lives, having relations with other people, and in which the program of intervention takes place. About the context, several scholars (Fisher, 2008; Nathan et al. 2010) have also argued about the influence that it has on the impact that programs of social intervention have on individuals; in fact, the way in which a program is delivered and its outcomes might differ considerably from one context to another. Thus, the analysis must be contextual by adopting a flexible research design, based on the use of multiple research tools and arranged to be adapted to the specific features of the context analysed. Additionally, such analysis requires the study of the individual narratives as well as of the processes of change that take place in the group of migrants and in the host community in which individuals live. In other words, in the view to draw a real and concrete reconstruction of the process of integration, the triangulation of data coming from three levels of investigation - the individual, the group and the context- is needed. Thus, in terms of methodology, there is the need to define a set of theoretical assumptions and categories of analysis that can combine the micro-level – the narrative of the individuals -, the meso-level – the social-interaction between the individual and the social actors of the host-community (such as associations, local authorities, etc.), and the macro-level i.e. the influence of the context.

To this purpose, within the multiple-case design, we adopted a combination of different research tools by interpolating direct observations (n=8) of the eight programs, semi-structured interviews (n=80) with participants, in-depth interviews (n=8) with project managers, focus groups (n=8) with key actors, and documentary analysis (see Table 1 for more information). More in details direct observation was conducted with two interconnected epistemological approaches (see Laville and Dionne, 1996) aimed at serving different purposes. Firstly, it served as means of collection of general background data such as the numbers of active participants, the interactions with the community members, the typologies of activities proposed and the roles of the various participants, the typology of the space in which the activity take place and so on. This data complemented and enriched the information collected with other methods

(e.g. documentary analysis) through a direct observation of the facts. Then, by adopting an interpretative position, we sought to comprehend the meaning that each participant attributed to the activity in which he/she was involved (Creswell, 2013). A specific focus was set on the social and emotional domains and the level and typology of interaction between individuals, identity/other-group orientation and feelings of social inclusion/exclusion and belonging. The consistency of the data collected among the eight cases was secured by the adoption of an observational protocol in which common procedures for recording information while observing and gathering notes were defined. Data collected were further triangulated with semi-structured interviews made with participants selected with a non probability purposive sample method (Creswell, 2013; Bernard and Ryan, 2010; Hektner et al., 2007; Silverman, 2000). They were conceived as a means to elicit participants' experiences and gather information about their personal narratives, their emotions and social interactions. It is worth noting that semi-structured interviews are flexible by nature (Bernard and Ryan, 2010), but in our specific case, the structure was made even more flexible by using an *open frame*. To this purpose a common set of questions was *a-priori* built on the adopted theoretical assumptions as well as on the categories of analysis and used in all the interviews carried out. Another set of questions was built *in vivo* with the aim to better adequate the collection of data to the specific features of the interviewees and preserve ambivalences and dynamics of the issues under discussion (Bergmann, 2006). The decision to adopt an open frame was influenced by the informal situations in which the interviews were administered.

Table 1 Research tools and construct analysis

Research tool	Construct analysed	Rationale for choosing
Direct observation	<p>Personal meaning attributed to the activity</p> <p>Social and emotional domains</p> <p>Level and typology of interaction between individuals</p>	<p>The tool gave the possibility to directly interact with the target population and observe the activities during their implementation.</p> <p>It offered an insight of the cultural and social environment in which migrants were involved.</p> <p>The tool was also used to collect general data (e.g. number of active participants, types of activities, etc.)</p>
Semi-structured interviews	<p>Level and typology of interaction between individuals</p> <p>Personal narratives</p> <p>Social and emotional domains</p>	<p>Flexible tool that could have easily been integrated with participant observation.</p> <p>The tool is appropriated to give respondents room to design their own narratives.</p> <p>It also offered the possibility to adopt an open-frame with questions built <i>in vivo</i>.</p>

Research tool	Construct analysed	Rationale for choosing
In-depth interview	Structure of the organisation Program carried out; Emerging issues (such conflict between migrants, difficulties in the process of integration, etc.) Determinants for success	With the tool, the research group explored project managers' perspectives about the program and the structure of the organisation. The flexibility of the tool gave also the opportunity to go into emerging issues specifically related to each case.
Focus-group	Structure of the organisation Organisational procedures Staff-members Involvement of the target group Monitoring and evaluation Determinants for success	The tool facilitated the direct participation of different actors in the process of data collection (managers, staff members, etc.), and the emerging of different points of view about main features concerning the program, the activities, etc.
Documentary analysis	Background information about the program	Triangulation with the data gathered throughout the other research tools.

Additionally, another two different tools were used to analyse issues emerging from the implementation of the programs: in-depth interviews with project managers and focus groups with key actors (such as educators, stakeholders, participants, etc.). In-depth interviews offered the advantage to obtain detailed information about the program as well as direct information about relevant emerging issues such as conflict between migrants, difficulties in the process of integration, etc. (Boyce and Neale, 2006). The research group defined an interview guide and protocol based on the following topics: the use of sport activity and its role in promoting integration, the social context, the program and the organisation of the activities, the migrants' social status and the public spaces in which activities took place. In parallel, focus groups were used to gain a better understanding about the implemented programs. We selected participants with

the aim to have a representative group of the key actors involved in the programs. The selection followed the quota sampling grid approach (Silverman 2000; Bernard and Ryan, 2010) with the project managers, the activities coordinator, two educators and two managers involved in the focus group. Additionally, organisers were required to invite one representative stakeholder and two migrants selected by them as representatives of the target group. In this specific circumstance, the collection of data focussed on the structure of the organisation, the organisational procedures adopted, the background of the staff-members and its role in the program, the management of the activities, the approach adopted in the involvement of the target group and the system of monitoring and evaluation used to assess the impact on the target population. Participants were also required to identify determinants for success, namely factors that, according to them, decisively affects the potential outcome of a program. Each group was assisted in the process by a researcher who gave, as introduction to the work, a specific definition of determinant for success; participants were then required to identify them at organisational level. Results of each focus-group were mapped and elaborated through a series of hypothesis conceived to define a set of common organisational and managerial features that have been “weighted” in relation with the outcomes of each program. Data collected were also triangulated with a documentary analysis of all the documents issued by each local committee (such as reports, internal documents, working paper, etc.).

The analysis of all data follows a deductive-inductive approach (Dey, 1993). A-priori categories of analysis were derived from the theoretical framework and from the revision of the literature carried out in the preparation of the study. During the analysis of data, these categories were revised and new categories were also inducted with an open coding approach (see table 2). The content analysis was grounded on the final set of categories (a priori categories revised plus inducted categories) and carried out with the support of the text management program known as RQDA.

Table 2: The evolution of the categories of analysis

Original	Final
<p>I. Individual features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Age b. Gender c. Social Relationships d. Ethnic group and cultural background e. Lifestyle 	<p>I. Individual features</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Age b. Gender c. Social relationships <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - with members of the host community - with members of other ethnic groups d. Ethnic group and cultural background e. Lifestyle f. Health status g. Daily routines (social activities, work activities, etc.) h. Life experiences as migrants
<p>II. Context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Cultural background b. Policy (migrations, sport opportunity, etc.) c. Stakeholders d. Social opportunities e. Sport and leisure activities f. Sport activities providers 	<p>II. Context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Cultural background b. Policy (migrations, sport opportunity, etc.) c. Stakeholders d. Social opportunities e. Sport and leisure activities f. Sport activities providers g. Non-traditional sport activities providers h. Background about migration flows
<p>III Organisation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Management b. Decisional processes c. Activities provided d. Local partnerships e. Monitoring and evaluation f. Empowerment and direct participation g. Budget h. Staff competencies 	<p>III. Organisation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Management b. Decisional processes c. Activities provided d. Local partnerships e. Monitoring and evaluation f. Empowerment and direct participation g. Budget h. Staff competencies i. Activities paradigm: social opportunity vs. social intervention j. Sustainability k. Conflict management l. Budget allocation m. S.M.A.R.T. objectives

Original	Final
IV. Quality of the participation a. Frequency b. Level of participation c. Activities attended	IV. Quality of the participation a. Frequency b. Level of participation c. Activities attended
V. Public space a. Typology of sport and leisure time areas b. Accessibility	V. Public space a. Typology of sport and leisure time areas b. Accessibility c. Informal use of public space

5. MAIN FINDINGS AND LESSONS LEARNT

The project represent an interesting case of study and a concrete example of the role that sport may play in social intervention strategies promoting migrants' integration. Overall, the expected results were achieved even though with differences from one committee to another. Findings show some weakness with some of the tasks that were only partially completed. The level of integration among the committees' methods and procedures was, for instance, generally weak due to the lack of meetings and exchanges and because their late involvement in the preparation and definition of the *Diritti in Campo* project proposal. Furthermore, the expected reduction of the linguistic barriers - a questionable result in a program lasting one year - was partially achieved; as highlighted below, committees' tendency was to translate documents in several languages without employing any kind of specific interventions aimed at concretely reducing language gaps.

Broadly, migrants' interviews reported positive feeling since the beginning of the activities; they stated that the direct participation in the programs had helped them to have a better integration with the members of the host community. This encouraging impact was significantly and positively correlated with both regularity of attendance and total participation in the activities. Interviewed migrants reported being significantly more other-group orientated than previously and more open to initiate a close relation with other members of the community. On the contrary, in those cities – such as Palermo, Roma and Napoli – in which cricket was used as preferred discipline, the sport in itself was reported as a reason of disagreement. Pakistani and Indians often preferred to practice separately by adopting different rules (e.g. different kinds of ball) and, according to each group, respecting the true *cricket's essence*.

Matrix queries showed that migrants also involved in additional programs often talked about the value and benefit of mixing across cultures as a means

further supporting the process of integration. However, a number of them commented about being more comfortable with their own culture and language groups. The same matrix queries also showed a low level of participation among women especially in Naples, Palermo, Rome, and Firenze. Indeed, women participation represented one of the most relevant limits of *Diritti in Campo*, yet women's participation was not a specific focus of the project. Overall, their participation was low and sporadic both in the mainstream program and the additional activities. In many cases, during the training activities and competitions, women seated on the touchline, watching men, without any direct participation. However, women interviewed reported that the simple fact to have had the opportunity to escape from their daily routine and meet other people determined a positive improvement in their sense of belonging to the community. Nevertheless, data available were not sufficient to evaluate the impact of the project on women given the small number of female participants recruited.

Concerning the process of recruitment of participants, it must be noted that it was carried out independently at local level, without any specific strategy and criteria for selection. Activities were promoted via formal and informal communication channels and the participation was open to all the interested migrants. In this light, it is likely that the majority of the involved migrants had, since the beginning, a pro-social disposition to be integrated and to have an active participation in the host community's dynamics. This aspect of course must be taken in the due account while assessing the real impact of each investigated case.

From a sociological point of view the analysis of the narratives offered a description of the most recurrent problems faced by migrants living in the Italian context. As general figure, interviewees reported many barriers in the access to basic services such as education, health-care treatments, etc. Not surprisingly they also reported huge difficulties in entering into the labour market and getting an appropriate jobs position. And this despite the fact that many migrants reported to have high level of education and a long established experience as specialized employees in their native country. Many barriers were also referred as inhibiting their participation in sport and leisure time activities. As data not supported yet by official statistics but inferable from studies concerning at-risk populations and from the statements of diverse interviewees, it can be easily maintain that migrants tend to have low level of physical activities and many difficulties in a direct participation in organised sport activities. Furthermore, many social and cultural barriers limit the direct organisation of self-organised activities. Interviewees often talked about a sense of *frustration* due to their willingness to organise sport activities independently and the huge problems that they encountered in fulfilling this need. More in details, the complicated bureaucracy to establish and manage a sport club, the scarce financial resources, the cultural differences related to the display of their own body culture, often related to women's practices, were reported, among the other, as inextricable problems.

During the direct observation, also conflicts in the use and management of

spaces – both formal and informal- in which playing sport appeared as a cause of conflicts among migrants groups and among migrants and members of the host community. Emblematic was the case of the use of a public open parking in Palermo; this space was object of demands coming from two different groups of migrants – Indians and Pakistanis- that wanted to use it as place where to play cricket, separately. At the same time, a group of Italians interested in hobby modelling had elected it as space in which to test their models. The conflict among these groups was so high that UISP local committee was forced to propose a sort of informal schedule for the use of that public space.

6. DETERMINANTS FOR SUCCESS

Based on the analysis of the processes carried out during the year of monitoring in the eight investigated local cases as well as considering the UISP national coordinating office as case study itself, the research group identified eight determinants for success: the partition of roles at local level in the organising committee, the establishment of a broader and integrated associative network, the implementation of inter-organizational synergies, the sharing of knowledge among the organizing local committees, the tutoring for migrants of the administrative and managing procedures, the availability of administrative and informative materials in several languages, a multidimensional training as side activity, the re-modulation of the organization procedures and culture. Overall, the identification of the determinants for success represented a concrete step toward the definition of a model that has the potential to orient the design and the implementation of sport-based projects that are likely to positively impact their target population, also taking into account the specific features of the context in which the project takes place.

Specifically, each determinant can be shortly described as follows. The neat partition of the roles at local level allows the organization to deal with the complexity of the context and the changing nature of the migrants' dynamics, deeply influencing and supporting the other determinants. The operational level should be clearly separated by a more political and decisional level, the latter having the management of the contacts with the stakeholders as main duty. However, a high level of coordination and cooperation must be kept among all the different levels. Cooperation that it is also crucial outside the organising committee; in fact, the establishment of, or the participation in, a broader associative network, involving all the main actors – both public and private- that operate at local level, is a crucial step to combine sport programs with other actions. Sport is a relevant source of integration and promotion of multiculturalism if it is integrated in a system of combined actions that address common issues within a global strategy. In the specific case of UISP – an articulated and complex association - the collaboration within the organization's sectors, e.g. the sectors engaged in social intervention and education with those organising the sports disciplines involved in the program, becomes fundamental not to burn off resources and implement

the actions through a common paradigm and approach.

Considering the specific nature of *Diritti in Campo* project, it can be argued that its efficacy, and the efficacy of project that have a comparable structure, implies the presence of other specific determinants. All the committees were required to adopt a participatory approach with migrants taking an active part in all the phases of the project, also being involved in the activities of the organising committee. Considering the fact that each organisation holds a specific culture traits, in order to have a complete involvement of members that have different cultural traits, the re-modulation of the organization procedures is desirable to meet the diverse migrants' needs in terms of, for example, religious habits or, merely, time management. Then, considering the fact that the project was implemented in eight different cities, in all the different phases of the project, the exchange of knowledge and information among all organizing local committees appeared to be relevant in the view to help and regulate actions developed at local level. Even though, as argued in different parts of the article, the context deeply influence the implementation and the efficacy of a project, the fact that there is an open access to data coming from similar project represents a valuable background of information that enriches the know-how of the organising committee.

One of the main expected outcomes of the project was the creation of a sport club run by migrants that would have guaranteed the prosecution of the activities also after the formal ending of the project. At the end of the project, according to UISP's database, 1115 participants had been involved, and 8 new sport clubs in five local committees were established. Concerning this specific issue due to the increased intricacy of the administrative procedures in Italy to establish and manage a sport club, a step by step tutoring of the administrative and managing procedures is needed, since a basic help desk consulting is not anymore sufficient. This step is regarded to have a double effect: it supports the prosecution of the activity, assuring also the sustainability of the project and an expansion of the potential impact of the activities; in parallel, it contributes to improve knowledge and the skills of migrants involved in the tutoring process. Strictly connected with the previous aspects, there is also the making available of the administrative guidelines and the procedures in several languages that, especially at the beginning of the route, facilitate the establishment of a sport club. Finally, as third axis of intervention, the provision of training courses is another crucial factors. The opportunity to take part in training courses that prepare migrants to assume different roles in a sport organisation is certainly a determinant for success. The nature of this training paths should be multidimensional aiming not only at the acquisition of specific competences in sport's organization but also dealing with broader aspects such as conflicts management, multiculturalism, and interpersonal communication.

7. DISCUSSIONS

Findings support other scholars' argumentations that a single program cannot address the broader macro structural factors that exclude individuals and groups from a complete integration in the community (Kelly, 2011; Madella and Digennaro, 2009). However, the produced knowledge contributed to the collect evidence on the effectiveness of integrated sport-based programs in promoting cross-cultural relationships, and building peer and pro-social behaviours. The study indicates that projects seeking to improve the active involvement of migrants in sport organization have the potential to reduce social exclusion if they use participation to maximise the presence of the determinants for success highlighted here above. In presence of these conditions, migrants may develop a relevant social capital, useful outside the sport domain *stricto sensu*, and available in the personal integration paths.

Trying to infer general deductions by the project and the results, we can highlight at least four factors, which are likely to be adapted to several different contexts both in Italy and at international level; besides the determinants for success they can further enrich, from a sociological point of view, the reflection on the project's findings.

First of all, it must be relevant a focus on body and play prior to sport in order to consider the play as a cultural phenomenon (Eichberg, 2010) and safeguard the so-call *ludodiversity*; the latter can be described as "the variation among all movement cultures and movement expressions and their respective subfields such as: games, sports, physical exercises, dance and acrobatic performances" (Renson, 2004: 11).

The second factor concerns the requirements to make the organizational culture more flexible and open. Such changes include, among the others, a wide range of related matters such as values, decisional strategies, and procedures. These characteristics are deeply influenced by the cultural contexts and, if not managed, they can represent barriers inhibiting migrants' membership and active participation.

The third factor is related with the need of a broad system of integration that enables the creation of networks among the public, associative, and private entities in the view to deal with the complexity of the issues faced by the processes of integration.

The fourth factor regards the management of the spaces used for practising. Aside the sport facilities, the spaces used by migrants are public: waste or hidden grounds, spaces usually conceived for different functions, and parks. In some cases, their temporary occupation leads towards conflicts, between indigenous and migrants and among different groups of migrants; in other cases, spaces - in people's perception - become migrants' property and tend to be avoided. Along with the redefinition of the concept of sport itself, this aspect entails a true reconfiguration of the urban spaces and pose cultural queries to planners as well as those decision makers setting the rules of the use of the public space (Borgogni 2012; Puig and Maza, 2008; Zoletto, 2010). No precise answers, provisions, or

design are expected if not a loose, instead of a tight consideration of the public space itself (Franck and Stevens, 2006).

Much has also been learned about appropriated evaluation procedures that enable researchers to comprehend the complexity of sport-based programs for migrants and also measure, with an evidence-based approach, the impact of such programs. Finally, the research study contributed to the migration studies domain outlining original methodological approaches.

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