UC San Diego

UC San Diego Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Fútbol Americano : Immigration, Social Capital, and Youth Soccer in Southern California

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4436w58z

Author

Keyes, David Gordon

Publication Date

2015

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Fútbol Americano: Immigration, Social Capital, and Youth Soccer in Southern California

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

by

David Gordon Keyes

Committee in charge:

Professor David Pedersen, Chair
Professor Wayne Cornelius
Professor Robert Edelman
Professor Joseph Hankins
Professor Nancy Postero

2015

©

David Gordon Keyes, 2015

All rights reserved

The dissertation of David Gordon Keyes is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2015

Table of Contents

Signature Page ..... **iii**
Table of Contents ..... **iv**
List of Figures ..... **vi**
Vita ..... **vii**
Abstract of the Dissertation ..... **ix**
Chapter 1. Introduction **1**
Immigrant Assimilation 8
Social Capital 15
Soccer and the Place of Immigrants in the United States 21
"Father without a son" 23
Roadmap of the Dissertation 27
A Few Notes on Terminology and Scope 29
Chapter 2. The Domestication of American Soccer **32**
Soccer, the Perpetually Un-American Sport 35
The Triple Domestication of American Soccer 41
Domestication Number One: Making Soccer American *42*
Domestication Number Two: Making Soccer Safe *44*
Domestication Number Three: Making Soccer Part of the Family *48*
Why Los Angeles? 51
Conclusion 61
Chapter 3. The Two Worlds of Youth Soccer **63**
The Development of Two Soccer Worlds 65
The Suburban Youth Soccer Industrial Complex 74
Latino Soccer 80
Youth Soccer as a Dual Labor Market 84

Chapter 4. Soccer in the Latino Community 92
The Aguilas as a Mexican Team 94
No Money, More Problems 100
Sports and Ethnicity 104
Chapter 5. The Integration of Youth Soccer 115
Two Teams, Two Stories 120
The Harriers: From (Nearly) All White to (Nearly) All Latino 125
The Quake: Leche *with a Tinge of* Café *128*
The Politics of Scholarships 130
The Growth of Inequality and the Subjectivities of Flexibility 143
Suburban Soccer and the Habitus of Affluence 154
Cultural Explanations for Economic Problems 157
Soccer as Struggle 160
Chapter 6. Go South, Young Man: Pursuing The Mexican Dream 166
Excavating the Next Generation of Talent 169
The Reverse Migration of Mexican American Players 181
The Ethical Dilemmas of Global Player Migration 189
Chapter 7. Conclusion 196
What Does the Future Hold? 202
Assimilation: Is There Space for the Decline of Ethnic Distinctions? 206
Social Capital: It Takes More than a Soccer Field 209
Works Cited 219

List of Figures

Figure 2.1: AYSO promotional poster, 1966 50

Figure 3.1: AYSO Players, 1965-1974 66

Figure 3.2: USYSA Registered Players, 1974-2000 68

Figure 3.3: Household income of families of core soccer players in the United States ... 69

Figure 3.4: Mean age at entry into organized/team sports by household income and race/ethnicity 70

Figure 3.5: Racial/ethnic background of CalSouth players compared to total population of counties served by CalSouth 71

Figure 3.6: Hispanic population in San Diego County 73

Figure 3.7: Median household income in San Diego County 74

Figure 3.8: Number of Teams, Total Revenue, and Revenue per Player per Club 81

Figure 5.1: Percentage of Latino players on youth national teams compared to percentage of Latinos in total population in United States, January-August 2014 121

Figure 5.2: Percent of Latino players per club compared to percent of under-18 Hispanics in MSA, 2012-2014 124

Figure 5.3: Median income in the United States, 1967-2013 146

Figure 5.4: Manufacturing and Service Sectors as Percentage of Total Workforce, 1950-1990 148

Figure 6.1: Explaining the Reverse Migration of Mexican American Players 188

Vita

Education

2015 Ph.D. Anthropology, University of California, San Diego.

2009 M.A., Anthropology, University of California, San Diego.

2005 M.Ed., Early Childhood Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

2002 B.A. Human Development and Social Relations, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

Publications

2014 Cornelius, Wayne, Alejandra Lizardi, and David Keyes, eds. *Return Migration, Sexuality, and Health in a Transnational Mexican Community*. Guadalajara, Jalisco: Universidad de Guadalajara.

2014 Salgado, Hugo, Isa Haviland, Marcella Hernandez, Diana Lozano, Ruby Osoria, David Keyes, Eastern Kang, and María Luisa Zúñiga. "Perceived Discrimination and Religiosity as Potential Mediating Factors Between Migration and Depressive Symptoms: a Transnational Study of an Indigenous Mayan Population." *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*.

2013 FitzGerald, David, Jorge Hernandez-Diaz, David Keyes, and Geoffrey Fjotasek, eds. *The Wall Between Us: An Indigenous Community in Mexico and the United States*. La Jolla, CA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.

2013 Keyes, David. "The Domestication of American Soccer." In *Soccer Culture in America: Essays on the World's Sport in Red, White and Blue*, edited by Yuya Kiuchi. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publishers.

2010 Aguilar, Arturo, Georgia Hartmann, David Keyes, Lisa Markman, and Max Matus. "Coping with La Crisis." in *Mexican Migration and the U.S. Economic Crisis: A Transnational Perspective*, edited by Wayne A. Cornelius, David Fitzgerald, Pedro Lewin Fischer, and Leah Muse-Orlinoff. La Jolla, CA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.

2010 Keyes, David, Cristina Fernández, Norma Rodríguez, Diana Cervera, and Luis Manzanero Rodriguez. "Reshaping Community Participation: Tunkaseños in a Binational Context." in *Mexican Migration and the U.S. Economic Crisis: A Transnational Perspective*, edited by Wayne A. Cornelius, David Fitzgerald, Pedro Lewin Fischer, and Leah Muse-Orlinoff. La Jolla, CA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Fútbol Americano: Immigration, Social Capital,

and Youth Soccer in Southern California

by

David Gordon Keyes

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, San Diego, 2015

Professor David Pedersen, Chair

In my dissertation, I take up the question of immigrant assimilation in a unique way, using youth soccer as a lens to investigate the topic. I examine the role that the sport has played in the assimilation of immigrants, focusing particularly on its potential to develop social capital between immigrants and non-immigrants.

Over 18 months of fieldwork with three youth soccer clubs in San Diego, dozens of interviews with experts, and archival research into the history of youth soccer in the United States, I find that the sport does little to bring together immigrants and non-immigrants. Although Latinos, the largest immigrant group in Southern California, play soccer in significant numbers, they play it mostly separately from the affluent suburbanites who are the other main group involved with the sport.

The history of soccer, long seen as an un-American sport until it became the sport of youth in the growing suburbs in the post-World War II period, helps to explain this finding. As soccer has been taken up by increasingly affluent suburbanites looking for a sport to serve as a means of distinction, it has enabled them to perform their social status. The world of suburban soccer today remains one of affluence, and many involved with this world have much to gain from it retaining this status. Although young male Latino players, the children of largely working-class Latino immigrants who have arrived in such large numbers since 1965, are often among the most talented youth players, they are often underrepresented on top-level youth soccer teams.

Sports have often been presented as a panacea to social problems, including immigrant assimilation. Political scientist Robert Putnam has suggested that sports can foster connections between diverse people who might not otherwise interact. But Putnam's idea that sports can foster the development of social capital between diverse people assumes everyone comes to the field on equal footing. As my dissertation shows, the playing field is far from equal, and in the end youth soccer does more to reinforce the continued segregation of immigrants than it does to foster their assimilation.

Chapter 1. Introduction

When Jurgen Klinsmann was named coach of the United States men's national soccer team in 2011, he made clear that he wanted to see a shift in the makeup of the team. For decades, mostly white children who had grown up playing soccer in affluent suburbs had made up the bulk of the national team. But, Klinsmann said, "there's so much influence coming from the Latin environment over the last 15-20 years. It also has to be reflected in the U.S. National Team" (2011).

It was perhaps surprising that Klinsmann, a legendary German player who had gone on to coach his country's national team to the semifinals of the 2006 World Cup, was advocating for a change in the make-up of the national team of the United States. But when Klinsmann took on the U.S. job, he had, at that point, spent years living in the United States. Married to an American woman, Klinsmann has long lived in the Los Angeles area, where he has undoubtedly seen the centrality of soccer in the Latino community in Southern California.

Within American soccer circles, there has long been a recognition that talented young Latino players are too often overlooked, left to play in separate teams and leagues from those scouted by high-level teams, including the national team. The appointment of Colombian-born Wilmer Cabrera to be the under-17 national team coach in 2007, the first time a Latino had held the position, was seen as recognition that the U.S. Soccer system as a whole had done a poor job in reaching out to Latino players. As U.S. Soccer

Federation[1] president Sunil Gulati said at the time, "The fact that he is bilingual, from a Latin-American community, is a plus." U.S. Soccer, Gulati, Cabrera, and Klinsmann all hoped, would do a better job of identifying young Latino players, many of whom were quite talented yet did not play in the types of teams where national team scouts typically made appearances.

It is a bit surprising that Latinos are underrepresented on top-level youth soccer teams, which form the primary site of development for future national team players throughout the country. Other sports in the United States, particularly basketball and American football, see an overrepresentation of minorities (African Americans most notably) in their ranks (Sailes 1998). And Latinos are undoubtedly among the most engaged soccer fans and most talented players in the United States. Why is soccer an outlier? Why have Latinos failed to move into the top levels of soccer in the United States at rates commensurate with their population and on-field talent?

* * *

The 805 highway heads south from San Diego towards Chula Vista, a working-class, majority Latino city of around 250,000 people. Along the highway, signs turn from English to Spanish, strip mall storefronts offering everything from *seguro de auto* (car insurance) to *menudo* (Mexican tripe soup). Off of the Coronado Road exit, a couple miles west lies Madison Williams Park.

---

[1] Known officially as the United States Soccer Federation (USSF), I use the more common name "U.S. Soccer" to refer to the governing body for most soccer played in the United States.

Madison Williams is referred to by nearly all who use it as *ala* for the giant airplane wing (part of a World War II bomber) that is the park's most distinctive feature. Perched on a hill at the center of the park, the wing arcs out, as if reaching for the metropolis of Tijuana, the Mexican border city that lies five miles to the south. Ramshackle houses are visible climbing up the hills of Tijuana, shelter for the many who have come to the city in search of a better life, or because the better life they found in the United States came to an abrupt end and they had nowhere else to return to (Alarcón and Becerra 2012).

Between the *ala* and the hills of Tijuana lies the U.S.-Mexico border. Imposing yet eminently porous (FitzGerald et al. 2013), this border is one that many of those at Madison Williams Park have crossed. Fifty-eight percent of residents of Chula Vista are Latino (U.S. Census Bureau 2010); those at the park on any afternoon are likely above 90 percent Latino. They are the parents, coaches, and players who make up the Aguilas Futbol Club.[2] Many have come to the United States from Mexico, attracted by the salaries they could earn north of the border.

Soccer dominates the park, teams packed onto every inch of available space. The fields at Madison Williams are not great. Some aren't really fields, just empty areas. Many are bumpy, most are sloped, nearly all are marked by patches of dirt between sparse areas of green grass.

In the winter, dark comes early – around 5:00 – and teams are forced to rely on the city, which runs the park, to turn on the lights. Park administrators usually do so, but

---

[2] The name of this and all teams mentioned in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

on a cold night in 2012, the lights went out unexpectedly, interrupting the practice of the Aguilas under-thirteen team.

The players waited around for a few minutes, thinking there had been a mistake, but when the lights still did not come back on, they took matters into their own hands. A small group of players, boys 12 and 13 years old, ran up the hill to the park offices. There they stood, looking desperate, begging those inside to please, please turn on the lights so they could finish their practice. They stayed for a while, beseeching the workers, and just when they and their teammates were ready to pack up their things and head home, the lights came back on. By then, everyone was cold, nearly a third of the practice time had been lost, but, undeterred, the boys ran back down the hill, and the team completed its practice session.

Until recently, the Aguilas had been allowed to use the park for free. But in recent years the city, wracked with budget problems, had begun to charge the club for the use of the fields. This added expense is a burden for the Aguilas, a club whose finances are as precarious as its parents, most of whom hold working-class jobs such as landscaping, construction, and domestic work.

It was never clear on that night why the lights had gone out. But in many ways, this uncertainty is emblematic of the plight of the Aguilas club as a whole. Though it undoubtedly has many talented players (several of its alums have gone on to professional careers in both the United States and Mexico), the club lacks the financial resources to really succeed in the ultra-competitive world of Southern California youth soccer. In the best of times, Aguilas teams play on bumpy, sloped, dirt-pocked fields; in the worst of times, the lights go out on them.

* * *

Half the grass is for soccer, the other half for polo. Sometimes the two sports converge, and horses roam behind the teams of young soccer players. The home of the Quake, one of the oldest and most successful clubs in San Diego, is known as the Polo Fields. Because it literally *is* a polo field. Though the Quake doesn't own the fields – the San Diego Polo Club does – they have used them since 1993. The quality of the fields is a point of pride, with the club website boasting that the "facilities have allowed us to train and develop our players on the finest grass fields in the county." Thick, green, flat, and smooth, the fields are gorgeous.

The Polo Fields, unsurprisingly, are located in one of the wealthiest areas of San Diego. Thirty-five miles north of Madison Williams Park, the area could be another planet. Huge mansions dot the hillsides; Jaguars, BMWs, and Mercedes dominate the roads. The average household income in the census tract that surrounds the Polo Fields is $138,365 (compared to $39,190 in the area around Madison Williams) (U.S. Census Bureau 2009).

Many of the players who run back and forth on the manicured grass of the Polo Fields are children of affluent San Diegans. They have the best gear: the newest cleats, shorts and shirts. At the side of many of the fields are rows of Quake-branded backpacks, one for each player, neatly lined up, awaiting their young owners' return.

While a few of the Quake players are Latino, the overwhelming majority are not. This is clearly a club of its surroundings. In the census tract that covers this area, 91

percent of the population is white, 5 percent is Latino (U.S. Census Bureau 2009). While not all players come from the immediate vicinity, many come from the suburbs that lie north of San Diego, which are far more affluent and have far fewer minorities than the city itself (Vandehey 2009), let alone Chula Vista. These suburbs are bastions of affluence and status differentiation, places for those who have "made it."

And the players on the field are reflective of this affluent, suburban milieu. Luxury mansions and luxury cars for adults, luxury fields for their children.

* * *

These are the faces of youth soccer in San Diego today. Two groups play the sport: largely affluent, suburbanites and working-class Latinos who live in ethnic enclaves. Soccer or *fútbol*, both groups love the sport. In many ways, then, soccer should be a place in which Latinos, immigrants mostly from Mexico and their children, can come together with non-immigrants. Sports, meritocracies by their nature (Guttmann 2004), should bring together people who might otherwise not interact. The playing field, as the cliché has it, should be level.

Does soccer bring these immigrants and non-immigrants together? This is the most fundamental question that my dissertation seeks to answer. As the descriptions of the Aguilas and Quake begin to demonstrate, the gap between Latino immigrants and affluent suburbanites is significant. Many obstacles stand in the way of the integration of Latinos into top-level youth soccer.

My dissertation is a study of the integration of Latinos into top-level youth soccer. It takes an ethnographic approach to examine why integration occurs – or, as is often the case, does not occur. In exploring this topic, I am adding to a limited body of scholarship on soccer in the United States. Despite the fact that soccer has grown in popularity in recent decades, and is today second only to basketball in youth participation, scholarly works on the soccer, especially at the youth level, continue to lag (for exceptions, see Andrews 1999; Andrews et al. 1997; Messner 2009; Swanson 2009).

In addition to contributing much-needed work on a ubiquitous facet of contemporary American childhood, my study of youth soccer has broader implications. My work speaks to contemporary debates on immigrant assimilation. By focusing on youth soccer, an arena in which immigrants and non-immigrants can benefit from integration, I seek to add a novel approach to debates between immigrant assimilation scholars.

Finally, I put my work in conversation with the work of political scientist Robert Putnam (2001; 2007; 1994) on social capital. Putnam has suggested that one solution to low rates of social capital in places with much diversity lies in the creation of shared spaces for people of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Soccer, a sport played by both the children of immigrants and by suburbanites for whom any connection to an immigrant ancestry is inconsequential, might offer such a place. Soccer has the potential to bring together immigrants and non-immigrants, to develop connections that form the basis of successful assimilation of future generations. Does soccer in the United States today play this role?

Immigrant Assimilation

In the year 2013, immigrants made up 13 percent of the total U.S. population. This is the highest percentage of the total since 1910, when immigrants were 15 percent of the population (Migration Policy Institute 2014b). It is perhaps not surprising that both periods, the early part of the twentieth century and the early part of the twenty-first, have seen much work devoted to the topic of immigration. Within this work, assimilation is one of, if not the most, central topics.

The wave of immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries pushed early scholars to examine the experiences of these newcomers to the United States (Thomas and Znaniecki 1996; Warner and Srole 1945; Wirth 1938; Park 1930). The so-called "Chicago school" of scholars used in-depth fieldwork to study the lives of immigrants who were settling in Chicago at the time. The challenges that immigrants faced provided the main questions around which this work focused. Would these newcomers and their children become "American" or would they remain eternal outsiders?

Different scholars approached this question in different ways. Robert Park, the father of assimilation research, argued that immigrants go through a "race-relations cycle" of contact, competition, and, ultimately, accommodation (Park 1950). Several decades later, William Warner and Leo Srole (1945) identified criteria by which to measure assimilation, including residential segregation, intermarriage, and socioeconomic mobility. When, in 1964, Milton Gordon sought to identify various types of assimilation (they included cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude-receptional, behavior-receptional, and civic assimilation), a paradigm was codified.

Gordon argued that immigrants went through a series of types of assimilation, famously arguing that structural assimilation, which he defined as "the entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society at the primary group level" (1964:80), formed the "keystone of the arch of assimilation" (1964:81). And Gordon argued that assimilation was, for most immigrant groups, inevitable. Empirical work has supported the idea that immigrants who arrived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as their descendants have, by and large, successfully assimilated (e.g. Alba 1985; Lieberson and Waters 1988).

Levels of immigration to the United States dropped precipitously after the passing of severely restrictive legislation in 1924. Politicians, seeing the rise in the numbers of Southern and Eastern Europe immigrants, whom they labeled "undesirable" (Ngai 2004), put in place quotas that led to a sharp decline in immigration levels. From a low point around World War II, levels of immigration began to rise again and took off after the passing of immigration reform in 1965, which ended the quota system. The 1965 legislation opened up immigration to many groups who had previously come to the United States in relatively limited numbers, particularly those from Asia and Latin America (Pedraza and Rumbaut 1995; Reimers 1983).

This resurgence of immigration to the United States has led to a simultaneous resurgence of research on assimilation (Brubaker 2001). This comes after a sustained period when the word assimilation came to be cast in an extremely negative light (Glazer 1993; Alba and Nee 1997). Assimilation's descent into disrepute came about because of the negative connotations associated with it, largely due to the assumed hierarchies that much earlier assimilation research set out, with immigrants moving from "less advanced"

to "more advanced" cultural levels (e.g. Warner and Srole 1945). But, just as the early twentieth century wave of immigrants to the United States gave rise to the initial theorization of assimilation, the post-1965 wave of immigrants has reminded people that "it is undeniable that there is a process whereby ethnic differences disappear" (Skrentny 2008:67). This has given rise to numerous attempts to rehabilitate the concept of assimilation, leaving aside the less desirable aspects of its earlier incarnations. In today's resurgence of assimilation research, nearly all agree on the outcomes best suited to measuring assimilation. Indeed, they are the criteria that Warner and Srole proposed in 1945: socioeconomic status, residential segregation, language use, and intermarriage. Using these measures, scholars argue vociferously about whether the data indicates that assimilation today is occurring as it did in the early to mid-twentieth century (for just one example, see Foner 2002).

The two main schools of thought in this debate are segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Zhou 1997), which argues that not all immigrants assimilate equally, with some assimilating to different segments of American society, and two-way assimilation (Alba and Nee 1997; 2005), which proposes to study assimilation as a process of two-way change whereby immigrants and the host societies both change. Segmented assimilation backers argue that conditions today mean that the nature of assimilation is much different than was the case previously, while two-way assimilation supporters argue that assimilation is continuing to take place today as it did in the past, largely due to the fact that the host society changes with the arrival of immigrants.

Spearheaded by Alejandro Portes and various colleagues, segmented assimilation theory begins with the observation that assimilation is not taking place equally among all immigrants. Unlike earlier, "straight-line" theories (Gans 1974; Sandberg 1974), which argued that the assimilation of immigrants was inevitable with time in the United States, segmented assimilation theory points out that some immigrants and their children are assimilating successfully while others are not. While some come to the United States and experience upward mobility, others assimilate downward into a social and economic underclass.

There are many reasons why assimilation has become "segmented." Changes in the American economy have led to a bifurcation, with more jobs at the top and bottom ends of the skill and remuneration but fewer of the middle-range jobs into which immigrants and their children previously moved (see chapter 3). Today's immigrants also experience a different context in which immigration, at the moment at least, appears unlikely to end, as it largely did during World War II (Jiménez 2008). Finally, the racial distinctiveness of today's immigrants (most of whom come from Latin America and Asia) from those of previous generations (most of whom were European) plays an important role in their assimilation in the United States. For all of these reasons, the proponents argue, not all are assimilating equally and segmented assimilation "theory attempts to explain what determines into which segment of American society a particular immigrant group may assimilate" (Zhou 1997:984).

A central critique of segmented assimilation comes from Richard Alba and Victor Nee, who contend that this theory paints with too broad a brush. Segmented assimilation supporters, in their view, do not understand that "even what appears to be no more than

horizontal intergenerational movement to an outside observer can be perceived as an improvement by the children of immigrants" (2005:265). An even more fundamental critique of the segmented assimilation paradigm is that it relies on overly rigid racial and ethnic boundaries. In arguing that some immigrants and their offspring will be shunted into a marginalized racial and ethnic underclass, segmented assimilation leaves no space for the possibility that the boundaries that differentiate groups in the United States will themselves shift. As sociologists Joel Perlmann and Roger Waldinger put it,

> The segmented assimilation model combines rigid ethnic/racial boundaries and economic segregation. It envisions the second and third generations as shunted along trajectories of incorporation largely determined by their class origins, position in the U.S. racial system, and residential location. (1997:161)

Instead, Perlmann and Waldinger argue, "today's second generation will make itself busy reshaping the meaning of race – an endeavor to be pursued with at least some modicum of success" (1997:918). If the study of assimilation is to measure how immigrants and their children change to fit an existing system of racial meanings and social boundaries, then segmented assimilation may be the best explanation possible. But if immigration can in fact change the nature of these meanings and boundaries, then we need a theory that takes seriously the possibility of assimilation as a two-way process.

This, of course, is the task that Richard Alba and Victor Nee, proponents of two-way assimilation (1997; 2005), have taken up in the past two decades. While they use the same quantitative measures of assimilation, Alba and Nee examine the data and reach a very different conclusion: with some minor exceptions, assimilation continues largely as did during previous waves of immigration. They argue that assimilation continues in this way because immigration leads to "the decline of ethnic distinction and its corollary

cultural and social differences" (2005:11). Alba and Nee seek to redefine the content of the debate on assimilation, arguing that the mechanism by which assimilation takes place is the "remaking of the American mainstream." Thus, in Alba and Nee's model, as the mainstream is remade by the redrawing of social boundaries, people's behaviors will change as well. With this redrawing of social boundaries, those who were once outside of the mainstream will move into it, and potential discrimination that may have hindered their assimilation will be reduced. The remaking of the mainstream, thus, will permit today's newcomers the type of structural assimilation that previous wave of immigrants experienced decades ago.

The critiques of two-way assimilation, like those of segmented assimilation, are on numerical as well as epistemological grounds. The first set of critiques is that Alba and Nee are overly optimistic of their reading of measures of assimilation. Portes, Kelly-Fernandez and Haller write that "Alba and Nee's theory comes down to the optimistic expectation that second-generation youths at risk of downward assimilation will be a small minority, with the vast majority following the 'canonical' process of integration into the mainstream" (2005:1004) in spite of vast differences in conditions for today's immigrants compared with those of previous waves. Alba and Nee read too little into the "small" minority who, in their view, are actually a significant segment of the population who are assimilating into a marginalized underclass. The more fundamental critique of Alba and Nee is for their failure to define "mainstream." As Portes has written, they make the term "so broad as to practically deprive it of any meaning" (2005:4). Without knowing what the mainstream is, it is difficult, if not impossible, to test their theory that

it will be remade, thus continuing the general pattern of successful assimilation for today's immigrants that earlier generations experienced.

While the debate between the advocates of segmented and two-way assimilation can be fierce, the lack of compatibility between the two theories is often overstated. The assimilation outcomes for different immigrant groups may vary at the same time that "ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences" are altered. Several studies have shown that later generation Mexican immigrants have fared poorly relative to other immigrant groups (López and Stanton-Salazar 2001; Telles and Ortiz 2008). Yet the influence of Mexican Americas on the alteration of racial and ethnic relations is clear (Jiménez 2008), and in some places, Latino immigrants may not experience the type of discrimination than many other immigrants do today. Rather than argue which theory is correct, a more fruitful approach is to examine not only *whether* assimilation is occurring today, but *how* it is occurring. Especially in states like California, with large Mexican American populations, immigrants and the children of immigrants *are* interacting with the native-born population. Studies that rely significantly on large-scale datasets such as the census offer excellent overviews of assimilation processes; what they cannot offer is an examination of the everyday interactions that occur between immigrants and non-immigrants, which form the quotidian underpinnings of assimilation writ-large.

My study is an attempt to use these two perspectives on – segmented and two-way assimilation – to both explain what is happening in the world of youth soccer and to demonstrate how what is happening in youth soccer can shed light on larger processes of immigration assimilation. On the one hand, we can ask whether the integration of Latinos that occurs in youth soccer fits with the pattern predicted by segmented or two-way

assimilation. Do we see some children of immigrants integrating into top-level youth soccer while others do not (as segmented assimilation would predict)? Do we see changing meanings of racial and ethnic identities through the bringing together of immigrants and non-immigrants (as two-way assimilation would predict)? At the same time, I intend to extrapolate from my findings on the integration of Latinos in the world of youth soccer to examine assimilation more generally. Soccer is a microcosm, and a particularly interesting one given that integration can benefit immigrants (who get to play at a higher level and potentially develop connections with more affluent suburbanites) and non-immigrants (who get the benefit of talented Latino players boosting their children's teams) alike. If integration of Latinos occurs in youth soccer – or does not occur – there are lessons to be drawn about the assimilation of immigrants in American society today.

Social Capital

One disadvantage that many immigrants face is a lack of broad-based social connections. Scholars use the term social capital to discuss the social connections that people have (or do not have). While definitions of social capital vary, broadly speaking the concept gets at the benefits that one can attain through social connections. As French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu puts it, "Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (2008:51). The father whose son gets into Harvard on the good word put in by a friend from church, for example, is using social capital for his own benefit. For immigrants without such

connections, it is a different story. These immigrants often do have connections to other immigrants like themselves (scholars call this bonding social capital), but lack contacts with those outside of their communities (also known as bridging social capital) that might help them move up. Sociologist Mark Granovetter's "strength of weak ties" argument (1973) – which shows that often people obtain access to jobs and other economic resources not through people with whom they have close connections, but rather through being plugged into other social networks through people with whom they have less strong ties – is the most famous statement of this idea. For immigrants, as I show below, soccer provides bonding capital, bringing working-class Latinos together, but it does not provide the bridging capital that might help them or their children move up the economic ladder (by making connections outside of their community).

Social capital makes a difference for individuals, but it also has implications at a society-wide level. The most famous proponent of this idea is Robert Putnam. A political scientist by training, he argues for a connection between well-functioning democracy at the explicitly political level and social capital at the grassroots level. Putnam argues that "social capital," which he defines as "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" (2007:137), forms the basis of civic involvement, which underpins democratic governance. Putnam argues that civic involvement is so closely tied to reciprocity, honesty, and social trust that it is nearly impossible to separate out any of these measures.

Putnam's early work (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1994) demonstrates that in regions of Italy with high levels of local civic engagement (measured by levels of membership in music groups, sports teams, religious associations, etc.), lower levels of

corruption and higher rates of effective governance are more common. The institutions of government, Putnam argues, are run effectively in no small part because of the social capital engendered by local-level civic engagement. In *Bowling Alone* (2001), Putnam shifts his focus to the United States. He argues that civic society has declined in American since the 1950s, a change which augurs ill for the continued vibrancy of American democracy.

Bowling Alone largely overlooks an important component of many communities in the United States: immigrants. Putnam's more recent work (2007) rectifies this oversight and asks what impact immigration is likely to have on civic engagement in the United States. Overall, Putnam is pessimistic about the impact the new arrivals will have on civic engagement, arguing for the idea of "constrict theory," which suggests that "diversity might actually reduce *both* in-group *and* out-group solidarity" (2007:144), at least in the short term. Putnam claims that immigration and ethnic diversity tend to reduce social solidarity and social capital," and that in the short run residents of ethnically diverse neighborhoods "hunker down" and civic engagement is reduced. In the long run, however, "successful" communities of immigrants create "new forms of social solidarities and more encompassing identities" (2007:137). The key, according to Putnam, is the redrawing of social identities to successfully include immigrants and include them as part of the in-group, to create "one" out of a diverse many (the similarities with Alba and Nee's "decline of ethnic distinction" should be obvious).

In all of his work, Putnam offers recommendations for staunching the decline of social capital. One of his most central suggestions is to provide venues to bring diverse people together on equal terms. "The community centers and sports teams that brought

the immigrants of previous generations into the mainstream" (Putnam 2007:164), can serve the same purpose today. With Latinos present in nearly equal numbers as others who participate in youth soccer in Southern California, the sport is an ideal place to see the development of social capital between immigrants and non-immigrants. With millions from both communities playing the sport, there is the potential for the development of the type of social capital that can, ultimately, lead to the redrawing of social identities. But my research finds that integration, the development of social capital, and the redrawing of social identities do not occur as optimistic observers like Putnam suggest they should.

This not to say that immigrants and non-immigrants *never* play together. Indeed, they do. On these occasions, does soccer serve to develop the reciprocity, honesty, and social trust that Putnam argues are intimately tied to the development of social capital? Again, my research offers a pessimistic answer to this question. I find that when immigrants and non-immigrants come together to play on the same teams, the terms of this integration remain so unequal that the development of social capital rarely takes place. Because integration occurs primarily when affluent, suburban clubs given scholarships to immigrant children (thus waving the annual fees that can go as high as two thousand dollars), the power on which the relationship relies remains so unequal that the development of reciprocity, honesty, and social trust rarely takes place.

Why, then, does soccer not serve the role as social capital creator that Putnam hopes for? Perhaps because Putnam's assertion that shared social provenance is not a requirement for participation in team sports turns out not to be the case in Southern California youth soccer today. The sport, having been taken up in huge numbers by the affluent suburbanites whose numbers exploded in the post-World War II economic boom

have made the sport their own. The costs to play the game, especially on the best teams, have created the gap that impedes the successful integration of youth soccer. The thousands of dollars that suburban parents pay for their children to play youth soccer are a cost they can afford; for many immigrants parents, the cost is simply out of reach. Instead of seeking to get their kids on the best teams, they look for more affordable teams that may be good, but offer little of the social capital benefits (e.g. exposure to college coaches who may be in a position to offer scholarships) that the more affluent teams can.

My analysis shows that Putnam's conception of social capital is too limited to observe barriers to its creation. His "lean and mean" definition of social capital as "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" ignores the fact that social capital often depends on other types of capital to be created and maintained. For a fuller definition of social capital, I rely on Bourdieu, who argues that social capital is merely one of "three fundamental guises" of capital, the other two being economic capital and cultural capital. All three types of capital can be converted, so that, for example, those with greater economic capital can more easily obtain greater social capital. Ultimately, however,

> it has to be posited simultaneously that economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital and that these transformed, disguised forms of economic capital, never entirely reducible to that definition, produce their most specific effects only to the extent that they conceal (not least from their possessors) the fact that economic capital is at their root, in other words – but only in the last analysis – at the root of their effects. (Bourdieu 2008:55)

By bringing economic capital into the discussion, we are able to see that simply creating sports teams, singing clubs, or any other groups that may bring diverse people together will not necessarily yield the gains in social capital that Putnam assumes will

take place. My finding that many youth soccer teams largely fail to provide an arena for the creation of social capital between immigrants and non-immigrants makes more sense once we take economic capital into consideration. Latino immigrants, who often lack economic capital, and affluent suburbanites, who often have it in abundance, do not enter a level playing field when they sign their children up for youth soccer. The fact that much youth soccer remains largely segregated, and social capital that might in the long run transform social identities is not developed, is testament to the gulf in economic capital that separates these two groups.

It is not only economic capital that shapes the patterns of participation in Southern California youth soccer today. Equally important is the cultural capital that parents hope to gain through their children's participation in the sport. In his classic book *Distinction*, Bourdieu argues that cultural consumption is "predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences" (Bourdieu 1984:7). Cultural capital enables people to present themselves – and others – as certain types of people. At its core, cultural capital creates and maintains social boundaries. It is not simply an interesting aside to know how people perceive themselves and others; it is in fact an essential part of this boundary-making process. How exactly does cultural capital enable social boundaries made and re-made? Bourdieu's *Distinction* is a 642-page attempt to show that the upper classes use consumption in order to differentiate themselves from others. This flips the commonsense assumption that consumption patterns follows social class (i.e. the upper classes have more refined taste and consume accordingly) and shows the social role of consumption in legitimating social differences.

Soccer, as I show throughout this dissertation, has different meanings for the different groups who are involved with it. For the affluent suburbanites, it is a sport of distinction, a game played by the well-to-do, and one that allows them to demonstrate their status. For many Latinos, it is, they hope, a way for their children to get ahead. If they can be noticed by college or professional scouts, soccer can be a ticket to a better life. Bourdieu's idea that the "social definition of sport is an object of struggles" (1978:826) shapes what happens when Latinos and suburbanites come together (see chapter 5 in particular). Misunderstandings about how others perceive the meaning of soccer – in other words, the cultural capital that people hope to gain from involvement in the sport – are rife and these misunderstandings inhibit the development of reciprocity, honesty, and social trust that make up social capital.

Cultural capital and economic capital, as forms of capital that can be converted into social capital, should be brought into Putnam's analysis. If youth soccer does not provide the arena for the development of social capital that Putnam expects, it is likely because social capital is not an autonomous entity. Instead, the development of social capital through youth soccer depends enormously on the economic capital that those who play the sport bring to it, and the cultural capital they hope the sport offers them.

Soccer and the Place of Immigrants in the United States

What can history show us about the potential of soccer to develop social capital and aid in the assimilation of immigrants in the United States? In the academic literature on soccer in the United States, a central line of research deals with the role of sports in the assimilation processes of immigrants.

In his work on ethnic soccer clubs in Milwaukee, John Pooley (1972) argues that participation in these clubs inhibits assimilation into broader society. It is a finding echoed by David Trouille (2009) and Juan Javier Pescador (2004; 2007), who argue that soccer has, throughout the twentieth century, offered a place for the Mexican American community to come together, thus largely remaining separate from the outside community. Steven Riess summarizes the view that ethnically-oriented sports are a barrier to assimilation, writing that "ethnic organizations sought to limit or at least supervise structural assimilation" (1991:256).

Not all agree that ethnic versions of soccer inhibit assimilation. Gary Morimo writes that the Catholic church of St Louis in the interwar period used youth soccer to overcome divisions within the Italian community and "harness these divisive energies into creative participation" (1982:5). Robert Day (1981), in direct contrast to Pooley, argues that ethnic soccer clubs north of the border in London, Ontario did not impede assimilation, but actually encouraged it. Because the teams were extremely competitive, they recruited talented players, irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds.

Indeed, to the extent that integration of ethnic soccer clubs occurs, competition seems to be the main driver of it. Trouille writes that as Mexican American teams in Chicago improved on the field, they began to recruit outside of their ethnic community, a process that Derek Van Rheehen (2009) also observes in the San Francisco Bay Area. Soccer in immigrant communities serves a dual purpose: 1) to bring together immigrants, and 2) to provide a place for the practice of sport, a central goal of which is winning. The desire to win can outstrip the desire to maintain the ethnic nature of clubs. Just as sociologist James Coleman argues that "most forms of social capital are created or

destroyed as the by-products of other activities" (1988:S118), so too may assimilation occur, not as the result of a desire to integrate ethnic soccer clubs, but out of the even stronger desire of these clubs to be successful.

Youth soccer provides an interesting counterexample to the general post-World War II decline in social capital that Putnam observes. From a sport with few, mostly immigrant, devotees, soccer has become ubiquitous throughout the United States. Unlike declining bowling leagues and Elk clubs, soccer, especially youth soccer, has grown exponentially. In 1974, the year the United States Youth Soccer Association was founded, the organization had one hundred thousand registered players. Today, the numbers is above three million (U.S. Youth Soccer Assocation 2009).[3] Youth soccer provides the perfect arena to examine long-standing concerns about the assimilation of immigrants as well as to examine Putnam's idea that diversity leads to the decline of social capital – and that sports can play a role in changing this situation. Examining how immigrants and their children are integrating into youth soccer is a unique way to ask how immigrants and their children are assimilating into society as a whole. Youth soccer attracts the children of immigrants and the children of non-immigrants alike, but does it bring them together?

"Father without a son"

"So, which son is yours?"

---

[3] Neither the current number nor the 1974 figure includes children registered in other soccer associations, of which there are many. The American Youth Soccer Association (featured prominently in chapter 2) is perhaps the most well known.

During my fieldwork, it's the question I was asked more than any other. No, I'd tell people, I don't have a son on the team, I'm a PhD student doing research on youth soccer. Usually they'd laugh, perhaps eye me suspiciously, wondering if I really was doing what I said I was. Some, I sensed, wondered if there wasn't something a little bit off about a thirty-something without a child spending so much time at youth soccer fields. Others wondered (aloud, usually) how it was possible that someone was allowed to spend their days studying youth soccer.

Conducting ethnographic fieldwork on youth soccer involved no multi-day treks to tiny villages on distant islands. It included no moment of acceptance into a community after a shared experience of harassment from outsiders. It mostly consisted of me, standing on the sidelines of youth soccer fields, talking with parents and coaches. I got there by traversing the highways of San Diego in my 2004 Honda Civic. I like to think that I was "accepted" by my informants, but as a "father without a son," I'm not sure that I ever became more than a slightly odd figure with an inexplicably strong interest in their child's soccer team.

Perhaps it's not surprising that it would be assumed that I had a son on the teams I was observing. In the post-World War II American system of youth soccer, parents are the grease that keeps the wheels turning. "Soccer moms," the archetypal suburbanite mother always at the ready with halftime orange slices for the kids, are but one example of the centrality of parents in the running of youth soccer (for more on the role of parents in youth sports, see Messner 2009; Swanson 2009). Especially in the post-World War II suburbs, the "privatization of social life," to use Kenneth Jackson's phrase (1987:272) has become prevalent. Many youth sports, and high-level youth soccer especially, are no

longer organized by civic and religious organizations (e.g. Morimo 1982), but by private citizens, namely parents. To be involved in youth soccer as a parent is, in many ways, expected; to be involved as a non-parent is, well, odd.

There is one group of adults who do spend huge amounts of time involved with youth soccer: coaches. In planning my research, I hoped to volunteer as a coach for the teams I would follow during my fieldwork. As a former college soccer player, I figured teams would jump at the opportunity to have my free labor. So I was dismayed when my offers to several teams fell on deaf ears. It was only later, after months of following several teams, that I realized that the idea of having a "volunteer" coach was anathema to "professional" image that the top clubs seek to cultivate. If anyone could come in and coach, how good could the teams be? I had grown up playing high-level soccer in Ohio, but I was unprepared for the level of professionalization in Southern California youth soccer.

Without a defined role to play at the teams I was planning to work with, I simply began to show up at practices and befriend the parents. In the end, spending time with the parents proved to be more valuable than coaching would have been, as it enabled me to engage them in conversations about why they choose to have their children play for the teams they did, their hopes for their children's future, and more. Over eighteen months as a "father without a son" I followed three teams. I chose teams to represent the spectrum that exists in Southern California youth soccer today. The Aguilas are typical of clubs in Latino-dominated areas that draw their players from this community. The Quake is representative of high-level clubs in affluent suburbs and draws their players primarily, though not exclusively, from these areas. The Harriers are somewhere in between: the

club was previously an affluent suburban club with players from these areas, but in the last couple of decades have brought in a huge number of Latino players. My choice to study these top-level clubs was strategic. If the integration of Latino players is to occur, it is far less likely in less competitive versions of the sport. If the purpose of playing soccer is for recreation, there is no need to make the effort to drive often long distances to play with the best teams. Top-level soccer, though, where winning is one of the top priorities should, in theory, attract the best players, no matter their backgrounds.

Through the course of my participant observation with teams in Southern California, I realized that limiting myself to this geographical region would not do justice to youth soccer as it is experienced by many. I found that many young Mexican American players harbored hopes of traveling to their parents' homeland and signing for a Mexican professional team. This hope was not unfounded. In recent years, dozens of young Mexican American players have gone south and signed for Mexican teams. Seeing this, my research took me to Mexico City, where I spent a week observing several young Mexican American players from Southern California who were trying out with the famous club known as Pumas.

While in Mexico City, I interviewed Pumas coaches, scouts, and team administrators. These interviews built on dozens that I conducted with those in the United States who have knowledge of the youth game. In total, I conducted 50 formal interviews. Finally, I conducted research in the archives of two of the most important youth soccer organizations in the country. They are the American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO) in Los Angeles and the United States Youth Soccer Association (USYSA) in Dallas.

Roadmap of the Dissertation

The dissertation begins with an examination of the domestication of soccer in the United States. In chapter 2, I ask how soccer moved from being an ethnic curiosity played by foreigners and immigrants to an incredibly popular sport in post-World War II American suburbs. I trace out the role of the most important organization – the American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO) – in this process of "domestication" of soccer. AYSO successfully promoted the idea of soccer as an "American" sport by connecting it to other important ideological currents at the time: that of safety and that of the nuclear family.

Once domesticated, youth soccer would grow in popularity. It would also come to reflect shifts in the larger economy. Chapter 3 examines the parallels between the development of the dual labor market – with good jobs at the top, bad jobs at the bottom, and ever fewer jobs in the middle – and the world of youth soccer. The ever-growing suburbs came to house those who succeeded in this dual economy; the world of suburban soccer, with its significant costs, provided a place for their children to play the sport. Meanwhile, Latino immigrants, attracted to the United States by low-wage, low-skill jobs have seen their children play in the parallel world of Latino soccer, a world typified by its low costs. Chapter 4 goes into further depth on the world of Latino soccer, examining ways in which one typical club, the Aguilas, functions like an ethnic enclave business. The Aguilas offer Latino players a higher level of return – a good level of play – on their skills – that is, their on-field talent – than do suburban clubs, which require an outlay of thousands of dollars per year to participate. But, just as ethnic enclave businesses can exploit their workers by using ethnic solidarity to influence their behavior, the Aguilas

president and coach Jorge Sanchez tries to dissuade his players from being attracted by suburban clubs' offers of scholarships.

Scholarships are the main mechanism facilitating the integration of Latino players onto suburban clubs, the subject of chapter 5. I examine the process by which such integration takes place, with particular focus on explaining why less integration occurs than would be expected. In part, it is because the system of two soccer worlds is set up with the interests of two very different groups in mind. But even when suburban clubs offer scholarships, many Latinos remain reluctant to accept them. These Latinos see their position in the broader economy – one that requires flexibility and subjugation – replicated in their children's participation in youth soccer. Scholarships, presented as gifts by suburban clubs, appear to Latinos as enticements that not only reinforce their subjugated status, but can also be revoked at any time. Affluent suburbanites rarely recognize these parallels between the economic conditions that shape the lives of Latinos and their involvement in youth soccer, attributing their reluctance to integrate to cultural traits.

Given the lack of integration, many young Latinos are pursuing a future not in top-level American youth soccer, but in Mexican professional soccer. Chapter 6 follows one such player, Daniel Olea, as he travels to Mexico to try out for famed club Pumas. I use Olea's story as emblematic of larger trends, namely the increased scouting by Mexican professional teams of Mexican American players. This single story then functions as the jumping-off point to describe a series of developments that have led to many Latino players seeking a "Mexican dream" with professional clubs in that country.

Finally, chapter 7 offers a conclusion to the dissertation, returning to the questions laid out in the introduction and tracing out the broader implications of my findings. I use segmented and two-way assimilation theories to both explain the integration of Latinos into top-level youth soccer, and to draw broader implications for immigrant assimilation from this case study. I also return to the work of Robert Putnam on social capital, seeking to answer why soccer does not serve as an arena for the development of social capital between immigrants and non-immigrants. In the end, I argue that the economic shifts of the last half-century play an extremely central role in explaining findings relevant to assimilation and social capital. Soccer has the potential to serve as an arena for the shifting of social identities that two-way assimilation suggests and for the development of social capital that Putnam suggests, but the economic realities today are such that the sport largely fails to do so. Given the dual economy, Latinos largely play soccer separately from affluent suburbanites. The idea that soccer, or any sport, can develop social capital between diverse groups without acknowledgment of the economic gulf between proves naïve and unrealistic.

A Few Notes on Terminology and Scope

It is easy to get tripped up on terminology, something I prefer to avoid. I opt for clarity in my writing, and as a result use several words in ways that others might challenge. I use "Latino" and "Hispanic" interchangeably, though I generally use the former, relying on the latter only when drawing from Census data, which talks about "Hispanic origin" (Calderón 1992; Foley 2012).

Second, on the descriptors I use to refer to the two groups who play soccer – working-class Latinos and affluent suburbanites – I have particular reasons for the way I refer to them. Although not all Latino players are come from working-class backgrounds, the majority I interacted with did. Similarly, not all suburban players are affluent, but most are. For the sake of brevity and because, broadly speaking, class and ethnicity are highly correlated, I describe each group in its broad outlines, recognizing that not all fit these descriptions hold for every player.

Related, while I use an ethnic identifier – Latino – for one group I do not do so for the suburbanites. While many are white, there is a significant enough presence of Asians, African Americans, and other minorities to make the use of this identifier problematic. What ties all of these players together, though, is their affluence, which is why I use this as my main identifier for them.

Similarly, it could be noted, correctly, that Chula Vista, the area where I conducted my research with the Latino club the Aguilas, is, in fact, a suburb of San Diego. While I recognize the lack of precision in not referring to Chula Vista as a suburb, I hope the reader will be generous and understand that I choose to keep the term suburb limited to the affluent suburbs that make up the other world of youth soccer in the United States. Although the rate of immigrants settling in suburbs is growing dramatically (Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell 2008), it is the nature of these places as ethnic enclaves (see chapter 4) that truly distinguishes them, which is why I choose not to highlight the suburban character of Chula Vista.

I use assimilation when referring to the criteria that immigration scholars generally rely on: socioeconomic status, residential segregation, language use, and

intermarriage. I use integration to discuss the degree to which Latinos play on non-Latino dominated – that is, suburban – teams. I see this integration in youth soccer as a novel way of studying larger assimilation processes, a decision I explain further in chapter 5.

Finally, I want to make clear from the outset that this dissertation is limited in its focus to the world of boys soccer. I made the decision to limit my focus early on for practical reasons (I could only follow a limited number of teams during my fieldwork) and because boys soccer is where the integration of Latinos is more likely to occur. Although Latinas in the United States are playing soccer in increasing numbers and at increasingly high levels today (Cuadros 2012), Latinos are undeniably among the most talented boys players, as they have been for many years. If my goal is to examine why integration occurs, or does not occur, in an arena in which we would expect it to, limiting my focus to boys teams makes sense. There is, of course, space for research that examines soccer among Latinas, and I hope that future scholars will conduct it.

Chapter 2. The Domestication of American Soccer

In 1956, Bill Hughes had high hopes of establishing a youth soccer program in Los Angeles. That year, he worked to set up a youth program affiliated with the Greater Los Angeles Soccer League (GLASL), a men's amateur league established in 1903 that had long served as a social outlet for waves of immigrants settling in the city. Teams such as Los Angeles Magyar and the San Pedro Croats had been a central part of ethnic communities for adults in Los Angeles, and leaders of the GLASL hoped a youth program could be set up to pass the game they loved on to their children. Hughes, originally from the United Kingdom, had long been involved with the GLASL's Los Angeles Scots club. He and other league leaders established nine teams in the first season, eight of which were affiliated with adult clubs representing the various, mainly European, ethnic communities of the time. Hughes' team, which brought together children from across the city, was the only one not to be organized within a single ethnic group, a move he hoped would help to spread the game beyond its base of support in the ethnic communities of Los Angeles.

Hope for the youth program quickly turned to disappointment. The ethnic-based teams in particular struggled to stay together. Bringing in the children of a single ethnic community proved problematic as players were forced to travel many miles for practices and games, a task made difficult by the rapid growth of Los Angeles at the time, including a steep rise in traffic (Davis 2006). Ethnic-based teams also often stockpiled players from their community, and with rosters of over 20 players, some children who were given few opportunities to play began to lose interest.

Four teams disbanded after the first season. At a meeting of the GLASL leadership, Bill Hughes made a series of proposals that he felt could improve the situation. As Hughes later wrote, these included:

1. Only fifteen players to a team – When one team had 33 players, the other team had dropped out because the other team could not field seven.

2. Every player turning up for a game must play at least twenty minutes of each half. – Some teams had started with over 20 players, but dropped below 12 players because some boys or their friends did not get to play.

3. Elimination of "ethnic names" – Very hard to ask native-born American boys to play for a foreign named team. I had no trouble with my team. I still had the original and 8 were Americans.

4. Only regions within ten miles of a central point are admitted – We lost good coaches and referees because of lengthy travel.

His ideas were voted down. League leaders decided to play a further six weeks, a final hurrah before the league would disband. One year after the hopeful meeting between Bill Hughes and the GLASL leadership, the youth program was dead. Hughes' had failed in his goal of spreading soccer beyond the ethnic communities who had long played the sport throughout Los Angeles.

This failure of the GLASL youth program was not the first time that the development of soccer in the United States had shown promise before quickly sputtering to a halt. The title of American soccer historian David Wangerin's (2011) book – *Distant Corners: American Soccer's History of Missed Opportunities and Lost Causes* – nicely sums up the often repeated story of brief moments in which the sport looked set to grow, only to fail, remaining ensconced in relative anonymity, a niche sport of immigrants that

never seemed to take hold beyond these groups. Prior to the 1960s, soccer was largely a "foreign game."

But, as I will show below, the initial failure that Hughes experienced in attempting to start a youth program inspired him to create a new, and ultimately, successful model that served as the impetus for the boom in youth soccer that has followed. Hughes are his colleagues were successful in kickstarting the youth soccer boom in no small part because they reframed the sport as an "American" game. It is precisely *because* the American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO), the organization that Hughes, along with several others, founded in 1964, successfully "domesticated" soccer that the sport has become the juggernaut that it is today. My analysis of this process of domestication involves three parts – a triple domestication, as I call it. Each domestication springs from one of the various meanings of the word. In this process of domestication:

1. AYSO founders explicitly stripped associations of ethnicity from the sport (i.e. making it a domestic, not foreign, game),
2. By presenting it as an emotionally and physically safe game (i.e. making it a domesticated, or safe, activity),
3. And connecting it to the realm of the nuclear family (i.e. making it a part of the domestic realm).

These three domestications are related. Connecting soccer to the nuclear family enabled AYSO founders to present it as a safe game, which in turn helped to strip the foreignness from the sport.

In this chapter, I draw on data from the previously unexplored AYSO archives, which include meeting minutes, correspondence between early leaders, promotional

materials, and more; interviews with several AYSO leaders and media members who covered the organization in its early years; and media coverage of AYSO in specific, and youth soccer in general in Los Angeles, in the 1960s and 1970s. My analysis of these sources brings up several important themes and allows me to achieve two main goals in this chapter:

1. To explain how the triple domestication of youth soccer enabled the sport to grow so dramatically in Los Angeles beginning in the 1960s and,

2. To demonstrate the value of studying the nation through analysis of "ordinary people engaging in mundane activities" (to borrow a phrase from Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008; see more below).

Much has been written about how states use the idea of the nation as an ideological construct to achieve their goals, but far less attention has been paid to the ways that ordinary people use the nation for their own purposes (Verdery 1993; Alonso 1994). The idea of the nation can mobilize citizens in support of wars and motivate people to action in support of other goals of the state. But, far from the front lines, the idea of the nation can also mobilize those same citizens to take their kids out on Saturday mornings to their local park, to play a sport that was, until recently, seen as a foreign game.

Soccer, the Perpetually Un-American Sport

The growth of soccer in the United States has long been influenced by the perception of it as a "foreign" sport. Political scientists Andrei Markovits and Steven Hellerman have argued that during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when the American sport space was being developed, "soccer was perceived by both native-born

Americans and immigrants as a non-American activity at a time in American history when nativism and nationalism emerged to create a distinctly American self-image" (2001:52). Though critiques of Markovits and Hellerman exist (Apostolov 2012; Trouille 2009), nearly all agree that despite a brief period in the early twentieth century, soccer remained largely an ethnic curiosity (a major exception to this is St Louis, which had developed a strong soccer scene connected not to ethnic communities, but instead to local church parishes; see Morimo 1982). Meanwhile, the popularity of sports such as baseball and football, whose foreign roots (in rounders and rugby, respectively) were intentionally obscured by promoters who sought to present them as distinctively American games, boomed (Block 2006; Oriard 1998; Markovits and Hellerman 2001). Walter Camp, the Yale coach and key evangelist for American football in the late nineteenth century, argued that the rationalization and strategy inherent in the sport "developed in young men the character and experiences essential for success in America" (Oriard 1998:37). As historian Michael Oriard has shown in his cultural history of the sport, football grew as Camp and others connected it to increasingly hegemonic ideas about work, order, and discipline in the growing capitalist economy of the United States.

In contrast to Walter Camp, soccer officials in the United States had little interest in growing their game beyond the ethnic communities who had long been its main constituents. David Wangerin writes that "in a country whose national motto, *e pluribus unum* (out of many, one), articulated a desire for assimilation, leaving soccer in the hands of what [President Teddy] Roosevelt, [Senator Henry Cabot] Lodge and their ilk disparagingly referred to as 'hyphenated-Americans' was tantamount to marginalizing it for good" (2006:33). But Americanizing soccer was never a goal of those in charge of the

sport. The main reason they were involved with the game was to provide a connection to their ethnic community in the United States and, by proxy, to their home country. In early-twentieth century Chicago, for example, sociologist David Trouille describes clubs

> … play[ing] a crucial role in helping to alleviate the alienation many immigrants felt by providing a release from the often grim experiences at work and in the neighborhood … Beyond their social function, many teams also provided important community services, such as helping players acquire jobs, housing and loans (2009:805).

For most involved with soccer in the United States prior to the 1960s, there was never a choice between leaving soccer to be seen as a foreign game and Americanizing the sport; soccer connected them to their fellow immigrants and to their homeland — and that was exactly why they loved it.

Until the second half of the twentieth century, soccer in the United States remained, for the most part, a minor sport, loved by European immigrants, largely ignored by others. Unlike other sports in the United States, soccer's main growth has taken place since World War II. The growth has come as soccer has been taken up by children. Today, nearly 14 million people in the United States play soccer, of whom nearly 60 percent are below the age of 17 (SGMA 2011). David Andrews calls the post-World War II rise of soccer "America's silent sporting revolution" (1999:37). "No longer a 'mini-passion' of suburban America," he writes, "youth soccer participation has emerged as a defining practice at the core of American life." (1999:31).

How did soccer go from being an ethnic oddity, a niche sport played almost exclusively by European immigrant men, to *the* sport of suburban boys and girls? One of the major debates among scholars who study soccer in the United States is how much the sport today continues to be "associated with ethnic Otherness" (Andrews et al. 1997:35).

While some see this "residual ethnicity" as central to explaining why soccer, especially at the professional level, has never quite "made it" in the United States (Markovits and Hellerman 2001; Wangerin 2006; Wangerin 2011), others, especially those who study suburban youth soccer, suggest that the sport has moved beyond such associations (Foer 2005; Andrews et al. 1997). I agree with the latter group – the participation numbers today are too big to say that soccer has not "made it" – and suggest that soccer's growth has come in no small part because early AYSO leaders were so successful in stripping residual ethnicity from the sport in the 1960s and 1970s.

Drawing from Raymond Williams' (1977) concepts of emergent, dominant and residual cultural forms, it is clear that soccer's shift from an emergent to a dominant cultural form required the jettisoning of the residual ethnicity of its past. Williams writes that "the residual has been effectively formed in the past, but is still active in the cultural process as an effective element of the present" (1977:122). In the early years of its popularization, as soccer moved from an emergent to a dominant cultural form, residual meanings – of foreignness and ethnicity – stuck to it. AYSO leaders saw this and sought consciously to strip this residual ethnicity from soccer in order to popularize the sport. They were convinced that if soccer was not Americanized – or domesticated, in my terms – it would not grow beyond ethnic communities who had long been its main constituents in the United States.

The boom in youth soccer in the post-World War II period indicates that this process of domestication has been largely successful. Soccer today, despite the protestations of conservative blowhards (Coulter 2014; Zirin 2010), has largely lost the associations with ethnicity that were once such a strong barrier to the sport's growth. In a

recent study, for example, sociologists Andrew Lindner and Daniel Hawkins (Lindner and Hawkins 2012) reported that, among their sample of residents of the notoriously conservative state of Nebraska, only 8 percent agreed with the statement that soccer is "un-American."

How this change has taken place? How has soccer gone from being associated with ethnic Otherness to becoming the game of the post-World War II suburbs? The nature of sports, as scholars have shown, is often closely connected to ideas about the nation. While much work exists that connects sports and the nation, most examines cases in which the nation is explicitly invoked, either by the state seeking to promote themselves or by dissidents seeking to challenge the legitimacy of the state (Bairner 2001; Holt 1990; Klein 1996; Roden 1980; Sorek 2007; Brownell 1995; Edelman 1993). Sports can also shape national boundaries even when they are not directly connected to the state. Recent scholarship on the construction of the nation through ordinary people engaging in mundane activities can be brought to bear to push forward our understanding of the role that sports can play in shaping national boundaries.

The nation may be, in historian Benedict Anderson's famous formulation, "a deep, horizontal comradeship" (1991:7), but how does the idea of the nation gain power when unconnected from the state? In response to Anderson's emphasis on the broad strokes of the nation, other scholars have put forward views that examine the nation as a deeply ingrained feeling among everyday individuals. As anthropologist Ana Maria Alonso puts it, "Anderson does not go far enough in identifying the strategies through which 'the imagined' becomes 'second nature,' a 'structure of feeling' embodied in material practice and lived experience" (1994:382). Similarly, anthropologist Katherine

Verdery describes the nation as "an aspect of the political and symbolic/ideological order and also of the world of social interaction and feeling" (1993:37).

Claims that soccer is un-American – or a lack of such claims – are examples of the nation becoming part of the world of social interaction and feeling. Sports and the nation are connected in this case, even though are far from the coercive power of state. But, while the state played no direct role in shaping the nature of soccer in the United States (unlike, for example, the role of the British state in promoting cricket in colonial India; see Appadurai 1996), individuals used the idea of the nation to do so. Specifically, early AYSO leaders made explicit efforts to strip foreignness from soccer. They wanted to grow the sport, and were convinced that doing so required making soccer as "American" as possible. It is, in the words of anthropologist Jon Fox and sociologist Cynthia Miller-Idriss, an example of "ordinary people engaging in mundane activities in their everyday lives" (2008:554) shaping national boundaries.

Connections between sports and the nation need not involve the state; individuals can connect the two for their own purposes. Using the example of youth soccer in Los Angeles in the 1960s and 1970s, I demonstrate below how early AYSO leaders sought to grow soccer by reframing the sport as a distinctly American game. To do so, they sometimes invoked the nation explicitly. At other times they invoked the nation implicitly, by connecting soccer to other (domesticating) practices that were becoming hegemonic at the time. I call this process by which soccer was Americanized a triple domestication.

The Triple Domestication of American Soccer

After the failure of 1956, the Greater Los Angeles Soccer League continued without a youth program for the next seven years. In 1964, then-GLASL president Duncan Duff approached Bill Hughes to try again. Hughes was wary, concerned that the same issues that had doomed the previous attempt would resurface. In spite of his concerns, Hughes attended a meeting with the GLASL leaders. At that meeting, Hughes was introduced to four other men who had been involved with adult soccer and had an interest in establishing a youth soccer program: Hans Stierle, Ted McClean, Ralph Acosta and Steve Erdos. The men talked and decided to move forward with starting a youth league. But they agreed that doing so under the GLASL umbrella was likely to lead to the same problems that had occurred nearly ten years earlier. Instead, they decided to form their own youth soccer program, independent from GLASL or any other ethnic league. After initially settling on the name "Southern California Junior Soccer League," the group decided it did not reflect the scope of their aspirations. Instead, they chose a name in line with their goals to promote soccer nationally: the American Youth Soccer Organization.

The goals that Bill Hughes, Hans Stierle, Ted McClean, Ralph Acosta and Steve Erdos had in creating AYSO in 1964 were very different from those involved with the ethnic leagues. While for those in ethnic communities, soccer was about providing a connection to fellow immigrants and to their homelands, AYSO leaders were focused on spreading the sport to the growing populations of Los Angeles. As Clay Berling, longtime editor of *Soccer America*, puts it, "The AYSO contingent had an entrepreneurial spirit that the ethnic groups didn't have" (2012).

To grow soccer, the leaders of AYSO undertook a process of Americanizing the sport, a story I lay out below. They sought to domesticate soccer not only in explicitly nationalistic ways, but also by presenting the sport as a *safe* game that was intimately tied to the *family*. In an era of rising nationalism and concerns with safety as a result of the Cold War and an increase in importance of the nuclear family (Mintz 2006), particularly in the growing suburbs, AYSO promoters successfully latched on to increasingly hegemonic values. And by connecting the first domestication – that is, stripping the foreignness from the sport – to the increasingly hegemonic ideas about safety and the family, the triple domestication process was largely successful.

Domestication Number One: Making Soccer American

In order to spread soccer, AYSO's leaders believed, they had to change the sport's image. They were very much aware of the perception of soccer as a foreign game and were determined to change this. If the game were to increase in popularity, they believed, it would have to appeal not only to those in ethnic communities, but to a broader public. Soccer would have to be "made American."

One of the ways that AYSO sought to carry out this first domestication was by having the organization remain independent from any existing soccer structure. The regional Greater Los Angeles Soccer League and the national United States Soccer Football Association (USSFA) were, at the time, run by and for ethnic communities. Joe Bonchonsky, whose sons played in the first ever AYSO game and whose extensive early work with the organization would see him elected to the organization's Hall of Fame, sums up the founding of the organization as follows: "AYSO started at the request of a

[USSFA] organization. Bill Hughes had tried it before under their direction and failed because it had been too ethnic-oriented. So he said, 'we'll start but not in an affiliated manner. We'll be independent completely'" (2012).

The structure that ethnic leagues like the GLASL had created was, in the eyes of AYSO leaders, a barrier to the sport's growth. These leaders were explicit in seeing the foreign nature of soccer as a problem, and fought back against it. In a letter published in *Soccer America* in 1973, Bill Hughes described the problem, as he identified it, in his typically energetic fashion: "Practically all soccer teams formed between 1860 and 1960 were given *foreign* titled [sic], thereby giving support to the myth that soccer is a foreign sport!!!" (1973; emphasis in original).

One of the earliest policies that AYSO put in place to Americanize soccer was in direct response to this situation. "As a co-founder of AYSO," Hughes wrote in the same letter, "it was one of my suggestions that *foreign-sounding* names be banned for the good of soccer." And so it was that when two teams took the field in the first ever AYSO game in February 1965, they were not called the Magyars or the Croats, but instead the Bulldogs and the Hornets. Bill Hughes and the other AYSO founders went further in Americanizing the sport. An early draft of the AYSO rules said, "The use of a language other than English by a coach, official or participant during AYSO competition or activity shall not be permitted." Although it is unclear whether this rule ever actually went into effect, that it was given serious consideration is an indication of the thoughts process of early AYSO leaders.

When nominated to be the organization's first president, Hughes refused, arguing that he, as an immigrant, would not be the right face to put on an organization attempting

to Americanize the sport of soccer. Instead, the founders chose Hans Stierle, the only American-born individual among them (though, interestingly, he spent a large part of his childhood in his parents' native Germany, where he learned to play soccer). Stierle was as adamant as Hughes about the need to Americanize soccer in order to spread the sport, writing in a 1968 report to the AYSO board: "Too many good sports — from Europe — have been relegated to second class status or oblivion." The founders and early leaders of AYSO, in an extremely overt and explicit way, saw the foreignness of soccer as a problem to be overcome. They did not tip-toe around the issue; they attacked it head-on. As a 1969 AYSO radio spot put it, "Soccer is fun – but soccer American style is more fun."

Making AYSO independent from the ethnically-oriented USSFA, prohibiting the use of foreign-sounding names, arguing for compulsory English usage, and choosing the American-born Hans Stierle to be the face of the organization was not sufficient for youth soccer to grow. This first domestication – making soccer American – depended on two other domestications, making the sport safe and connecting it to the family.

Domestication Number Two: Making Soccer Safe

If the first domestication dealt explicitly with national boundaries, the second and third domestications did so more subtly. While promoting soccer as a safe sport and connecting it to the family did not directly imply a shifting of national boundaries, these domestications played an important role in growing the sport, and thus removing the foreignness that had long been associated with soccer.

A 1972 article in *Soccer America* by Norm Nielsen (who would later head up CalSouth, the youth wing of the USSFA and, at least initially, a rival youth soccer organization) summed up the popular perception of the sport:

> There seems to be little question about it: soccer is a violent sport, which is capable of seducing a common, ordinary peaceful citizen into bouts of hysterical frenzy and mob mayhem. Or is this just the image presented most often by the media to the American public?
>
> Item: Picture in the *Los Angeles Times*, October 18: Enraged fans chasing an Italian soccer player who scored the winning goal against their team; one fan appears to be biting the player on the arm, while another is swinging a chair at his head. The referee appears to be lying on his knees, battered and bruised, in the background.
>
> Item: Lead article, font page, *L.A. Times*, October 24: Title: "Kill the ref (umpire)—and Israeli fans mean it!" The article, in great and excruciating details, goes on for 40 column inches about the violence and destruction perpetrated by players and, particularly, fans in Israeli soccer. (Nielsen 1972)

Soccer had an image problem to overcome. Those who knew anything about the sport were likely to know about incidents such as this, in which foreigners used soccer fields as arenas to wage violence on each other. To change the perception of soccer as a dangerous and violent sport, AYSO leaders began a concerted effort to promote youth soccer as a safe sport. The safety that AYSO leaders promoted existed on two levels: the physical and the emotional. Soccer would no longer be the sport of rioting mobs in Europe, but instead the sport that children could safely play on a Saturday morning in a supportive environment.

At the same time that this new version of soccer would be distinct from the version played by unruly immigrants, soccer was also a sport largely not played by the racial minorities and the working-classes from whom suburbanites had fled. The Watts

Riots of 1965 occurred at almost the exact same time as the founding of AYSO, in areas that whites fled from, leaving concentrated populations of marginalized African-Americans. Youth soccer was played by the middle and upper-middle classes, most of whom were white. It was an era of fears whose racial and class basis was only barely concealed. As historian Steven Mintz writes, these "parental anxieties greatly increased in scope and intensity after 1970 as many parents worried more than in the past about their children's safety," (2006:343). If the suburbs provided a homogenous environment to live in, the soccer field offered no threat to this homogeneity. Well-to-do white children on the soccer field were as nonthreatening a social activity as could be imagined.

If the makeup of those who played soccer provided a sense of safety, so to did the nature of the game itself – or at least how its nature was presented. In its promotional materials and quotes given to the media, AYSO leaders emphasized that soccer was a physically safe sport for children. A 1968 AYSO fact sheet trumpeted the fact that "in the four years of existence the most serious injury reported and recorded was one (1) broken ankle." AYSO also emphasized that physical size was not an obstacle to participation in soccer. A 1970 article in the Los Angeles area *Daily Breeze* newspaper, headlined "Small Size is No Handicap in Soccer" quoted 13 year-old Tom Basen, a short but talented forward for the Torrance Bruins AYSO team, saying, "that's why soccer is so cool. You can be small and still be good." Although quotes such as these only sometimes mentioned other sports directly, the contrast between soccer and other sports – football and basketball especially – that require physical size to be successful, and to be safe while playing, was clear.

Soccer was presented not only as a way of staying away from potential injury, but also as a sport that helped participants to maintain physical fitness in a safe and healthy way. A 1966 promotional poster for AYSO said, "Soccer's demands are agility, quickness and balance, and a good deal of running skill which is as important to soccer as skating ability is to hockey. The other needs come gradually as the game is being learned … endurance and teamplay. Playing soccer is tantamount to being 'in shape'." The contrast to other sports, though again unspoken, was apparent throughout the promotion of AYSO in the early years: football can lead to injuries while baseball does not provide the physical fitness that soccer offers.

In addition to promoting soccer as a safe activity ideal for physical fitness, AYSO leaders also structured their organization in a way that prioritized emotional safety. Many of the regulations that AYSO put in place (their so-called "philosophies") were both reactions to what Bill Hughes, Hans Stierle and the other founders saw as the problems of soccer in ethnic communities and an attempt to promote soccer as an activity that was emotionally safe for children. The idea of "open registration," for instance, allowing anyone who wanted to play to do so, was a response to the organization of ethnic clubs, which often excluded those not from their ethnic community. The philosophy of "balanced teams" was a response to what the founders saw as an overemphasis on winning to promote ethnic pride. And the idea that "everyone plays" in every game was intended to differentiate AYSO from other youth soccer organizations (recall Bill Hughes' experiment with the Greater Los Angeles Soccer League in which teams often had 20 or more players on their rosters, meaning that very few actually got on the field). These AYSO philosophies were a key part of redefining soccer as an emotionally safe

sport, something different from other iterations of soccer that had existed in the United States and in other countries. The AYSO leaders were clearly onto something when they sought to reframe the sport as safe. As Joe Bonchonsky puts it, "There were a lot of good rules introduced by AYSO that were not of the old, affiliated school. That was important to our growth" (Bonchonsky, 2012).

Distinct from rioting mobs of foreign men, AYSO's version of youth soccer was presented as an extremely safe sport. The idea of soccer as a safe sport, which gave power to the idea that AYSO soccer was not foreign but American, was also supported by the fact that it was so closely tied to the nuclear family.

Domestication Number Three: Making Soccer Part of the Family

From the beginning, AYSO involved not only children, but their parents as well. The geography of the newly growing suburbs from which many AYSO players hailed in many ways necessitated parental involvement. With suburban developments spread over vast distances, children could not walk out their doors to play AYSO soccer. Suburbanization meant that parents had to drive their children to practices and games. But parents' involvement went well beyond chauffeuring.

From the beginning, parents were recruited as volunteers for AYSO. A 1969 *Los Angeles Times* article described the situation: "[AYSO] depends on volunteers for its coaches and officials and is constantly seeking manpower. Coaches have been known to put their own team through a game, then go out and referee two or three more" (Youth Soccer League Accents Participation 1969). Fathers served as coaches, referees, and

administrators; mothers quickly became "team moms," providing orange slices at halftime and moral support throughout the game.

Many newspaper articles in the late 1960s and early 1970s quoted parents who claimed to have devoted all free time to their children's soccer practices and games. A 1971 article in *The Tidings*, a Catholic newspaper in Los Angeles, quoted a beleaguered father named Tom Donahue, who had become an AYSO coach for his son's team, the Eagles. "I love soccer, but it's ruined my golf game," exclaimed Donahue. "I haven't played a round in two years!" (Soccer Comes Before Golf? 1971). In case it wasn't clear why Donahue's golf game had suffered, the newspaper offered an explanation: "The Eagles eat up his spare time."

The connection to the nuclear family came in involving not just fathers, but mothers as well. Mothers whose children played AYSO were not immune from the loss of free time. Sue Browder wrote in a 1970 article in the *Daily Breeze*:

> If the traditional song of baseball fans were rewritten to go, "Take me out to the soccer game," South Bay soccer players' mothers would have a theme song. In fact, they already know the lyrics by heart, including the part about "I don't care if I ever get back." (Browder 1970)

If fathers and mothers joked to newspaper reporters about losing free time for their own activities, it is also clear in their words that they loved being involved in their children's activities. A 1974 *Soccer America* article headlined "Kick It, Mommy, Kick It!" showed mothers, huge smiles plastered on their faces, trying out soccer for themselves. AYSO promoted this idea that soccer was an activity that was fun for the entire family. A 1966 poster for an AYSO "Soccer Jamboree" urged people to "bring the whole family."

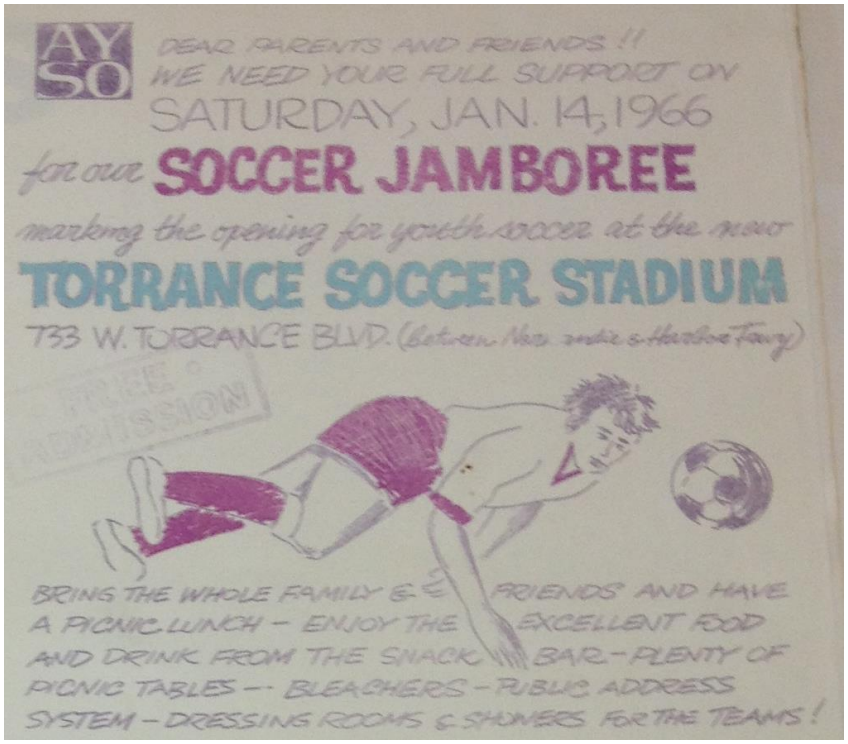


Figure 2.1: AYSO promotional poster, 1966

The nuclear family to which AYSO connected itself was very much based on traditional gender roles. Fathers offered the front-line work of marshalling their players. Orange-slice-wielding mothers took care of the feeding of the children. Soccer was no longer a place for foreign men to bond with each other and "blow off steam"; it was now, in AYSO's telling, a sport "for the whole family."

The involvement of families in soccer was also shaped by their racial and class backgrounds. Affluent suburban families, who were overwhelmingly white, were far more likely to exist in the two-parent formulation that AYSO so often spoke of (fathers as coaches, mothers as supporters). In an era in which rates of divorce increased (U.S. Census Bureau 2011a), AYSO marketing played on anxieties about the break-up of the

family (Mintz 2006:341) by presenting an image of the opposite. Being involved in soccer as an in-tact nuclear family was a way for suburbanites to display who they were – and, notably, that they were not those who did not value the family enough to keep it together.

In this way, soccer was moved into the domestic realm of the family. AYSO, conscious that soccer was seen as a violent, sport (recall the *Los Angeles Times* article describing rioting fans in Italy and Israel), brought the sport into the domestic realm, a move that helped to reframe the sport as safe. And with families largely reflecting the suburban areas in which AYSO took root – that is to say, largely white and affluent – the homogeneity of the participants only served to reinforce the idea that soccer was a safe sport. There were few scary "others" involved in AYSO. Placed safely within the realm of the ever more important nuclear family that suburbia had helped to produce, soccer was reframed for a growing suburban public in Los Angeles.

Why Los Angeles?

Why did AYSO originate in Los Angeles in the mid-1960s? What was it about this time and place that created the conditions under which youth soccer could thrive? Why did the triple domestication I have outlined gain traction and lead residents of Los Angeles to sign their children up for the sport?

In the decades leading up to the founding of AYSO, Los Angeles was dramatically altered by World War II military production. The federal government sought to decentralize military production, spreading it throughout the country (Markusen 1991).

One of the main beneficiaries of this process was Los Angeles, as historian Arthur Verge has written:

> While the impact of the Second World War was felt throughout the American homefront, no other American urban center was so transformed by the war as was Los Angeles. Once perceived as a distant western outpost, isolated and separated by 3,000 miles from the nation's industrialized East, Los Angeles, bolstered by massive federal defense spending, emerged in the war as an industrial giant whose production of vital defense goods, such as warships and planes, helped turn the war in the Allies' favor. (1994:290)

Production of military ships and planes brought thousands of newcomers to Los Angeles, with the population of the region growing by twenty percent between 1940 and 1946. Many of the newcomers were African Americans, whose population grew by over 100 percent during the war years. The impact of World War II on Los Angeles was, in Verge's words, "nothing short of a social and industrial revolution" (1994:290).

Following the war, the Los Angeles region lost 175,000 manufacturing jobs. Yet in spite of this loss, the manufacturing base of the region had grown so much during the war that the economy remained strong. And, in fact, many military connections created during the war persisted as the United States transitioned from World War II to the Cold War. After the initial loss of jobs, Los Angeles grew to become a center of military aerospace production. Just as World War II had brought many new arrivals to the region, the Cold War would also prove a draw to many, especially those with expertise in aerospace.

Garrett AiResearch was one of many companies that thrived on these military aerospace contracts. A subcontractor for larger and better-known aerospace companies in Los Angeles, such as Douglas, Lockheed, and Northrup, Garrett brought in many high-

skilled workers to its facility south of Los Angeles. Many of these new Garrett employees were newcomers from other parts of the United States; others were immigrants from other countries, mostly in Europe. And it was this mix of people, at Garrett as well as other companies in region, that enabled soccer to initially take hold in Los Angeles.

European immigrants provided the knowledge of soccer to start AYSO (though not all European immigrants in Los Angeles at the time worked at Garrett or even in aerospace, of course, they were attracted to the region by the economic dynamism that the aerospace industry played a large role in providing). It is no accident that all of AYSO founders were born abroad or spent time there growing up. Native-born Americans would never have had the knowledge of soccer to start AYSO.

European immigrants had long come to Los Angeles and played soccer in adult leagues like the then 60 year-old Greater Los Angeles Soccer League. But it was only in the 1960s that soccer spread to those outside of ethnic communities and to children. These founders knew soccer and their knowledge of the game was essential to the founding of AYSO. The knowledge of soccer that European immigrants provided was necessary to the founding of AYSO, but it was not sufficient.

Much of the early support for the organization came from new arrivals from other parts of the United States, many of whom came to work in the aerospace industry that was growing so quickly in Los Angeles. At Garrett AiResearch, many skilled workers from across the country were brought in to work on the Gemini space project. And it was in the Garrett lunchroom that some of the early development of AYSO was conducted. As early AYSO leader Joe Bonchonsky, recruited to Garrett from Pennsylvania after the war, recalls:

> Engineers, technicians, skilled machinists worked 10 hours a day, six days a week, and four hours on Sunday to beat the Soviets to the moon. As overstressed engineers, we played bridge at the lunch hour for mental relaxation. During our games of bridge, most of our bridge players mentioned how their son played in their Saturday AYSO soccer games. Seven of the engineers lived in eight of the new regions throughout the South Bay. The key was to give up bridge for one lunch period per week and concentrate on youth soccer. (Bonchonsky 2013)

Why did Garrett workers decide to devote their free time to the planning of their children's soccer? Though most of these Garrett employees are no longer around to answer directly, their reasons for doing so were likely shaped by larger currents of the time. Suburbanization is one of these currents. In Bonchonsky's recollection of the Garrett lunch meetings, note, for example, that he talks about "new regions throughout the South Bay." These were suburbs that were being developed in the decades after World War II. They included Torrance, 20 miles south of downtown Los Angeles, an area to which Garrett moved its production in 1960 (from their previous facility close to what is today Los Angeles International Airport) and which was the site of the first AYSO game four years later. Garrett AiResearch brought newcomers not just to the Los Angeles region, but to Torrance specifically. Many who worked at Garrett chose to live in Torrance and the neighboring suburbs that were also growing at the time. Although many assume that suburbanization was pushed by real estate developers, historian Greg Hise (1997) has shown that it was often industry, especially the aerospace industry, that shaped these changes. By locating their factories on what was then the outskirts of Los Angeles, companies like Garrett led the suburban charge.

The aerospace industry played a large role in bringing people to the Los Angeles region and shaping their decisions to live in the ever-growing suburbs. But this in itself

does not explain why soccer appealed to these newly minted suburbanites. For this, we have to look at the popular imagination of cities at the time, and the contrast that suburbs were intended to provide. As historian Eric Avila writes in his book *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles*,

> … the cultural history of postwar America reveals a popular quest for a more ordered alternative to the historic and much feared disorder of the modern city and its culture ... In their pursuit of new cultural experiences, postwar Americans opted for something different— an emergent sociospatial order that promised a respite from the well-known dangers and inconveniences of the modern city: congestion, crime, pollution, anonymity, promiscuity, and diversity. That search for order provided an underlying impetus for the post– World War II phase of mass suburbanization. (2006:xv)

Recall that the African American population of Los Angeles had grown tremendously during World War II. This demographic change challenged an earlier strategy of city leaders in the early twentieth century to promote Los Angeles as the nation's "white spot," unaffected by "problems" associated with racial minorities and un-American immigrants. As Avila writes, "The blackening of Los Angeles during the war years and their aftermath sparked a reactionary effort to delineate a new set of spatial and racial boundaries that materialized throughout the course of postwar suburbanization" (2006:31).

As the suburbs were developed, then, it was important to distinguish them from the cities and the people – often racial minorities and ethnic others – they surrounded. Geographic delineations were important – Avila writes that "local control became a mantra among suburban Southern Californians, who used municipal incorporation as a means of ensuring homogeneous communities and stable property values" (2006:45) – but cultural practices would go further in distinguishing suburbs from cities. Soccer, in its

newly domesticated guise, provided a cultural practice that enabled Los Angeles suburbanites to distinguish themselves from urbanites. And, with AYSO actively stripping any associations with ethnicity from soccer, the sport could become the "tabula rasa, a sport onto which a generation of parents could project their values" that Foer describes (2005:237)

As a tabula rasa, soccer gained traction because it connected to the values of safety and family that were becoming increasingly hegemonic in the post-World War II period, particularly in growing American suburbs. Although I have laid out the three domestications individually, they are all related. Each reinforces the previous one, such that the connection of soccer to the family played an important role in reframing the sport as safe. Reframing soccer as a safe sport, in turn, helped to move it out of the realm of the foreign and reframe it as an American game.

The rise in the importance of the nuclear family in the post-World War II suburbs has been well documented (for a review, see Baldassare 1992). Writing of early suburban growth, Steven Mintz suggests that the makeup of those who lived in suburbs shaped the family-centered character they would take on.

> The growth of the suburbs greatly contributed to the image of the 1950s as a child-centered decade. Within the booming suburbs, there were two sharply defined age groups: adults of childbearing age and youngsters under the age of fifteen. Suburbia was a world of families and young children, with few old people and surprisingly few adolescents. (2006:277)

The child-centered emphasis of life was tied to what Eric Avila calls "a more general valorization of home and family" at the time. He writes that "the cultural emphasis on family entertainment not only asserted an adherence to traditional models of

gender relations, but also reflected a more general valorization of home and family among growing numbers of Americans who entered (or at least aspired to) the ranks of the middle class after World War II" (2006:139).

The suburbs valorized children and the traditional families who nurtured them. Families were praised for taking an active role in their child's upbringing. This was part of what historian Kenneth Jackson calls "privatization of social life" (1987:272). The growth of suburban developments, he claims, led to the break-down of social life, once focused on neighborhoods but which would later come to be centered largely around the nuclear family (see also Coakley 2006:159). As Garrett employees settled their families in and around Torrance, for example, there were few existing social structures. Without these structures (or, indeed, many other types of social organizations), parents stepped into the void, playing a large role in shaping the activities that their children would take up. On a practical level, the rise of youth soccer among suburbanites required parents to play a large role. Instead of simply shooing their kids out the door to play this new game, many parents themselves played a central role in the activities they took up. They drove their kids to practices and games, and once there served as volunteer coaches and team managers.

But there is more than just practicality at play here. As anthropologists Jane Collier, Michelle Rosaldo, and Sylvia Yanagisako have written, the family is "an ideological unit rather than merely a functional unit" (1997:77). Beyond what can be achieved through the social unit of the family, it is important to ask what role ideologies about the family play in shaping social behaviors. Several ideological shifts were underway at this time that influenced parents' involvement in soccer.

One of the ideological currents that came to prominence in the post-World War II period was a rise in expectations of the role of fathers in raising children. As women entered the workforce, the ideology of a strict separation between women's work in the domestic realm and men's work outside of it lost its ideological power, replaced by a debate about how mothers and fathers should divide up the tasks associated with maintaining the family unit. As sociologist Jay Coakley puts it, progressives wanted men to take a more active role in parenting while conservatives did not want men to lose their status as heads of household. Youth sports offered the perfect arena for fathers to, as Coakley puts it, "add masculinized activities to the periphery of the domestic sphere" (2006:158). Indeed, AYSO promoted involvement in youth soccer as a way to be a good father. A 1968 press release from the organization described its founder, Hans Stierle, as "the art director of the Leonards chain of department stores and a devoted father and husband – yet he finds time to devote to the AYSO – a four year old organization he founded." That the organization chose to recognize Stierle not only as its founder, but also as a "devoted father and husband" is an indication of the value that it recognized in sharing his role as a family man.

Part of the reason that the nuclear family was increasingly important in post-World War II suburbs, including those in the Los Angeles region, had to do with its connection to safety. Just as the suburbs encouraged the privatization of social life, the nuclear familiy which the suburbs so valued came to be seen as the overwhelmingly most important provider of care and safety for children. Coakley describes this as the "neo-liberal view that parents are solely responsible for controlling and socializing their children and that child development is shaped by parenting strategies" (2006:154).

Parents stepped up their involvement in their children's social activities not only because there were fewer opportunities in their local neighborhoods, but also because parental involvement was seen as a moral good.

Existing outside of the home but with the constant supervision of parents, the version of soccer that AYSO promoted valued emotional safety. The AYSO philosophies sought to create a safe space for children in which they could succeed. Allowing everyone to play and succeed was central to the early growth of AYSO. Competition existed in early AYSO, but winning was never the main goal. Franklin Foer (2005) has argued that soccer appealed to the increasingly affluent parents on the liberal side of what would later come to be called the "culture wars."

With the role of parents – both mothers and fathers – increasingly seen as central to all aspects of child-rearing, including by the creation of an emotionally safe environment for their children, the flip side of this ideology rose to prominence as well. If children thrived when around family as much as possible, being away from the family could lead to many negative outcomes. Stanley Mintz argues that "The era's child-centered character represented a reaction against Depression hardships, wartime upheavals, and Cold War insecurities" (2006:276). In this context, the idea that "the world outside the home is a dangerous place for children" (Coakley 2006:154) became dominant. Sociologist Barry Glassner (2010) has described this phenomenon as a "culture of fear," an idea that sociologist Michael Messner uses to argue that "youth sports are, among other things, an organized response to a culture of fear for our children's safety" (2009:194). Many of these fears had roots in race and class. Anxieties couched as being about the dangers of urban areas were, underneath, largely about the working-class, often

non-white people lived there. Families, especially the white and affluent ones who flocked to the suburbs, increasingly fearful for their children's safety, sought refuge in organized activities like youth sports. As Eric Avila puts it, "In the process of developing land on the perimeter of the metropolis, an expanding generation of suburban Americans exercised their preference for a landscape that epitomized homogeneity, containment, and predictability, one that marked a safe contrast to the heterosocial, unpredictable, and often dangerous cultural experiences of industrial urbanism" (2006:6). Though they might have to go outside of the homes to participate in sports, children would be safe because they would be in a largely homogenous (in racial/ethnic and class terms) suburban environment controlled by parents.

That soccer became so popular in the United States – that it moved from being an emergent to a dominant cultural form – is an indication that the ethnicity that long attached itself to the game was largely, though not completely, stripped from it. Indeed, it was as soccer was reframed as a distinctly American sport that it became an attractive option for suburban families whose children took it up in such huge numbers beginning with AYSO in the 1960s. What we see in this situation is AYSO leaders invoking the nation (by working explicitly to strip foreignness from the sport) for their own purposes (to grow and spread soccer). AYSO leaders feared that as soccer transitioned from what Raymond Williams would call an "emergent" to a "dominant" practice, it would retain "residual" associations with ethnicity. This is why they worked so hard to counteract the view of soccer as an un-American sport. The state is nowhere to be seen here; this is very much the nation as social interaction and feeling of everyday people engaged in mundane activities. AYSO leaders were successful in domesticating soccer – and encouraging

parents to sign their kids up for the sport – because they tied this domestication to other domestications related to safety and the nuclear family. Although AYSO leaders had no grand plan to carry out such a triple domestication (the term is mine, not theirs), that they found success in doing so indicates the power of the ideas of safety and the family in reframing soccer as an American sport for post-World War II suburban audiences.

Conclusion

Through the triple domestication process that I have described, American soccer would grow tremendously in the post-World War II period. Each of the domestications connected to the others and ultimately made possible a reframing of the game by early AYSO leaders, which was essential to the sport's growth throughout the United States. Their work to Americanize soccer was successful because it tied to ideas about safety and the family. They were able to strip the residual ethnicity that threatened to remain associated with soccer by tying to ideological currents whose power was growing at the time.

While many scholars have written many pages about soccer's many failures in achieving wide popularity, fewer have sought do the opposite: to explain why soccer has grown so quickly in the post-World War II period. Perhaps this is because most scholars focus on the fortunes of the professional game. Reshifting the focus to the youth game, it is clear that soccer's growth is one of the most significant changes that the American sporting landscape has ever seen. The 14 million players today, up from the very limited numbers before the 1960s, are a huge part of this landscape (chapter 3 discusses the growth of youth soccer after the initial work of AYSO). My explanation for why soccer

has risen in popularity so quickly in the post-World War II period is twofold: 1) long seen as an ethnic curiosity, the sport had to be Americanized in order to appeal to a larger audience; and, 2) early AYSO leaders Americanized (i.e. domesticated) soccer by domesticating the sport (i.e. making it safe), and connecting it to the family (i.e. the domestic realm).

In addition to explaining the rise of youth soccer in the post-World War II period, my work also demonstrates the utility of an approach that examines invocations of the nation in the mundane activities of everyday people, unconnected to the coercive power of the state. Connecting explicitly nationalistic appeals to soccer along with appeals to safety and family, AYSO leaders helped soccer become the sport of choice of growing suburban middle classes beginning in the 1960s and continuing to the present day. Indeed, it is precisely because soccer was connected to these other domestications that it could be successfully reframed as a "domestic" (that is, American) sport. This connection that I have drawn invites us to see the power of nationalism not only in its own right, but also in its connection to other ideas. In the case of soccer, the idea of the nation, of soccer as an American game, drew strength from its connection to ideas about safety and the family.

Chapter 3. The Two Worlds of Youth Soccer

John Haverford is quite the talker. After I met with him to talk about his long involvement in Southern California soccer, everyone I told about our conversation gave me a knowing look and chuckled, asking how much of the talking he had let me do. Originally from the English city of Manchester, Haverford spent his early adult years working as a school physical education teacher during the day and an after-dinner speaker at night. He had traveled to the United States on vacation several times, liked what he saw, and eventually decided to relocate permanently to San Diego in 1981. Attracted by the Southern California weather and lifestyle, he found work as a soccer coach, becoming, along with Harriers president Donald Gardner, one of the earliest British soccer coaches in the region. In the thirty years since, he has worked for a number of clubs throughout San Diego. Haverford has charm and abrasiveness in equal measure (he unflinchingly discusses both in great detail in a self-published book) and these qualities have, at various points over the years, attracted him to and repelled him from, nearly all of the top youth soccer clubs in the region.

When I first sat down to talk to Haverford, though, it was difficult to keep him on the topic of soccer. He wanted instead to talk money (the second question others asked me about our conversation was whether he had boasted of his wealth). As we sat outside a Starbucks in the posh suburb of Del Mar, he pointed admiringly to his late model BMW. As co-head of the Newton Heath youth soccer club, he told me, his annual salary was $110,000. Big money for someone who'd grown up in a working-class family in northern England. But, he said, even with the $300,000 that his wife earned as an executive for an energy company, they were poor compared to most of their neighbors in

these north San Diego County suburbs. Their house was nice enough, he told me, but it didn't come close to the mansions that surrounded it.

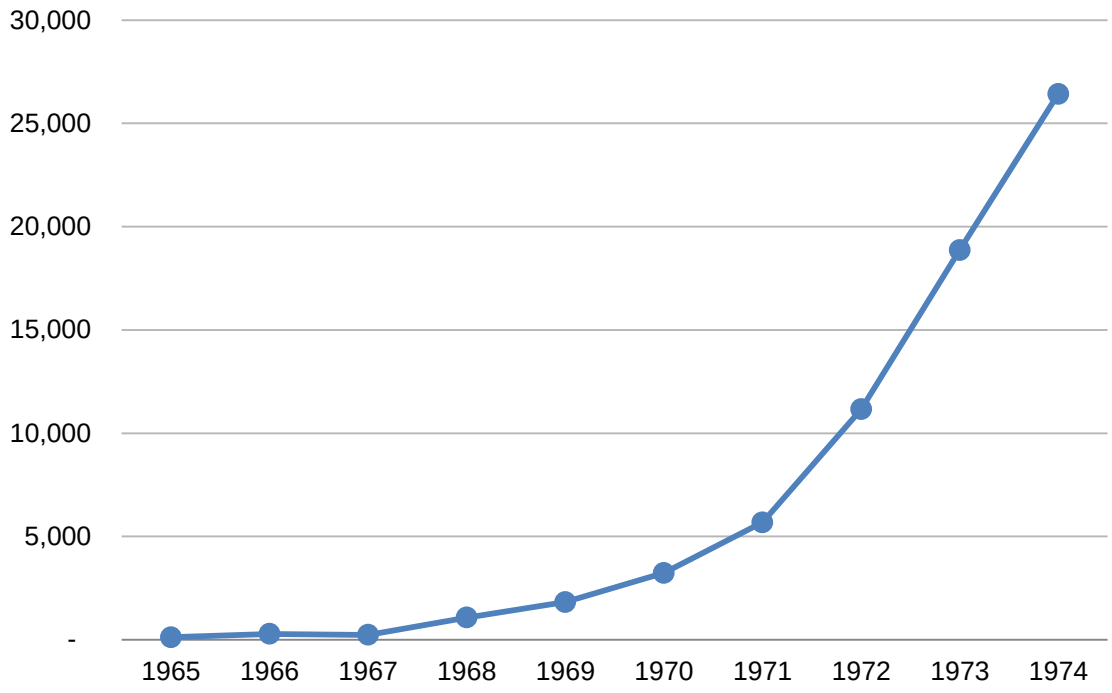
Haverford told me I had met him at a difficult time. His club was in disarray (he was feuding with the co-head and board of directors) and he thought he'd soon be out of a job. His abrasiveness may have frayed relationships at Newton Heath, but his charm had lead him to a great new opportunity. He was in discussions to partner with an English Premier League club to set up camps in the United States. These camps would serve as money-makers and as opportunities for the Premier League club to scout young American talent. Haverford went into details on the finances: he would set up camps throughout the country, charging kids $500 a pop for each week-long event. He'd have to pay to rent fields as well as for the travel and lodging for coaches coming from the U.K., but he was sure that there'd be plenty of profit in it for him. Money was there to be made in soccer, and he would find a way to make it.

For three decades, John Haverford has made his living in the world of suburban youth soccer, a world defined by its affluence. It is one of two worlds of youth soccer that exist in San Diego today. The other world, from which suburban soccer is both separate yet still connected, is that of Latino soccer. This chapter examines these two worlds, asking how they have developed, how they have remained largely separate, and how the status difference between the two is created and maintained.

The Development of Two Soccer Worlds

The two worlds of youth soccer – suburban and Latino – lead separate yet intertwined existences. They are separate enough that the outline of each is apparent, yet intertwined enough that a full description of it requires reference to the other.

Soccer entered the American mainstream as the game of upwardly mobile suburbanites, and it has continued to be played in huge numbers by this population. After the early domestication of soccer laid out in chapter 2, the sport quickly grew in popularity. At the completion of the first season of the American Youth Soccer Organization, there were 125 registered players. Ten years later, in 1974, the number had grown to over 25,000.



Source: Bonchonsky 2013

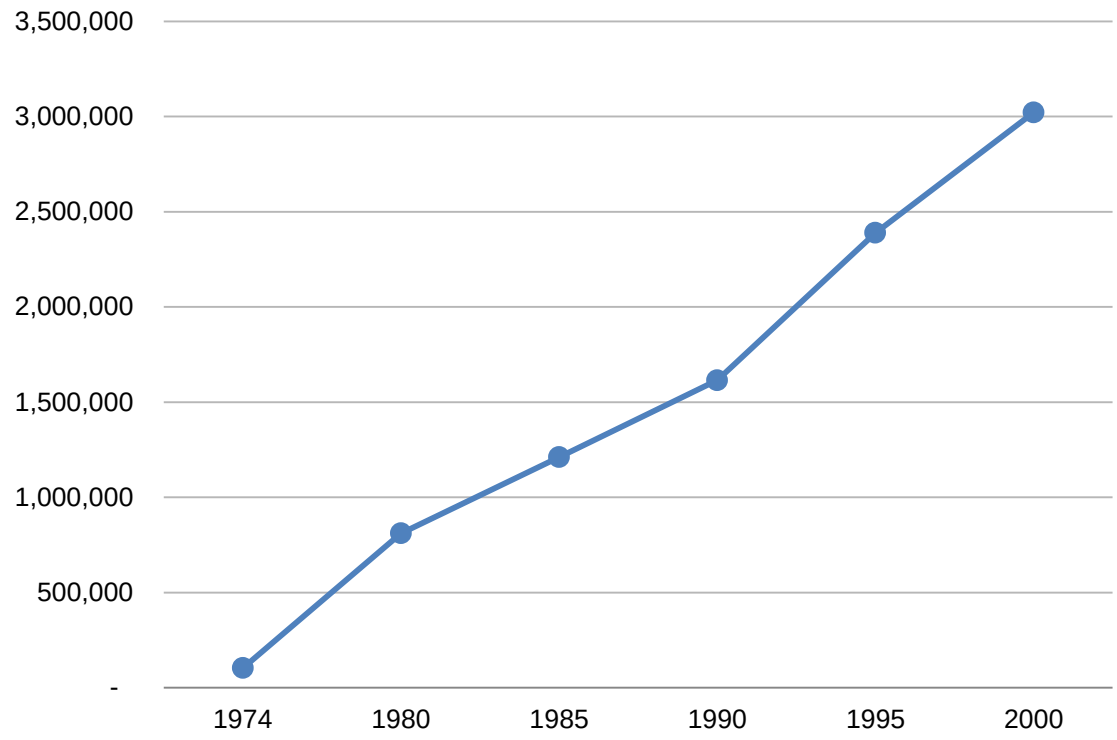
Figure 3.1: AYSO Players, 1965-1974

Although AYSO was the most important early organization in promoting soccer for suburban audiences, it was not the only group doing so. While AYSO was founded as self-consciously American organization in response to the ethnically-focused United States Soccer Football Association (USSFA), the latter group would quickly come to embrace youth soccer. When the USSFA dropped football from its name in 1973, rebranding itself the United States Soccer Federation (USSF), it was a recognition of the growing ranks of non-ethnic players in the organization that had once been reluctant to include them. Many of these players came from the youth ranks, the same suburban crowds drawn to AYSO. Local leagues affiliated with USSF had sprouted up around the country and, in 1974, when the United States Youth Soccer Association (USYSA) was

founded as an official section of USSF, it already had 100,000 registered players. As historian Kevin Marston describes the development of youth soccer during this period:

> The sporadic and uncoordinated formation of local first, and state and national youth organisations second, did not follow a logical hierarchical top-down path. Rather, these youth soccer communities were set up before any overarching governing body existed and also separate from any overtly ethnic club scene as indicated in the more geographically focused names. This suggests that these youth-focused organisations, at least initially, considered themselves autonomous and independent from any wider national or international sporting movement, especially that which was foreign or ethnically tied. (2012:201)

The ranks of the USYSA would grow quickly. In 1996, the ubiquity of soccer was such that political pundits began using the term "soccer moms" (Carroll 1999). By the year 2000, there were over 3 million registered players.

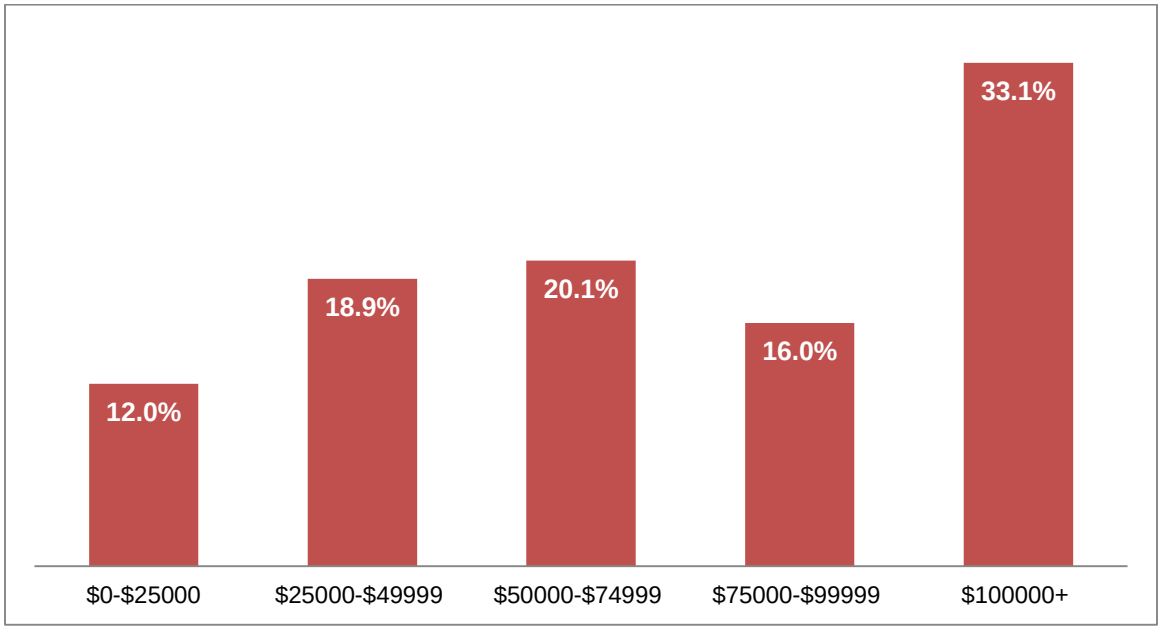


Source: U.S. Youth Soccer Assocation 2014

Figure 3.2: USYSA Registered Players, 1974-2000

San Diego, unlike Los Angeles, has long been dominated by USSF youth soccer. AYSO, in fact, only arrived in San Diego in the 1990s and it remains a small presence there today compared to USSF soccer.

The tremendous growth of youth soccer – in AYSO, USSF, and the many smaller organizations that sanction the sport – in the United States over the last half century puts it today second only to basketball in rates of youth participation (Wallerson 2014). Those who play soccer today reflect the demographics of those who were initially drawn to AYSO: affluent suburbanites. Data from the Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association shows that the largest group of "core" players (those who play 26 or more times per year) come from families with incomes of $100,000 or greater.

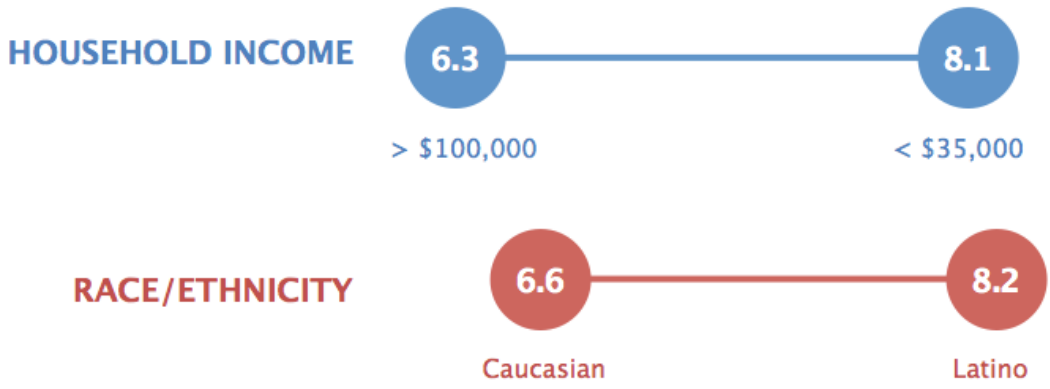


Source: SGMA 2011

Figure 3.3: Household income of families of core soccer players in the United States

With 36 percent of those coming from households with incomes above $100,000, soccer players tend to be more affluent than the national average. In 2011, when this survey was completed, the census reported that the median household income in the United States was $50,502 (Noss 2012). Of soccer players nationwide, 70 percent had household incomes above this level; only 30 percent had incomes below it.

Affluence affects not only who plays soccer, but also different ways in which people's backgrounds affect their participation in it. An ESPN analysis of SGMA data from 2013 demonstrates that children of families with higher incomes start playing at younger ages.



Source: Kelley and Carchia 2013

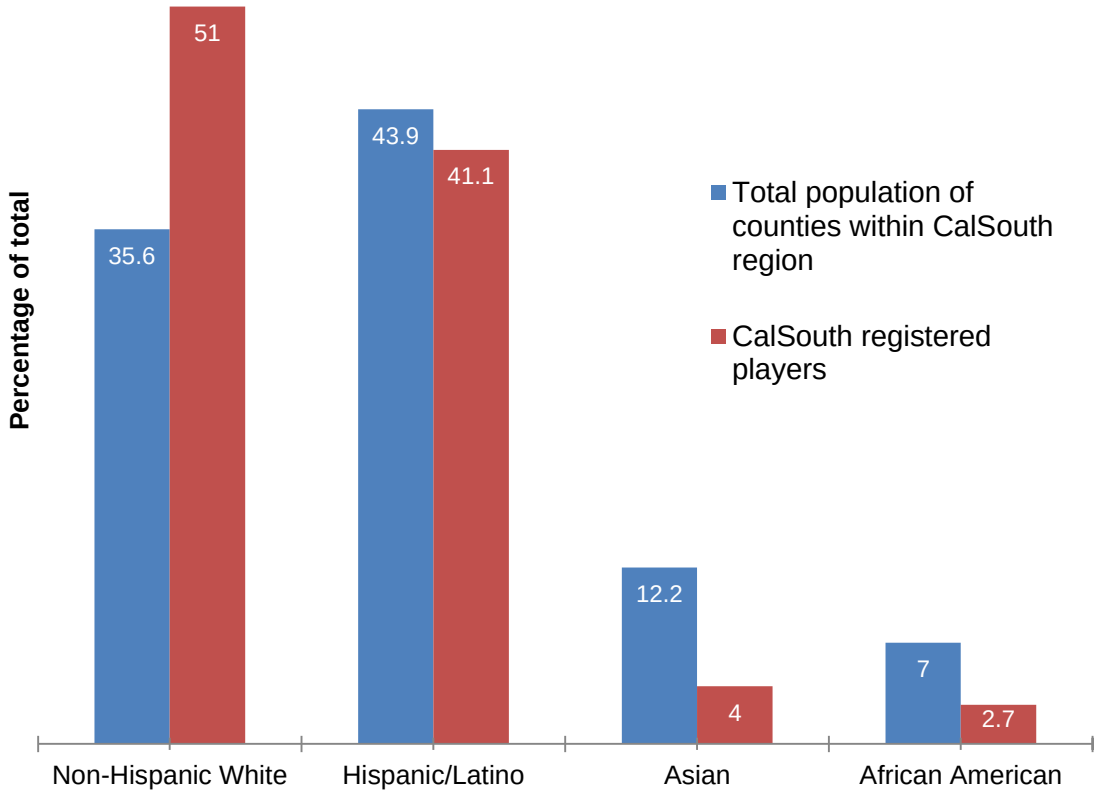
Figure 3.4: Mean age at entry into organized/team sports by household income and race/ethnicity

Similarly, there is a notable difference between the ages at which Caucasian (6.6) and Hispanic (8.2) children start playing organized soccer. And, indeed, household income and race/ethnicity tend to correlate with whites more likely to be affluent than Latinos (Kochhar, Fry, and Taylor 2011). All told, patterns of participation vary across social class and racial/ethnic background.

As is the case nationally, soccer in Southern California is hugely popular among affluent white suburbanites. A comparison of the total population of the counties served by CalSouth,[4] the youth soccer governing body for Southern California, relative to the demographic makeup of players registered by CalSouth shows an overrepresentation of non-Hispanic whites, who make up 36 percent of the total population but are 51 percent

[4] These include San Luis Obispo, Kern, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, Venutra, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Diego and Imperial counties.

of registered players, and a slight underrepresentation of Latinos, who make up 44 of the total population but are 41 percent of registered players.



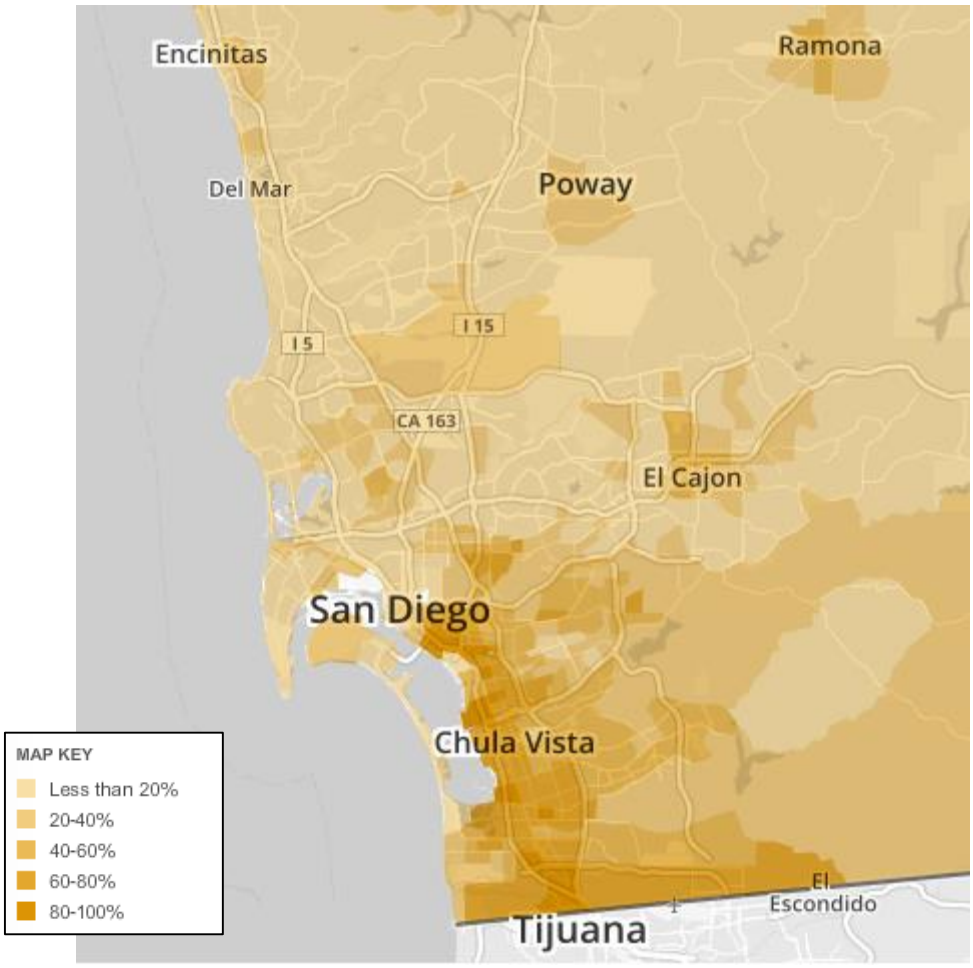
Source: CalSouth 2007; U.S. Census Bureau 2012a

Figure 3.5: Racial/ethnic background of CalSouth players compared to total population of counties served by CalSouth

The overrepresentation of non-Hispanic whites is apparent in San Diego youth soccer, too, where many of the top clubs come from suburban areas that are both whiter and more affluent than the rest of the metro area. One reason that it is possible to fairly easily distinguish suburban soccer from Latino soccer in San Diego is the degree of

ethnic and racial segregation that exists in the metro area. Scholars typically use what is known as an "index of dissimilarity," ranging from zero to 100, to measure rates of segregation (Massey and Denton 1988)[5]. On the index of Hispanic-White segregation, San Diego scores a 49.6 based on 2010 census data, making it the fourteenth most segregated metro area in the United States (Logan and Stults 2011). Seen on a map, the segregation is easily visible.

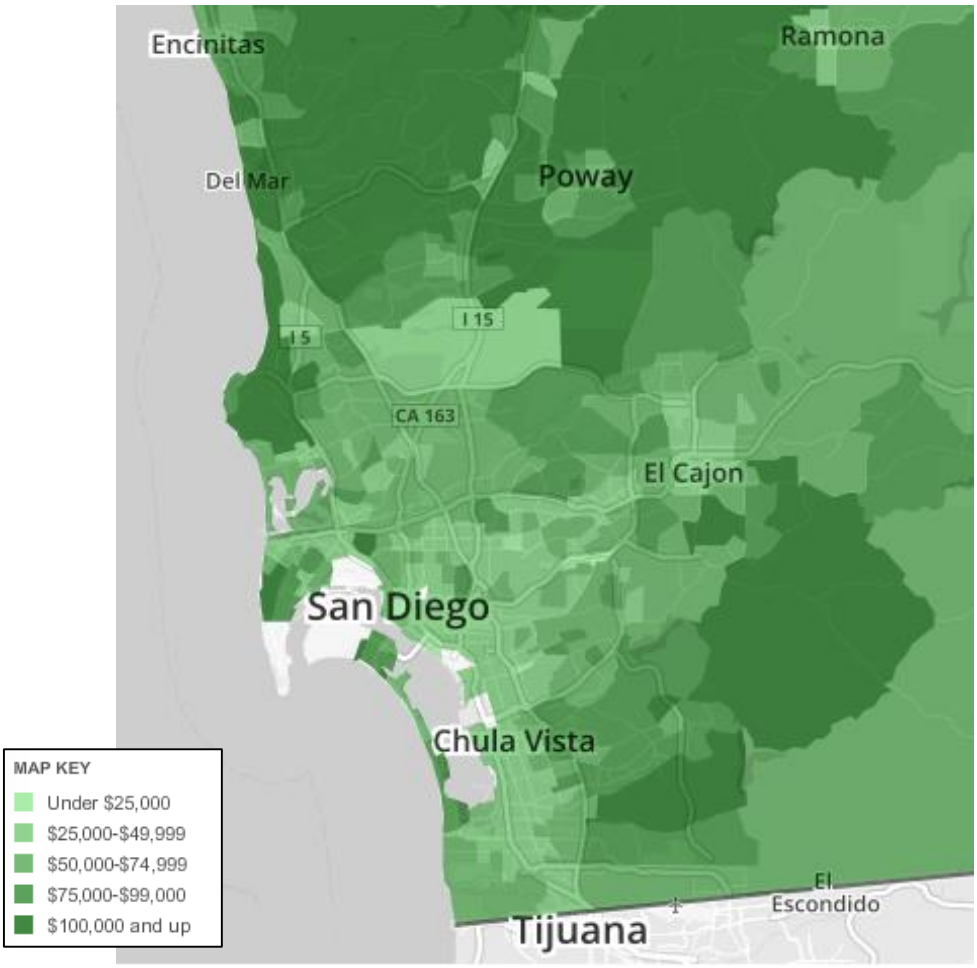
[5] The index of dissimilarity measures the degree to which any two racial or ethnic groups are evenly spread across the metro area. The degree of dissimilarity is compared for each census tract is compared to the degree of dissimilarity for the entire metro area and an index from zero to 100 is generated. Values from 0-30 are generally considered to be low segregation, 30-60 is seen as moderate, and 60-100 seen as high segregation.



Source: New York Times 2010

Figure 3.6: Hispanic population in San Diego County

San Diego is a largely segregated city, with the vast majority of Latinos living in the center of the city and in areas to its south. The further north one travels, to areas where suburban clubs like the Harriers and the Quake are based, the lower the Latino population. And this ethnic segregation is matched by economic segregation. Figure 3.7 shows the median household income throughout San Diego County. Notable is the fact that areas with more Latinos also tend to be those with lower median incomes.



Source: New York Times 2010

Figure 3.7: Median household income in San Diego County

The Suburban Youth Soccer Industrial Complex

That John Haverford could, in the year 2013, make a good living – if less than those of his neighbors, who are, it should be pointed out, among the most affluent people in the United States – through youth soccer is an indication of how far the sport has come

since the early days when AYSO leaders were focused simply on convincing parents to sign their children up for the new game.

Along with the growth in participants has come a growth in the amount of money spent on youth sports. The Sporting and Fitness Industry Association (the new name of the Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association as of 2012) reports over 80 billion dollars in wholesale spending on sports equipment (SFIA 2014), of which youth sports make up a significant share. A 2010 *Columbus Dispatch* review of tax records of the non-profit organizations that run youth sports programs revealed them to have annual revenues of at least 5 billion dollars (Jones, Wagner, and Riepenhoff 2010). Gary Hopkins, long-time soccer business executive, estimates the expenditures on youth soccer alone to be between 1.1 and 2.5 billion dollars (2010:219).

These huge sums of money are largely to be found in suburban youth soccer. Of the 1.1 to 2.5 billion dollars that Gary Hopkins claims youth soccer brings in, the vast majority of the money comes from the affluent suburbanites who have signed their children up for the sport in such great numbers in recent decades. The business model of suburban soccer today depends on the affluence of the parents who are its main financial backers. With families willing to pay thousands of dollars per year for their children's involvement in sports, there is money, and lots of it, in suburban youth soccer.

Much of this money comes in the form of registration fees. The Quake charges around $1,600 per year while the Harriers' fees are $1,300 per year. These fees only cover the ability for the child to participate on the team. Parents must also pay for equipment, which can cost hundreds of dollars per year as well as travel to and from practices and games. Travel to and from practice every day is not necessarily expensive,

but because practices often begin at 4:00pm (or earlier), parents must have a way to transport their kids. For many, this means the traditional patriarchal model of the father working outside of the home while the mother takes care of tasks like ferrying kids to soccer practice. This model, though, and indeed all of the costs associated with playing suburban soccer are simply out of the reach of those without significant resources to devote to their children's sports – and many of those without such resources are Latino. Travel to games can be an even more significant expense. Most weekends involve travel to games throughout Southern California and the best teams often go to tournaments throughout the Western part of the United States, trips that involve flights, hotels, and associated expenses.

Many families involved with youth soccer go beyond the required costs, paying for extra training sessions for their children, which are provided by both clubs and private companies. Clubs often organize special sessions focusing on one aspect (e.g. speed, technique) and charge interested parents a fee for their children to participate. One example of a private company charging for soccer services is the Catalyst Training Center, which opened in 2010 with a 12,000 square foot indoor facility where it offers individual, customized training sessions for 50 to 60 dollars per hour.

There are many ways that youth soccer clubs make money. In addition to the registration fees and the special training sessions that parents pay for, many clubs also make money from running tournaments. The largest youth soccer tournament in San Diego, the Quake Cup, is also one of the largest in the nation, and brings in $250,000-$350,000 annually for the club. The tournament charges around $1,200 per team to the roughly 400 teams who compete in the summer tournament (there is also a smaller

tournament in the fall). The Quake Cup has sponsors that range from small, local businesses to multinational sporting goods conglomerate Nike. The tournament estimates its impact on the local economy to be over $35 million.

In addition to sponsorship deals with club-affiliated tournaments, many clubs have sponsorship deals directly with companies. Some youth clubs are starting to replicate professional soccer teams by plastering corporate logos across the front of their uniforms. Children as young as eight years old can be seen hawking the wares of Microsoft and Chevrolet.

Many clubs also profit by running recreational programs. These programs are for children who want to be involved in youth soccer, but in a less serious way than those involved with competitive teams. Their cost is far less and their seasons are much shorter (typically two to three months versus year-round competitive programs). These programs are valuable, though, because of the number of children who sign up. The small amount of money paid by each player adds up when there are hundreds of them. Though neither the Quake nor the Harriers have recreational programs today, both clubs did for many years and used them to build themselves up, both on the field and on the balance sheet.

In recent years, some competitive clubs have begun to follow a franchise model. These clubs have partnered with less prestigious clubs, offering an affiliation, which includes, essentially, a rental of the more prestigious name for a fee. The Quake in particular has high name recognition and status in the youth soccer world, and they have begun to sell it to clubs in other parts of California as well as Utah and Hawaii. These clubs rename themselves (the “Utah Quake,” for example) and receive technical support

from the home club, all of which helps them to attract new players who want to play for a prestigious team. In exchange, the original Quake club earns significant income.

All of this money that clubs bring in pays for everything from field rental and maintenance to equipment to CalSouth player registration fees to salaries for coaches. The top-level clubs in Southern California all have paid coaches and the directors of coaching at each club can earn over $100,000 annually. As non-profit organizations, clubs by definition do not seek to turn profits. But with annual revenues ranging from $600,000 (Harriers) to $2 million (Quake), suburban clubs see significant money flow through their coffers. They may be non-profits, but they are very profitable for all involved. John Haverford's BMW was far from the only luxury car I saw being driven by those who work for youth soccer clubs.

So why do parents sign their kids up for top-level suburban soccer? It requires a huge commitment of time and money, and much of this money goes into the pockets of those who run youth soccer. It is first necessary to say that many parents have their children play top-level suburban soccer because it is, usually, the highest quality youth soccer to be found in San Diego. If a child is talented and wants to improve as a player and pursue a college soccer scholarship, suburban soccer almost always offers the best place to do so.

College coaches have long found the vast majority of their players from the ranks of suburban clubs, a fact that suburban parents are well aware of. Speaking with various coaches in San Diego, I was repeatedly told that the promise of college scholarships is the number one recruiting tool for clubs. Teams boast of their players who go on to play college soccer on their websites. The Quake has a staff member with the job title

"College Office Director" whose job is to help players play college soccer. And there are even private companies that, for a fee, work with players and their families to navigate the college recruitment process.

Despite the vast interest in using soccer as a means to college scholarships (or perhaps because of it), there is actually not nearly as much scholarship money available as many parents think. A pair of college coaches I spoke with told me that youth clubs routinely overstate how much their players earn in scholarships, often listing every player who plays college soccer as receiving a full four-year scholarship when in fact few get anywhere near this much money. One of the college coaches told me point blank: "clubs lie." She talked about some college liaisons who do very little, but allow the club to talk about how much effort they put into promoting their players to colleges. Laura Lanham, the head of a private company that helps families with the college recruiting process, was almost spiteful about some coaches who, in her eyes, promise kids the world and deliver very little, all the while enriching themselves with the thousands of dollars their parents are paying them every year. She told me about coaches she has seen who have taken a strong interest in talented Latino players, promising to connect them with college scholarships. But when the coaches find out that a player doesn't have U.S. citizenship, meaning it is nearly impossible for him to receive a college scholarship, they leave him to fend for himself. The opportunity to gain credibility by connecting players with college scholarships lost, coaches show their true colors, Lanham told me, and she found it despicable.

For the affluent suburbanites who are the main recipients of college scholarships, these are far from an economic necessity. Their kids are extremely likely to go to college,

with or without a soccer scholarship. But this does not stop families from pursuing scholarships with vigor. A college coach told me that his school had recently begun offering very limited sports scholarships of $500 per year. Despite the pittance that $500 represents relative to the school's estimated $25,000 annual cost of attendance, the coach told me that the small scholarship sparked an exponential growth in interest from youth players and clubs in his program.

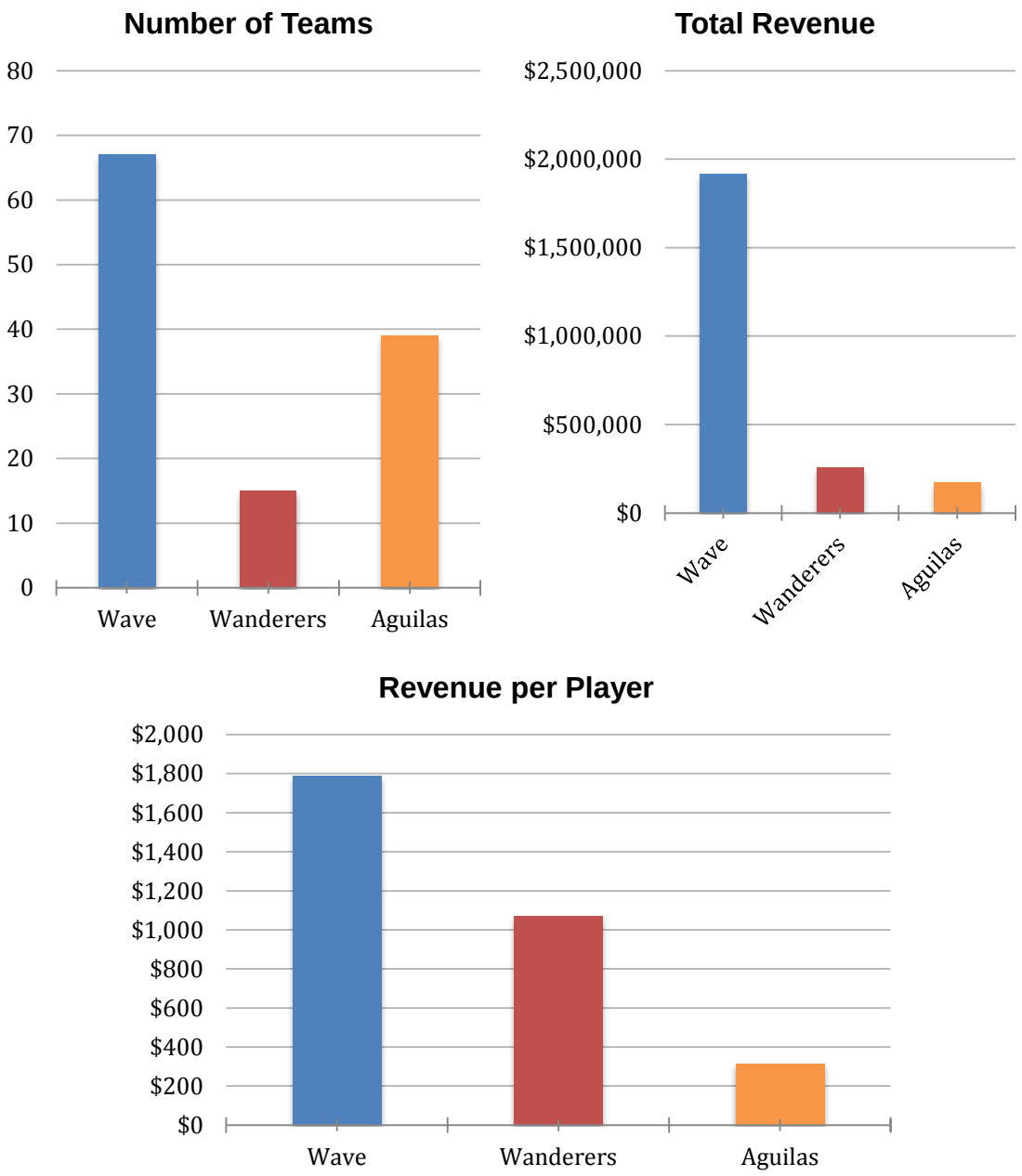
Latino Soccer[6]

In contrast to suburban soccer, Latino soccer largely does not attract the affluent population who sign their children up for suburban soccer. While the suburban soccer model of top-level clubs like the Quake and the Harriers thrives through the affluence of many of their players, Latino clubs like the Aguilas do not have this luxury. With a few exceptions, most Aguilas players come from limited economic means. Although there is not, as far as I was able to tell, a club-wide consistent amount charged for registration fees, like the Quake and the Harriers, the two Aguilas teams I observed charged players $10 per week every week of the year. This puts the total annual registration fee at $520 per year, less than a third of what the Quake charges.

The limited resources of Latino parents are also evident in a comparison of the revenues that the Aguilas reported on their 2012 tax forms compared to those of suburban clubs.

---

[6] Chapter 4 provides an extensive examination of Latino soccer. For this reason, I limit my discussion here to its broad, mostly financial, outlines.



Source: Author's compilation from club tax returns and websites

Figure 3.8: Number of Teams, Total Revenue, and Revenue per Player per Club

While the Quake earn around $1700 per player and the Harriers just over $1000 per player, the Aguilas earn around $300 per player (this difference from the figures cited above is almost certainly due to scholarships that clubs give to talented players whose

families cannot afford the full fees). Clearly, Latino soccer is far less lucrative than suburban soccer. One result of this difference is that, while suburban clubs typically pay their coaches, Latino clubs are rarely able to do so.[7]

The $10 per week that Aguilas parents pay may be a pittance for affluent suburban parents, but for many working-class Latinos, it can be a significant burden. I often saw parents ask the team treasurer for extensions on payment of fees. And when one player's father lost his construction job and was unable to keep up on payments, his son was forced to leave the team. Latino soccer may be far cheaper than suburban soccer, but it is still too expensive for some.

The Aguilas do have a recreational program that brings in money for the club, though, given the size of the club's total revenues, its impact clearly is limited. The club does not bring in money through tournaments, sponsorships, or affiliate deals.

The Aguilas have to pay for a similar range of items as suburban clubs: field rental, equipment, and CalSouth registration fees. With limited revenue compared to suburban clubs, these costs can often present a significant burden for the club. Aguilas president Jorge Sanchez complained to me that the city of Chula Vista, which previously allowed the Aguilas to use the public park where its teams practice for free, it had recently begun charging for field use. Overall, the expenses for the Aguilas, like their revenues, are far lower than those of the Quake, Harriers, and most other suburban clubs.

Why do parents sign their kids up for Latino clubs like the Aguilas? For most, economic considerations are primary. The Aguilas offer a high level of play, but charge

---

[7] In spite of the official club policy against paying coaches, Aguilas president Jorge Sanchez told me that some coaches break club rules and ask parents to pay them directly.

far less than most suburban clubs. Many of the Aguilas players live close to the park where the team practices, which limits the amount their parents have to spend on travel. A second factor is that the Aguilas are a self-consciously Latino club (see chapter 4). Proud of his background and that of most involved with the club, Jorge conducts almost all dealings in Spanish. Coaching clinics organized by the club are conducted in Spanish. For parents with limited English (of whom there are many) who feel more comfortable around others like themselves, the Aguilas offer a welcoming environment.

In addition to clubs affiliated with the United States Soccer Federation (USSF) like the Aguilas, there are several unaffiliated leagues in San Diego that cater to the Latino population. The largest of these, known as the Ciudad League, is in the center of San Diego, an area, like Chula Vista, with a strong Latino population. Because unaffiliated leagues do not have to comply with requirements of the United States Soccer Federation, most are actually for-profit enterprises (the same is true of similar adult leagues; see Wallace 2003). The Ciudad League is run as a side business of a tax preparation company catering primarily to Latinos in San Diego.

The Ciudad League, known colloquially as a "Mexican league," attracts mostly Latino children from around San Diego by offering a very low-cost option. The cost for players in the Ciudad League is less than $100 per year, making it a far more economical option than playing with the Quake, Harriers, or the Aguilas. Some players play exclusively for teams in the Ciudad League (especially those for whom cost is an issue), but many play for both a "Mexican league" team and a club team like the Quake, Harriers, or the Aguilas. The level of play in the Ciudad league ranges widely. Some

players, especially those who simultaneously play on club teams, are among the best in San Diego while others are at a recreational level.

Youth Soccer as a Dual Labor Market

The two worlds of youth soccer in which children play, and the hierarchy that exists between them, is a nearly perfect replication of the economy in which their parents work. There are two separate but intertwined worlds of soccer, with one clearly of a higher status than the other. And there are two separate but intertwined sectors of the economy, with an identical status differential. Examining the development of the broad economic structure that exists today in the United States in general, and in San Diego in specific, illuminates the structure of youth soccer.

The post-World War II period has seen vast economic restructuring in the United States. One of the major shifts has been deindustrialization. The American economy, once dominated by manufacturing, has come to be comprised of highly-paid, knowledge-based jobs on one end and low-paid, service jobs on the other (Bourgois 2003; Massey and Hirst 1998; Portes 1994). This shape of the economy today is often described as an hourglass: many jobs at the top, many jobs at the bottom, and few jobs in middle (Robinson 2009).

Michael Piore (1979) uses the term dual labor market to describe this phenomenon. Piore charts an economic history of the United States that goes from a preindustrial or craft stage through incipient industrialization to factory production and large-scale manufacturing, on to the rise of the social welfare state and unionization and, finally, to the present, the era of the dual labor market. The move to the dual labor market

era has been sparked, according to Piore and others, by the desire of corporations, faced with increased global competition, to reduce costs. The result of capitalists' moves to reduce their labor costs has been the bifurcation of the labor market. On the one hand, the primary sector has well-paid, stable jobs. Meanwhile, jobs in the secondary sector

> … tend to be unskilled, generally but not always low paying, and to carry or connote inferior social status; they often involve hard or unpleasant working conditions and considerable insecurity; they seldom offer chances of advancement toward better-paying, more attractive job opportunities; they are usually performed in an unstructured work environment and involve an informal, highly personalistic relationship between supervisor and subordinate. (Piore 1979:17)

Immigrants have largely been shunted into the secondary sector, filling jobs that the native born come to see as undesirable (López Sanders 2009). Sociologist Saskia Sassen describes the degraded conditions of jobs at the low end of the spectrum as the "casualization" of employment.

> The transformation of the occupational and income structure of the United States – itself in large part a result of the globalization of production – has expanded the supply of low-wage jobs. The decline of manufacturing and the growth of the service sector have increased the proportion of temporary and part-time jobs, reduced advancement opportunities within firms, and weakened various types of job protection. (Sassen 1989:814)

Both Sassen and Piore contend that it is these global pressures – the globalization of production and pressures for corporations to reduce costs, in particular – that have given rise to the most recent wave of immigration to the United States. Piore in particular argues it is the intention of corporations to reduce labor costs by recruiting foreign workers, whom they can pay less. Recruitment of foreign workers – not the wage differential between sending and receiving countries, as classic migration theorists argue (Massey et al. 1993) – is the prime driver of migration. Ultimately, Piore and Sassen

argue, developed economies like the United States experience immigration not simply because of higher wages they offer, but because the structure of their economies comes to depend on the cheap labor that immigrants shunted into the secondary sector provide.

Broad-scale economic restructuring has led to the growth of good jobs at the upper end of the economy and bad jobs at the lower end (Vidal 2013). And each depends on the other: highly compensated engineers, for example, need low-wage (often immigrant) cooks to prepare their food and immigrants who come to the United States and take jobs cooking food have employment because highly compensated engineers can afford to pay for their services. But, with the bifurcation of the labor market, it becomes ever more difficult for those in the secondary sector to move into the primary sector. Immigrants who once took low-paying jobs as a temporary measure and used them to move up the economic ladder find themselves less and less able to do so today (Mahler 1995; Waters 2001).

San Diego is, in many ways, typical of the trend toward a dual labor market. Bolstered by an influx of defense spending, much focused on manufacturing, during World War II, San Diego, home of the Navy's Pacific Fleet, began to expand in the decades that followed (Hooks and Bloomquist 1992). By 1947, 41 percent of the labor force of the city of San Diego was employed by the navy, making it what sociologist Mary Walshok and historian Abraham Shagge call "a Martial Metropolis." Many of the jobs in the region involved military manufacturing, especially shipbuilding and aerospace-related manufacturing, a sector that offered middle-range wages to thousands of workers. The Cold War was a windfall for San Diego, providing an economic base to a region that boomed with the influx of federal dollars.

Today, although the military remains the single-largest employer in the city of San Diego (Whitfield and Charvel 2013), it has nowhere near the centrality that it once did. San Diego's economy has diversified. In part, this has come out of necessity. The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s lead a series of cut backs in military spending that hit the region particularly hard, though preparations for this contingency in the years prior helped ease the transition to a more diverse economy (Accordino 2000). As military-related manufacturing has declined in San Diego, other industries have boomed. These include technology, biotechnology, health, tourism, and education (City of San Diego 2011). Even the military jobs that remain tend to focus more on professional, technical, and scientific services rather than manufacturing (Walshok and Shragge 2013).

The jobs that exist in San Diego today tend to cluster at the top end and the bottom end, with fewer and fewer in the middle. On the one end, scientists in biotech companies produce drugs that bring them stock option windfalls. On the other end, landscapers mow the lawns of pristine suburban homes for minimum wage. Many of these landscapers and those like them in jobs at the bottom of the economy are immigrants, drawn to the region by the abundance of jobs, albeit jobs that pay poorly and have few options for advancement.

The nature of youth soccer – with its two separate yet intertwined worlds – in Southern California makes sense when seen as a reflection of this economic restructuring. Jobs exist at the top and the bottom, with a huge gap between the two, just as soccer has two "sectors" – suburban and Latino – with a huge gap between them.

Those taking jobs in the top half of the hourglass are the same people who have flocked to the affluent San Diego suburbs in the post-World War II period. It was in these

suburbs that soccer first took root in the region. Recreational youth soccer began in the 1970s in the suburbs of North San Diego County. As the sport took root, competitive soccer soon emerged. The Quake took the best players from these suburban recreational leagues and formed its first competitive teams in 1980. The Harriers had recreational soccer as early as 1976 and became a competitive club with the arrival of Donald Gardner, recruited from the United Kingdom, in 1981. Both clubs were founded extremely wealthy people in the San Diego area. Indicative of the growth at the time, the Harriers were founded by a real estate developer. Early players were children of the affluent, flocking to the growing suburbs he was helping to develop.

With their growing wealth, these suburbanites have needed people to provide them services. Many of these workers have been Latino immigrants, drawn by the type of low-end jobs that Piore and Sassen describe. From 1980 to 2000, the foreign-born population of San Diego grew by 160 percent (the total population of the region grew by a smaller but still sizable 54 percent) (Singer 2004), with many immigrants attracted by the abundance of jobs in the bottom end of the dual labor market.

As the Latino population has grown in San Diego, so too has soccer in the region's Latino enclaves. Soccer in the Latino community of San Diego existed as early as the 1970s, though given the lack of continuity in the clubs that serve this population it is difficult to nail down the exact dates of its earliest iterations.[8] In contrast to the Quake and the Harriers, founded as competitive clubs around 1980 and still in existence today,

---

[8] The history of Latino soccer in San Diego certainly dates back even further, as is the case in other communities with significant Mexican immigrant populations (Pescador 2007; Trouille 2009). That said, no comprehensive study of Latino soccer in San Diego, or indeed Southern California, exists that would make it possible to trace its exact history.

whatever early Latino clubs may have existed early on have not survived in the same guise to the present. That said, in conversations with people around at the time, I was told that these early Latino clubs were likely more recreational than competitive, offering unaffiliated competitions similar to the Ciudad League today. In any case, as suburban clubs were being founded and affiliating with the USSF beginning in the 1980s, Latino clubs in San Diego did not do so until later. Julian Sanchez, brother of current club president Jorge, founded the Aguilas in 1992. Julian told me that one of his main goals in starting the Aguilas was to keep kids in the area out of trouble, a far different reason to start a soccer club than those espoused by leaders of affluent suburban clubs.

The explanation for why there are two worlds of youth soccer, then, has to do with the post-World War II restructuring that led to the dual labor market. As Piore and others have demonstrated, the growth of jobs at the top of the economy stimulates the simultaneous growth of jobs at the bottom of the economy. These two sectors of the economy have been filled by two different groups of people, affluent suburbanites and working-class Latinos, who live functionally separate lives. The economic and physical segregation of the two groups has led each to develop its own world of soccer. There are good jobs – biotech researchers, lawyers, doctors, real estate agents – in the primary sector for suburban parents that enable them to pay for soccer with the best fields, equipment, and most highly paid coaches for their children. Latino parents, shunted into bad jobs in the secondary sector, struggle to put together soccer opportunities for their children that match those of their suburban neighbors.

The outlines of youth soccer are strikingly similar to Piore's description of the dual labor market.

1. The "working conditions" of suburban soccer – the quality of fields, equipment, coaching, et cetera – are far superior to those of Latino soccer.

2. For all but a few, the chances of advancement – of moving from Latino soccer to suburban soccer – are quite limited. The chances of using soccer as a means of non-soccer advancement (i.e. of obtaining a college scholarship) are available almost exclusively to those in suburban soccer.

3. For these reasons, suburban soccer connotes a superior social status to Latino soccer.

It is perhaps no surprise that John Haverford and Jorge Sanchez, both immigrants to San Diego who have dedicated much of their lives to youth soccer, have benefitted to very different degrees from their involvement with the sport. Haverford's three decades of involvement with suburban soccer have brought him much wealth. Sanchez's years with Latino soccer have brought him no personal financial gain. Haverford earns his living through soccer. Sanchez earns his as a landscaper.

* * *

As will be apparent in the chapters to come, the two worlds of youth soccer are not totally separate. Also in line with dual labor market theory, in which workers in the primary sector of the economy depend on their counterparts in the secondary sector, suburban soccer depends on Latino soccer. Indeed, nearly every successful suburban boys soccer team in Southern California has at least some Latino players on its roster. How and why this integration occurs is the subject of chapter 5, but it is worthwhile to point out here that the connections between suburban and Latino soccer are nearly all in

one direction. While talented Latino players often end up on suburban teams, talented non-Latino suburban players very rarely go in the opposite direction. Much to the dismay of Aguilas president Jorge Sanchez, his club serves as a recruiting ground for top suburban clubs. Every year, he told me, he has to rebuild his teams, as the Quake, the Harriers, and other suburban clubs come in and poach his best players. Much as it pains him to admit it, he, like everyone involved in youth soccer, knows who is on top of the youth soccer hierarchy: affluent suburban clubs.

Because of this unidirectional flow, the connections between the structure of the economy and the nature of youth soccer are more apparent to Latinos than they are to suburbanites. While I often heard Latinos talk about suburban teams "stealing" their players, I rarely heard suburban teams or parents express an awareness of their far greater power in the sporting relationships they had with Latinos. The pain that Jorge Sanchez feels on seeing his players leave the Aguilas for suburban teams is rooted in his position in the broader economy. By day, Sanchez works as a landscaper, caring for the yards of the affluent families who fund suburban clubs. So to see his work developing young players for the Aguilas destroyed time and time again by suburban clubs who "steal" his players is particularly painful. Sanchez, like most Latinos I met during my research, is keenly aware of the similarities between the broader economy and youth soccer. His fight to develop and keep together a successful youth soccer club, a self-consciously *Mexican* club, is the subject of chapter 4.

Chapter 4. Soccer in the Latino Community

In December, after the fall season finished up, the San Diego-based Presidio League held its quarterly meeting. A chance to go over all of the administrative matters required to keep a youth soccer league going, it had all the zest and spontaneity typical of meetings run using Robert's rules of order. As the Presidio League president and other board members worked through scheduling, financial details, and disciplinary matters, most of the assembled coaches and team officials sat passively, whispering to their neighbors to keep themselves entertained while they awaited the buffet of Mexican food that was to follow.

The league secretary stood at the front, announcing the champion from each age group. The results had already been decided on the field, of course, but this was a chance to publicly recognize the winners. The secretary announced that in the under-15 boys division, an Aguilas team had finished in first place, but, per league policy, had seen some of its points deducted for disciplinary offenses, thus finishing in second place. A couple of white coaches looked at each other and chuckled knowingly. One took the paper given on arrival that showed results and disciplinary records and pointed to the listing for the Aguilas. "Check out the club in general," he said, indicating the high number of yellow and red cards Aguilas teams had received that season. The coaches shook their heads and tsk-tsked under their breath.

Fifteen minutes later, a group of several Latino coaches arrived. Aguilas president Jorge Sanchez exaggeratedly tapped his watch. The latecomers laughed and said to Jorge, "*ven'te pa'tras con los malos*" (come to the back with the bad guys). I turned around to

see who the *malos* they were referring to were. There, behind a sea of almost exclusively white faces, stood a small group of Latino coaches.

* * *

Soccer has a long history in immigrant communities in the United States (see below and chapter 2). What is unique today is the ever-increasing interactions between the children of immigrants and the children of non-immigrants. In the context of these interactions, the integration of Latinos (or the lack thereof) into top-level youth soccer can serve to illuminate processes of immigrant assimilation in the United States today. The behavior of the two groups of coaches at the Presidio League meeting gave me a preliminary indication that not only do white coaches have ideas about Latino teams (that they are undisciplined and violent) but also that Latino coaches very well understand how they are seen by others. To call themselves *malos* was to put front and center the negative attitudes that many Latinos feel others hold about them.

This chapter examines the role of soccer and ethnicity in the Latino community. What does soccer mean to the Latino parents who sign their children up to play it? I argue that the marginalized socioeconomic status of many Latinos strongly shapes their experiences with youth soccer. Soccer is an arena in which Latinos hope that money won't matter, won't affect the results on the field. More often than not, their hopes are in vain. Successful teams, both in terms of on-the-field results and in terms of off-the-field social mobility opportunities, usually come from affluent clubs. Without money, the Latino clubs attempt to achieve success by appealing to ethnicity. The Aguilas' attempts

to build a self-consciously Mexican team are, I argue, a response to the club's lack of financial resources. The Aguilas function as an ethnic enclave club, offering opportunities to young Latino players, but also, like ethnic enclave businesses, exploiting ethnic solidarity in an attempt to control players and keep them from leaving for other clubs. Through this appeal to ethnicity Aguilas club president Jorge Sanchez attempts to keep his teams together, but he struggles to do so in the face of the greater opportunities that suburban clubs can offer talented young players.

The Aguilas as a Mexican Team

Early on in my research, I was searching for clubs to follow. In my preliminary interviews, I asked people to give me a lay of the land on various clubs in San Diego. The most evocative description came from Ramon Martinez, then director of coaching at a moderately successful club in East San Diego County. Very matter of factly, he told me, the Quake were "*leche* (milk) with a tinge of *café* (coffee)." Head south and things changed. His club was "*café con leche*, more *leche* than *café*." Among clubs in Chula Vista, one was "fairly Anglo, but has become more Hispanic over time," another was "brown with a tinge of white." The Aguilas, he told me, were "as brown as it gets."

Wanting to include a Latino team in my study, the Aguilas seemed like a natural choice. But I became concerned when one of the parents I met, an Asian-American man named George who had spent much of his childhood in Argentina and whose son played for the under-16 Aguilas team, told me I was likely to have trouble getting in with people at the club. President Jorge, he said, would likely be resistant to me, a white man, being involved with his club. In fact, I found the opposite to be true. No one was more open to

me spending time observing his teams than was Jorge. Although he spoke to me almost exclusively in English, not realizing that I spoke Spanish despite my numerous attempts to communicate with him in that language, Jorge made me feel part of the team, despite my ambiguous role as a "father without a son" (see chapter 1).

While George may have been off in his assessment of Jorge's receptivity to me, he was correct that the Aguilas define themselves as a Latino club, more precisely, a Mexican club.[9] Nearly every player on the two Aguilas teams I observed had at least one Latino or Latina parent, and most had two such parents. Spanish was the lingua franca of the Aguilas. Walking around Marshall Park, where Aguilas teams played, the ratio of Spanish to English was at least ten to one. When addressing his players, Jorge spoke almost exclusively in Spanish, with only a few English words thrown in now and again. The only time I heard him speak more than a few words of English (except, that is, when he spoke to me; it was only after a year that he realized I spoke fluent Spanish) was in giving a congratulations speech to his players after they won a tournament. He used English not for his players, who were far more accustomed to hearing him speak Spanish, but for the tournament organizers and for the second place team players and parents, who were there to accept their own awards.

The Aguilas were also a "Mexican" club in a more literal sense: they had direct connections with teams across the border. Aguilas teams practiced several miles from the border with Mexico and would sometimes travel south to play teams in Tijuana. I traveled on one such trip and was shocked by the nonchalance with which it occurred.

---

[9] Although a few of the players' families came from countries besides Mexico, the vast majority were from this country. Throughout my research, people involved with the Aguilas called it both a Latino and a Mexican club, using the two almost interchangeably.

The previous practice required some discussion of logistics, as the few parents who were going to make the trip discussed how to take all of the players. One player had had his passport stolen recently and there was some concern that he might have trouble getting back into the United States (it was decided that with a birth certificate and photo identification, he'd be fine, which he was). When it was decided I would go with two fathers, Joaquin and Daniel, they jokingly said, "with you we'll get through the border checkpoint really quickly!"

The games themselves (both the under-13 and under-16 teams played), against youth affiliates of a Mexican professional team, were uneventful. The fact that an international border had been crossed to play them was nearly meaningless. The only time it came to the fore was when Lazaro, father of a forward on the under-13 team, said to me that he was surprised at how cleanly the Mexican teams played. He had expected them to play dirty. Most Mexican teams were quite dirty, he assured me.

This comment – that Mexican teams are dirty – is just one example of how the Aguilas, defined by many, including themselves, as a "Mexican" team were, in fact, keen to differentiate themselves from actual Mexican soccer. Ernesto, father of a player on the under-13 team, told me that his older son, who had at one time been selected for the United States under-20 national team, was considering going professional in Mexico. But Ernesto was concerned about this idea because Mexican soccer, he insisted, was dirty. Players would dislike his son because he was from the United States and would likely try to injure him. Coaches in Mexico even encouraged this behavior, something that would never happen in the United States, he told me.

This idea of Mexican soccer being dirty is one I heard repeated time and time again by Aguilas parents. Indeed, some Aguilas players actually lived in Tijuana, but commuted up to practices and games in Chula Vista, in large part because they believed that soccer in the United States was cleaner than that in Mexico. These players tended to be from more affluent families (the father of one was a real estate developer while the father of another was a commercial pilot). When I asked these fathers why they went to the time and effort to cross an international border several times a week for their kids' soccer, they expressed the same sentiments that U.S.-based parents did: Mexican soccer was dirty and they preferred to avoid it.

This idea of Mexican soccer as dirty often bled into covert – and sometimes overt – expressions of class distinction. One father talked about the number of "street kids" who played on the often-ragtag teams in Tijuana. He told me that he preferred for his son to play in a "cleaner," more organized environment. This father, the affluent Mexico-based real estate developer, went further: Tijuana doesn't have many organized teams, has few good fields, and most coaching there is of extremely poor quality. This father, who was clearly quite wealthy, sent his son to private school in San Diego. Why, then, would he not offer him the best after-school opportunities, even if they required crossing the border?

Another way that parents differentiated soccer in the United States from Mexican soccer was in arguing that the latter was extremely political while the former was more meritocratic. This is similar to the work of anthropologist Roger Magazine (2007), who demonstrates that the choices of young Mexican soccer fans to support the team Pumas is often made as a shot against the clientelism that they feel permeates Mexican society.

Just the fans Magazine describes support Pumas because they see that club giving young players a chance – something they hope bosses will do for them instead of their regular practice giving jobs to people they already know – Aguilas parents argue that playing in the United States offers more opportunities for their sons to succeed in soccer if they are talented. This ranges from the youth level – where one father told me that choosing players for the U.S youth national teams was done on merit, unlike in Mexico, where it was done based on the coaches' connections – to the professional level – where connections to the coach or team owner, I was told, would guarantee playing time. In the view of many parents, playing for the U.S.-based Aguilas in the world of American soccer offered an alternative to the clientelistic ways that dominate Mexican soccer. The Aguilas might be a "Mexican" club, but they were different in important ways from Mexican soccer played in Mexico.

If connections to Mexico (despite some significant differences important to Aguilas parents, though not any of the non-Latino parents I spoke with) make the Aguilas a "Mexican" team, so too do its differences from suburban teams define its Mexican-ness. As is often the case in classic discussions of the concept, definitions of ethnicity – in this case, what it means to be Mexican – are often expressed as an opposition to something else (Barth 1969). In the case of the Aguilas, that something else is the mostly white, affluent suburban world of youth soccer. Many of the people associated with the Aguilas who I met talked about poor treatment of Latinos by these suburban clubs. The first time I spoke with club president Jorge, he told me that there was a lot of racism in youth soccer. Suburban clubs mock teams like the Aguilas. And when the Aguilas beat

teams like the Quake and the Harriers, the suburbanites got incredibly mad, Jorge and many Aguilas parents told me.

It was rare, but sometimes this animosity was expressed in racial terms. Ernesto, father of the under-13 team's goalkeeper, told me that suburban parents would often see his son, who was quite tall for his age, and ask the referee to check his identification to ensure he was the right age. It was as if, Ernesto told me while shaking his head, they couldn't imagine a Mexican kid being anything but short, and were sure that he must be trying to skirt the rules.

More often, though, the Aguilas saw differences between themselves and suburban clubs in financial terms. Everyone involved with the Aguilas knew the size of the financial gap between their club and suburban clubs was huge. Some parents expressed their views on the matter by speaking in conspiratorial terms about suburban clubs. Ernesto told me that he had heard of suburban coaches paying transfer fees of up to $5000 to each other when a player moves from one club to another (I found no evidence of this being the case; if true, it would be against youth soccer regulations). Money, Aguilas parents assumed, was everywhere in suburban soccer.

Given these power differences, Jorge told me several times that he saw suburban teams as conquistadors (the Harriers had previously proposed to merge with the Aguilas, but Jorge refused, seeing the offer as a chance for the suburban club to gain access to his players). With far more resources than Latino clubs like the Aguilas, they could afford better facilities and equipment, pay for high-quality coaches, and, most importantly to Jorge, offer scholarships to the best Latino players to entice them (see chapter 5). The Aguilas would sometimes try to match some of the practices of suburban teams, but, with

their limited resources, often found it difficult to do so. Jorge's brother Julian told me that when early Aguilas teams played suburban opponents they noticed their nice uniforms and the parents put together fundraisers to purchase uniforms to match. It was important for them to be "well dressed," he told me. Even if they couldn't match the houses, cars, and bank accounts of the suburban parents, the Aguilas hoped their players could look as good, and play as well, as any suburban team. Julian and Jorge both recounted victories Aguilas teams had had over suburban teams. These wins over teams like the Quake and Harriers were, for the Aguilas, the sweetest victories of all.

No Money, More Problems

In spite of their lack of financial resources, Latinos are often the most talented young players in Southern California and the United States. On this, both Latinos and others agree (for statistics relevant to this point, see chapter 5).

Two years before I started following them, the Aguilas under-13 (then under-11s) won the Southern California championship, making them the best team at their age group. This victory is both an indication of the incredible level of talent that Latino teams have at their disposal and also an amazing accomplishment given the limited resources of the Aguilas club. The fields at Marshall Park are bumpy, uneven, and often used not only by Aguilas teams, but also by local football and baseball teams as well (unlike suburban clubs, which often have exclusive use of their facilities). Lights become a necessity at the park in the winter when dark comes by 5:00, but park officials often turn them off in the middle of teams' practices. When I witnessed several of the under-13 players beg park officials to keep the lights on to allow them to practice (see chapter 1), I thought it

couldn't get much worse than that, having the city push them out in the middle of a practice. But, it turns out, having the lights at all is a relatively new development. Until several years ago, the park didn't have lights at all and so parents would drive their cars around the field and shine their headlights to enable teams to practice. Things only changed when they got a local investigative television reporter to come out and do a story on the situation. The reporter's catch phrase – "it ain't right" – shamed the city into installing lights, something Aguilas former president Julian Sanchez insisted suburban teams in North San Diego County would never have to do.

The Aguilas' lack of financial resources also shows up in the level of competition they were able to find. The under-13 and under-16 teams played in the Presidio League, a local San Diego competition, rather than the higher quality Coast League, which brings together top clubs from all of Southern California, or the U.S. Soccer Development Academy, a national competition, which is far and away the best in the United States. Aguilas teams also tend to play in smaller, more local, and less competitive tournaments than other teams, particularly the Quake and Harriers. For many of the parents, the costs associated with traveling to games across the country – again, as the Quake and Harriers do – are simply prohibitive. At one point, Aguilas parents were discussing the possibility of sending teams to the highly prestigious Copa Chivas in Guadalajara, Mexico, but the costs of travel to the tournament put an end to that idea.

The one distant tournament that both the under-13 and under-16 Aguilas teams did attend in the time I followed them was the Dallas Cup. Among the top youth tournaments in the world, the Dallas Cup attracts teams from Europe, South America, and Asia. That the Aguilas teams were invited to participate in this elite competition is an

indication of their high level of play. The prestige of the tournament meant that parents were willing to put together the money required (around $600 per player) to send the teams to Dallas. This was one competition that the Aguilas could not pass up. But other competitions, like the Copa Chivas, that Aguilas teams would have liked to enter were simply out of the question because of their cost.

Unable to be involved consistently in top competitions, the Aguilas struggle to provide exposure to college coaches, something important to many of the parents. College coaches have historically focused their recruiting attention on suburban clubs, largely ignoring Latino clubs like the Aguilas (Iber et al. 2011; Valeriano 2014). Aguilas founder Julian Sanchez complained to me that his club, like suburban clubs, develops talented players who go on to play college soccer. But those players rarely go straight from the Aguilas to four-year colleges; instead, many play for a time with suburban clubs, which get them exposure to college coaches. While it is true that the Aguilas develop players with the talent to play college soccer, it is also the case that the club largely lacks the connections to help their players find a place in this system. At one point, I witnessed a discussion between club president Jorge and Cameron, one of the very few affluent, white parents (he is a lawyer married to Mexican woman), about how to set up online profiles to promote Aguilas players to college coaches. With awareness that this was something important to do in order to attract the attention of college coaches, but less knowledge of how to make it happen, the interaction was emblematic of the inability of the Aguilas to break into the world of college soccer recruiting. Yet when suburban clubs alone take credit for molding these kids into college players, it rankles

Julian and his brother Jorge, who feel that these clubs ignore the years their players spent developing with the Aguilas before moving to clubs like the Quake and Harriers.

The lack of consistent competition and exposure to college coaches became a point of contention for many Aguilas players in the time I observed them. Aguilas teams were clearly talented – both the under-13s and under-16s had been invited to participate in one of the most prestigious youth tournaments in the world – but the financial constraints made it difficult for them to find consistent competition to match them. The relatively low cost of participation attracted many players to the Aguilas, but because of the lack of resources to enable better competition, some players became frustrated and began to consider moving to other clubs. The Aguilas are known for producing top talent so suburban clubs often scouted their players, offering them scholarships and other perks if they would make the switch (see chapter 5).

Jorge, the Aguilas president and coach of the two teams I followed, had little recourse to keep players from leaving. Rules on player transfers are fairly permissive, making it easy for players to move teams. Because the Aguilas struggle to provide the types of fields, equipment, and competition that suburban teams can offer, Jorge often resorted to appeals to ethnicity in order to head off player defections. In talking about these players, Jorge often painted them as having "abandoned" the Aguilas. Interestingly, one of the parents told me that it is not just suburban teams whom Jorge feels are stealing his players, but also Mexican professional teams (see chapter 6). Joaquín told me that his son, a talented midfielder on the under-13 team, had been spotted by a well-known scout for the Mexico City-based professional team América. When Jorge got word of this, he cornered Joaquín, urging him not to have his son go to Mexico. Although Joaquín wasn't

interested in his son leaving at only 13 years old, he was taken aback that Jorge felt it was his place to attempt to control his family's decision making.

Appeals to stick together because of a shared ethnicity and shared marginalized socioeconomic position cut both ways. On the one hand, they provided an inspiration for the Aguilas' success, as players and parents alike reveled in their ability to beat their more affluent neighbors on the field. But at the same time, the appeal to ethnicity could also serve as a means of control, a source of unwanted pressure on families who might want their children to have the opportunity to move to other teams.

Sports and Ethnicity

The connections between the Aguilas club and the Latino-ness of those involved with it are part of a long history of connections between sports and ethnicity in the United States. For many immigrants, sports have been central part of their leisure time, providing an arena in which they spend time with co-ethnics, thus fostering a sense of community and ethnicity (Kleszynski 2008; Wallace 2003; Allaway 2005; Rios 2012). As leisure activities in which many participate, the choice of what sport to play and with whom to play it can shape immigrants' own sense of ethnicity. Choosing to play soccer, a sport long seen as a foreign game in the United States, was often seen – and in some cases continues to be seen – as a choice to remain ethnic, as opposed to "American" sports like baseball, basketball, and football (Markovits and Hellerman 2001; Wangerin 2006; Grey 1992). And, indeed, for many immigrants connection with co-ethnics through an ethnically-defined sport has been the goal of participation in soccer.

In addition to the purposes that immigrants have for sports, there are other actors who seek to use sports for their own, often divergent, purposes. Indeed, there are many examples throughout American history of sports being used by religious and civic organizations in an attempt to shape the behavior of immigrants and their children. As historian Carmelo Bazzano, writing about the wave of immigration in the first half of the twentieth century, notes, leaders of the Progressive Movement sought to use sports as a way to ensure that the children of Italian immigrants did not find their way to gangs. "Substitute the team for the gang" was the clarion call of these leaders, who saw the power of sports to keep second-generation immigrants from falling in with the wrong crowd. In interwar St. Louis, this process of using sports as a means to shield youth from negative influences was seen in the role that the Catholic Church played in promoting soccer. With teams based around church parishes, Gary Morimo writes that "the emergence of a neighborhood athletic federation provided a powerful symbol of ethnic group identity" (1982:5). Indeed, it was, at least in part, through soccer that these young Italian-Americans came to understand themselves as such by bringing them together to play soccer with others whose families came from Italy. Other examples of the use of soccer to inculcate ethnic identity exist (see Marston 2012 on examples from Ukranian and Mexican immigrant communities). Sports, thus, have long been connected to ethnicity because there are actors who make overt connections between the two.

At the same time that some seek to use sports to inculcate ethnic identity (sometimes in opposition to other potential forms of identity), they often find that participation in sports achieves the exact opposite, instead connecting participants to others outside of the ethnic community. Morimo writes that "sport also allowed athletes

to become Americanized and acculturated them into a larger urban society through the participation of intra-city team" (1982:ibid). Similarly, David Trouille (2009) and historian Juan Javier Pescador (2004; 2007) have written that throughout the twentieth century soccer in Chicago provided one of the few arenas in which some Mexican Americans interacted with others outside of their community. Because soccer at that time was mostly played by immigrants, those with whom Mexican Americans interacted were mostly other immigrants (in Chicago at the time, most came from Eastern Europe).

As soccer has grown in the United States, and come to be played outside of immigrant communities (see chapter 2), the relationship between the sport and ethnicity for Mexican Americans has changed. Youth soccer in Southern California today regularly brings young Mexican Americans, who often play on Latino-dominated teams like the Aguilas, into contact with affluent, non-Latino suburbanites. While the children of other immigrant groups in Southern California have assimilated (one would be hard pressed by find youth clubs today that exist on ethnic lines of European immigrants of previous waves), there continues to be a strong contingent of ethnically-oriented Latino clubs like the Aguilas. While the affluent suburbanites who play on teams like the Quake and Harriers may be the descendants of those who arrived in previous immigrant waves, they are highly unlikely to see any connection between their ethnicity and their participation in soccer (indeed, throughout my research, not one such parent ever made this connection). The domestication of soccer that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s stripped ethnicity from the sport – but not among the Latino immigrants who have arrived in the years since then. For Latino immigrants today, soccer and ethnicity remain intricately connected. Even the attempts of Aguilas parents to offer a more nuanced definition of what their club meant –

recall their repeated negative characterizations of Mexican soccer as dirty on the field and clientelistic off of it in contrast to the cleaner (in both senses of the word) version of soccer they were involved with north of the border – proved almost entirely unsuccessful.

In part, soccer and ethnicity are connected for Latinos because, after previous waves of mostly European immigrants, they are the most recent immigrant group to arrive. At the same time, nature of the connection between soccer and ethnicity today is also affected by the shape of the economy. As the economy has shifted more and more toward an hourglass shape – with good jobs at the top, bad jobs at the bottom, and little opportunity for movement between the two – so too has nature of the relationship between ethnicity and soccer shifted.

While soccer has long served to inculcate ethnicity in those who participate in it, the ability of immigrants of previous generations to assimilate saw the eventual breakdown of ethnic clubs. As immigrants and their children found better jobs, moved to new neighborhoods with fewer co-ethnic neighbors, and "became American," the need for ethnic clubs declined (Van Rheenen 2009). But today, with fewer opportunities for immigrants to assimilate, ethnic clubs are taking on a different role. Just as Aguilas parents are unable to afford to move out of lower-cost ethnic enclaves, so too are their children often unable to afford the costs of playing for suburban clubs.

If the worlds of youth soccer – suburban and Latino – have come to exist because of the rise of the dual economy (see chapter 3), the relationship between soccer and ethnicity is also shaped by this macro-level economic shift. But the idea of the dual economy has been complicated since its original conception. The so-called "ethnic enclave hypothesis" has provided an argument that some immigrants who might be

expected to be shunted into the secondary sector of the economy actually do better than expected economically.

Several decades ago, it was assumed, following the arguments of labor economist Michael Piore (1979) about the bifurcation of the economy into a dual labor market, that low-skill immigrants were largely shunted into the secondary sector, into jobs with poor working conditions, little stability, and low pay. The shape of the economy had changed, Piore and others argued (e.g. Sassen 1990), so that the gap between the secondary and primary sectors of the economy had become so large that it was nearly impossible for those in the secondary sector (often immigrants) to move up at all, let alone use jobs in the secondary sector to enter the primary sector. Thus, it was revolutionary when sociologists Kenneth Wilson and Alejandro Portes (1980) pointed out that there may be another sector to the economy that doesn't fit into the primary/secondary dichotomy. Using the case of Cubans in the Miami area, Wilson and Portes argued that these immigrants working in businesses owned by and catering to other Cubans – thus receiving a better return on human capital obtained in their home country – than were Cuban immigrants who worked outside of this so-called ethnic enclave. They defined the ethnic enclave hypothesis as the idea that

> … immigrant workers are not restricted to the secondary labor market. In particular, those inserted into an immigrant enclave can be empirically distinguished from workers in both the primary and secondary labor markets. Enclave workers will share with those in the primary sector a significant economic return to past human capital investments. Such a return will be absent among those in the "open" secondary labor market. (1980:302)

If the dual economy provides the context for the rise of the ethnic enclave hypothesis, ethnic solidarity theory is used to explain its continued existence.

Sociologists Jimy Sanders and Victor Nee point out that immigrants, discriminated against by outsiders, bond together and thrive as a result (1987:746). For example, on arrival, Cuban immigrants may find work in a grocery store owned by and catering to Cuban-Americans. Store owners give jobs to co-ethnics and the newcomers find jobs they might struggle to locate otherwise given their lack of language skills and social connections. Thus, immigrants who might struggle to thrive in the broader economy, find success working in businesses run by and that cater to co-ethnics. Bound by the bonding social capital of shared ethnicity, the theory holds, immigrants in ethnic enclaves are able to earn more than others without such connections.

While working in the ethnic enclave economy can offer benefits to immigrants, it can also offer some serious drawbacks. Notable is the fact that ethnic enclave businesses can be exploitative of co-ethnics. Shared ethnicity enables newly arrived immigrants to quickly find employment, but this ethnic solidarity can also lead bosses to treat workers poorly with little fear of reprisal. The nature of these relationships has been debated intensely. Sociologist Roger Waldinger writes that "what earlier observers had seen as a sweatshop, Wilson and Portes recast as an apprenticeship: low wages for a couple of terms of labour in the ethnic economy – dubbed the 'enclave' – in return for which one learns the tools of the trade in order to set up on one's own and thus move ahead" (1993:444). In spite of these differences, all, even Wilson and Portes, agree that employment in the ethnic economy has the potential to lead to "paternalistic working conditions" (Sanders and Nee 1987:746) that can become exploitative.

A second critique of the ethnic enclave hypothesis comes from Sanders and Nee, who point out that the ethnic enclave hypothesis lumps together all immigrants, thus

ignoring the significantly divergent interests of bosses and workers in the ethnic enclave economy. Glossing over these differences ignores the fact that, for example, ethnic solidarity gives bosses access to cheap labor while offering workers little recourse for complaints about working conditions. Sanders and Nee argue for a consideration of the interests of each group separately, an important correction.

Applying the ethnic enclave hypothesis to the world of youth soccer, the Aguilas can be seen as an ethnic enclave club. The similarities between the ethnic enclave businesses that Wilson and Portes describe and the Aguilas are numerous. The club attracts players because of their shared ethnicity. It is, as I've argued above, in many ways, an ethnically-defined, "Mexican" club (even if what it means to be a Mexican club is more complicated than initially appears to be the case). Because Latinos are often the most talented youth players in Southern California, the Aguilas have access to incredible resources. And by catering to a specific market long ignored by suburban soccer clubs – by offering a place to Latino parents who often have limited financial resources and speak limited English – the Aguilas have been successful on the field. Cuban immigrants in Miami are able to get a higher return on human capital developed in Cuba by working in the ethnic economy. Similarly, Mexican immigrants in San Diego able to get a "high return" (i.e. better competition) on the human capital they bring from Mexico (i.e. their interest in soccer and, for many, having taught the game to their children from a young age) through their involvement with the Aguilas.

Also in line with the ethnic enclave hypothesis, the Aguilas, in a sense, offer players the skills to become self-employed – if self-employed is defined as being able to find opportunities to play for other, higher-level teams. The Aguilas have developed

several of the most successful players in San Diego history, but most of them play for the Aguilas only for a time before joining other youth teams. Joe Corona, current star for the Xolos of Tijuana, is a prime example: he began his youth career with the Aguilas before moving on to play for the Harriers. Both the Aguilas and Harriers display Corona prominently on their websites.

Just as ethnic enclave businesses can be accused of exploiting co-ethnic workers, so too is it possible to see similar types of behavior at the Aguilas. Club president Jorge Sanchez often talked of players who left for suburban clubs "abandoning" the Aguilas, which sought to pressure others not to do the same. He also was often direct in seeking to encourage players not to leave for suburban clubs or Mexican professional teams (recall Jorge pressuring Joaquin not to be tempted by the offers of scouts from Mexico).

The call by Sanders and Nee to highlight the often-conflicting interests of ethnic enclave bosses and workers is important here. Seeing the Aguilas as an ethnic enclave club, it is clear that president Sanchez and the Aguilas parents have divergent interests. For parents, having their children play for the Aguilas for a time can offer them access to the "primary sector" of youth soccer: suburban clubs. But for Jorge, having his players leave the Aguilas for these suburban clubs is a disaster, as the success of his teams depends on keeping his players together. Without the level of resources and competition that suburban clubs offer, Sanchez is forced to fall back on the one card he can play in an attempt to persuade his players to stay with the Aguilas: an appeal to ethnic solidarity.

The similarities between ethnic enclave businesses and the Aguilas as an ethnic enclave soccer club allow us to understand what soccer means to Latinos in Southern California. Changes to the broader economy – the move to an hourglass shape – have led

to the creation of two worlds of youth soccer, suburban and Latino. Within the Latino world, clubs like the Aguilas define themselves – and are defined by others – as a distinctly Mexican team. This is in part to do with the connections the Aguilas have to Mexico, with many families coming from that country, most club business conducted in Spanish, and regular trips to play teams south of the border. The Mexican-ness of the club also has to do with the ways in which it differs from affluent suburban clubs. Seeing suburban clubs as conquistadors, eager to steal their best players, their marginalized status as Latinos becomes even more apparent to Aguilas president Jorge and club parents.

Similar to the ethnic enclave hypothesis, the Aguilas draw on ethnic solidarity both to be successful and also as the only resort on which they can rely when players express interest in moving to other clubs. Like ethnic enclave businesses that can use a shared sense of ethnicity to exploit their workers, Aguilas president Jorge urges his players not to abandon the team, and by proxy, the ethnic community (in this, he is using the connection between ethnicity and sports for very specific interests, as have people in the United States for many decades). By separating the interests of coaches and parents, just as Sanders and Nee urge a separation of the interests of ethnic enclave bosses and workers, we see that the two groups often have goals that are in opposition. As Sanders and Nee as well as others (e.g. Mahler 1995) have pointed out, factionalism is often rife in ethnic communities, and to reflexively see them as united by ethnic solidarity is a mistake.

Soccer has long been connected to ethnicity in the United States. What, then, makes the relationship between youth soccer today in Southern California and ethnicity

unique? It is, I believe, the specific socioeconomic conditions that shape the relationship. Latinos, shunted into the secondary sector of a dual labor market, see soccer as a place in which they – through the exploits of their children – can find success through participation on an ethnic enclave club. These clubs, of whom the Aguilas are a perfect example, are successful because they offer co-ethnics – talented young Latino players – a place to succeed on the field. But, because youth soccer is so driven by money, the Aguilas struggle to maintain their success in the long term. Unable to offer the best facilities, equipment, and competition, talented Aguilas players are tempted to seek opportunities with suburban teams. Aguilas coaches like Jorge have little to rely on to prevent this from happening, except appeals to ethnic solidarity.

* * *

The first time I told Joaquín, parent of a star player on the Aguilas under-13 team, that I was also spending time with a team from the suburban Harriers club, he looked at me, shocked. "You're a spy!" he said, in a tone that was equal parts jest and outrage. He, like many parents, had taken on the message that Jorge was so keen to spread – that suburban clubs were stealing Aguilas players, and the existing players should ignore the offers of outsiders, and bond together as a club to beat them.

So it was a bit of a surprise when Joaquín came up to me at practice several weeks later and, out of earshot of everyone else, told me that he was considering moving his son to a suburban team known as Britannia, who had been making overtures to him, hinting they might give him a scholarship if he'd switch clubs. He knew that his son had talent

and he wanted him to get noticed by college scouts. He was concerned that this would never happen at the Aguilas. What should he do, he asked me? Was it true that Britannia could help his son to get a college scholarship? Not sure exactly how to respond, I stammered something about different options being best for different people. If I told him that Britannia did have a much better track record of getting notice from college coaches, I'd be telling him the truth, but if Jorge ever heard that I'd been encouraging his players to leave for the Harriers, I'd surely never be welcome back with the Aguilas. Joaquín feared negative consequences of our conversation, too, telling me to not say anything to any of the other parents or to Jorge about it.

Joaquín's dilemma is one that many Aguilas parents face. His son had developed tremendously with the Aguilas, becoming a star player that a suburban club wanted so much they would be willing to give him a scholarship to play for them. But Joaquín had also clearly taken on the ethnic solidarity mantra of the club, even initially accusing me of being a spy for the Harriers. How parents like Joaquín balance these competing interests – between personal advancement and ethnic solidarity – is where I began chapter 5.

Chapter 5. The Integration of Youth Soccer

Joaquin is short and paunchy. If the Pillsbury Company were ever looking to make a Mexican version of their iconic doughboy, he would be an excellent candidate for the role. Joaquin was the most gregarious of the parents I met during my time with the Aguilas. Originally from the Mexican state of Colima, he was eager to talk with anyone whose path he crossed. He often crossed my path, at Aguilas practices and games and in the central San Diego neighborhood where we both lived. As I sat inside my house working, I would often hear his car speed by outside, with Joaquin calling out "*Hola, David*!"

Joaquin has been living in the United States for several decades without legal status. He works as a landscaper but is always on the look out for other ways to earn money (near the end of my fieldwork, when I told him I would be moving to Oregon, he asked if I thought he could find work there). His life is in the United States is precarious, and it could come to an end at any moment were he picked up by the authorities. But, he told me time and time again, he sacrifices so that his kids can have a better life.

His son, Mauricio, a 13 year-old star midfielder for the Aguilas, is as quiet as his father is loud. Tall and thin where his father is short and round, a stranger would never guess the two were related. In spite of the physical differences, the two are close. Mauricio has internalized his father's dreams for him. He attends a public charter school, one of the best in San Diego, and is on the honor roll. A serious and studious teenager, he moves with purpose, in the classroom and on the soccer field, where his skill attracts the attention of everyone who sees him play.

In spite of his obvious skill, I was surprised when Joaquin approached me to tell me that he was considering an offer to move Mauricio to the Britannia club. Joaquin was the father who, several weeks earlier, had accused me of being a "spy" after I mentioned that I had also been conducting research with the Harriers. Joaquin had clearly internalized the idea of the Aguilas as a self-consciously ethnic club, a Mexican club battling against rich suburban "American" clubs (see chapter 4 for a fuller discussion). But Joaquin also wanted the best for Mauricio, and he had heard that clubs like Britannia had a better record of connecting its players with colleges. Joaquin had repeatedly told me that his dream was for Mauricio to get a college soccer scholarship, which would enable him to continue his education for free. Given his son's talent, it wasn't an unrealistic dream.

Joaquin faced a dilemma. On the one hand, he was fearful of the repercussions of taking Mauricio from the Aguilas to a suburban club. He himself had spoken disparagingly of Latino parents who had done the same – in his words, abandoning the club. He was also concerned that if a club like Britannia offered Mauricio a scholarship to play for one of their teams, the offer might later be rescinded. One the other hand, Joaquin had come to the United States, had sacrificed for year, so that his son Mauricio could have a better life. He was a talented soccer player, with a very real chance of being offered a college scholarship, but he needed to be connected with college coaches. In the long term, Britannia offered these connections and, in the short term, they were offering a full scholarship, meaning Mauricio would not have to pay the over $1000 annual fee that suburban clubs typically charge players. The seriousness of Joaquin's dilemma was

evident when he ended our conversation by begging me not to say anything to Aguilas president Jorge or any of the Aguilas parents.

The choice that Joaquin faced – whether to keep his son with his Latino team or move to a suburban team – is one that many Latino parents confront. More and more Latino parents are choosing to move their sons to suburban clubs. Integration of youth soccer in Southern California is happening more than ever, with more and more Latino players populating the rosters of top suburban clubs that had once been nearly exclusively white. But the level of integration that exists today is often not as high as one would expect given the numbers and talent level of Latino players in the region. Recall, for example, that CalSouth, the governing body for youth soccer in the region, says that 51 percent of registered players are white and 41 percent are Latino.

If full integration were to occur in youth soccer, clubs should have at least 41 percent of their rosters made up by Latinos. And the figure for boys teams is almost certainly even higher, given that Latinas are underrepresented in youth soccer relative to their populations (Cuadros 2012), meaning that boys are overrepresented in the 41 percent figure. On the other hand, in the San Diego region, as in all of Southern California, Latinos tend to be concentrated in certain areas. Despite the fact that Latinos make up 46 percent of the under-18 population (Hispanic Population in Select U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2011 2011), they are not equally distributed geographically. It is reasonable, then, to expect that integration may simply follow residential patterns, which demonstrate a long-standing pattern of segregation on racial and ethnic grounds (Massey and Denton 1993; South, Crowder, and Chavez 2005). Youth soccer, though, has the potential to be different because top teams, almost always found in affluent suburban

areas, need top players, and these players are often Latino. Suburban families who support policies that keep out Latinos in order to keep their property values high (Baldassare 1992; Jackson 1987; Vandehey 2009) may support having Latino players on their children's teams if it makes them more successful. Integration in youth soccer, unlike in other areas, is not a zero-sum game, especially at top-level clubs focused on winning (recreational teams, however, are far more likely to reflect the demographics of their locations). Unlike residential integration, the integration of Latino players onto suburban clubs can benefit suburbanites, whose children's teams may improve with the arrival of these newcomers. Exploring why integration occurs – and does not occur – in youth soccer is valuable in showing the durability of the pressures that work against integration, and the potential mechanisms by which integration can be spurred.

This chapter looks to explain why this integration has occurred to the degree it has and why barriers to further integration exist. I treat the phenomenon from both sides – starting with Latino parents debating which clubs to have their children play for and then suburban clubs deciding how to handle the potential integration of Latino players. In addition to stories of parents like Joaquin, I also use the stories of two clubs – the Quake and the Harriers – that have taken very different approaches in order to explain why integration occurs, and why it does not.

Most integration of Latino players onto suburban clubs requires scholarships. The vast majority of Latino families I came to know could never afford the registration fees and associated costs that suburban clubs charge. The only way for suburban clubs to attract talented Latino players, then, is to offer them scholarships. It is in these scholarships that the nitty-gritty of integration is played out. A second part of this chapter

examines the politics of scholarships, from the perspective of suburban clubs and suburban parents who ultimately pay for them, and Latino families who receive them.

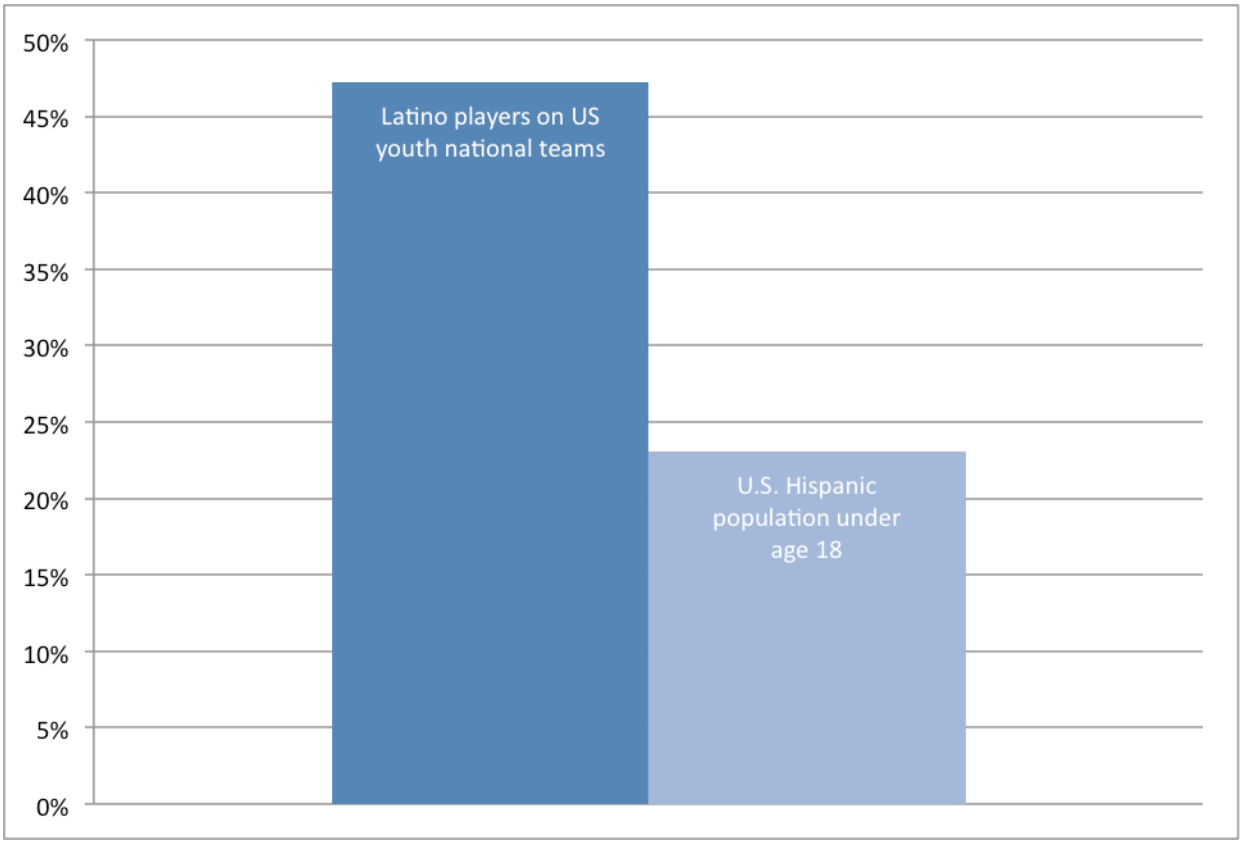
I conclude the chapter by laying out the most serious barriers to further integration of Latino players in suburban soccer. In addition to concern about the costs of suburban soccer, Latino families are often reluctant to accept scholarships from suburban clubs because they (correctly) perceive them to be precarious (suburban clubs can revoke them at any time). This precariousness is something that Latino parents, many of whom are working-class, recognize in their working lives, and having it replicated in their children's involvement in soccer – an area they hope to be an escape from their daily lives – is particularly difficult. Most people involved with suburban soccer do not recognize this reluctance for what it is, arguing instead that it is Latinos' "culture" that leads them to "choose" not to integrate. At the same time, those involved with suburban soccer often have strong (and sometimes unacknowledged) reasons to keep clubs as segregated as the areas in which players live. Coaches and team officials are paid well while parents enjoy the status that comes from their child playing soccer, particularly if they play for an exclusive suburban team. Involvement with soccer has been, in post-World War II United States, a performance of symbolic power (Andrews 1999; Foer 2005; Swanson 2009). The integration of Latinos into youth soccer presents a fundamental challenge to the benefits that suburbanites have long sought through their involvement with the sport.

Two Teams, Two Stories

Eric Wynalda is a legend of American soccer. He is a former striker for various professional teams in the United States and Europe and one of the all-time leading goalscorers for the U.S. national team. Now retired from playing, he works as a television analyst. Asked recently by a reporter about the level of youth talent in the United States, he responded:

> There is no way anybody, in my opinion, can even come close to the talent that exists in a 30-mile radius in San Diego. Nobody. The truth is, if I've gotta find a player, I get in my damn car and I go to Chula Vista or El Cajon. (quoted in Elder 2014)

The two areas that Wynalda mentioned – Chula Vista and El Cajon – are, notably, areas with significant Latino populations. Latino youth players are, by all accounts, among the most talented in the United States. The numbers bear out Wynalda's observations. Latinos are highly overrepresented on youth national teams. From January to August of 2014, Latinos made up nearly half (47 percent) of players called up the boys under-15 and under-17 national teams. This is almost exactly double the rate of Hispanics under age 18 (23 percent), as measured in the 2010 U.S. Census.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2012b; U.S. Soccer 2014

Figure 5.1: Percentage of Latino players on youth national teams compared to percentage of Latinos in total population in United States, January-August 2014

Nearly every coach I talked with during my fieldwork agreed that Latinos, especially at young ages, are overrepresented among the most talented players. Carlos Hernandez, director of coaching for the Heat club of Escondido, another area of San Diego with a large Latino population, told me, "if we were going to play by zip code, we would have the best talent in the state."

The world of top-level youth soccer is incredibly competitive, and teams constantly fight for the best players. Given that Latino players are among the most talented, one would expect all top clubs to be equally interested in recruiting them. But,

as I will show below, clubs have widely varying approaches to the recruitment of Latino players.

The Harriers and the Quake were founded around the same time and have both had significant success with their youth teams. But they have achieved this success with very different approaches. The Harriers began to recruit Latino players in significant numbers in the 1990s and today their top teams are nearly two-thirds Latino. The Quake, in contrast, has been reluctant to recruit Latino players in the same numbers, and the rates of Latino players at the club today reflect this reluctance.

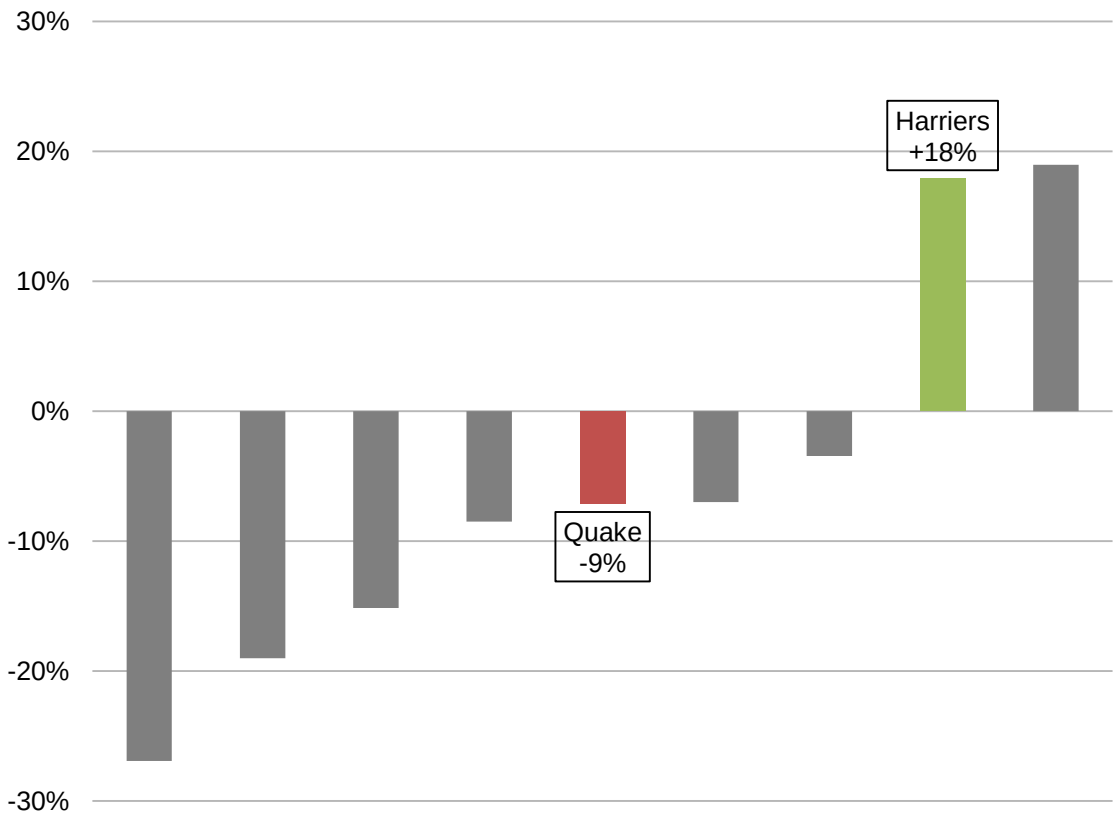
The difference between the two clubs, as I show below, has to do with the dual nature of youth soccer, as both a competitive sport and a business enterprise. The Quake has placed much emphasis on the business side of things, which limits their ability to offer scholarships to talented Latino players. The Harriers have focused on winning, which has meant bringing in the best players, many of whom are Latino. The Harriers' willingness to provide a large number of scholarships, however, has presented the club with financial challenges today, which may limit their ability to continue to offer scholarships in the future.

* * *

Measuring the number of Latinos who play for the Quake and the Harriers is a methodological challenge. Walking around parks, asking players and parents for their ethnic and racial background is likely to elicit quizzical stares at best and demands to leave the vicinity at worst. Instead, I began by conducting interviews with a few key

informants. These interviews pointed to a consensus that the Harriers have far more Latino players than do the Quake.

How, then, to check whether these observations are true? The best available data source to double-check this perception consists of the publicly available rosters for the Development Academy teams of each club. The Development Academy, which was founded in 2007, brings together the top boys clubs in the country and establishes a nationwide competition for them (for more, see U.S. Soccer n.d.). I accessed the under-16 and under-18 rosters from the 2012-2013 and 2013-2014 seasons (the under-14 category was added only in the latter season) on the U.S. Soccer website and, comparing last names of the players to a list of what the Census calls the "639 most frequently occurring heavily Hispanic surnames" (Word and Perkins Jr. 1996), conducted an assessment of the number of Latino players at each club. By this assessment, 64 percent of Harriers players are Latino compared to 38 percent of Surf players. I then compared these rates to the percentage of Hispanics under the age of 18 in the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) in which these clubs play. Forty-six percent of people under 18 in the San Diego MSA are classified as Hispanic. So, by this calculation, the Harriers have 18 percent more Latino players than the rate for the MSA while the Surf have six percent fewer. Figure 5.2 also lists other clubs in the same region as the Quake and Harriers (note that the Harriers are one of only two clubs in the 9 team Southwest division have fewer Latinos on their rosters compared to the percent of under-18 Hispanics in the same region).



Source: U.S. Soccer Development Academy Rosters

Figure 5.2: Percent of Latino players per club compared to percent of under-18 Hispanics in MSA, 2012-2014[10]

Clearly, the Quake and the Harriers have taken a different approach to the recruitment of Latino players. Why have they done so? Coaches from both clubs concur that Latinos are among the most talented players in the region. Both clubs want to be as competitive as possible – their reputations, in many ways, depend on it. The Quake's ability to establish franchise clubs outside of San Diego (see chapter 3) is reliant, in large part, on its status as a top-level club. If Latinos are among the most talented players and

[10] Note that this figure includes teams based in the San Diego, Los Angeles, and Riverside MSA. Figures are given relative to the MSA in which each club is located.

the Quake and Harriers need top talent to be competitive, why is there such a difference in the make-up of the top teams of the two clubs?

Inherent in youth soccer in the United States is a tension between competitiveness and finances. Clubs want to be competitive, but at the same time they have to balance their books. And it is in the varied approaches to achieving both of these goals that the explanation for the varied level of integration of Latino players can be found. Latino players who play on top clubs like the Quake and Harriers most often do so with scholarships from the clubs. Latinos are far more likely to come from working-class backgrounds than the largely affluent suburbanites who have long been the main players on the field and whose families have been the financial backers off of it. Integration, then, largely depends on the willingness of suburban clubs to subsidize the fees of talented Latino players. While there are elements of race and ethnicity sit under the surface, the discussion about integration is explicitly focused on economics. The Quake and Harriers have taken very different approaches to the business of running highly competitive youth soccer clubs.

The Harriers: From (Nearly) All White to (Nearly) All Latino

When 13 year-old Mario Dorado joined the Harriers in 1983, he was the only Latino player on his team. Today, as coach of the Harriers under-12 boys team, he oversees a team that he says has three white players. Fourteen of his players – 82 percent of his roster – are Latino. This heavily-Latino roster makeup is common among Harriers teams today. To say the change in the make-up of Harriers players over the last three

decades has been dramatic is an understatement. In 30 years, the Harriers have gone from being a nearly all-white club to a nearly all-Latino club.

The Harriers were founded in 1976 by a real estate developer I'll call John Henderson. While my attempts to track down Mr. Henderson and ask him directly about his motivations for starting a youth soccer club were unsuccessful, it seems likely his interest in developing the Harriers was not unconnected from his real estate development work. Soccer was growing as a sport for the affluent, and having the sport thrive in in the area where Henderson was selling real estate would surely have increased property values.

As one of the earliest competitive youth clubs in the country, the Harriers developed a national reputation for success. They were the first youth soccer club in the country to have a full-time, paid coach – Donald Gardner, brought over from the United Kingdom to run the club in 1981 – and this investment quickly paid off, with Harriers teams winning several national championships in the 1980s.

During this period of early success, Donald Gardner's son Daniel came over from the United Kingdom to join his father in running the club, and it was Daniel who ushered in an era of change for the Harriers. In 1992, at the prestigious Dallas Cup, a tournament that brings in top teams from around the world Daniel was talking with a journalist named Jeff Yarborough, also a British expat. Yarborough told Daniel Gardner that his teams might be competitive at the national level, but at an international tournament like the Dallas Cup, they would always struggle to compete against teams from abroad.

Yarborough, who had first arrived in the United States in 1959, had a theory about how American teams could progress, which Daniel Gardner described in a 2002 interview:[11]

> He opened my eyes. I saw the American kids couldn't compete internationally, and I liked [Yarborough's] theory about the U.S. being a soccer melting pot. He said there was an amazing amount of talent out there, but we just had to find it.

On returning to San Diego, Daniel began to seek out talented Latino players. He traveled to Latino neighborhoods and began to recruit Latino players. Initially, he was met with reluctance. Parents were unsure why this outsider wanted their sons to play for his club, and they weren't sure how they would afford the fees in any case. Gardner told them he was looking for top talent, which their sons had, and offered scholarships to ease the financial burden of moving to the Harriers. A few families made the jump.

The affluent suburban players that the Harriers had previously relied on for their success now took the field alongside talented Latino players, most there on scholarships. In spite of these scholarships, having to get to Harriers practices and games presented challenges for many Latino families. Gardner said in the same 2002 interview:

> One kid basically lives in a cardboard box on a hillside, with no running water. Another lives with his uncle. There are parents working three jobs each just to survive. It costs $15 or $20 in gas just to drive to our practices – and we have three or four a week. That's a lot of money.

Harriers coaches Daniel and his father Donald would often drive down to areas south of San Diego, including Chula Vista, where many of their new recruits lived, in order to pick them up for practices and games. As a former Harriers coach told me, other clubs jumped on the Gardners, accusing them and their club of cheating by bringing in

---

[11] I am not citing the interview in order to preserve the anonymity of the club being discussed.

players who were, in the eyes of their accusers, likely older than they claimed to be and possibly *illegal* to boot. The earliest group of Latino players for the Harriers often had to show their birth certificates before games in order to be allowed to play.

Throughout the 1990s, the number of Latino Harriers players jumped dramatically. The first few who joined talked to their friends and family, who signed their talented young boys up. The 2002 article discussing the Harriers' approach to attracting Latino players included an interesting anecdote: a national champion team that year from the Harriers included not a single resident of the affluent area from which the club hailed.

The Harriers today are nearly as Latino a club as the explicitly ethnically-organized Aguilas. When I told a white mother at a Harriers practice that I was impressed at how "integrated" her son's team was, she laughed. "We're not integrated," she told me. "All the players are Mexican!"

The Quake: Leche *with a Tinge of* Café

The Quake was founded around the same time – 1981 – as the Harriers. In the three decades plus that both clubs have existed, they have been bitter rivals. A Mexican-American parent I came to know described games between Quake and Harriers teams as "San Diego *clásicos*" (throughout the Spanish-speaking world, *clásico* refers to games between heated rivals). Players and coaches have often represented both teams at different times, indicative of the ongoing battles between the two clubs for the best local talent. But in one way, the two clubs are very different: the Quake has a much lower percentage of Latino players compared to the Harriers. Why this difference between the two clubs?

The Quake does, of course, have some Latino players. In the coffee-based metaphor that longtime San Diego soccer coach Ramon Martinez used to classify the racial makeup of clubs in the area, the Quake is "*leche* with a tinge of *café*." This description might seem to conflict with the fact that 38 percent of players on Quake academy teams in the last two seasons are Latino. But the reality is more complex.

The Quake has many more teams than do the Harriers (at the time of writing, nearly 70 compared to around 15). At any single age group, the Quake is likely to have several teams where the Harriers have one. And, while rosters for these teams are difficult to locate in order to do any kind of analysis on the players' backgrounds, all of my conversations with officials from the Quake and other clubs in the area indicate that these "B" and "C" (and sometimes "D") teams are far more likely to have their rosters populated by affluent suburbanites than Latinos. The same is true of the Quake's girls teams (the Harriers recently saw all of their girls teams split, moving to a rival club). Taken as a whole, the Quake has few Latino players, especially proportionally compared to the Harriers. A Latino coach I spoke with told me to look at rosters of Quake teams. "The typical mechanism is that they'll have 13 Anglo guys who are going to pay and two [Latino] scholarship guys. One will score the goals and the other is the playmaker."

The reason for this difference lies in the club's distinct approach to balancing finances and competitiveness. Put simply, the Harriers have focused on competitiveness, sometimes to the detriment of the club's finances; the Quake has focused on the finances, sometimes, it could be argued, to the detriment of the club's competitiveness.

On their 2012 tax returns, the Harriers listed $308,000 in net assets; the Quake had $550,000. When I asked Jim Motson, former president of the Quake, to tell me about

his main contributions during his tenure, he focused on the implementation of what he called “sensible business practices.” This focus on finances was important as the club was losing money when Motson took over. Under his guidance the club’s financial position improved tremendously. These practices have continued to this day, and are a big part of why the Quake has over $2 million in annual revenue (see chapter 3).

What this focus on finances means, then, is that decisions about spending money on scholarships to attract Latino players are balanced against larger financial goals of the club. Integration through the offering of scholarships is, after all, a business expense. Every player who receives a scholarship is taking a roster spot that could be filled by a full-paying player. Of the scholarships that are offered (almost all to Latino players on top Quake teams), the cost is subsidized by the less competitive boys teams (almost all of whose players pay full price), the girls teams (ditto), and the hugely profitable tournaments affiliate with the club that bring in around a quarter million dollars a year (again, see chapter 3 for more). By prioritizing the financial position of the club, the Quake has, implicitly if not explicitly, made its choice about the integration of Latino players. And that choice is to remain a mostly white, mostly affluent, suburban club.

The Politics of Scholarships

The world of top-level youth soccer is incredibly competitive, and teams are constantly fighting for the best players, often viciously. I interviewed a woman who used to work in the film industry in Los Angeles, which, by her calculation, has far less backstabbing than the Southern California youth soccer scene her son was involved in. Although all clubs want to attract the top talent, different clubs take different approaches

to the recruitment of Latino players. When the integration of Latino players does occur, it brings many issues to the fore. Many of these issues are focused on scholarships, which are essential to facilitating the recruitment of Latino players, but also prove controversial to many of the affluent suburban parents who, in the end, finance them.

How does integration occur? How do top young Latino players come to be offered scholarships by top suburban clubs? These are players, after all, who are likely to live far from the places where clubs like the Quake and the Harriers practice and play. The families of Latino players rarely travel in the same social circles as suburban families; their talented sons are not recruited to teams like the Quake and the Harriers at neighborhood barbeques.

Yet social networks are extremely important for the recruitment of Latino players to suburban clubs. Most often, these clubs rely on existing Latino players and their families to recruit talented co-ethnic players. In the early 1990s, for example, the Harriers started out with a small number of Latino players. These players recruited others, and thus the percentage of Latino players at the club grew. Harriers teams today looking for new players continue to ask Latino players and their parents if they have friends who would be good additions.

Many of these players come from the Ciudad League. This league, unaffiliated with the larger structure of U.S. soccer and known colloquially as a "Mexican" league, attracts mostly Latino players.[12] Many Latino players who represent suburban teams also

[12] Unaffiliated leagues geared toward Latinos are common throughout Southern California. One long-time Southern California soccer official estimated that Los Angeles has around 40 unaffiliated youth leagues alone, in addition to unaffiliated adult leagues. They typically do not have the insurance protection that comes from affiliated with the national federation.

play on teams in the Ciudad League. When suburban teams need players, coaches often approach Latino parents, asking them if they know any good players from the Ciudad League, and if so to encouraging them to bring them for a tryout. Sometimes the Latino parents are the ones pushing for their kids' Ciudad League teammates to join the suburban teams. I witnessed a Latino father of a Harriers player repeatedly tell his son's under-12 team manager that he knew many players who could replace the bad players on the team and improve it instantly (citing team harmony, she brushed aside his offers).

Both the Quake and the Harriers were founded as the competitive arm of a youth soccer program that also included a recreational component. But as both clubs split off from the recreational programs that had given them birth, they faced the issue of how to find new players. Today, for both clubs, but especially the more heavily Latino Harriers, the Ciudad League now functions as their recreational components once did. It develops players and, if they show promise, puts them in the position to be seen by competitive teams of top suburban clubs.

Suburban teams also find talented players when they play against them. As the top two clubs in San Diego, the Quake and Harriers offer the best competition and exposure to players in the area. This gives them tremendous appeal to ambitious young players. Restrictions on player movement are relatively minor, which means that top clubs can recruit players at will. Some are brazen in their recruiting methods. Carlos Hernandez, coach of the Heat club from Escondido told me of the Quake: "they used to recruit players of mine. I remember one time in a tournament … at halftime, one of the coaches

---

They are also not required to be non-profit organizations, and many are in fact for-profit (see Wallace 2009). These leagues do attract a mostly working-class Latino clientele by marketing to this population directly, often in Spanish, and charging very low fees.

came over and recruited her right in the middle of the coach's speech." Most recruiting is not this disrespectful, but it is a fact of youth soccer that top clubs are constantly looking to take top players from less prestigious clubs (and poach them from each other).

When Latino players do move to suburban clubs, they can rarely afford the registration fees. Almost all movement of Latino players to suburban clubs, then, involves scholarships. These include a partial or complete waving of the club fees and sometimes much more. As the Harriers' Daniel Gardner found when he began recruiting Latino players in the early 1990s, the cost of getting to practices and games was out of reach for many of their families. Stories abound of the great lengths that some clubs have gone to recruit talented Latino players. With transportation a major impediment for many Latino families, some clubs arrange rides to practices and games for Latino players. The most extreme example I heard of this practice was told to me by an Aguilas father, whose oldest son had played for a suburban club. As I wrote in my fieldnotes at the time:

> He got scouted by Oakwood Soccer Club and started playing with them at a young age (maybe 8?). The team had the parents pay a part of the registration fee the first year but after that (I'm assuming because they liked him and wanted him to stay), they gave him a full scholarship. I asked Emilio how he was able to drive Jose up to practices all the time and he told me that, for a couple years, the club paid for a taxi to take him to and from practices. A taxi!

The taxi ride that Emilio's son took was 30 miles each way. Emilio told me the cost could go as high as $100 per ride. I heard many examples of other enticements offered by suburban clubs. One involved a parent for a Quake team that wanted to recruit a talented Latino player offering his parents jobs (the mother as a housecleaner, the father doing landscaping). With some enticements funded directly by affluent parents, suburban

clubs can make offers that are very appealing to the working-class Latinos who receive them.

Many Latino parents are eager to have their children play for suburban teams. In particular, those who, like Joaquin, want their kids to go on to play soccer beyond their youth (in college and/or professionally) come to realize that suburban teams offer the most likely path to this destination. It is undeniable that suburban teams offer the best consistent competition for top players in San Diego. While Latino clubs like the Aguilas offer occasional forays into top-level competition (the two teams I followed went to the Dallas Cup, for instance), the regular competition their teams face is nowhere close to that faced by suburban teams.

This is precisely the reason why Saul Figueroa, a burly 16 year-old who played for the older Aguilas team I followed, left that team and moved to the Harriers. I learned of Figueroa's departure from the Aguilas after returning to team practices after a month away. In that time, several players on the under-16 team had decided to move to other teams in San Diego. Figueroa had moved, one of the remaining fathers told me, because he and his father didn't think the Aguilas offered the level of competition he needed to develop as a player. The Harriers had offered him a scholarship, his father Sergio told me, and they jumped at the chance.

A couple weeks later, I went to a Harriers game and came across Saul and Sergio. I asked Sergio to explain his decision to move his son to the Harriers. It was true, he told me, that he and his son didn't think the Aguilas offered good competition. The Harriers could offer this and, what's more, club president Donald Gardner had many connections to college coaches. Sergio told me he really wanted Saul to get a college soccer

scholarship. He had brought Saul to the United States to live with him a year earlier for the express purpose of him learning English and pursuing higher education (he had been living in Tijuana). Sergio wanted Saul to go to college and if he could use soccer to make this happen, so much the better. Given his goals, the Harriers were a far better club for his son to play than were the Aguilas.

The Harriers had given Figueroa a full scholarship and the family had applied to the U.S. Soccer federation for a scholarship that would cover his travel expenses.[13] Saul was playing on the under-16 academy team, which played in several states throughout the West, an expense his family could not afford. But, when I saw the Figueroas at another game several weeks later, Sergio told me that club president Donald Gardner hadn't been cooperating. Before an away trip to Seattle, Gardner had texted Sergio, telling him the cost for his son to go would be $300. When Sergio reminded him that the federation had given his son a scholarship to cover travel expenses, Gardner told him he'd have to get back to him. When Gardner approached Sergio later, he told him he'd looked into it and the family would only have to pay $50. Not wanting his son to miss out on the trip, Sergio paid the $50. But, when he recounted the story to me, he told me that even though Saul had traveled with the team to Seattle, he had hardly played. Sergio interpreted the lack of playing time as a retribution for his family's "causing trouble" on paying travel fees (this is how he interpreted Gardner's response to the reminder about Saul's scholarship from the federation).

---

[13] Recognizing that travel expenses are out of reach of many players, U.S. Soccer has created this scholarship program to reduce costs for players in the Development Academy system. See http://www.ussoccer.com/development-academy/scholarships.

This example centers on a scholarship from the national federation, not from the club itself, but it highlights an issue that concerns many Latino families: the precarious nature of scholarships. Many parents spoke about their concern in moving their sons to suburban clubs because they weren't sure if promises made to them would be honored. They spoke of scholarships lasting for one year and then disappearing, leaving them with the choice of moving their kid to a new team again or coming up with a way to pay the costs to keep him at the club (an expense that many simply cannot afford).

This fear of scholarships being precarious is, sadly, justified. Administrators from one San Diego club told me that top clubs will initially offer the world to players: scholarships, rides to practices and games, jobs for parents, equipment for their kids. But this largesse, they told me, only lasts until a better player comes along, at which point promises dissolve into thin air. Many Latino parents are now aware of this situation, and have become more reluctant to have their kids move to top suburban clubs in the first place.

For suburban parents, the integration of Latino players into suburban clubs' ranks is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, giving scholarships to Latino players can dramatically improve the teams their children play for. On the other hand, there is always the danger that new players brought into the club will push their own children out. On top of this is the fact that suburban parents who pay the full fees for their children to play for suburban clubs are subsidizing the Latino families who do not pay these fees. The power differential between Latino families who receive scholarships and suburban families who subsidize them is huge, and this differential underlies the relationship between the two groups.

Because Latinos are among the most talented players, clubs often fight to have them in their ranks. Players like Mauricio, son of Joaquin, are coveted by top suburban teams, who often fight for their services. While club policies vary on how many scholarships to offer and who makes the decisions on offering them, all of the top teams give out at least some scholarships. A mother whose son had previously played for a modestly successful but extremely affluent club told me that individual teams there were allocated a certain number of scholarships, but exceptions could be made to go beyond this limit if the team needed this special dispensation in order to be competitive. Latinos are, by and large, the players who will be brought in, providing the labor of making suburban teams competitive.

But giving out scholarships to increase competitiveness can have downsides as well for suburban families. Team rosters have a fixed size so every new player brought in means one old player losing his spot on the team. Fear of their children losing their roster spot is a powerful shaper of behavior for many suburban parents. A father I call Adrian, whose son currently plays for the Harriers but has previously played for several top suburban clubs in San Diego, talked about a time several years earlier when he took his son to a tryout for the Newton Heath club. There he saw a mother he had become friendly with when their sons had previously played together. But this time, she was anything but friendly. Fearing that Adrian Junior might take her son's roster spot, she was cold and standoffish, and despite the fact that she knew well his son would likely be offered a scholarship, asked him repeatedly, "Adrian, how are you going to pay for this?"

Some suburban parents take the opposite approach, not seeking to discourage potential Latino players, but instead seeking to reinforce their value to the team. Adrian

told me of seeing parents give fancy watches and uniforms signed by professional players to their kids' coaches as "tokens of appreciation." The not-so-subtle message, of course, was: if someone has to be let go, make sure it's not my kid. The wariness some suburban parents feel about bringing in Latinos on scholarships is perhaps best summed up in the derogatory nickname that Adrian told me he has heard used to describe Latino players: mercs (as in, mercenaries). Suburban parents want top players to make their children's teams better – that is, unless it means they lose their own spot.

In order to play on a top suburban team, affluent parents must accept that they are not only paying for their children, they are also subsidizing scholarships for Latino players. This shows up particularly at clubs that have not only A teams, but also B and C teams. Carlos Hernandez laughed loudly as he told me how one of his former players, who was affluent and white and had since moved to the Harriers, came to realize his role at that club.

> One time I talked to a kid who played for the Harriers. I said, "are you playing for the A team?" He said, "no …" Three years later, he came back and said, "I'm one of the subsidizing kids. I'm one of the kids paying for the other players." He figured it out!

While most parents simply accept this as the cost of having their kid play for a prestigious club (it's easy to say that their kid plays for the Quake and few will ask if he is on the A team), some do recoil. Harriers coach Mario Dorado told me how, after he cut the son of a particularly wealthy suburban family, the father reacted angrily, questioning him for pushing out one of the only white players on the under-12 team. In this moment of conflict the tension that underlies the integration of Latino players comes to the surface. When suburban parents' kids' have a place on the team and when the team is

winning the tension stays below the surface. But it is there, waiting to pop its head up at the first sign of conflict.

Even when the integration of Latino players appears to be going smoothly, under the surface having the children of Latinos and those of suburbanites playing together on the same teams can raise a number of issues. There is, of course, the issue of communication. Those Latinos who are immigrants – and this is a significant chunk of the parents I met – often speak little or no English. Suburban team coaches, administrators, and "team moms" rarely speak Spanish (greetings of *buenos días* aside). At practices and games, Latino parents are often physically separate from others, speaking to each other in Spanish. One Harriers team mom told me one day, "I have no idea what the Latino parents think of me. I can't really communicate with them."

Beyond communication, issues arose in the running of team affairs. A central issue for the Harriers under-12 team I followed was Latino players continuing to play in the Ciudad League. After one Harriers practice that I witnessed, club president Donald Gardner chastised a group of Latino parents for overworking their children. "It's too much playing Saturday and Sunday," he told them, in an attempt to emphasize that Harriers games took precedence. He had seen that these parents were taking their kids to Harriers games on Saturdays, Ciudad League games on Sundays, and not giving them a day off over the weekend. I heard other coaches and parents complain about the Ciudad League "getting in the way" of Harriers games and practices. One team mom told me that if the Harriers had a game in Orange County or Los Angeles – that is, not a local game – on a Sunday, some Latino parents would skip it, choosing instead to have their kids play in the Ciudad League. Clearly, the cost of travel to distant away games was an issue for

many Latino parents, who spoke with their feet in choosing what Harriers officials saw as a meaningless competition over making the drive beyond San Diego County.

The most serious issue that came about with the integration of Latino players was, without a doubt, money. While many of the players on the Harriers teams I observed had scholarships, these scholarships were often partial and required some contribution from the Latino families who received them. Many Latino parents were late in paying their fees, or failed to pay them altogether, leaving the Harriers in a dilemma of how to deal with the situation. The club needed the money, but it also didn't want to alienate the families of its best players.

Latino parents often struggle to pay these fees because they lack the money. Many have extremely low incomes – Donald Gardner told me one day of his shock at seeing Latino families' tax returns with total incomes of less than $20,000 per year – and unstable jobs. No matter the reasons parents struggle to pay club fees, Harriers teams struggle as a result. When coach Mario Dorado proposed adding a practice session with an outside coach at a cost of $5 per player per week, parents responded with silence, not wanting to say that it was financially unfeasible for them but making this clear with their lack of response. On another occasion, Dorado's team had made plans to go to a prestigious tournament in Seattle. But when the time came for parents to shell out the money required to make the trip happen, things fell apart. The cost of plane tickets, food and accommodations for players – it was simply too much for the Latino families. At a team meeting called to discuss the proposed trip, one parent said, "can't someone put this on their credit card?" It was a joke – or was it? The Harriers, like many suburban clubs,

often depend on the extreme affluence of a few parents so having one pay for a team to travel to Seattle isn't as outlandish as it might sound.

No rich parent stepped forward, and the team's trip to Seattle fell apart. It was one example of the financial pressures that the Harriers have begun to face in recent years. In several of my conversations with him, club president Donald Gardner fretted over how to continue to run his club in the way he wanted to. Two changes had taken place recently that had hampered the club's financial picture. In the long term, tournaments, which had once been a central part of the club's profits, had decreased in importance and were bringing in far less money for the club.[14] In the short term, the Harriers had recently seen their entire girls program leave to affiliate with another suburban club. Not having the revenue from these girls teams – which are populated almost exclusively by full-paying players – has furthered put a damper on the club's financial outlook. These sources of revenue had subsidized scholarships for Latino players on the top level Harriers boys teams. Without them, the club was struggling to balance the books.

"I hate the idea that we have to try to raise registration fees," Donald Gardner told me one day after practice. But, he said, things were out of balance. He told me that the vast majority of Harriers players today are Latino, and most receive at least partial scholarships. This is how the club has built its model of success over the last two decades. But now, with other sources of revenue drying up, he has come to realize that the club needed more revenue from registration fees to balance its books.

---

[14] In an effort to reduce the overexertion of the best young players, the U.S. Soccer Federation has sought to discourage top teams from attending tournaments, which often involved multiple games per day.

Gardner spoke wistfully about a previous era in American youth soccer, when revenue from other sources could be used to subsidize scholarships in large numbers. But now, with the rise of youth academies affiliated with professional teams,[15] some independent youth clubs like the Harriers were struggling to succeed. Professional teams' youth academies had financial subsidies from the professional side of things; exclusively youth clubs like the Harriers, the backbone of American youth soccer for decades, had nothing aside from the revenue they could raise themselves. It might not be possible, Gardner said, to keep things going as they had been for years.

Several months later, the beginnings of the changes that Gardner claimed he didn't want to occur began to take shape. At a Harriers under-16 game, I spoke with Sergio Figueroa, whose son Saul had recently moved to the club but had found himself in arguments with Gardner over payment for travel to away games. Figueroa told me that there was beginning to be turnover on the team. Several Latino scholarship players had recently departed, replaced by full-paying players, most of whom were not Latino. Sergio told me that the club was throwing out the welcome mat for anyone who could pay registration fees. Though I was never able to verify whether these wholesale changes were in fact taking place, the perception of Sergio and others like him demonstrates something very real: the sense among Latino families that they are being used by suburban clubs and can be discarded when they are no longer useful.

---

[15] As the professional league known as MLS (Major League Soccer) has grown in popularity and financial clout, teams have been required to set up youth teams. This structure, combining youth and professional teams in one entity, mirrors that of professional clubs around the world, but is virtually non-existent in American sports.

The Growth of Inequality and the Subjectivities of Flexibility

The integration of Latino players is, at its core, shaped by economic conditions in Southern California. The Latino parents who are, in their working lives, at the bottom of the economic ladder see this. The affluent suburban parents who are at the top of the economic ladder largely do not, often attributing the lack of integration to Latinos' "cultural preferences" to remain segregated. In part, this is simply a lack of imagination on the part of suburbanites, an inability to consider the real barriers – economic and otherwise – to the integration of Latinos in youth soccer. But there is more to it: ever since the domestication of soccer in the 1960s, suburban parents have used the sport as a symbolic demonstration of their status (see chapter 2). To have the sport played in new ways, to have working-class Latinos lining up next to affluent suburbanites, is a challenge to the meaning associated with the game. As Pierre Bourdieu points out:

> *the social definition of sport* is an object of struggles, … the field of sporting practices is the site of struggles in which what is at stake, *inter alia*, is the monopolistic capacity to impose the legitimate definition of sporting practice and of the legitimate function of sporting activity (1978:826; italics in original).

Integration provides a challenge to the "legitimate definition" of youth soccer in Southern California. With the integration of Latinos, soccer is no longer the rich, largely white, kids' sport that it became after its domestication in the 1960s and 1970s (see chapter 2). To the degree that soccer's appeal has depended on its exclusivity (Andrews 1999; Foer 2005), integration presents not just a challenge to who plays the game, but what the game represents.

It is not coincidental that the rise in popularity of soccer in the United States has come at the same time that economic inequality has grown. Those who were rising to the

top of the economic ladder needed a sport that would enable them to perform their newfound social status, and soccer provided this. At the same time, the growth in inequality has seen more and more people at the bottom end of the economy, struggling to move up. Many of these people have been immigrants, as 1965 reforms spurred a rise in the number of new arrivals to the United States. The children of these immigrants are the talented young Latino players who are today attempting to integrate into what had been the elite sport of soccer.

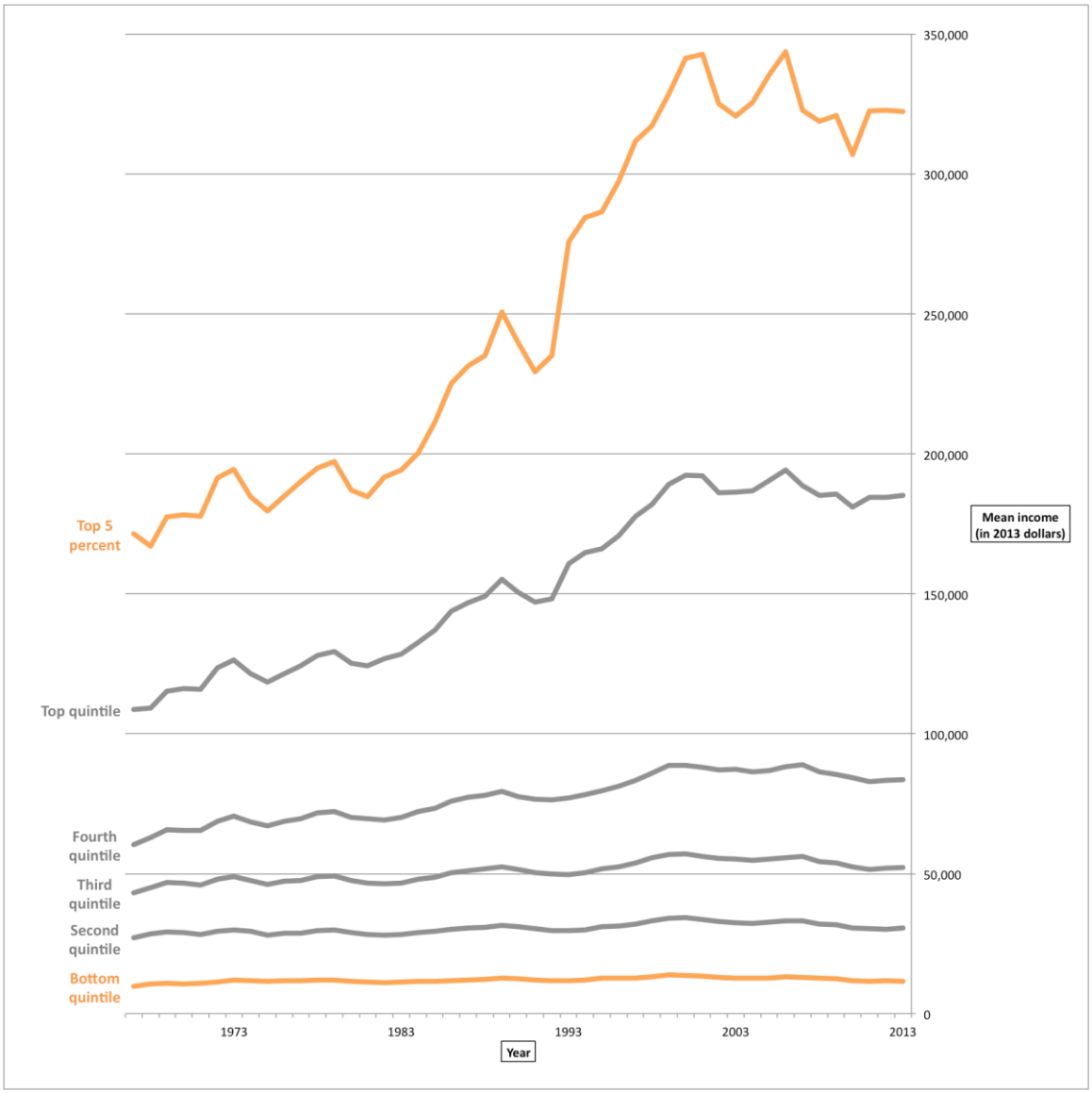
The affluent have been attracted to suburban soccer for the chance to perform their power and status. Working-class Latino immigrants have found their involvement hindered by the economic requirements of participation in youth soccer. And even when their children do receive scholarships to offset the costs of playing, they still fear that their role in the larger economy, as provider of flexible labor that enriches the already affluent, will be replicated in their children's participation in youth soccer. They hope for soccer to be an escape from the economic conditions that shape their lives, but often find that it is anything but.

* * *

Many have taken to documenting and explaining the rise in inequality. Recently, French economist Thomas Piketty's book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (2014) received much attention for charting changes in inequality in many countries, including the United States, throughout the developed world. Piketty, like many others (e.g. Atkinson, Piketty, and Saez 2012; Irvin 2008), finds that inequality has increased

dramatically. While the early part of the twentieth century saw a decline in income inequality in the United States, from 1960 on, the trend has been in the opposite direction – and markedly so. In 1967, the mean income for the top five percent of families was around $171,000[16] while the mean income for those in the bottom twenty percent stood at just under $10,000. By 2013, the median income of the top five percent was around $322,000, compared to $11,651 for the bottom twenty percent. While the least affluent have barely seen a rise in their incomes, the affluent have seen theirs nearly double.

[16] All income figures adjusted for inflation to 2013 dollars.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2013

Figure 5.3: Median income in the United States, 1967-2013

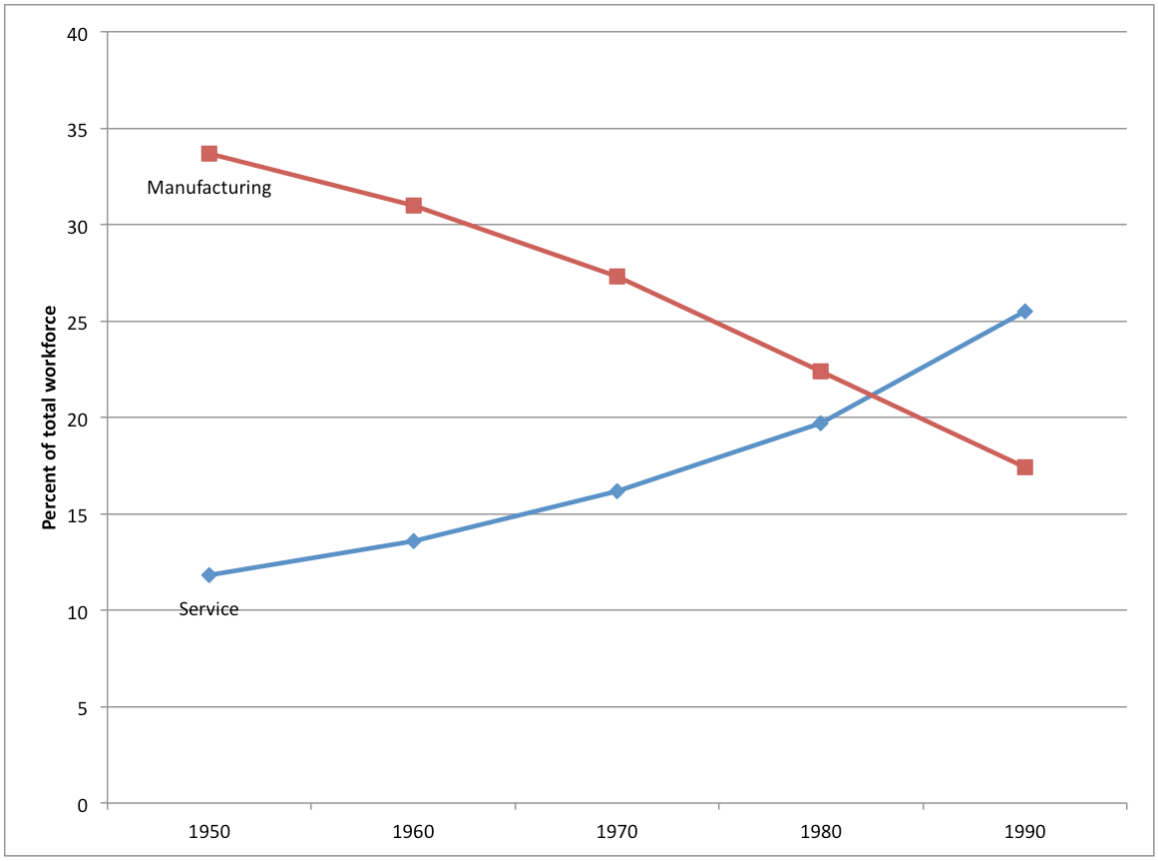
Explanations for the increase in economic inequality tend to focus the rise of global competition, the decline in corporate profits, and the squeezing out of unions. Sociologist Matt Vidal (2013) argues that as American companies increasingly had to compete globally in the post-World War II period, they found their profits falling as they struggled to keep up with low-cost foreign competitors (Japanese car companies like

Toyota and Honda, for example, entered the U.S. market in the 1960s and 1970s, breaking the monopoly of American companies like Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler). American companies made the choice that, in order to compete, they needed to reduce labor costs. In many cases, this meant the decline of unions, often at the behest of companies seeking to actively lower labor costs (e.g. Brueggemann and Brown 2003). In others, it mean the offshoring of much manufacturing work.

Manufacturing jobs had long provided the means for the working-class to enter into the middle-class. Henry Ford's famous decision to pay his workers five dollars a day, enough so that they might become purchases of the cars they made, is emblematic of this phenomenon. With salaries earned from manufacturing automobiles, Ford's employees were able to buy the company's cars as well as also houses, college educations for their children, and other elements of middle-class life. The decline in U.S.-based manufacturing challenged the post-World War II class compromise under which labor tolerated high corporate profits in return for decent pay and stable employment (Vidal 2013). The outsourcing of much manufacturing to countries with lower labor costs meant that the jobs that had once provided middle-class stability to thousands of low-skill workers in the United States no longer existed. As these jobs disappeared, the shape of the economy transformed radically. Where income had been spread more evenly, it came to be concentrated in the hands of the affluent.

Many have described the economic transitions of the last half century as a move toward an hourglass economy. With jobs at the top, jobs at the bottom and few in between (as jobs in the manufacturing sector had once been), people in the United States today struggle to move up the economic ladder (Massey and Hirst 1998; Rouse 1991;

Zhou 1997). Many of today's jobs at the bottom are in the service sector (see figure 5.4 below).



Source: Kutscher 1993

Figure 5.4: Manufacturing and Service Sectors as Percentage of Total Workforce, 1950-1990

And these jobs, with low pay and poor working conditions, often attract immigrants. As sociologist William Robinson puts it:

> The decline of manufacturing, the growth of the service sector, the spread of temporary, part-time and other "casualized" forms of labor, and unconventional production processes such as sweatshops and industrial

> homework, all expanded the supply of low-wage jobs and the demand for working-class immigrants to fill them. (2009:9)

Concurrently with the shift away from a manufacturing-based economy, 1965 saw reforms to the nation's immigration laws, which spurred an increase in the number of immigrants coming to the United States in the decades that followed. Immigrants from Asia and Latin America increased dramatically as the reforms, which had long given preferential treatment to European immigrants, took hold. In 1960, people from the Americas were 19 percent of immigrants in the United States. Ten years later, that number had increased to 27 percent and by 1980 Latinos made up 37 percent of the immigrant stock in the United States (Migration Policy Institute 2014a). Today, many of these immigrants arrive with very low levels of education, and often fill the type of low-skill, low-wage jobs that have increased dramatically in the post-World War II era.

At the same time that low-wage jobs at the bottom of the econmy have grown and been filled by newly arrived immigrants, so too has the affluence of those at the top. Not only have their incomes grown much more than those lower down the economic ladder, but their wealth (the sum of all their assets) has grown concurrently. Much of this wealth has come in the form of home ownership, which exploded in the post-World War II period (U.S. Census Bureau 2011b). Federal policies encouraged many to move to the suburbs and these areas today are home to the most affluent people in the country. As families moved from densely packed urban areas to more spacious suburbs in the decades after World War II, the maintenance and upkeep of the yard become a central marker of suburban life (Vandehey 2009; see also Jackson 1987). Suburbanites value what they call the "natural environment," though Scott Vandehey makes clear that manicured yards are

anything but natural. Although these yards may be less natural than suburbanites claim, they are, however, an important part of the maintenance of wealth they pour into their homes.

This series of events – the development of the hourglass ecoonomy, with a growing gap between rich and poor, the arrival of low-skill immigrants from Latin America, and the increasing investment by the affluent of their wealth in homes – has led to a huge growth in a range of jobs. One of these is landscaping, the very job in which Joaquin, father of talented midfielder Mauricio, works. Particularly in border regions like Southern California, suburbanites working in their yards, such a visible feature in the early years of the suburban boom, have come to be replaced by Latino landscapers. Immigrants who may have found work in factories in previous generations are today more likely to earn their living in service sector jobs like landscaping.

Anthropologist David Harvey identifies a shift away from Fordist structures – the traditional factory models under which much American manufacturing took place – to structures of "flexible accumulation," which he describes as "the restructuring of the labor market into more flexible forms, cutting away at traditionally well-compensated 'core' jobs in favor of a 'periphery' and 'second periphery.'" (Harvey 2005:158). Today's landscapers are archetypal flexible workers. Immigrants entering landscaping find that their hours vary by season, number of clients, and many other factors. Landscapers may work 40 hours (or more) one week and very few hours the next. They work without long-term job security and for low pay. Landscapers like Joaquin do what they do not because they love the job, but because this type of flexible work is all that exists for people like them. Landscapers like Joaquin must remain open to working when

and where there is work – recall Joaquin asking me about the economic outlook in Oregon – and they must live not knowing whether work will be forthcoming.

The emotional impact of working these flexible service jobs is less discussed, but just as significant. This shift toward flexibility has an impact not only on the daily schedules of workers like Joaquin, but also on what anthropologist Tanya Luhrmann calls their subjectivity. She defines subjectivity as "the *emotional* experience of a *political* subject, the subject caught up in a world of violence, state authority and pain, the subject's distress under the authority of another" (2006:346; emphasis in original). In an ever-more flexible economy, landscapers are likely to feel the distress that comes with an eternally uncertain future. The structural changes in the economy over the last half century – the growth of suburbia, the decline of manufacturing jobs and related power of unions, the rise in flexible work arrangements and the increasing divide between rich and poor – manifest themselves in Joaquin's everyday emotional experiences. Joaquin's desire to see the Aguilas beat affluent suburban clubs is one example. Underlying this desire for victory on the field is a feeling of having lost in the economic game. Winning on the field is so important for Joaquin precisely because it is one of the few places in his life where he can win.

In his working life, he has come to feel that he cannot win, a sentiment anthropologists Peter Benson and Stuart Kirsch describe as an "everyday politics of resignation" (2010:460). Joaquin experiences, as Benson and Kirsch put it, a "recognition not only that things have gone awry but also that one is practically unable to do anything about it" (2010:468). This recognition, they write, "can also index acknowledgement that structural limitations impede one's ability to bring about change" (ibid). Sociologist

Richard Sennett (1998) has also written about the despair that the shift toward flexible accumulation causes for those at the lower end of the economy. He contrasts these workers with GM employees of a previous generation, for whom "routinized time had become an arena in which workers could assert their own demands, an arena of empowerment" (1998:43). Without the stability of a routinized factory job, flexible workers in today's economy struggle to feel empowered. While those at the top benefit from flexible work arrangements, for low-wage workers at the bottom, the system is, in Sennett's words, incoherent, shapeless, and illegible. Flexibility at the top means new ways of accumulating wealth; flexibility at the bottom means never knowing where your next paycheck is coming from.

Joaquin is adrift in an economic system he barely understands (in this, he is far from alone; David Harvey writes that "the structure of the global financial system is now so complicated that it surpasses most people's understanding" (1991:161). The vagaries of global economic shifts are not at the forefront of his thinking; instead, he is simply hoping that job opportunities will come his way. He knows there are winners and losers in the economic game, and his place is clear. But while Joaquin is well aware that he is unable to move beyond the structural limitations that shape his working life, there is one area where he can, vicariously through his son Mauricio, experience success: on the soccer field. The soccer field may seem an inconsequential place for Joaquin to experience success, but with changes to the economy that leave him struggling to get by as a landscaper, it is one of his only options[17]. It is precisely because Latino immigrants

[17] This fits into a larger pattern of racial and ethnic minorities, who often feel they have few opportunities in the larger economy, overinvesting in a future in sports. Although this career path

like Joaquin have been largely shunted into low-wage work with little chance of moving up the economic ladder that soccer takes on such an outsized importance. Working-class Latinos may see themselves losing the economic game to affluent suburbanites, but their children can win on the soccer field. This is why victories against suburban clubs like the Quake and Harriers are sweetest of all for Aguilas parents.

The economic conditions under which Latinos work also shape their feelings about the integration of their children onto suburban teams. The flexible nature of scholarships that suburban clubs offer is particularly concerning for many Latino families. Their working lives are wracked with the uncertainties of the flexible economy; they don't want to see these same uncertainties repeated in their children's involvement in soccer. What's more, they don't want to experience the same sense of reliance on others who they feel may not have their best interests in mind. They need suburban families to hire them to mow their lawns; they don't want to have to rely on them to pay for their children to play soccer. If suburban subjectivity is marked by the performance of exclusivity, the subjectivity of flexible workers like Joaquin is notable for its desire to push back against the sense of being just another cog in an ever-more flexible economy and against the people (affluent suburbanites) who impose this system upon them.

But at the same time, Latino parents like Joaquin often want the best for their children. Suburban teams usually offer the best competition, and almost always offer the broadest exposure to college coaches. For Joaquin, the hope of his son using soccer to get ahead requires that he gamble. He must hope that he will be one of the success stories,

---

is unlikely to come to fruition for most, the overrepresentation of minorities in professional sports in the United States indicates the power of the draw (for more, see Sailes 1998).

that he will use suburban soccer clubs for his purposes rather than be used by them for their purposes. Will these clubs use Mauricio for a period to improve their teams and then discard him when someone better comes along? In the end, the internal debate for Joaquin is not only about which team is best for his son's development; it is also about his position in the global economy. He wants the best for his son and does not want him to end up as a cog in the flexible economy. Moving to a suburban club may provide this opportunity – or it may only reinforce the challenges in getting ahead in an ever-more flexible economy.

Suburban Soccer and the Habitus of Affluence

For the suburban families who have long been the main constituents of youth soccer, the integration of working-class Latinos has profound potential implications. For some, their economic interests depend on suburban soccer existing, as it long has, with little integraton of non-white, less affluent players. Coaches and club officials are well compensated for their role in this youth soccer industrial complex. Companies that sponsor clubs and tournaments find value in accessing a prime demographic: affluent suburban parents with children.

Suburban parents, too, have found tremendous value in their involvement in youth soccer over the last decades and, as a result, are not necessarily in favor of changes to the sytem. Some express concern that their child may lose his place to a talented Latino player brought in on scholarship. Below the surface, many others have a deeper concern. Soccer has long served as a status symbol, "as part of the innately competitive, socially differentiating, and highly stylized lifestyles, through which individuals attempt to seek

membership in the valorized suburban middle class" (Andrews 1999:32). Soccer, like a well-manicured yard, has become central to suburban subjectivity, a subjectivity shaped by the values of safety and the nuclear family that played such a central role in the sport's domestication in the 1960s. Playing soccer is, to use anthropologist Sherry Ortner's description of subjectivity, part of, "the subtle forms of power that saturate everyday life, through experiences of time, space, and work" (2005:46). Suburban parents choose to sign their kids up for soccer not only because of what it has long signified: an exclusive sport, played by affluent suburbanites like them.

Of course, suburban parents are unlikely to say they like soccer because it is a symbol of affluence. This assessment, though, has become so ingrained that they need not verbalize it. Bourdieu's concept of habitus serves well to explain this situation. Habitus, embodied practices, shaped by one's social milieu, that "generate all the 'reasonable',' 'common-sense',' behaviours" (1990:55) and which, in Bourdieu's words, "produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (2007:82), leads suburbanites to soccer in ways they are often not aware of. The affluent often do not articulate their reasons for choosing soccer precisely because these reasons are so deeply ingrained – that is, part of their habitus.

Even while they cannot articulate why soccer appeals to them, affluent suburbanites use the sport to perform, and thus legitimize, the social order from which they prosper. This social order depends not just on money, but also on the ability to legitimize social boundaries. "What is at stake in the struggles about the meaning of the social world," Bourdieu writes, "is power over the classificatory schemes and systems which are the basis of the representations of the groups and therefore of their

mobilization and demobilization" (1984:479). It is precisely because social boundaries, and the consumption practices that legitimate them, are so connected to larger struggles that they matter so much. "Commonplace and classificatory systems are thus the stake of struggles between the groups they characterize and counterpose, who fight over them while striving to turn them to their advantage" (Bourdieu 1984:479). Sports, thus, are not a diversion from more "serious" social issues, but are in fact part and parcel of them.

Sports play a role in shaping larger classificatory systems, which Bourdieu argues are part of the quest for symbolic power.

> [W]hat individuals and groups invest in the particular meaning they give to common classificatory systems by the use they make of them ... is their whole social being, everything which defines their own idea of themselves, the primordial, tacit contract whereby they define 'us' as opposed to 'them', 'other people', and which is the basis of exclusions ('not for the likes of us') and inclusions they perform among the characteristics produced by the common classificatory systems. (1984:478)

Affluent suburbanites use sports to perform their class status. The consumption of sports is part of a process of distinction, whereby people use both their choice of sports as well as the "legitimate" ways of playing sports to demonstrate their sophistication (Bourdieu 1984). Bourdieu argues that the distribution across social class of sports participation is due to more than the obvious factor of cost. In addition to cost, the potential status gains are an important factor in people's decision-making about which sports to have their children play.

In the post-World War II period, soccer has become *the* sport of the affluent suburban crowd. It is today the sport of those at the top of the hourlgass. Their choice of sports for their kids is just one more consumption choice which ultimately serves to

legitimate their position at the top of the social order. Affluent suburbanites consume wine, not malt liquor; their kids participate in soccer, not boxing. Their taste in consumption demonstrates their sophisticaiton and legitimates the social order from which they benefit. Because, as Bourdieu says, "most products only derive their social value from the social use that is made of them" (1984:21), the performance of a uniquely American version of soccer – the exclusive suburban version, that is – is essential to ensuring that soccer connotes a certain status. Soccer now serves as a symbol of affluence and sophistication, but this is more to do with the "social use" made of the sport in the post-World War II United States, not with the sport itself (in most other countries, soccer is anything but a sport of the wealthy). The integration of Latinos, then, is most fundamentally a threat to the meaning of soccer as an exclusive sport played by those at the top of the social order.

Cultural Explanations for Economic Problems

In spite of the real economic barriers to greater integration of Latinos into top-level youth soccer and the lack of desire of many involved with suburban soccer to see this integration take place, most of the reasons that I heard from those involved with the suburban version of the game focused on "cultural" factors as the main impediment to change. Donald Gardner, president of the Harriers, told me that in the 1980s, he and otheres like him were probably ignorant about how to bring Latinos into suburban soccer. Today, though, he insisted that if there was any lack of integration it was simply Latinos choosing not to integrate. I heard this sentiment – "Latinos don't *want* to integrate" or

"it's a cultural thing" – expressed repeatedly throughout my research. The sentiment ignores two major issues:

1. Latinos often simply do not have the money to be involved with youth soccer. Even if they receive a scholarship, the costs of travel to practices and games, equipment, and more, which many suburbanites don't see as consequential, are difficult for many Latinos to cover.

2. Even if Latinos are able to cover the financial costs of having their kid play youth soccer, many express a very real reluctance to put themselves in what they see as a flexible system that mirrors their working lives. Latinos know that they can lose work any time a suburban family decides to switch its landscaper; they don't want to see their kids have to experience the same thing if a more talented player comes along and takes away their scholarship.

Hovering over all of this is a pervasive sense among Latino families that their sons are being used as cheap labor by top suburban clubs. While children and their parents face the constant threat of having their scholarships revoked, coaches and team officials of the suburban clubs they play for are doing quite well economically, many easily earning six figures (see chapter 3). Because the salaries of suburban clubs' coaches and administrators depend on the prestige of their clubs, which in turn depends, at least partly, on the clubs' on-field success, having top players is important for these employees to do their jobs well.

As the providers of this cheap labor, Latinos are particularly likely to see the situation for what it is. A Latino club director I spoke with told me about the types of conversations he has with his counterparts at top suburban clubs like the Quake and the Harriers about letting scholarship players go.

> I say, "Are you kidding me?" That's illegal – it's like slavery. They want to make [players and their parents] feel guilty! "You used this kid to better yourself and now [you let him go]. That's real low of you guys." You have no idea how I struggle as a director. Those guys don't like me. … I have

> the power to say, "You guys are crooks." It's a moneymaker. Think about it!

As a result of this situation, many Latino parents have now become reluctant to even move their kids to top suburban teams. Many look at the situations they must place themselves in – a position of subservience and constant uncertainty – and see a reflection of their work lives. Think of Joaquin. An undocumented immigrant who mostly works in unstable landscaping jobs, he is acutely aware of his marginalized position in society. He does not relish having to recreate this marginalization in his son's participation in youth soccer. His earlier talk of me being a spy for the Harriers, of talking about players abandoning the Aguilas – this all came from a desire to claim a sense of power through youth soccer. He might spend his weekdays mowing the lawns of affluent suburbanites, but on the weekends he could cheer his son on the soccer field as he beat the children of his employers. To join a suburban club was not only to give up on playing for a self-consciously Latino club, it was also to put himself back into a position of subservience that he had long enjoyed some escape from on the soccer field.

Latino parents like Joaquin often talk about how they are helping to enrich employees at top suburban clubs. What suburban clubs present to them as a gift – a scholarship – they reframe as something they deserve because of their kids' talents. One director of coaching at a moderately successful suburban club told me that, in his experience, Latino parents argue that their kid is the one doing the work so why should they have to pay? Another coach at a suburban club told me that sometimes parents whose kids are good enough to be offered a scholarship will negotiate the package they want, often playing offers from various clubs off of each other in hopes of getting the

best deal. What these coaches see as shameful behavior is, in the eyes of Latino parents, a claiming of agency. In a world where their sons' talents make suburban teams successful, enriching those who work for these clubs, they are asking for their own piece of the pie. They recognize the system for what it is and, knowing they have what suburban clubs need – talented players – leverage it to their advantage.

Soccer as Struggle

The clearest indication that soccer is more than just a game, that it is, in Bourdieu's words "a site of class struggles" (1978:826), can be seen in resistance to change of the suburban soccer system by those who benefit from it. Integration, to the degree it occurs, involves isolated incidents of Latino players moving to suburban clubs. When this system itself is challenged, those involved with suburban clubs protest loudly.

During my research I came across several cases in which entire teams of mostly or exclusively Latino players had moved from one club to another. These teams often start at a Latino club before being enticed to a suburban club. An entire team, players and coaches alike, that was, for example, once part of the Aguilas club are renamed as a Harriers team amid promises of better competition, greater resources, and more. But, because the regulations on player and team movement are minimal, if these teams feel that the promises made to them by suburban clubs are not being met, they will move again. I was told of examples of Latino teams merging into suburban clubs along with their coach, only for the coach to be pushed out after a short period of time in favor of an existing suburban club coach. Some teams decide to move again, to find another suburban club to take them on. To the suburban club officials who see teams leave in this

way, this feels like a betrayal, as if the largesse they offered to the teams was not appreciated. Donald Gardner of the Harriers told me about two of his former teams who had left the club in this way. He explained this moving as a team, disparagingly, as something particular to Latinos. Implicit in his critique, though, is a partenalistic assertion that Latinos should be grateful for the benefits suburban clubs offer to them. Gardner's critique, in the end, is about power: he did not like the fact that Latino parents had bonded together to assert some semblance of control over the fate of their team. They were no longer docile individuals hoping for a scholarship for their son, no longer cogs in a flexible economy, and this was particualrly galling to Gardner and others like him who made similar critiques.

At the same time, it is quite common for non-Latino coaches to move from one suburban club to another repeatedly. In the lobby of the hotel at the Dallas Cup, Jorge Sanchez of the Aguilas spent a while talking with a Quake coach. After wrapping up their conversation, he returned, shaking his head. The Quake coach was soon to be leaving for a new opportunity at a suburban club in Los Angeles. Sanchez told me that this coach constantly moves teams, claiming to have been treated poorly, though in reality, the Aguilas president assured me, he was just looking for more money. While Latinos like Sanchez critique coaches like this behavior, I heard few similar critiques from suburban parents and team officials. In the power game that is suburban soccer, it is assumed that (mostly non-Latino) coaches will move around looking for a better deal. They are the ones who hold power, and few critique them for using it.

It is only when Latinos seek to assert control that critiques are raised. Recall the disparaging term – mercs – that a Latino father heard used to describe Latino players. The

idea that Latino players will play for the club that makes them the best offer implies that they lack morals. But what many suburban parents ignore is that these morals, the idea that one sticks with a single club, are made possible by the financial resources they possess, and that Latinos often lack. Denigrating Latinos who move from club to club while ignoring suburban coaches who do the same is just one example of the implicit assumptions that people have about the nature of youth soccer. It has become a performance of power for the affluent, and challenges arise when this system is critiqued.

* * *

Integration has never been the goal of youth soccer. To the degree that it exists, it is a byproduct of other goals. One director of coaching at a San Diego club described the integration of Latinos as a "marraige of convenience." As he put it, suburban clubs bring in Latinos because they want to win, not out of any altruistic motivation. An official at CalSouth told me, "I wish I could tell you it's integrated because we [those involved suburban clubs] are all good people. It's integrated out of necessity. It's integrated because we want to compete." And even when we see an example of a club like the Harriers that has brought in many Latino players, the system is set up in such a way that this model may simply be economically unsustainable in the long term.

This same CalSouth official went on to make the salient point that the lack of integration in suburban soccer is perhaps not terribly surprising. "When people think Latinos are not involved with suburban programs," he told me, "they fail to realize that some of the kids are living in areas that have no white kids." He is correct in highlighting

the role of residential segregation as a central factor in explaining the lack of integration in youth soccer. But geography is not destiny. Top suburban teams want to compete, want to win. Many have gone to great lengths to bring in talented Latino players for this purpose. Hundred dollar taxi rides multiple days a week, jobs for parents, free equipment for players – these are some of the incentives that affluent suburban clubs have mustered in order to bring in talented Latino players who would improve their teams. It is because integration in soccer is not a simple zero-sum game – talented Latino players offer a benefit to their non-Latino teammates – that studying it in this context shows us something new and interesting about integration more generally. Especially at the top level, one would expect talent to trump distance. In many cases, it does, as suburban clubs go to great lengths to integrate talented Latino players. In many other cases, suburban clubs remain reluctant to embrace integration.

In the end, what do we learn about the integration of Latino immigrants through their children's involvement in youth soccer? We learn that the economic gulf between rich and poor that has grown in recent decades means Latino immigrants are often shunted into menial work, like landscaping, that offer poor working conditions and low pay. We learn that Latinos rarely have the economic means to have their children play for suburban teams. We learn that the integration of Latino children in suburban soccer depends on suburban clubs' willingness to offer scholarships. We learn that what suburban clubs see as largesse, Latino families often see as having the potential to replicate the worst elements of the flexible economy in which they struggle to make ends meet. And we learn that many involved in suburban soccer are reluctant to see the system change, as they have profound interests in seeing it function as it always has.

Youth soccer functions in a way that enbables affluent suburbanites to continue to benefit from it, while only a few fortunate Latino families do so. For every success story of a Latino player who is given a scholarship by a suburban club and goes on to a college or professional career there are dozens of stories of Latino players who, having received a scholarship for a year, are discarded by suburban clubs after a more talented player comes along. The desire to see their children succeed leads many Latino parents to search for opportunities with suburban clubs; the fear of ending up discarded by this sytem leads many others to approach suburban clubs with a wariness that many club officials interpret as a reluctance to integrate. Those involved with suburban clubs misrecognize the economic basis of this behavior, and use cultural rationales to justify the sustained lack of integration of Latinos into top-level youth soccer.

* * *

Shortly before wrapping up my fieldwork, I went to a Harriers practice. To my surprise, I heard a familiar voice. "*Hola David*!" a voice called out as I turned around. Standing there, smiling and eager as always, was Joaquin.

"What are you doing here?" I asked. I had wrapped up my research with the Aguilas and hadn't seen him recently in the neighborhood. I never heard if he had decided to move his son Mauricio to a suburban team.

"Mauricio got a scholarship," Joaquin told me. The Harriers, having seen him star for the Aguilas, had offered to wave his fees. Joaquin told me he had gone over the decision in his mind and in the end decided that the Harriers would offer the best chance

for his son to get exposure to college coaches (even better, he assumed, than the Brittania club). Joaquin looked almost sheepish, having now signed his son up for the club he had once accused me of spying for.

We chatted for a while, and I agreed that the Harriers were likely to offer Mauricio good exposure to college coaches. Joaquin seemed relieved to have my agreement, as if the stamp of approval of a white, highly-educated person like me confirmed the wisdom of his decision. Underneath this need for approval, though, lay fear. Fear that maybe his decision to move his son to the Harriers wasn't the right choice. Fear that the team would use him to improve itself, and then discard him. Fear that his son would end up a cog in the ever-flexible economy of youth soccer. Would this move to the Harriers be Mauricio's chance at a college scholarship and an opportunity to climb the economic ladder? Or would the father's plight – a low-wage worker whose fate depends on an ever-flexible economy he cannot comprehend – become the son's fate too?

Chapter 6. Go South, Young Man: Pursuing The Mexican Dream

In December of 2012, I went to see a Harriers team in action for the first time. I had spoken with Donald, the club president, on the phone and he invited me to come see his under-14 team play a team from Baja California, the Northern Mexican state just across the border from San Diego. This friendly match would provide an opportunity for both teams to face opponents they rarely encountered, despite the fact that they were based in neighboring cities, albeit cities separated by an increasingly militarized border (Cornelius and Lewis 2007). The Mexican team was held up at the border (a common experience for many who make that crossing) and arrived only a few minutes before the scheduled kick-off. The teams agreed to push back the kick-off a few minutes to give the visitors time to warm up. Once they did start, the game itself wasn't much of a contest, the Harriers easily taking apart their opponents and winning 5-0 in the end.

As the game wrapped up, Donald came up to me shaking his head. He thought the opponents would be stronger, and the fact that they weren't led him to consider alternative and more possibilities for why their coaches had wanted to bring them all the way to San Diego. Perhaps, Donald offered, they had put together a team as an excuse so that the coaches could come scout the Harriers players. More and more players (including several former Harriers) had been going to Mexico in recent years, signing with professional teams there. The Baja team that had come north had no apparent connection to any of these pro teams, but, Donald implied, in the mixed-up world of Mexican soccer one never knew who was connected to whom. One of the coaches might spot a talented

Harriers player, recommend him to a pro team in Mexico, and if the team signed him, the coach might be compensated for his "scouting" services.

At the time, I thought Donald's words were more paranoia than reality. Good teams beat bad teams all the time, why should this result hint at alternative purposes? But as my research continued, and I saw just how common the movement of young Mexican American players from the United States to Mexico, I realized that perhaps Donald's sense of the situation may not have been completely off base.

* * *

I intended my research to be focused entirely on the integration of Latino players into soccer in the United States. But it quickly became apparent that it would be impossible to fully discussing this phenomenon without a serious analysis of the role of Mexican professional soccer. In prowling the fields of Southern California, I came across so many examples of young Mexican American players who had gone south, recruited by Mexican teams. On my first visit to an Aguilas practice, I found out that one of the under-16 players, Saul Figueroa, had been offered a place on the youth team of the Xolos, a professional team based just across the border in Tijuana (his father Sergio turned down the offer, saying that, for now, he wanted his son to focus on his studies, though he left open the possibility of the situation changing in the future). Soon after, I found out that Jorge, the Aguilas team president and coach of the two teams I followed, had a son who had recently signed, at sixteen years old, with a team called Pachuca. He was living in the sprawling dormitory that the team, based in the Mexican city of the same name, had set

up for its youth players, going to the team's school, and playing for the Pachuca under-17 team.

In the eighteen months that I conducted fieldwork, I met scores of players who had played, were currently playing, or hoped to play with Mexican teams in the future. For many Latino players (and even a few non-Latinos), their goal is not to make it on to the top youth teams in the United States, but to become a professional player in Mexico. This chapter explores the phenomenon of these young Mexican American players seeking their future south of the border. Why is it that many of these players are more oriented toward professional clubs in Mexico than top youth clubs in the United States? How do we explain the rise of interest of Mexican teams in Mexican American players? And what are the consequences, for all involved, of this transnational movement of players?

The movement of players from the United States to Mexico, I argue, is best understood as the end result of a series of developments over several decades in both countries. These events start with the migration of millions of Mexicans to the United States in the second half of the twentieth century and end in the twenty-first with the children of these immigrants returning to their parents' homeland to sign for Mexican professional soccer teams. One of these players seeking this "Mexican dream" is Daniel Olea. This chapter focuses on his story, a story representative of so many Mexican American players like him. Talented, driven and consumed by the possibility of finding a professional career in Mexico, Olea traveled south in March of 2013 for a tryout with the Mexican powerhouse Pumas.

Excavating the Next Generation of Talent

One hundred feet below ground, Pumas is developing the next generation of stars. The team's massive youth development center may be in the middle of Mexico City, but, built in the bowels of a former quarry, it is hidden from the metropolis that surrounds it. Where once workers excavated stone that was used to pave the streets of Mexico City, today Pumas carves future stars from the raw material — the hundreds of players — that makes up its famed youth program. *Cantera*, the Spanish word for quarry is also the word for the youth programs of professional teams throughout the Spanish-speaking world, including perhaps the most famous cantera in Mexico: that of Pumas.

At street level, the entrance to the Pumas cantera is unremarkable. Located in a quiet, middle class neighborhood, a gate manned by several security guards is the only indication that something special lies within. From street level, a windy road leads down to the base of the carved-out former quarry. After a short trip through a tunnel (originally built to shuttle stone out of the quarry) the main field of the cantera is visible. An oasis of green grass in a sea of gray rock, the cantera is clearly not the first inhabitant of this space. Hundred foot walls of stone make the field, which is surrounded by a gym, a cafeteria, and administrative offices, feel like a world completely separate from Mexico City. A set of narrow stone stairs leads even further down, to a second full-size grass field. Next to it are several smaller dirt fields.

There, on those dirt fields, Pumas held tryouts in December. The tryouts were not in themselves remarkable: As one of the most successful Mexican clubs in developing youth players, Pumas often holds such events, looking for talented young players. But

among the group trying out this week were five players who had come not from Mexico City or other parts of Mexico, but from the United States.

One of the American kids was a soft-spoken, skinny sixteen year-old named Daniel Olea. Born and raised in Escondido, a city 30 miles northeast of San Diego, he had come to Mexico to pursue his dream of catching on with a professional team. Although Olea's parents are from Mexico, he had never been to the country before. If he were to make it with Pumas, he would have to do so in an environment thousands of miles from home, 100 feet below ground.

* * *

Daniel Olea has not had the easiest of childhoods. The son of Mexican immigrants living north of San Diego, he currently lives with his stay-at-home mother, Reyna Garcia, and stepfather, Javier Arias, who works at a local Subway restaurant. His parents work to keep him out of trouble, and soccer has been the main tool for doing so.

Daniel Olea has loved soccer for as long as he can remember. His mother recalls that "from four years old, his life has been soccer. He's always had a ball with him." Growing up around his father and older brothers, Olea was never far from a soccer ball, and he has long harbored dreams of a professional career. His mother remembers Daniel and a cousin as young kids saying they wanted to be professional soccer players. "He's always said he wants to be someone. He's always had the idea of becoming a professional player since he was ten years old."

Olea's mother and biological father separated when he was young, and his brother Eric, six years his senior, took on a fatherly role with young Daniel. "When my dad left, he was the one who took charge and he was like another dad to me," says Daniel. Eric took his younger brother to soccer games, and the kid soon impressed those around him. Growing up in the Mexican American community in Escondido, as Olea got older he began to be recruited by various teams in unaffiliated "Mexican" leagues (see chapter 3 for more information on these leagues). He was so good, his mother recalls, that team after team would attempt to recruit him. "Wherever we went, wherever he played, people would ask us if he would play for their team."

Olea developed his talent playing for these unaffiliated teams. He had never played for an affiliated team until two years ago, when he got connected with the local club, known as FC Heat. His mother and stepfather were concerned about the cost, but the club, which has a policy of offering financial aid to all who need it, offered to waive his fees.

While at the Heat, Olea has blossomed. Coach Carlos Hernandez has taken the youngster under his wing, and under his guidance Olea has developed into a skillful forward, with guile and inventiveness rarely seen in a 16-year-old. With this burgeoning talent, Olea began to attend tryouts for Mexican professional teams a couple of years ago. He attended a Copa Alianza event, in which scouts from Mexican clubs and the Mexican national team look for players in the United States, as well as tryouts held by the Xolos in San Diego. He impressed the Tijuana team so much that they invited him to train with them in 2012. This training, he says, helped him to improve as a player. "Before I went there, I was normal. But after, I was at a whole different level," he says. The travel time

to practices with the Xolos (Tijuana is an hour from Escondido) eventually proved too difficult, and he had to give up on this dream after six months. Though Olea was disappointed, his mother told him "Look, if becoming professional is for you, you'll get another chance."

This chance came at a September 2012 tryout organized by the San Diego-based amateur club Sudaca, whose director of coaching brought up scouts from Pachuca as well as lower-division Zacatepec. In this two-day tryout, Olea impressed the visiting Pachuca scouts. They suggested that he work with Jesus Cardenas, a former professional player in Mexico and the United States who now dedicates himself to training young players north of the border and connecting them to clubs south of it. The club saw talent in him and thought that after a few months of intensive work with Cardenas, he could come down to Mexico for a second tryout.

Working with Olea over several months, Cardenas was impressed by the young player's talent. Cardenas insists that American-based young players like Daniel Olea have the ability to make it with Mexican clubs, but the typical training schedules do not prepare young players for professional careers. "In terms of talent, you can compare players here to those in Mexico," he says. "But the difference is the training, simply because in Mexico young players practice every day and in the United States we don't have that amount of time with the kids."

In December, Cardenas arranged a trip to Mexico for Olea and several other young players who aspired to professional careers. The trip was originally scheduled to include tryouts at Pumas and Pachuca, but the latter was cancelled after the club's goalkeeper coach Miguel Calero suddenly and tragically died at age 41. That meant that

Olea had only one chance to catch the eye of Mexican coaches who might offer him a contract.

I asked Olea what it felt like when he first arrived at the Pumas cantera. How did he feel, descending into the bowels of that imposing facility? Was he nervous? "No," he told me. "I felt like I just wanted to be there. Like it was for me."

* * *

At the same time that the youth soccer structure in the United States has allowed talented young Latino players to slip through the cracks, Mexican professional clubs have been increasing their investment in scouting and youth development. The tremendous growth of Mexican professional soccer in the second half of the twentieth century and early part of the twenty-first has given clubs resources to invest in future talent, including from the United States.

There are many reasons for the increased focus of Mexican clubs on youth, and one involves a chain of events that begins with the many Mexican citizens who headed north to the United States in the post-World War II period. The establishment of a large U.S.-based Mexican and Mexican American population, many of whom find a connection to their homeland through soccer, has helped teams throughout Mexico. The teams have profited tremendously, selling merchandise, television rights and tickets to a constant stream of friendly matches staged in the United States.

As a result of this commercial success (not to mention the millions they make within Mexico), Mexican teams have grown rich and been able to purchase some of the

most talented players in the Western Hemisphere. Bringing in these stars from countries such as Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia and beyond began to worry some in the Mexican federation, who grew concerned that young Mexican players were being overlooked for expensive foreign signings. In response, the Mexican national soccer federation put into place the so-called 20/11 rule in 2005, which required teams to give their under-21 players at least 1000 minutes of playing time per season. The rule was phased out in 2011, deemed no longer necessary after it played a large role in focusing teams on youth development, something teams throughout Mexico now do more than ever before.

As Ramon Villa-Zevallos, head coach of the Pumas under-17 team, put it to me at the December tryout, "Here at Pumas, we have a long tradition of developing youth players. Before, almost no one else produced young players. Now, the competition is fierce. … Pachuca, Chivas, Pumas, everyone is doing a good job developing young players. Everyone is looking anywhere they can to bring in good young players." And with teams throughout Mexico flush with cash and looking far and wide for the next star player, it perhaps isn't surprising that their search has taken them north of the border.

Today, young Mexican American players can be found on the rosters of teams throughout Mexico. Several teams have made the strongest effort to recruit in the United States. These include Tigres and the Xolos, two teams close to the border (Tigres in Monterrey, a little over two hours from Texas, and the Xolos in Tijuana, just south of San Diego). For these teams, recruiting players in the United States is simple, requiring only a quick trip across the border. Roberto Cornejo, assistant general manager of the Xolos, speaking of current star Joe Corona and top youth prospect Alejandro Guido, both of

whom spent much of their childhood in San Diego, told me, “These guys are hometown boys. We consider San Diego our hometown as well.” The Xolos have set up two youth academies in the San Diego region, with the hope, Cornejo said, of finding “a few new Joe Coronas. San Diego as a region has a lot of talent.”

It’s not just border teams that are recruiting players in the United States. Clubs throughout Mexico have done so, with Santos Laguna, Chivas, Pachuca and Pumas leading the way. The reasons for this increase are many, but the most fundamental reason is the improved standard of play in the United States. Victor Nava, assistant coach of the Pumas reserve team, says, “We’ve seen that players in the United States have a lot of quality.”

Mexican American players in the United States are not only talented, but also have the advantage of having dual citizenship. Limits on foreign players in the Mexican league don’t apply to these players, giving clubs an extra impetus to recruit them. As Fernando Parra, vice president of Zacatepec, a lower division team with several Mexican Americas on its books, told me, “many teams have looked for young players who can get dual citizenship and come here to play.” The realization, then, that these players are, for sporting purposes, identical to those living in Mexico has opened up the territory in which Mexican scouts can look for talent. Unlike young players from other parts of Latin America, who have limits placed upon them by the Mexican federation and whose signing often requires a complicated visa process, the recruitment of Mexican American players involves few bureaucratic hurdles. A player scouted today in the United States can be on a plane tomorrow to practice with a Mexican team.

With talent and Mexican citizenship, these players have become a hot commodity for Mexican clubs. As an investment strategy, the economics of signing Mexican American youth players makes sense. While clubs have to pay to send scouts on trips to the United States, compared to the potential payoff — the onfield benefit of finding a talented player and/or the financial windfall from selling such a player — these costs are minimal, especially for wealthy Mexican clubs with money to burn.

The costs of signing Mexican American players are also low because few are signed to professional contracts with their American teams. Because of the particular youth system that has developed in the United States in which youth clubs are often completely separate from professional clubs, young players rarely have professional contracts and thus can be signed for free. Marco Garces, head of scouting for Pachuca, tells me, "It's very interesting for us in the U.S. There are forty million Latin Americans, some of them play really well. And they're not attached to anyone."

Even as MLS teams have set up youth academies, the number of players to have been signed to professional contracts under the league's Homegrown Player Rule remains small, just over 100 as of April 2014. The rest remain free to leave their American team at any moment to sign with a Mexican club. Garces is dumbfounded by this situation. "They don't ask for compensation," he tells me. "It's *weird*. I can go and watch the [Los Angeles] Galaxy train and take their players." Ramon Villa-Zevallos echoes the sentiment: "We go to the Dallas Cup and we see a whole world of talent. And in the United States, there's no professional youth system. It ends up being really cheap to bring players here."

There are many reasons why youth players in the United States are not signed to professional contracts, including labor laws affecting the employment of minors and a strict separation between amateur and professional status that the college system uses as a means to determine eligibility (Merten 2004). For years, when the only step beyond youth soccer in the United States was the college game and the vast majority of youth soccer players came from the type of affluent families who would insist on their children attending college, this system was rarely called into question. But as the children of working-class Latinos have come to make up a larger portion of the youth soccer players in the United States and as U.S. Soccer and MLS have made more of an effort to professionalize the youth game, including having MLS teams set up their own youth teams (see chapter 7), in order to produce top quality players, the cracks in the system are becoming more and more apparent.

Mexican clubs, acting purely in their own self-interest, have been among the first to see these cracks, and figure out how to take advantage of them. As Villa-Zevallos puts it, "there are a lot of players in the United States who are lost." He continues: "in the United States, they charge you to play. So players come to Mexico in search of their dream."

* * *

Daniel Olea's longstanding dream of becoming a professional player was now closer than ever. After three days of training separately on the dirt fields, Olea and the rest of the trialists were given the opportunity to play against the Pumas under-17 team.

As the group of hopeful young players trooped up the stone steps to the main field, nervousness was apparent on their faces.

While the Pumas under-17 players were dressed in matching gear, the trialists' mismatched shorts and t-shirts gave them away as the cobbled-together group that they were. The game started as one might expect, with Pumas dominating. A tricky left-winger dribbled around several of the trialists, making them look silly. Pumas scored several goals, and after the first half, none of the trialists looked anywhere near the level of their opponents.

Olea had been on the bench throughout the first half, but was put on to start the second. Played wide on the left, his impact was immediate. Although normally a forward, his technical ability was immediately apparent even when playing out of position. Like the Pumas left winger in the first half, Olea came on and quickly generated trouble for the right side of the Pumas defense.

Halfway through the second half, Olea spotted a poor touch from the Pumas right back and he rushed in to take the ball. Forty yards from goal, he looked up and saw two defenders in his way. He faked left. One of the defenders bit on his fake, giving Olea space to put the ball between him and his teammate. Splitting the two defenders, he picked his head up and saw the goalkeeper several yards outside of the goal area. His right foot went back and he struck the ball cleanly. Up it went, high in the air. The keeper backpedaled, scrambling to catch up to the quickly traveling ball. But it was too late. The ball came down just in time and went straight into the back of the net.

Olea had just split two defenders and chipped the ball over the goalie's head from 35 yards. Everyone around — coaches, players, and other observers — began whispering to each other.

After the game, a Pumas official saw Jesus Cardenas, who was accompanying the American players. He walked over to him and whispered in his ear. "The coaches like Olea."

* * *

One day after Daniel Olea had scored a goal against the Pumas under-17s, the tryout wrapped up. Olea and other players at the Pumas cantera for the tryout milled about, waiting to hear their fate.

Meanwhile, in the Pumas offices several coaches and officials huddled, making decisions about which players would be offered contracts with the team. The head of the cantera, Jorge Valtonra, sitting at the head of the table asked two coaches who had come in to offer their judgments on the players who were trying out. "Is there material there or not?" he asked.

"Yes," they said. "Two '97's [players born in 1997] from Veracruz."

They discussed arrangements for those players' school and housing, and the meeting appeared close to wrapping up.

"Anyone else?" asked Valtonra. "What about those kids from the United States?"

"Yes," said one of the coaches. "The '96 kid, Olea."

An hour later, the trialists were called by the coaches to the field. The coaches thanked them for their effort throughout the week. They then asked Daniel Olea and the two kids from Veracruz to sit on the stone terraces to the side of the field. As the three waited, the coaches told the rest of the group that Pumas would not be signing them. With hard work, they offered, perhaps they could return in the future and have another chance.

The coaches then called the three remaining players over to them. They gave them the news: Pumas liked them and wanted to offer them each a contract. The coaches said the club would be in touch, and offered pats on the back and congratulations.

Having received the news that might change the trajectory of his life, Olea walked over to Jesus Cardenas. Congratulations, Cardenas offered. Olea simply smiled.

* * *

After the tryout, Daniel Olea returned to San Diego, and practiced with the Heat for several months. His parents insisted that he finish his junior year of high school before returning to Mexico full time in the summer. But while he was waiting, the youth development staff at Pumas was completely replaced and the interest the team had shown in him evaporated. Through his connections with Jesus Cardenas, Olea connected with the lower-division team Zacatepec. Although the team was at a lower level than Pumas, it was still a chance to go to Mexico and, at seventeen years old, Olea took it.

Daniel Olea is currently playing for the third division Zacatepec team and seeing significant playing time, especially given his young age. Reyna Garcia, his mother, confided to me that she's worried about him. He's still a young kid, she tells me, and he's

so far from home. Despite her concerns, she let her son go, to return to the country she left decades earlier, all to give him the chance to pursue the Mexican dream.

The Reverse Migration of Mexican American Players

What explains the rise of the phenomenon of young Mexican American players going south and signing for Mexican professional teams? In many ways, this reverse migration of Mexican Americans is best explained as the result of a series of events, precipitated by the large-scale migration of Mexicans to the United States after the 1965 immigration reforms (Massey and Pren 2012).

Today, it is the children of these Mexican immigrants who are being scouted by Mexican professional teams. Many of the over 30 million people of Mexican descent living in the United States today (Lopez 2013) (nearly two-thirds of the entire Hispanic population in the country) have a strong interest in soccer (Byers 2013), and many have signed their children up for the sport. The talent of these players can be seen in the United States boys' youth national team rosters, which often have a majority of Latino players in their ranks (see chapter 5). But, in many cases, this talent is nurtured almost in spite of the youth soccer system that exists in the United States.

Affluent suburban clubs like the Quake and the Harriers, which continue to dominate the youth soccer scene, have made changes around the edges, offering scholarships to a few talented Latino players. But the American youth soccer system is largely inaccessible to those without significant financial resources, and it is likely to remain so given the number of people who profit from the youth soccer industrial complex (see chapter 3). Given that many Latinos have less money than others, they have

struggled to integrate into the top levels of youth soccer in Southern California, and the United States as a whole.

The American youth soccer system is an example of what Kennth Jackson calls the privatization of social life (1987:272), a widespread phenomenon of the post-World War II period. Top-level youth soccer, developed as a response to what suburanites saw as the problems of other sports (see chapter two), developed with very little public financing. Jay Coakley has written that, prior to the 1980s, "the majority of youth sport programmes were publicly funded and neighbourhood-based, so children could manage their participation without extensive parental commitment and involvement" (2006:159). While today many sports in the United States depend on their connection to public school systems (e.g. basketball, football; see Ripley 2013), the top youth soccer is played between private, mostly suburban clubs. Indeed, the United States Soccer Federation recently changed its rules to forbid top players from representing their high school soccer teams (Borden 2012). Separate from most public support, youth soccer clubs have developed in such a way to primarily serve the interests of their main stakeholders: the families of the players who fund them. Bringing in talented working-class Latino players, then, challenges a main *raison d'etre* of these clubs.

These two developments – massive migration from Mexico to the United States in the last half century and a privatized youth soccer system that has largely failed to integrate the children of these immigrants – have shaped the context in which Mexican professional teams have begun to search for talented players north of the border. The conditions, though, are necessary but not sufficient to spark an ongoing migration of Mexican American players to Mexico. These players would not be heading south were it

not for changes to Mexican citizenship laws and the successful selling of nostalgia that has enabled Mexican clubs to profit tremendously through selling their product abroad to those longing for home.

Prior to 1998, despite the fact that millions of people of Mexican descent lived abroad, the Mexican government did not permit dual nationality. In changing its citizenship laws, the Mexican state recognized the value of its potential citizens living abroad, most of whom lived in the United States. The impetus for this change came from the Mexican government, which sought to encourage the sending of remittances as a development strategy. As sociologist David FitzGerald argues, it was this desire to include Mexicans abroad in order to encourage their economic engagement with their homeland that shaped the nature of the citizenship reforms. In contrast to citizenship requirements in Mexico previously, requirements for Mexicans abroad today have few obligations. FitzGerald describes this model as "citizenship a la carte," based, he says, on "voluntarism, citizen rights over obligations, and multiple affiliations" (2009:174). Mexicans abroad are not obligated to do much for the state: they need not pay taxes, serve in the military, or carry out any other typical requirement of citizenship. This change in Mexico fits with larger trends in the nature of citizenship in countries throughout the world. Anthropologist Aihwa Ong writes that "market-driven intrusions have realigned citizenship elements" (2006:15). She continues: "the elements that we think of as coming together to create citizenship – rights, entitlements, territoriality, a nation – are becoming disarticulated and rearticulated with forces set into motion by market forces" (2006:6). For Mexicans in the United States, citizenship does not require them to live on Mexican land and the Mexican state requires very little of them in return

for citizenship. The obligations of Mexican citizenship have been reduced to a suggested donation.

For previous generations of Mexicans living in the United States, there was no opportunity for their children to become Mexican citizens. For Mexicans living in the United States today, Mexican citizenship can be passed down easily to their children through the principle of *jus sanguinis* (citizenship passed down from parent to child, as opposed to *jus soli*, in which citizenship is given based on place of birth) and at little cost to parent or child. This move to broaden the pool of people eligible for Mexican citizenship has given many living in the United States the opportunity to become dual nationals, and it is precisely these people whom Mexican professional soccer clubs see as a rich source of untapped talent. With little required of Mexican Americans who want to take out Mexican citizenship, I met several young players who, if they didn't have dual citizenship from birth, would make the trek to the Mexican consulate in San Diego in order to file paperwork to obtain it.

At the same time that the Mexican government was reforming its citizenship laws, Mexican professional soccer teams were becoming wealthy. With the shift of the Mexican economy away from protectionism and toward a more free-tradel-oriented model, the Mexican league became among the richest in the world (Pérez 2014). This wealth has allowed its teams to attract star players from throughout Latin America with huge salaries. The clubs that make up the league are owned by the same economic titans who benefitted from economics reforms to the Mexican economy beginning in the 1970s which saw the selling off of many government-controlled monopoloies to private interests (Babb 2004). Carlos Slim, Bill Gates' main rival in recent years for the title of

wealthiest person in the world, earned his fortune in large part by purchasing the previously state-owned telephone company. Slim owns stakes in two Mexican teams, Pachuca and León. Azteca, the media conglomerate formed after the break-up of state-run television network in 1993, controls two other teams, Morelia and Atlas.

The economic strength of Mexican professional soccer teams comes from domestic sources (the businessmen who control them have reaped huge profits from their ownership of them) and also, uniquely, from the selling of their product to Mexicans living in the United States. For these emigrants, living far from home, a connection to home in the ability to watch Mexican soccer on television is incredibly important. Among the Mexican fathers of players on all of the teams I got to know, results in the Mexican professional league were the single most common topic of discussion. Chivas fans razzed fans of Club América, Cruz Azul fans argued with Toluca fans, discussions which no doubt please those with an economic interest in Mexican professional soccer. This interest in the Mexican league among U.S.-based fans is reflected in the ratings on American television, ratings which increasingly beat out those of the "big four" (baseball, basketball, American football, and ice hockey) sports (Kennedy 2014).

One reason the Mexican league ratings on American television are so high is the successful commodification of ethnicity. Mexican teams sell soccer, but, just as importantly, they sell a sense of connection to the homeland whose absence so many Mexicans living abroad acutely feel. Like the conversion of state secular ideology into commodified iconography in Turkey described by anthropologist Esra Ozyurek (2006) – in the form of various miniature representations of Ataturk, the founder of the modern state – Mexican leagues games are a way that Mexicans living in the United States

convert nostalgia into practices of consumption. The millions of fans who watch Mexican soccer every week have made the contracts for this commodified nostalgia extremely valuable (CNN México 2014). Univision, the U.S.-based television network that has rights to broadcast much of the Mexican league in the United States, recently paid 15 million dollars for a four-year deal to the rights to broadcast the home games of Guadalajara-based Chivas. The broadcast rights to Chivas away games along with those of the other Mexican teams add up to millions of dollars per year (for more on the business of sports media rights, see Evens, Iosifidis, and Smith 2013).

In an era in which all is for sale, nostalgia around ethnicity has become a powerful marketing tool. With, in the words of Jean and John Comaroff, the "neoliberal stress on consumption as the prime source of value" (2000:298), corporations earn profit through commodifying that – like nostalgia – which was previously seen as outside the realm of the market. The Comaroffs' book *Ethnicity Inc* details the many ways in which we today see the "creeping commodification of cultural products and practices" (2009:21). In the selling of Mexican soccer to homesick Mexican emigrants in the United States, we can see how the nostalgia for home is a very profitable endeavor for those involved with Mexican professional soccer.

The circle is completed as Mexican professional clubs, owned by corporations made rich through privatization and flush with dollars earned by selling their product in the United States, have increasingly invested resources in scouting Mexican American players and bringing them back to Mexico. One result of this cycle of events (see figure 6.1 below) is that, at least in the realm of soccer and among Mexican Americans, Mexico has flipped the script in which countries of the global north extract resources and labor

from countries in the global south, leaving the latter improvished and dependent on the former (Wallerstein 1974; Cardoso and Faletto 1979). In soccer, though, the situation is now reversed: Mexico is the core, the developed country to which many aspire to go. The United States, on the other hand, is the periphery, the underdeveloped (on soccer terms) country from Mexican teams extract resources. Offering the hope of professional careers, Mexican teams are bringing Mexican Americans back to the country their parents left decades earlier.

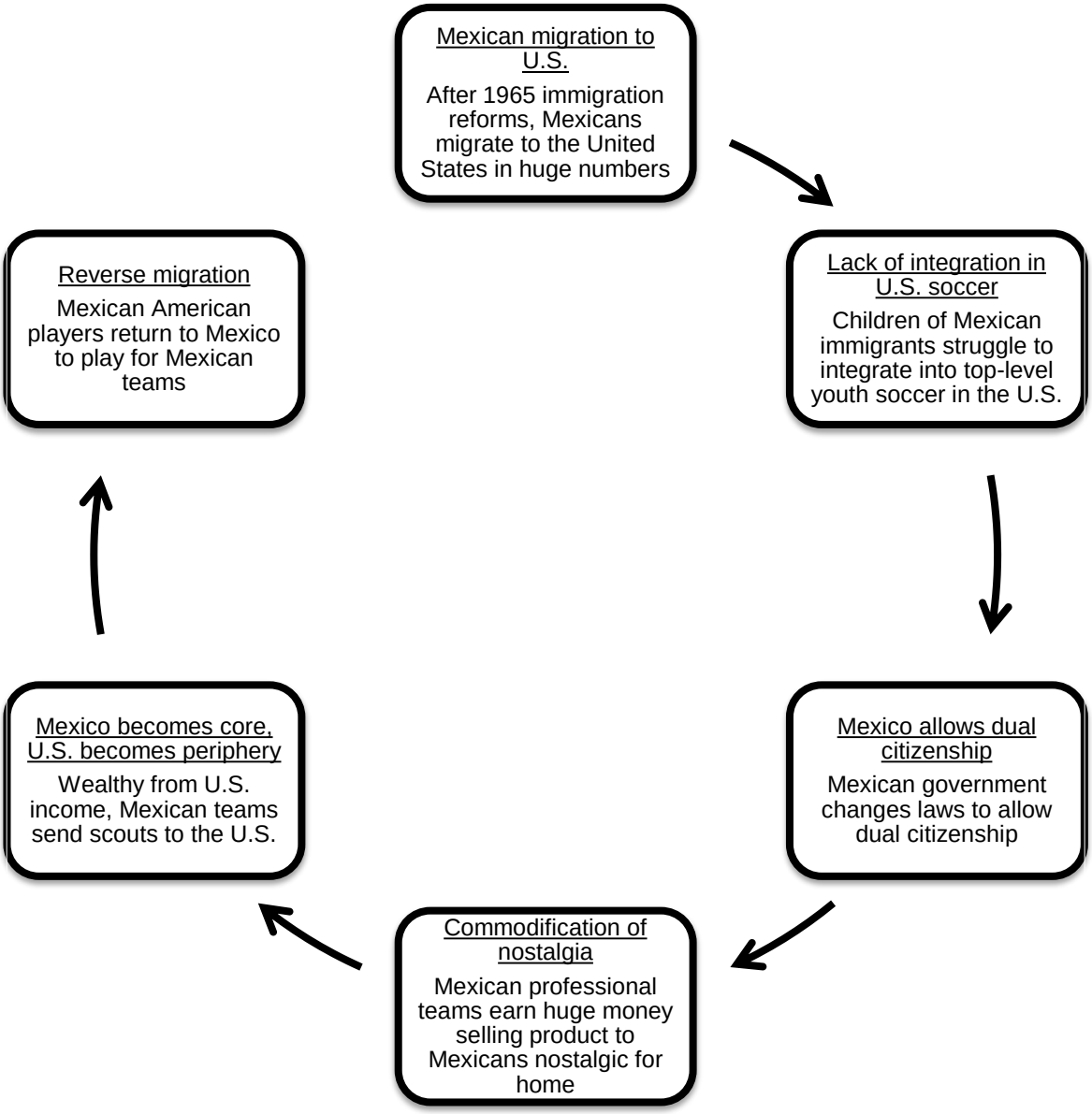


Figure 6.1: Explaining the Reverse Migration of Mexican American Players

The Ethical Dilemmas of Global Player Migration

After the trip to Pumas with Daniel Olea and the other young Mexican Americans who were trying out with that team, I traveled with scout-cum-agent Jesús Cárdenas to Zacatepec, the team with whom Olea would later sign. Walking along the street in that city, we came across a young man named Gonzalo who had been training for months with Jesús in San Diego. Surprised, Jesús asked him what he was doing there. Gonzalo, a bit sheepishly, told Jesús he just couldn't wait to get his chance to try out with the team and had come down on his own to do so. He was staying with his grandmother, who lived in Puebla, a three-hour bus ride away, and coming regularly to talk to the team about giving him a tryout. Gonazalo and his grandmother, who had accompanied him on this day, said goodbye, as they hurried to the station to catch their bus home. Jesús was slightly annoyed, concerned that should Gonzalo be signed by Zacatepec, he would not receive any compensation for having scouted and trained him and San Diego. I was left amazed by the whole situation: that a young man, just recently graduated from high school, would devote so much time, money, and energy to seeking out a future that, statistically speaking, is unlikely to pan out.

For a few young Mexican Americans, the dream of making a professional career does in fact come true. There are a number of Mexican American players who have become stars in Mexico. Several have even been called up to the *Mexican* national team. These examples of players like Joe Corona, José Torres, and Miguel Angel Ponce give young Mexican Americans the hope that they too can succeed. But these success stories are, of course, the exception rather than the rule. Most Mexican American players who go to Mexico never make it as professionals. Many play for a short period in professional

clubs' youth programs but fail to ever break into the first team. They then return home to the United States with little to show for themselves. FC Heat coach Carlos Hernandez told me he often sees former players like these around Escondido. Many play in local Latino amateur leagues, reliving their past glories, boasting about the short time they spent with a professional team in Mexico. Hernandez has a name for them: "Mexican league legends."

The ethics of the movement of players across international borders is a topic in which scholars and the broader public have taken a great interest (Darby, Akindes, and Kirwin 2007; Joseph A. Maguire and Mark Falcous 2011; Klein 1993; Lanfranchi and Taylor 2001; Poli 2006) As John Bale and Joseph Maguire have written, "global sport, of which sport migration is a part, is a highly contested, structured process that is contoured by power dynamics that enable and constrain and provide both opportunities for social advancement and the reinforcement of exploitation and inequality" (1994:5). In looking at the less savory aspects of global sport migration, some have focused narrowly on exploitation within the system, with unethical agents and middlemen preying on the hopes of young athletes (Homewood 2013). Indeed, I heard many such stories, including that of Daniel Pulido, a young player from San Diego who is currently training with Zacatepec hoping to earn a contract. He told me sheepishly how several years ago he paid $5,000 to a so-called agent who promised to get him trials with several teams in Mexico. Instead, he and several other youngsters were taken to Mexico, where they played a few friendlies against less-than-top-notch opposition. The agent then abandoned the group and was never seen again.

But even when those involved in the system do not steal money from hopeful young players, the transnational movement of players is not without ethical concerns. A central concern is whether it is ethical to see the teams, agents, and other adults involved with the system become wealthy while few kids ultimately see their dreams come true. Anthropologist Alan Klein's work on baseball in the Dominican Republic shows a common pattern, in which wealthy teams in the global North (Major League Baseball teams in the United States in his example) extract raw talent from countries in the global South. Just as the United States economy has historically benefitted from the underdevelopment of the Dominican Republic and its reliance on exporting sugar, Major League Baseball teams have beneftted, and in some cases intentionally sought to keep, Dominican baseball in a subservient position, dependent on the riches of the Americans. Klein gives examples of Dominican players who go to the United States at a young age but never make it as a professional athlete and see their later life ruined by their over-investment in baseball in their young years. The situation is similar for many African players seeking a future in European soccer: they invest their energies nearly exclusively in soccer at a young age, migrate to Europe (and in the process enrich the agents and middlemen who facilitate their migration), fail in their attempts to make it as a professional in Europe, and find themselves with little education and few skills outside of soccer (Darby, Akindes, and Kirwin 2007; Poli 2006). My study raises the exact same question: by bringing players from the United States to Mexico, are Mexican teams selling players on a dream that few are likely to achieve? And, in the process, are these players likely to be left with few career options?

The global movement of young athletes is fraught with ethical dilemmas, and it is for this reason that reforms in recent years have been put in place. These include, for example, prohibiting European professional teams from bringing in international players before they turn 18 (Das 2014). The situation for Mexican clubs, though, is different. Because Mexican American players, with dual citizenship, are, legally speaking, as Mexican as they are American, they can head south at any age they choose. I met one player who had traveled to Mexico at 14 years of age. Concerns about this movement, though, must be balanced against the reality that many of the Mexican American boys looking for professional opportunities in Mexico have few opportunities in American youth soccer. Many live in segregated neighborhoods far from the suburban clubs that provide the path to college soccer and, perhaps, the professional level in the United States. Few can afford the fees these suburban clubs charge. Many end up playing for less prestigious, Latino-dominated teams like the Aguilas. These clubs play good, often excellent, soccer, but they only rarely provide the chances for advancement to their players that affluent suburban clubs regularly do.

For parents, the choice of whether to let their sons go to Mexico to play for teams there is often wrenching. Jorge, the Aguilas club president whose son is currently captain of the Pachuca under-17 team, told me he was extremely reluctant to let his son go to Mexico at 16 years of age. Jorge had come to the United States as a young man, and he wanted his son to get an education in his adopted country. If his son left for Mexico, he worried, what would happen with his studies? Indeed, Jorge only allowed his son to go to Pachuca because that club – unlike many – places a high emphasis on education for its youth players. Connected with a local secondary school and a university, Pachuca

promised Jorge his son that his education would be given equal priority to his soccer training. It was only with this guarantee that Jorge allowed his son to join the team.

Another parent, Joaquín, was adamant about not allowing his son to go to Mexico despite interest from several clubs. Joaquín, who had been living in the United States for decades without legal status, told me that education would always come first for his children. While he recognized that his son Mauricio had unique talent (he was one of the stars of the Aguilas under-13 team), Joaquín told me that he could pursue soccer, but only if it went along with his American education. Although he had little idea about how the college soccer scholarship system, Joaquín often spoke of this as his preferred future for his son. Joaquín often asked me what I thought I should do to help his son get exposure to college coaches. Though reluctant to admit it (for fear of offending those with the Aguilas), I told him that in my research I had seen far more college coaches scouting Harriers and Quake games than at those of the Aguilas. It was because of this exposure to college coaches that, at the end of my fieldwork, Joaquín moved Mauricio from the Aguilas to the Harriers. Maybe when he was finished with his college education, Joaquín offered, Mauricio could choose to go to Mexico and pursue a professional career. But until then, the Mexican dream was off limits to him.

The youth soccer systems of the United States and Mexico are distinct in many ways. The former consists primarily of private, non-profit clubs largely separate from professional teams; the latter consists of youth programs directly tied to professional teams. The irony is that, for many Mexican Americans, it is the Mexican system, driven by the capitalist logic in which clubs hope to find a future star on whom they can profit, proves more meritocratic than the American system, which relies on the wealth of

suburban families to fund it, and thus largely failed to incorporate those without such wealth. While the Mexican system may be more meritocratic in this case than its American counterpart, the ethical issues raised by the cross-border movement of Mexican American players are numerous. Meritocracy is only ever a by-product of the Mexican youth soccer system, not a goal of it (similarly, integration of Latinos is largely a by-product of the desire of suburban clubs to find the best players to compete on the field). Many young Mexican Americans today must choose between one system that ignores them and another system that promises them hope, albeit hope that often fails to become reality.

While only a small number of young Mexican Americans will go to Mexico – and an even smaller number will succeed – their existence provides the inspiration for others to seek to do the same. The numbers of players moving to Mexico has increased year after year, an interesting example of cumulative causation (Massey 1990) of reverse migration. Daniel Olea's coach Carlos Hernandez told me that as soon as word got out that the young man had been offered a contract at Pumas, many of his other players told him that they too were going to try to sign on with Mexican teams.

Several months after my trip to Pumas, I went to a training session in Escondido led by Jesús Cárdenas. There, a dozen players trained with Jesús, the first in a series of sessions he promised would get them ready to go to Mexico for try-outs in the future. Very few, if any, of the players there that night will ever sign with a Mexican team. But the idea that they might make it in Mexico is influencing their behavior in the United States. Many do not see it as their goal to find a spot on top American teams like the

Quake or the Harriers. The idea of integrating into top-level American soccer is secondary to them. They prefer instead to pursue the Mexican dream.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

When players for Alianza de Futbol team gathered in the days leading up to the 2013 Dallas Cup, they had to do something players for their opponents had done long before: learn each other's names. That's because Alianza de Futbol wasn't really a team; it was a collection of the best players identified at a series of tryouts that took place over the previous year in California, Texas, Colorado, Arizona, Colorado, Texas, Illinois, Georgia, Maryland, and New York. In the days before the Dallas Cup, the players flew in from across the country, received their uniforms, and become the Alianza team that was to compete in one of the most prestigious youth tournaments in the world.

The Alianza players introduced themselves and held their first practice the morning before their first game. They hoped to train again in the afternoon, but a torrential downpour made it impossible to play outside. Instead, they kicked around in a parking garage. The opponents the Alianza team would face the next day were the Pateadores, a club team from the Los Angeles area. The Pateadores played together year round. They already knew each other's names. They never practiced in a parking garage.

Alianza de Futbol is a program created and run by LeadDog Marketing Group, a firm with offices throughout the United States as well as in Mexico and Colombia. The funding for all Alianza events, including the tryouts that identified the players sent to the Dallas Cup, comes from corporate sponsors, which include huge companies like Verizon, 7UP, Kellogg's, Allstate, Dodge Ram, Telemundo, and Delta Airlines. Alianza exists primarily to showcase Latino players to scouts from Mexican professional teams (American ones are encouraged to attend, too, though far fewer do, and in recent years Alianza has also made a concerted effort to connect players with college coaches). Scouts

from over 50 teams attended the 2014 tryouts, and Alianza boasts of having facilitated the signing of 35 players to professional contracts since 2008.

One of the players on the 2013 Alianza team at the Dallas Cup was seventeen year-old Edwin Barela. Slight, quiet, and serious, Barela was excited to be at the tournament. Alianza had paid all expenses for Barela and his new teammates to come to Dallas. It was a marked contrast to the majority of Barela's experiences playing soccer. He has played on and off for various club teams in the San Francisco Bay Area, where he lives, but he chooses not to play regularly for them because he can't attend regular practice sessions. His biological father long out of the picture, Barela feels a need to take care of his mother. With the awareness of someone who has been forced to grow up faster than most teenagers, he says, "Even though they offer to pay for me, it's hard for the family. I'm always just helping my mom, working. I don't have time to go practice."

Edwin Barela's mom is from Guadalajara, but has called the United States home for many years. As a child growing up in the Bay Area, Edwin's family was very poor. To make ends meet, Edwin's mother would sell tamales door-to-door. Young Edwin often accompanied her, despite the fact that he was teased at school for doing so. It's a memory that has stuck with him. "There was one time when kids started throwing rocks at me. And they said, 'don't go near my house.' I saw them at school and I ended up fighting them." He thought to himself, "I'm doing something good and the way they're treating me ... I'd rather be doing this than out on the street stealing." Though Edwin's mom has since married a man who runs a successful landscaping business, her son still feels the need to help out at home. He continues to help his mom sell tamales and now

also helps his stepfather with his business. “I’m sacrificing to help out my family,” he tells me.

Because club soccer – where the best competition is found – is out of the picture for Barela, he instead plays mostly for his high school team and for teams in Latino adult leagues. He loves playing for his high school – “we all play for different clubs, but when we get together we're one big family,” he says. And he loves soccer so much that he spends most of the weekend, when he is not helping his mother and stepfather, playing for various adult Latino teams. “It’s crazy,” he says of the amount he plays – up to four games in a day – but “I simply love doing it.”

Barela may not play for the top youth teams, but he has immense talent. At an Alianza event, several scouts from Mexican professional teams noticed him. Afterward, he got calls from three teams – San Luis, Cruz Azul and Morelia – offering him tryouts in Mexico but he didn’t want to leave his mother. The teams were persistent, calling again and again, until eventually Barela stopped answering the phone. What he wanted was to play college soccer. A former coach is now the coach at St Mary’s College, and tells him if he keeps up his grades, he will try to get him a scholarship. College soccer is appealing to Barela because, as he sees it, you get paid to play. The Alianza team at Dallas Cup was the same. Although Barela is clear that he doesn’t want to go to Mexico – a rarity for those involved with Alianza – he loved the opportunities to play at a high level that it offered him. And he loved the way Alianza treated him. It was, he tells me, “one of the best experiences I've ever had. How they treat you is as if you were really professional. No money comes out of your pocket and Alianza gives you a big opportunity.” Barela may not have been able to afford to regularly play for top club teams, but for a week in

Dallas he could experience the joys of playing on a top team. And in his elation at being treated "as if you were really professional," it is possible to hear a desire to be valued for what his skills, not just for what he can offer someone else. It is a situation very different from those in which Latinos who move to suburban clubs feel they are being used by others. The emotional experience of being seen as a professional – that is, as someone valued for their unique skills – is something that many Latinos hope soccer might offer them.

* * *

It is an irony that the children of immigrants are today struggling to integrate into soccer, a sport marginalized for decades for being "too foreign." Young Latinos see their opportunities limited in the spite of their talent. Some, like Edwin Barela, play in lower-level, lower-cost competitions. Others pursue professional careers in Mexico. The issue today is not whether soccer is a "foreign sport" – for all but a few blowhard political pundits who use it as a symbol of a larger cultural and economic divide, soccer's status as an "American sport" is no longer a matter of debate (Lindner and Hawkins 2012; Zirin 2010). The issue today is whether there is a place for Latinos, the children of immigrants, in top-level soccer in the United States. What a difference a half century makes.

The early AYSO pioneers who worked so hard to strip ethnicity from soccer were largely successful. By reshaping soccer as a distinctly American game, they paved the way for the growth of the sport, which would come to dominate the growing post-World War II suburbs. Parents who would, starting in the 1960s, sign their kids up for soccer

saw the sport not as an ethnic curiosity, but as an ideal sport – physically and emotionally safe as well as connected to the family – for their children. Those suburbanites who took up soccer came to form suburban soccer, one half of the two soccer worlds that continue to exist today in Southern California. The arrival of large numbers of people from Latin America after the 1965 immigration reforms has seen the development of a second world: that of Latino soccer.

These two worlds of youth soccer have come to exist as a result of larger economic shifts that have seen the development of the so-called dual economy. Where the American economy had once facilitated socioeconomic mobility, in recent decades the gap between rich and poor has grown, and movement between the two groups diminished. The two worlds of youth soccer reflect this gap: suburban soccer, flush with cash, at the top and Latino soccer, struggling to keep up, at the bottom. The affluent in the post-World War II United States have found good jobs at the top of the economy and used their wealth to flock to the suburbs, where their kids play suburban soccer. Latino immigrants have been drawn to jobs at the bottom of the economic ladder, where their children have largely been shunted into the less prestigious world of Latino youth soccer.

Despite a lack of economic resources, heavily Latino teams have managed to be quite successful on the field. The Aguilas, a prototypical Latino club, have managed to be successful in large part by functioning as an "ethnic enclave club." Like ethnic enclave businesses, the Aguilas offer a high level of play at low cost to Latino players, enabling them to use and develop their talent without the high costs of suburban clubs. And just as some workers in ethnic enclaves develop skills that enable them to move out of the enclave, so too do Latino players develop on-field talent that makes them attractive to

suburban clubs. Once Latino players realize that these clubs offer the highest level of play and best exposure to college coaches, some try to find scholarships that enable them to move to them. With little to keep them from doing so, Aguilas president Jorge Sanchez resorts to a tactic common in ethnic enclave economies: appeals to ethnic solidarity. This leads some players choose to remain with the proudly Latino club while others become resentful of what they feel is an unfair attempt to control their behavior.

Even though Latinos are among the most talented youth players in Southern California and the United States, they have not integrated into suburban soccer (the top level, at least in San Diego) as much as would be expected given their level of talent. The story of two teams – the Harriers and the Quake – that have taken very different approaches to the integration of Latino players highlights the tension that exists for suburban clubs between competitiveness and the bottom line. The Harriers realized early on that Latinos were often the most talented players and in the last two decades have given out many scholarships to attract them to the club, leading them to have even more Latinos than would be expected. In contrast, the Quake has consistently maintained its primary focus on the bottom line, leading the club to give out few scholarships, and thus have few Latinos players on their books. The different approaches the two clubs have taken highlight the central role of finances in the process of integration in youth soccer.

Where a lack of integration exists, suburbanites are likely to attribute it to a lack of desire on the part of Latinos to integrate. In contrast, Latinos express deep-seated fears about being used by suburban clubs. Working-class Latinos often feel little power in the broader economy and worry that their status will be replicated in soccer. They worry about making ends meet working precarious jobs, and they worry that scholarships

offered to their children one year will be revoked the next. As a result, Latinos are often reluctant to accept what suburbanites see as gifts given to them (scholarships), perpetuating the lack of integration.

The lack of integration of Latinos into top-level youth soccer in the United States has led to many Mexican American players seeking to find their futures with Mexican professional teams. As these teams have become rich – in part by selling television rights to American television networks, which broadcast them to Mexican immigrants nostalgic for home – they have invested their resources in scouting for players north of the border. Latino players who are often not valued by suburban clubs find their talent in demand to such a degree that the for-profit Alianza de Futbol makes money showcasing them to Mexican professional clubs. These clubs' desire to make money offers more opportunities to Latino players than does the business model of American youth soccer, which largely depends on the affluence of suburban families.

What Does the Future Hold?

Most involved with top-level youth soccer in the United States see the lack of integration of Latino players as a problem. U.S. national team coach Jurgen Klinsmann has repeatedly said that he would like to see Latinos integrated further into top-level youth soccer. The U.S. Soccer Federation has a Diversity Task Force to deal with the matter. And Major League Soccer (MLS), the top professional league in the country, has begun implementing changes that could, if successful, bring about massive changes in youth soccer.

Several years ago, MLS began requiring its clubs to have youth academies. Teams in these academies are not permitted to charge registration fees (though not all cover travel costs, which can add up to several thousand dollars per year for families). This policy of not charging registration fees – a notable departure from suburban clubs – exists to enable clubs to attract the best players, regardless of their financial resources. Many of these are precisely the Latino players that suburban clubs have tended to ignore.

The move to professionalize youth soccer in the United States has huge potential implications. While suburban clubs, whose business models rely on the affluence of suburban families, have been largely unsuccessful in integrating Latino players into their ranks, youth academies of professional clubs may have more success in this regard. Soccer in the American suburbs developed as an object of distinction, a performance of social status for the growing middle and upper-middle classes in the post-World War II period. Youth academies of professional clubs in the United States, in contrast, have a very different *raison d'etre*. Their interest in setting up youth academies is self interested and financial. They hope to develop young players who can lead the professional teams to success on the field (and thus generate revenue in the form of ticket sales, television deals, corporate sponsorships, merchandising and more). And, if these players are successful in MLS, they can be sold to teams in Europe at a profit. When the Seattle Sounders sold De'Andre Yedlin, a player developed in their youth academy, for $4 million dollars, the spending on their academy system came suddenly looks like a shrewd investment.

Because MLS teams can make multimillion-dollar transfer fees from players they develop in their youth academies, they are primarily interested in finding the most

talented young players, no matter their backgrounds. For Latinos, who often are the most talented players, the benefits of the shift to the professionalization of youth soccer are obvious, as they are more likely to find spots on teams where cost is not an issue. MLS teams, like their counterparts in Mexico, may be part of the solution to the integration of Latino players into top-level youth soccer. Also similar to their Mexican counterparts, MLS clubs run the risk of entering into tricky ethical territory. To the degree that children are encouraged to focus on the possibility of future professional careers instead of far more realistic options, MLS clubs now run the risk of being seen as part of a system of exploitation of young players, enticing many with futures only a few will achieve.

Overall, connecting youth academies with professional teams seems likely to lead to greater opportunities Latinos than does the system in which suburban clubs have long been the place to find top-level play. This may be a positive development, but notable for its absence is any connection to a non-market-based solution. The two organizations driving the move toward the professionalization of youth soccer in the United States are MLS and the U.S. Soccer Federation, both of whom have strong financial interests in seeing soccer succeed. In an era in which markets are often seen as the solution to an increasing number of problems (Centeno and Cohen 2012), the idea of connecting soccer to public resources is rarely, if ever, considered. In American football, baseball, and basketball, K-12 schools are central to youth sports, providing an arena for young athletes to develop at little or no cost. In contrast, the U.S. Soccer Federation announced in 2012 that Development Academy players would no longer be allowed to represent their high school teams. This move has reduced the importance of high school soccer, which was already on the decline. Unlike other sports in the United States, the best soccer is, without

doubt, played outside of the context of schools. Very few people from MLS or the U.S. Soccer Federation have argued for increasing the importance of school soccer, although this would undoubtedly give Latino players more options to play the sport at lower costs to their families. Youth soccer in the United States has developed in an era in which solutions to soccer problems come from the market, not the state.

In part, the push to connect youth and professional teams is due to the international nature of soccer. Because the sport is played throughout the world, the level of American soccer is judged by its competitiveness with that of other countries. International competitions for American football do not exist, and those for baseball and basketball are far less developed compared to the constant global competition among soccer teams. The system of youth development connected to K-12 schools and colleges has worked well enough for these sports. But for MLS teams, working well enough isn't good enough. The idea of connecting soccer to schools, which would almost certainly increase options for Latino players, has been dismissed because of the short playing seasons (in contrast to the year-round schedules of youth teams in most of the world) and lower level of play.

Solutions to the problem of Latino integration into top-level youth soccer are seen in almost exclusively market terms. The U.S. Soccer Federation wants to ensure global competitiveness by developing youth talent. MLS teams fear they are missing out on talented players and the revenue they can bring. Indeed, for MLS teams, the lack of Latino integration is *only* a problem insofar as it means the loss of potential revenue. In an era of the expansion of market logic sectors where they did not existed previously, the

solution to the problem of Latino integration is likely to come, for better or worse, from the value young Latino players offer to professional teams.

Assimilation: Is There Space for the Decline of Ethnic Distinctions?

This project focuses on soccer, but at its core it is a study of immigrant assimilation. As such, assimilation theory can explain soccer-related outcomes. And, at the same time, my findings on the integration of Latinos into youth soccer can shed light on contemporary debates about the assimilation of immigrants.

These debates focus on whether today's immigrants are assimilating like immigrants of previous generations. On one end are proponents of segmented assimilation (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2005; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997), who argue that differences in the American economy, in immigration-related policies, and in the backgrounds of today's immigrants compared to those of previous generations result in very different outcomes. These scholars, Alejandro Portes foremost among them, argue that assimilation outcomes today are segmented: while some immigrants successfully assimilate, others do not. On the other end of the immigrant assimilation debate are proponents of two-way assimilation. Scholars such as Richard Alba and Victor Nee (2005) suggest that, while assimilation may be slow, it continues to occur today, as it always has. This group suggests that while ethnic distinctions may slow assimilation in the short term, with lower rates on linguistic assimilation, residential integration, socioeconomic mobility, and intermarriage, the children and grandchildren of today's immigrants will ultimately assimilate as did the children and grandchildren of previous generations of immigrants. For proponents of two-way assimilation, the main

barrier to assimilation is the fact that non-immigrants are often seen as "others." As they come to see the offspring of immigrants not as "others" but as Americans like them – the process that Alba and others describes as the "remaking of the mainstream" – assimilation outcomes will show the time-honored patterns they always have.

Which assimilation theory best describes the situation in youth soccer? Two-way assimilation would suggest that interactions between the children of immigrants and those of non-immigrants would lead to the "decline of ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences" (Alba and Nee 2005:11). In soccer terms, this would mean that over time these two groups would come to play together and in these interactions the salience of ethnicity would decline, leading to further integration would be spurred. Latinos would no longer be seen as others, and they would have access to the opportunities available to others. In contrast, segmented assimilation would suggest that the integration prospects would be shaped by, among other things, structural factors, such as the shape of the American economy. Certain groups, working-class Latinos among them, have been seen to be at particular risk for so-called downward assimilation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Using Southern California youth soccer as a microcosm, segmented assimilation would be the more pessimistic theory, suggesting that there are many reasons why Latinos would struggle to significantly integrate into this world. And this is precisely what I find.

The implications of this study go beyond the world of soccer. I have used soccer as a unique lens to study the process of immigrant assimilation in the United States today. Using youth soccer to study the process of assimilation is valuable because it is an arena in which both immigrants and non-immigrants can benefit. Latinos benefit by playing on

better teams that offer options for the future and non-Latinos benefit by having their teams improved by having talented Latino teammates. Yet, in spite of this, I find that integration often does not occur. How does this finding fit with broader debates about assimilation? That is, going in the opposite direction – using my findings in youth soccer to shed light on assimilation outcomes generally – what do we observe?

Although it may be slightly artificial to use an 18-month study of youth soccer to study assimilation, a process typically measured over several generations, my research does highlight some of the small-scale dynamics that are the building blocks of long-term outcomes.[18] While the integration that does occur in youth soccer has the potential to spur a decline in ethnic distinction, the levels of integration are so low that this process of "remaking the mainstream" has little chance to occur. The structural barriers to the integration of Latinos into top-level youth soccer are so numerous and so strong that integration largely fails to occur. As a result, there are few opportunities for the suburbanites who make up one half of the soccer world to see Latinos as anything but "others."

In order to begin remaking the mainstream, there must be a critical mass of interactions between immigrants and non-immigrants to spur the process. But the economic gulf between the working-class Latinos and affluent suburbanites is so great that very few such interactions occur. The vast majority of the integration that does occur requires scholarships, a situation that only serves to reinforce the power differences between the two groups. Integration in the current system of youth soccer is so limited,

---

[18] Two-way assimilation, in particular, with its argument that the decline of ethnic distinction spurs assimilation outcomes such as intermarriage, is clearly a long-term process.

and so lopsided, that it seems unlikely to spur the type of interactions that would lead to the optimistic outcomes that proponents of two-way assimilation predict.

Even in soccer, an arena in which immigrants and non-immigrants can both benefit from integration, the barriers are so serious that little such integration occurs. Despite the fact that Latinos often live in neighborhoods largely separately from affluent suburbanites, sports have the potential to provide a place where on-field talent should allow for interactions between those who live in separate communities. Yet this potential is largely unrealized. If integration does not occur in soccer, an arena in which there are reasons that we might expect it to, there is serious reason for concern about the assimilation of today's immigrants.

Social Capital: It Takes More than a Soccer Field

At the outset of this project, I suggested that my research could respond to famed political scientist Robert Putnam, who has made his name on the idea of social capital. In work that echoes that of two-way assimilation, Putnam has suggested that diversity decreases social capital, a concept he defines as "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness (2007:137), decreases as well. Immigration being the main driver of diversity in most developed countries today, Putnam suggests that places like Southern California face the risk of seeing fragmented social networks, a lack of trust among peoples – that is, low rates of social capital. Particularly in diverse places, Putnam suggests that there need to be opportunities to bring immigrants and non-immigrants together to develop trust. He suggests that "community centers, athletic

fields, and schools were among the most efficacious instruments for incorporating new immigrants a century ago, and we need to reinvest in such places and activities once again, enabling us all to become comfortable with diversity" (2007:164).

Involvement in shared activities, of which youth soccer today would seem to be the perfect example, can lead to the creation of what Putnam calls "shared identities." Echoing the two-way assimilation work of Alba and Victor Nee, Putnam suggests that it is "important to encourage permeable, syncretic, 'hyphenated' identities; identities that enable previously separate ethnic groups to see themselves, in part, as members of a shared group with a shared identity" (2007:161). The development of social capital through activities that bring diverse people together will, Putnam argues, ultimately lead to shared identities, and, following the ideas of Alba and Nee, the successful assimilation of today's immigrants and their children. Put another way, soccer can help to develop bridging social capital, which can lead to the creation of new identities, which will lead to fewer barriers to the assimilation of today's outsiders.

Unfortunately, the optimistic picture that Putnam paints stands in stark contrast to the reality that I observed. Youth soccer, far from bringing immigrants and non-immigrants together (that is, facilitating the development of so-called bridging social capital), only serves to reinforce the differences between the two groups. The sport does very little to facilitate the development of social capital between them. Soccer appears unlikely to be an arena in which shared identities are created.

Why does youth soccer not provide the arena for the development of social capital that Putnam suggests it should be? The problem starts with Putnam's definition of the concept. Putnam fails to recognize that social capital is fundamentally tied to other forms

of capital, notably economic and cultural capital. What's more, Putnam's social capital is separate from concerns of power. Putnam convincingly demonstrates that varying rates of social capital correlate with effective local governances in regions of Italy (1994), identifies declining rates of social capital in the post-World War II United States in *Bowling Alone* (2001), and persuasively argues that places with greater racial and ethnic diversity are also likely to have lower rates of social capital (2007). What Putnam does less well is explain the why. Putnam recognizes that his definition of social capital as "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" is "lean and mean." But this definition is beyond lean and mean: it is anemic. It is because Putnam's view of social capital is so anemic that his solution to increasing social capital – throwing people together on sports fields – proves so unsuccessful in practice.

Putnam's idea that sports can provide an arena for the development of social capital and the strengthening of shared identities relies on a fallacy. Youth soccer does not provide a level playing field for the development of social capital because:

1. The gulf in economic capital between the two groups who participate in it is so wide, and

2. Working-class Latinos and affluent suburbanites have very different reasons for participating in the sport – that is, the two groups see soccer offering different forms of cultural capital.

By treating social capital as an entity separate from other forms of capital, Putnam ignores the relationship between social, economic, and cultural capital. By suggesting that community centers, sports fields, and schools can serve as arenas for the development of social capital, Putnam ignores the fact that these arenas are already shaped by economic and cultural capital. It is not an accident that American schools are

largely segregated. And it is not an accident that Latinos are struggling to integrate into top-level youth soccer. In school, as in youth soccer, the less privileged might be able to develop social capital that would enable them or their children to move ahead. But these institutions don't provide this opportunity because they remain segregated. The less privileged struggle to develop social capital in large part because they lack the economic capital on which the development of social capital depends. Youth soccer fails to become an arena for the development of social capital that Putnam envisions because involvement in it largely depends on economic capital.

Sociologist Vicente Navarro criticizes Putnam for a "lack of awareness that the absence of togetherness may be rooted precisely in the existence of capitalism and competitiveness and their adverse effects in alienating and atomizing our citizenry" (2002:427). Navarro gives the example of union membership. Putnam argues that declining rates of union membership are best explained by a widespread and growing "skepticism about the idea of 'membership'" (2001:82). Just as people choose not to join bowling teams, so too do they choose not to join unions. But Navarro responds that an adequate analysis of union membership rates has to consider the larger political and economic context. Any "analysis of social capital that dismisses class as an irrelevant category," writes Navarro, is "insufficient and, frankly, irrelevant" (2002:430). Similarly, people do not equally choose to participate in youth soccer – their ability to do so depends in part on their economic capital and the goals they hope to achieve – the cultural capital – through their involvement.

Failing to consider economic and cultural capital, Putnam fails to consider how questions of power relate to social capital. Sociologist Margaret Somers sums up the critical response that Putnam's overly narrow idea of social capital has received:

> *Excluded* are any causal roles for the state or national political institutions, for formal politics or political parties, indeed for any and all of the usual manifestations of power and conflict, including presence or absence of rights and rights-claims. But here Putnam goes a step further; not only are politics and power missing in his account of how the rise and fall of social capital will fundamentally affect the health or illness of American society, but so is any attention to the dramatic changes that have taken place in the economy and the market over the same period, e.g. the increasing privatization of public goods and services, the radical restructuring of firms and corporate responsibilities, the shifting nature of market sector rules and regulations. (2005:12–13)

By making social capital a thing, and by analyzing its rates of growth and decline separate from other factors, Putnam's explanations end up being too narrow to be convincing. "The exclusion of power and rights from the social capital agenda should alarm us," writes Somers (2005:18), and she is right. The inadequacy of Putnam's solution – to provide sports fields to bring immigrants and non-immigrants together – is a clear indication of the inadequacy of his concept of social capital. Soccer fields by themselves cannot facilitate social capital when the economic gulf between the rich and poor, itself the result of years of policy changes, means that these two groups often play soccer separately, and with distinct goals. Soccer fails to spur social capital not because there is anything wrong with the sport, but because it exists in a larger political and economic context that mitigates against it playing this role.

To expect soccer to facilitate social capital without considering this context is naïve at best, dangerous at worst. It is dangerous because it is not at all clear that today's immigrants, especially those from Latin America, are assimilating like those of previous

generations. Many are struggling in school, failing to find decent work, living largely segregated lives from those not like them. If soccer cannot facilitate social capital, maybe the problem lies beyond the boundaries of Putnam's narrow definition of the concept. Policies that have spurred the growth of economic inequality, a lack of reforms that would legalize the status of the millions of undocumented immigrants living in the United States – these presage a future in which many Latino immigrants and their children struggle to move out of the extremely marginalized position that many find themselves in today. The American promise of a better future rings increasingly hollow to the immigrants who have arrived in this country in recent years. When youth soccer, an institution with every incentive to be meritocratic and an integrating force, simply reflects the segregation that exists in society, it behooves us all to ask just how serious the barriers to immigrant assimilation have become.

What will become of Edwin Barela, the young man who helps his mother sell tamales? Will he be able to use soccer to receive a college scholarship that will help him improve his life and that of his family? Or, ten or twenty years from now, will he still be doing the type of low-wage work that his mother does, playing soccer in Latino leagues on the weekends? A player of his ability with more money would have already spent years playing for top suburban teams, been identified by college coaches, and be certain to receive numerous scholarship offers. Instead, the only way he has been valued on the field is through Alianza de Futbol, a for-profit enterprise that profits from showcasing young Latinos like Barela to Mexican clubs, who themselves hope to profit from signing talented young Mexican-American players. American youth soccer has so fundamentally

failed to integrate Latino players that for-profit enterprises now appear much more likely to accomplish this task.

Soccer is no panacea to the challenges of immigrant assimilation. If this dissertation shows nothing else, I sincerely hope that it demonstrates that youth soccer is both shaped by and shapes larger power structures. The two worlds of youth soccer have come about, and are maintained, because of the economic inequality that began growing after World War II, and continues apace. As a result, soccer largely fails to build social capital between immigrants and non-immigrants, and even if it did so, this would be nowhere near sufficient to address the larger challenges of economic inequality. What soccer does show us, however, is that there are reasons to be concerned about the assimilation of Latino immigrants into the "mainstream." It is difficult to imagine the remaking of the mainstream when immigrants and non-immigrants live such separate lives. When talented young Latinos cannot find a place even on the soccer field, what future awaits them off of it?

* * *

When the second ever AYSO game kicked off in February 1964 in Torrance, California, one of the players on the field was an 11 year-old boy named Sigi Schmid. Born in 1953 in the German city of Tubingen, young Sigi had moved with his family to Los Angeles at the age of four. In Los Angeles, the Schmids settled into a strong German community. As Sigi Schmid said in 2010, "when we came to America we lived with my grandparents and we only spoke German at home, so when I went into first grade here I

really didn't have any English background or very much English, a little bit of English from the street, but we only spoke German at home" (Prost Amerika 2010). Sigi's father Fritz was a soccer fanatic, and became a referee with the Greater Los Angeles Soccer League.

The Schmid family moved from Los Angeles to the newly growing community of Torrance in 1962. Fritz Schmid came to know Hans Stierle, the fellow German-American who would become one of the original founders of AYSO. In 1964, when AYSO was poised to kick off, Stierle encouraged Fritz to sign his son up for the new league. The Schmid father agreed and thus Sigi became one of first ever AYSO players. From his start as a member of the "Firefighters," Schmid would gone on to great success in the world of American soccer. He played midfield for UCLA before becoming the coach at his alma mater and then moving on to coach several MLS professional teams. He is today one of most successful coaches ever in the United States.

Although Schmid's German heritage is occasionally brought up today, it has mostly faded to the background. It is representative of how the ethnic backgrounds of previous generations of immigrants have largely disappeared from being relevant categories. Today's suburbanites may be the descendants of Germans, Croats, or Hungarians, but this is rarely a significant category in how they define themselves, or how others define them.

Soccer played a role in enabling Sigi Schmid to go from being a monolingual German child living in the German community of Southern California to a man known today not for his ethnic background, but for his on-field success. His play earned him a soccer scholarship to attend UCLA, which provided the springboard to his future

coaching career. It also gave him an education that he could have used to succeed professionally in other areas had he not found a career in soccer: Schmid worked as a part-time accountant for several years as he worked to establish himself as a coach.

Will soccer play the same role today for Latino immigrants? Can it be the springboard for future professional opportunities – in soccer and in other areas – that it was for Sigi Schmid? What will become of Edwin Barela, struggling to balance his obligations to his family by forgoing opportunities to join a club team with his desire to find a college scholarship? What about Mauricio, star midfielder formerly of the Aguilas who has now moved on to the Harriers? Will the scholarship that the Harriers have given him enable him to get connected with college scouts or will it be revoked when a more talented player comes along, as his father Joaquin fears? And what of Daniel Olea? He continues to play for Zacatepec, moving up through the club's lower division teams, hoping to get a shot with the first team. Will he achieve his "Mexican dream" of making it as a professional in the country of his parents' birth or will he end up back in the United States, "a Mexican league legend," as his former coach Carlos Hernandez puts it, playing in the San Diego amateur leagues of Mexican immigrants? And, finally, what of Jorge Sanchez, dedicated president of the Aguilas club, struggling to succeed against the many obstacles put in his way? He devotes himself year after year to building successful teams of Latino players, only to watch them be broken up by suburban clubs that cherry pick his top talents. The first time I spoke with him, he told me he was tired and wasn't sure how long he wanted to continue in youth soccer. He was tired of his most talented players abandoning their team and their community, tired of other teams taking his

players and claiming credit for their skills, tired of others making fun of him and other Latinos for their humble backgrounds.

The role that soccer played for Sigi Schmid to establish a better life for himself than his parents had, and for him to move from being a German kid to an unmarked, nearly unambiguously American adult appears unlikely to exist for young Latinos today. Youth soccer seems more likely to reinforce differences between Latinos and suburbanites than do remake them. A future in which Latinos and suburbanites are brought together through their love of soccer and in the process develop connections, trust, and ultimately remake ethnic boundaries is a beautiful idea, but it shows few signs of becoming reality.

Works Cited

Accordino, John J.
2000 Captives of the Cold War Economy: The Struggle for Defense Conversion in American Communities. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Alarcón, Rafael, and William Becerra
2012 ¿Criminales O Víctimas? La Deportación de Migrantes Mexicanos de Estados Unidos a Tijuana, Baja California. Norteamérica 7(1): 125–148.

Alba, Richard D.
1985 Italian Americans: Into the Twilight of Ethnicity. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee
2005 Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Allaway, Roger
2005 Rangers, Rovers, And Spindles: Soccer, Immigration, And Textiles in New England and New Jersey. Haworth, NJ: Saint Johann Press.

Alonso, Ana Maria
1994 The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity. Annual Review of Anthropology 23(1): 379–405.

Anderson, Benedict
1991 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso.

Andrews, David
1999 Contextualizing Suburban Soccer: Consumer Culture, Lifestyle Differentiation and Suburban America. Sport in Society 2(3): 31–53.

Andrews, David, Robert Pitter, Detlev Zwick, and Darren Ambrose
1997 Soccer's Racial Frontier: Sport and the Suburbanization of Contemporary America. *In* Entering the Field : New Perspectives on World Football. Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, eds. Pp. 261–282. Oxford, New York: Berg.

Apostolov, Steven
2012 Everywhere and Nowhere: The Forgotten Past and Clouded Future of American Professional Soccer from the Perspective of Massachusetts. Soccer & Society 13(4): 510–535.

Appadurai, Arjun
1996 Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Atkinson, Anthony B., Thomas Piketty, and Emmanuel Saez
2012 Top Incomes in the Long Run of History. Institute for Research on Labor and Employment. http://escholarship.org/uc/item/8fd8654h, accessed September 30, 2014.

Avila, Eric
2006 Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Babb, Sarah L
2004 Managing Mexico: Economists from Nationalism to Neoliberalism. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bairner, Alan
2001 Sport, Nationalism, and Globalization. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Baldassare, Mark
1992 Suburban Communities. Annual Review of Sociology 18(1): 475–494.

Bale, John, and Joseph A Maguire
1994 The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World. London: Routledge.

Barth, Fredrik
1969 Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference. New York: Little, Brown.

Benson, Peter, and Stuart Kirsch
2010 Capitalism and the Politics of Resignation. Current Anthropology 51(4): 459–486.

Berling, Clay
2012 Interview with Clay Berling. April 17.

Block, David
2006 Baseball Before We Knew It: A Search for the Roots of the Game. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Bonchonsky, Joe
2012 Interview with Joe Bonchosnky. March 20.

2013 Pioneers of AYSO. Pioneers of AYSO. http://www.apayso.org/, accessed July 8, 2014.

Borden, Sam
2012 Soccer's All-Year Model Forces High School Players to Choose. The New York Times, March 3. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/04/sports/soccer/soccers-all-year-model-forces-high-school-players-to-choose.html, accessed April 9, 2014.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1978 Sport and Social Class. Social Science Information 17(6): 819–840.
1984 Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Richard Nice, tran. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
1990 The Logic of Practice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
2007 Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2008 The Forms of Capital. *In* Readings in Economic Sociology. Nicole Woolsey Biggart, ed. Pp. 280–291. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Bourgois, Philippe
2003 In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Browder, Sue
1970 Their Kicks Are in the Stands. Daily Breeze, January 22.

Brownell, Susan
1995 Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brubaker, Rogers
2001 The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States. Ethnic and Racial Studies 24(4): 531–548.

Brueggemann, John, and Cliff Brown
2003 The Decline of Industrial Unionism in the Meatpacking Industry: Event-Structure Analyses of Labor Unrest, 1946-1987. Work and Occupations 30(3): 327–360.

Byers, Dylan
2013 Fox Soccer Channel to Shut down. Politico. http://www.politico.com/blogs/media/2013/03/how-cable-news-explains-soccer-160452.html, accessed April 9, 2014.

Calderón, José
1992 "Hispanic" and "Latino" The Viability of Categories for Panethnic Unity. Latin American Perspectives 19(4): 37–44.

CalSouth
2007 CalSouth 2007 Annual Report. Fullerton, CA: CalSouth.

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto
1979 Dependency and Development in Latin America. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Carroll, Susan J.
1999 The Disempowerment of the Gender Gap: Soccer Moms and the 1996 Elections. PS: Political Science & Politics 32(01): 7–12.

Centeno, Miguel A., and Joseph N. Cohen
2012 The Arc of Neoliberalism. Annual Review of Sociology 38(1): 317–340.

City of San Diego
2011 Economy | Economic Development. The City of San Diego. http://www.sandiego.gov/economic-development/sandiego/economy.shtml, accessed July 8, 2014.

CNN México
2014 Los Dueños Del Futbol Mexicano Quieren Exportar Su "Soccer" a EU. CNN México. http://mexico.cnn.com/deportes/2014/01/10/los-duenos-del-futbol-mexicano-quieren-exportar-su-soccer-a-eu.

Coakley, Jay
2006 The Good Father: Parental Expectations and Youth Sports. Leisure Studies 25(2): 153–163.

Coleman, James S.
1988 Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. American Journal of Sociology 94: S95–S120.

Collier, Jane, Michelle Rosaldo, and Sylvia Yanagisako
1997 Is There a Family?: New Anthropological Views. *In* The Gender/Sexuality Reader: Culture, History, Political Economy. 1st edition. Roger N. Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo, eds. Pp. 71–81. New York: Routledge.

Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff
2000 Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming. Public Culture 12(2): 291–343.

Comaroff, John L, and Jean Comaroff
2009 Ethnicity, Inc. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cornelius, Wayne A., and Jessa M. Lewis, eds.
2007 Impacts of Border Enforcement on Mexican Migration: The View from Sending Communities. La Jolla, CA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.

Coulter, Ann
2014 America's Favorite National Pastime: Hating Soccer. http://www.anncoulter.com/columns/2014-06-25.html, accessed August 5, 2014.

Cuadros, Paul
2012 We Play Too: Latina Immigrants Reshaping Soccer and Life in North Carolina. XI Quarterly: 12–19.

Darby, Paul, Gerard Akindes, and Matthew Kirwin
2007 Football Academies and the Migration of African Football Labor to Europe. Journal of Sport & Social Issues 31(2): 143–161.

Das, Andrew
2014 FIFA Fines and Bans Barcelona From Transfer Market. The New York Times, April 2. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/03/sports/fifa-bans-barcelona-from-transfer-market.html, accessed April 11, 2014.

Davis, Mike
2006 City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles. Brooklyn: Verso.

Day, Robert D.
1981 Ethnic Soccer Clubs in London, Canada. A Study in Assimilation. International Review for the Sociology of Sport 16(1): 37–52.

Edelman, Robert
1993 Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sports in the USSR. 1St Edition. Oxford University Press, USA.

Elder, Adam
2014 The San Diego Mystery: America's Soccer-Crazy City Seeks Top-Flight Team. The Guardian, August 12. http://www.theguardian.com/football/2014/aug/12/san-diego-america-soccer-crazy-mls, accessed August 13, 2014.

Evens, Tom, Petros Iosifidis, and Paul Smith
2013 The Political Economy of Television Sports Rights. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

FitzGerald, David
2009 A Nation of Emigrants: How Mexico Manages Its Migration. Berkeley: University of California Press.

FitzGerald, David, Jorge Hernandez-Diaz, David Keyes, and Geoffrey Fjotasek, eds.
2013 The Wall Between Us: An Indigenous Community in Mexico and the United States. La Jolla, CA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.

Foer, Franklin
2005 How Soccer Explains the World: An Unlikely Theory of Globalization. New York: HarperCollins.

Foley, Neil
2012 Becoming Hispanic: Mexican Americans and Whiteness. *In* White Privilege: Essential Readings on the Other Side of Racism. Paula S Rothenberg, ed. Pp. 55–66. New York: Worth Publishers.

Foner, Nancy
2002 From Ellis Island to JFK: New York`s Two Great Quakes of Immigration. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Fox, Jon E., and Cynthia Miller-Idriss
2008 Everyday Nationhood. Ethnicities 8(4): 536 –563.

Gans, Herbert
1974 Introduction. *In* Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish-American Community Case Study of Metropolitan Los Angeles. New York: Praeger.

Glassner, Barry
2010 The Culture of Fear: Why Americans Are Afraid of the Wrong Things. New York: Basic Books.

Gordon, Milton Myron
1964 Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Granovetter, Mark S.
1973 The Strength of Weak Ties. American Journal of Sociology 78(6): 1360–1380.

Grey, M. A.
1992 Sport and Immigrant, Minority and Anglo Relations in Garden City (Kansas) High School. Sociology of Sport Journal 9(3): 255–270.

Guttmann, Allen
2004 From Ritual to Record : The Nature of Modern Sports, vol.Updated with a new afterword. New York: Columbia University Press.

Harvey, David
1991 The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change. Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
2005 A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hise, Greg
1997 Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hispanic Population in Select U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2011
2011. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/08/29/hispanic-population-in-select-u-s-metropolitan-areas-2011/, accessed September 30, 2014.

Holt, Richard
1990 Sport and the British: A Modern History. New York: Oxford University Press, USA.

Homewood, Brian
2013 Trafficking of Young African Players Still Rampant. Reuters, November 8. http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/11/08/us-soccer-africa-trafficking-idUSBRE9A70FQ20131108, accessed November 8, 2013.

Hooks, Gregory, and Leonard E. Bloomquist
1992 The Legacy of World War II for Regional Growth and Decline: The Cumulative Effects of Wartime Investments on U.S. Manufacturing, 1947-1972. Social Forces 71(2): 303–337.

Hopkins, Gary
2010 Star-Spangled Soccer: The Selling, Marketing and Management of Soccer in the USA. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hughes, Bill
1973 Letter to the Editor. Soccer America, February 26: 17.

Iber, Jorge, Samuel Regalado, Jose Alamillo, and Arnoldo De Leon
2011 Latinos in U.S Sport: A History of Isolation, Cultural Identity, and Acceptance. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Irvin, George
2008 Super Rich: The Rise of Inequality in Britain and the United States. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Jackson, Kenneth T.
1987 Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States. New York: Oxford University Press USA.

Jiménez, Tomás R.
2008 Mexican Immigrant Replenishment and the Continuing Significance of Ethnicity and Race. American Journal of Sociology 113(6): 1527–1567.

Jones, Todd, Mike Wagner, and Jill Riepenhoff
2010 Children May Be Vulnerable in $5 Billion Youth-Sports Industry. The Columbus Dispatch, August 27. http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2010/08/29/children-may-be-vulnerable-in-5-billion-youth-sports-industry.html, accessed May 21, 2014.

Joseph A. Maguire, and Mark Falcous
2011 Sport and Migration : Borders, Boundaries and Crossings. London ; New York: Routledge.

Kelley, Bruce, and Carl Carchia
2013 Hidden Demographics of Youth Sports. ESPN.com. http://espn.go.com/espn/story/_/id/9469252/hidden-demographics-youth-sports-espn-magazine, accessed October 30, 2014.

Kennedy, Paul
2014 Chivas-America Beats Sunday Night Baseball in Key Markets. Soccer America. http://www.socceramerica.com/article/57205/chivas-america-beats-sunday-night-baseball-in-key.html?edition=11557.

Klein, Alan
1996 Borderline Treaon: Nationalisms and Baseball on the Texas-Mexican Border. Journal of Sport and Social Issues 20(3): 296–313.

Klein, Alan M.
1993 Sugarball: The American Game, the Dominican Dream. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kleszynski, Keith
2008 Futból and Community: Mexicano Migrants in San Diego County, California. Practicing Anthropology 30(2): 42–44.

Klinsmann, Jurgen
2011 Quote Sheet: Jurgen Klinsmann Introduced as Head Coach of U.S. Men's National Team. U.S. Soccer. http://www.ussoccer.com/news/mens-national-team/2011/08/quote-sheet-klinsmann-introduction.aspx.

Kochhar, Rakesh, Richard Fry, and Paul Taylor
2011 Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Highs Between Whites, Blacks, Hispanics. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/07/26/appendix-2/, accessed October 30, 2014.

Kutscher, Ronald E.
1993 Historical Trends, 1950-92, and Current Uncertainties. Monthly Labor Review. http://www.bls.gov/mlr/1993/11/art1full.pdf, accessed October 1, 2014.

Lanfranchi, Pierre, and Matthew Taylor
2001 Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers. Oxford: Berg.

Lieberson, Stanley, and Mary Waters
1988 From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Census Monograph.

Lindner, Andrew M., and Daniel N. Hawkins
2012 Globalization, Culture Wars, and Attitudes about Soccer in America: An Empirical Assessment of How Soccer Explains the World. The Sociological Quarterly 53(1): 68–91.

Logan, John, and Brian Stults
2011 The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census. Providence, RI: Brown University/US2010 Project. http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Data/Report/report2.pdf.

López, David E., and Ricardo Stanton-Salazar
2001 Mexican Americans: A Second Generation at Risk. *In* Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America. Rubén G. Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes, eds. Pp. 57–90. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lopez, Mark Hugo
2013 A Demographic Portrait of Mexican-Origin Hispanics in the United States. Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/05/01/a-demographic-portrait-of-mexican-origin-hispanics-in-the-united-states/, accessed April 9, 2014.

López Sanders, Laura
2009 Trapped at the Bottom: Racialized and Gendered Labor Queues in New Immigrant Destinations. *In* . Working Papers. La Jolla, CA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.

Luhrmann, T. M.
2006 Subjectivity. Anthropological Theory 6(3): 345–361.

Magazine, Roger
2007 Golden and Blue like My Heart: Masculinity, Youth, and Power among Soccer Fans in Mexico City. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.

Mahler, Sarah J.
1995 American Dreaming: Immigrant Life on the Margins. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Markovits, Andrei S., and Steven L. Hellerman
2001 Offside: Soccer and American Exceptionalism. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Markusen, Ann R.
1991 The Rise of the Gunbelt: The Military Remapping of Industrial America. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marston, Kevin Tallec
2012 An International Comparative History of Youth Football in France and the United States (c. 1920-c.2000): The Age Paradigm and the Demarcation of the Youth Game as a Separate Sector of the Sport. Ph.D. Dissertation, De Montfort University.

Massey, Douglas S.
1990 Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration. Population Index 56(1): 3–26.

Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, et al.
1993 Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. Population and Development Review 19(3): 431–466.

Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton
1988 Suburbanization and Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas. American Journal of Sociology 94(3): 592–626.
1993 American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Massey, Douglas S., and Deborah S. Hirst
1998 From Escalator to Hourglass: Changes in the U.S. Occupational Wage Structure 1949–1989. Social Science Research 27(1): 51–71.

Massey, Douglas S., and Karen A. Pren
2012 Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Surge from Latin America. Population and Development Review 38(1): 1–29.

Merten, Jenna
2004 Raising a Red Card: Why Freddy Adu Should Not Be Allowed to Play Professional Soccer. Marquette Sports Law Review 15: 205.

Messner, Michael A.
2009 It's All for the Kids: Gender, Families, and Youth Sports. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Migration Policy Institute
2014a Regions of Birth for Immigrants in the United States, 1960-Present. http://public.tableausoftware.com/shared/K9SGMH2RK?:display_count=yes.
2014b Immigrants in the U.S. - 1850-2012. Migration Policy Institute Data Hub. http://migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub.

Mintz, Steven
2006 Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Morimo, Gary Ross
1982 The Playing Fields of St. Louis: Italian Immigrants and Sports, 1925-1941. Journal of Sport History(9): 5–19.

Navarro, Vicente
2002 A Critique of Social Capital. International Journal of Health Services 32(3): 423–432.

New York Times
2010 Mapping America: Every City, Every Block. The New York Times. http://projects.nytimes.com/census/2010/explorer, accessed June 13, 2014.

Ngai, Mae
2004 Impossible Subjects : Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Nielsen, Norm
1972 Violence: The "Mystique" of Soccer? Soccer America, October 31: 14.

Noss, Amanda
2012 Household Income for States: 2010 and 2011: American Community Survey Briefs. Washington, DC: United States Census Bureau. http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/acsbr11-02.pdf, accessed June 12, 2014.

Ong, Aihwa
2006 Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Oriard, Michael
1998 Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Ortner, Sherry B.
2005 Subjectivity and Cultural Critique. Anthropological Theory 5(1): 31–52.

Özyürek, Esra
2006 Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey. Durham: Duke University Press.

Park, Robert Ezra
1930 Assimilation, Social. *In* Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Edwin R.A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, eds. Pp. 281–283. New York: MacMillan.
1950 Race and Culture. New York: Free Press.

Pedraza, Silvia, and Ruben Rumbaut
1995 Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.

Pérez, Ivan
2014 Los 10 Equipos de Futbol Más Valiosos de América. Forbes México. http://www.forbes.com.mx/sites/los-10-equipos-de-futbol-mas-valiosos-de-america/, accessed April 11, 2014.

Perlmann, Joel, and Roger Waldinger
1997 Second Generation Decline? Children of Immigrants, Past and Present-A Reconsideration. International Migration Review 31(4): 893–922.

Pescador, Juan Javier
2004 Vamos Taximaroa! Mexican/Chicano Soccer Associations and Transnational/Translocal Communities, 1967-2002. Latino Studies 2: 352–376.
2007 Los Heroes Del Domingo: Soccer, Borders, and Social Spaces in Great Lakes Mexican Communities, 1940-1970. *In* Mexican Americans and Sports: A Reader on Athletics and Barrio Life. Jorge Iber and Samuel Octavio Regalado, eds. Pp. 50–72. Texas A&M University Press.

Piketty, Thomas
2014 Capital in the Twenty-First Century. Cambridge: Belknap Press.

Piore, Michael
1979 Birds of Passage : Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Poli, Raffaele
2006 Migrations and Trade of African Football Players: Historic, Geographical and Cultural Aspects. Africa Spectrum 41(3): 393–414.

Pooley, John
1972 Ethnic Soccer Clubs in Milwaukee: A Study in Assimilation. *In* Sport in the Socio-Cultural Process. Mabel Marie Hart, ed. Pp. 472–496. Dubuque, Iowa,: W. C. Brown Co.

Portes, Alejandro
1994 Introduction: Immigration and Its Aftermath. International Migration Review 28(4): 632–639.
2005 To Assimilate or Not...and to What Mainstream? Comments on Richard Alba and Victor Nee's Remaking the American Mainstream. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, August 14. http://cmd.princeton.edu/papers/To%20Assimilate%20or%20Not%20comments.pdf, accessed August 24, 2010.

Portes, Alejandro, Patricia Fernández-Kelly, and William Haller
2005 Segmented Assimilation on the Ground: The New Second Generation in Early Adulthood. Ethnic and Racial Studies 28(6): 1000.

Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut
2001 Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2006 Immigrant America: A Portrait. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Portes, Alejandro, and Min Zhou
1993 The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 530: 74–96.

Prost Amerika
2010 The Sigi Schmid Intervew - Part 1. Prost Amerika. http://www.prostamerika.com/2010/01/01/sigi-schmid-interview-part-1, accessed December 4, 2014.

Putnam, Robert D.
2001 Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon & Schuster.

2007 E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. Scandinavian Political Studies 30(2): 137–174.

Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Nanetti
1994 Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Reimers, David M.
1983 An Unintended Reform: The 1965 Immigration Act and Third World Immigration to the United States. Journal of American Ethnic History 3(1): 9–28.

Van Rheenen, Derek
2009 The Promise of Soccer in America: The Open Play of Ethnic Subcultures. Soccer & Society 10(6): 781.

Riess, Steven
1991 City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports. Champaign, IL: Univ of Illinois Press.

Rios, Bernardo Ramirez
2012 Culture, Migration, and Sport: A Bi-National Investigation of Southern Mexican Migrant Communities in Oaxaca, Mexico and Los Angeles, California. The Ohio State University. https://etd.ohiolink.edu/ap/10?0::NO:10:P10_ETD_SUBID:76170, accessed July 14, 2014.

Ripley, Amanda
2013 The Case Against High-School Sports. The Atlantic, October. http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/10/the-case-against-high-school-sports/309447/, accessed January 16, 2014.

Robinson, William I.
2009 Saskia Sassen and the Sociology of Globalization: A Critical Appraisal. Orfalea Center for Global & International Studies. http://escholarship.org/uc/item/44j854qc, accessed June 17, 2014.

Roden, Donald
1980 Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan. The American Historical Review 85(3): 511–534.

Rouse, Roger
1991 Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism. Diaspora 1(1): 8–23.

Sailes, Gary Alan
1998 African Americans in Sports: Contemporary Themes. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Sandberg, Neil
1974 Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish-American Community Case Study of Metropolitan Los Angeles. New York: Praeger.

Sanders, Jimy M., and Victor Nee
1987 Limits of Ethnic Solidarity in the Enclave Economy. American Sociological Review 52(6): 745–773.

Sassen, Saskia
1989 America's Immigration "Problem." World Policy Journal 6(4): 811–832.
1990 Economic Restructuring and The American City. Annual Review of Sociology 16: 465–490.

Sennett, Richard
1998 The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

SFIA
2014 Sports and Fitness Industry Surpasses $80 Billion in Wholesale Sales. Sports and Fitness Industry Association. http://www.sfia.org/press/631_Sports-and-Fitness-Industry-Surpasses-%2480-Billion-in-Wholesale-Sales.

SGMA
2011 Single Sport Report – 2011 Soccer (Outdoor). Silver Spring, MD: Sporting Goods Manufacturing Association.

Singer, Audrey
2004 The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Singer, Audrey, Susan Wiley Hardwick, and Caroline Brettell
2008 Twenty-First-Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Skrentny, John D.
2008 Culture and Race/Ethnicity: Bolder, Deeper, and Broader. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 619(1): 59 –77.

Soccer Comes Before Golf?
1971 The Tidings, April 7.

Somers, Margaret R.
2005 Let Them Eat Social Capital: Socializing the Market versus Marketizing the Social. Thesis Eleven 81(1): 5–19.

Sorek, Tamir
2007 Arab Soccer in a Jewish State : The Integrative Enclave. Cambridge Cultural Social Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

South, Scott J., Kyle. Crowder, and Erick. Chavez
2005 Migration and Spatial Assimilation Among U.S. Latinos: Classical Versus Segmented Trajectories. Demography 42(3): 497–521.

Swanson, Lisa
2009 Complicating the "Soccer Mom:" The Cultural Politics of Forming Class-Based Identity, Distinction, and Necessity. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport 80: 345–354.

Telles, Edward, and Vilma Ortiz
2008 Generations of Exclusion : Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Thomas, William, and Florian Znaniecki
1996 The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Trouille, David
2009 Association Football to Fútbol: Ethnic Succession and the History of Chicago-Area Soccer since 1920. Soccer & Society 10(6): 795 – 822.

U.S. Census Bureau
2009 American Community Survey. Washington, DC: United States Census Bureau.
2010 Chula Vista: Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics. Washington, DC: United States Census Bureau. http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=DEC_10_DP_DPDP1, accessed November 12, 2013.
2011a Statistical Abstract of the United States. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau. http://www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/11statab/vitstat.pdf.
2011b Historical Census of Housing Tables. U.S. Census Bureau. https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/census/historic/owner.html, accessed September 30, 2014.
2012a American Community Survey. Washington, DC: United States Census Bureau.
2012b Annual Estimates of the Resident Population by Sex, Age, Race, and Hispanic Origin for the United States and States: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2012. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
2013 Table H-3. Mean Household Income Received by Each Fifth and Top 5 Percent, All Races: 1967 to 2013. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.

U.S. Soccer
2014 U.S. Soccer Development Academy Rosters, 2012-2014. http://ussda.demosphere.com/schedules/index_E.html, accessed September 30, 2014.
N.d. Development Academy Overview. http://www.ussoccer.com/development-academy, accessed September 30, 2014.

U.S. Youth Soccer Assocation
2009 Largest Youth Sports Organization Celebrates 35th Anniversary. U.S. Youth Soccer. http://www.usyouthsoccer.org/aboutus/History/.
2014 Key Statistics: Membership Statistics. US Youth Soccer. http://www.usyouthsoccer.org/media_kit/keystatistics/, accessed October 30, 2014.

Valeriano, Brandon
2014 Why Are There so Few Latinos on the U.S. Soccer Team? The Washington Post, June 14. http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/06/14/why-are-there-so-few-latinos-on-the-u-s-national-team/, accessed July 17, 2014.

Vandehey, Scott
2009 Suburban Citizenship. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, San Diego.

Verdery, Katherine
1993 Whither "Nation" and "Nationalism"? Daedalus 122(3): 37–46.

Verge, Arthur C.
1994 The Impact of the Second World War on Los Angeles. Pacific Historical Review 63(3): 289–314.

Vidal, Matt
2013 Inequality and the Growth of Bad Jobs. Contexts 12(4): 70–72.

Waldinger, Roger
1993 The Ethnic Enclave Debate Revisited. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 17(3): 444–452.

Wallace, Tim
2003 Brokering Playing Fields: Latinos and La Liga de Fútbol de Raleigh. Prac 25(1): 34–37.
2009 The Soccer Wars: Hispanic Immigrants in Conflict and Adaptation Ath the Soccer Borderzone. NAPA Bulletin 31(1): 64–77.

Wallerson, Ryan
2014 Youth Participation Weakens in Basketball, Football, Baseball, Soccer. Wall Street Journal, January 31. http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303519404579350892629229918, accessed May 21, 2014.

Wallerstein, Immanuel
1974 The Modern World System. Capitalist Agriculture and the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century. New York, San Francisco, London: Academic Press.

Walshok, Mary, and Abraham Shragge
2013 Invention and Reinvention: The Evolution of San Diego's Innovation Economy. Stanford, California: Stanford Business Books.

Wangerin, David
2006 Soccer in a Football World: The Story of America's Forgotten Game. London: WSC Books.
2011 Distant Corners: American Soccer's History of Missed Opportunities and Lost Causes. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Warner, William Lloyd, and Leo Srole
1945 The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Waters, Mary C.
2001 Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Whitfield, Kenton C., and Rolando Charvel
2013 Comprehensive Annual Financial Report. San Diego, CA: City of San Diego. http://www.sandiego.gov/comptroller/pdf/reports/cafr_2013.pdf.

Williams, Raymond
1977 Marxism and Literature. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, Kenneth L., and Alejandro Portes
1980 Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the Labor Market Experiences of Cubans in Miami. American Journal of Sociology 86(2): 295–319.

Wirth, Louis
1938 Urbanism as a Way of Life. The American Journal of Sociology 44(1): 1–24.

Word, David L., and R. Colby Perkins Jr.
1996 Building a Spanish Surname List for the 1990's — A New Approach to an Old Problem. 13. Working Paper Series. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau. https://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twpno13.pdf, accessed September 30, 2014.

Youth Soccer League Accents Participation
1969 Los Angeles Times, September 14: sg_b8.

Zhou, Min
1997 Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation. International Migration Review 31(4): 975–1008.

Zirin, Dave
2010 Glenn Beck's Blues: Why the Far Right Hates the World Cup. The Nation, June 13. http://www.thenation.com/blog/glenn-becks-blues-why-far-right-hates-world-cup, accessed October 25, 2010.