The Influence of Symbolic Communities on Soccer Culture in the Greater Los Angeles Area: A study into why Latinos learn to play a distinctive form of soccer

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Abstract:

This study offers insight into Latino soccer culture within the Greater Los Angeles areas. It investigates how a multiplex of cultural situations shape how Latino males acquire and develop culturally informed soccer skills, that are expressed collectively as a distinctive style of playing the game. In the hyperreal city of fragments (the unreal and real) some socio-cultural 'fragments' have an authenticity. In part this gains expression in the form of a soccer culture, that shapes a style of playing. Soccer as a culture, as a style of play, emerges from the culture of these fragments. It is less a style that can be coached and rather it is a style bound to cultural belonging.

This study identifies these fragments that are the assemblage of the authenticity, to offer insights into soccer as belonging: an expression of identity. The findings show that the strongest relational connections in relation to the (re)production of a particular 'Latino soccer culture' were Religion, Family, Identity and Community. Moreover, the findings indicate that in Los Angeles soccer cultures transcend space and are instead (re)produced through racial, cultural, socio-economic, political, historical similarity and difference (s). In a hyperreal city, it seems that part of its fragments are still centred around 'authentic' cultural origins. These cultural origins are re-presented through various symbols within Latino communities. The Anglo and Latino Los Angeles communities appear to be symbolically separate, although it appears that some (re)formulations of soccer culture are (re)produced as a result of interaction between them.

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Background

I have a coaching and playing background at Stoke City Football Club. I developed as a player within the Stoke City Academy, playing under various highly qualified and experienced English coaches. I earned a scholarship at the Club and competed against various elite Academies throughout England. During this time, I also represented the Republic of Ireland at U15 international level against Wales and Finland. Despite this, my playing career at Stoke City Football Club ended earlier than intended due to injury. The Club decided to offer me a coaching role within the Academy and helped me achieve various coaching qualifications. At this time, I enrolled on an undergraduate Coaching and Sport Development degree at Manchester Metropolitan University where I focused much of my research on the role of small sided games in youth football. Interest in this research area arose initially after coaching a Stoke City Academy team against Manchester United Academy.

In an attempt to further the research into small sided games, Southern California was selected as a research site. The US Youth Soccer Association were advocates of the approach, and California South Youth Soccer Association in particular were said to be implementing a successful small sided approach in youth soccer at various levels. However, after wandering through the area and watching various versions of small sided games being delivered, it was clear that something different was happening. Particular teams, players, coaches and communities were approaching the small sided game completely differently. Some chose to keep possession of the ball with short passes and patient build up play, whereas others chose to use long kicks to attack the goal as quickly as possible. It was clear that the implementation of the small sided game alone was not affecting the style and approach to soccer. Instead, it seemed on first impression that cultural and communal elements situated outside the white lines of the game, were affecting the approach and outcome on the pitch. As though the wider cultural elements had more significance on

the adopted approach to the game, than the mere implementation of manufactured small sided games. The game was no longer the teacher, it depended on who was playing and how they played.

Thus, my journey through these soccer cultures (Stoke City Football Club and Los Angeles) re-presents fragments brought together to form a narrative. A narrative not of causality or chronology but of situations of becoming (Deluze and Guattari, 1980). Often, one clarifies their narrative by making connections that organise the fragments and make them similar (Strathern, 2004). Playing styles and coaching approaches are shaped and influenced by these narratives, as many players and coaches experience soccer centred around their own cultural becomings.

The Tourist

In June 2011 north of Burbank, Los Angeles, I was invited to an under 16 youth soccer competition. The competition was made up of various teams from the Southern California region. I was informed that this competition included some of the best players and teams within the state of California, all hoping desperately for that seemingly illusive US college scholarship. The college scouts attempted to blend in with the spectators, even though it was clear who the scouts were by their over sized sunglasses, baseball caps and plain clothes. Most of the teams seemed to be made up of largely Latino and Anglo players. There were a few players of other ethnic origins. There were a number of teams with only Latino players in their squad and a number of teams with only Anglo players in their squad, with others being mixed. The teams with mostly Latino players on the roster all had Latino coaches, and the teams with mainly Anglo players had Anglo coaches.

There were various games about to kick off simultaneously, I decided to stand with the parents for the first half on the main pitch. As I walked over I could hear loud blasts from one of the coach's whistle as their team warmed up

frantically. In stark contrast, their opponents, a team made up of largely Latino players, were all on their knees silently praying. It was as if these two teams had been selected from opposite sides of the world and drawn together in an international tournament. With his tracksuit zipped up and whistle round his neck, the coach for the team made up of mainly Anglo players marched up and down the middle of the pitch, issuing strict instructions to his players who were being put through a formal warm up routine. In contrast, the Latino coach stood calmly with two other men away from the pitch, while his players continued to pray.

The start to the game was chaotic with both teams searching for the ball. However, a few minutes into the game a pattern began to emerge. The team of mainly Latino players began to have longer periods of calm possession using short, accurate passes in all directions across the pitch, whilst the majority Anglo team worked tirelessly to try and retrieve the ball often giving away free kicks in the process. The Latino players looked comfortable in possession and seemed to use various parts of their feet to receive the ball and turn sharply. On the odd occasion that the Anglo team did win the ball back, the players looked rushed in possession and after a few shorter passes in succession would suddenly launch longer, forward passes. Often not meeting the intended target. Now I am aware that this is a typical example of two teams with contrasting playing styles that could occur in various soccer competitions around the world. However, the differences do not end merely with the playing style.

The Latino coach was almost silent during the game, offering occasional spoken words to a player nearby. Whereas the Anglo coach was incredibly animated and vocal, seemingly never in the same place. The Anglo parents were much louder and often started chants about the team or individual players. The Latino parents in the main, seemed to focus much more intently on specific aspects of the game, no matter how unimportant they might seem to others. Occasionally shouting things like '*pasar rápidamente*' (pass quickly) and '*proteger*' (protect). Moreover, the physique of the Latino players on the

whole was very different. Often appearing more slight and agile, whilst the Anglo players appeared more muscular and powerful. As the tournament continued, I managed to watch many other games including various teams, some with teams made up almost of equal Latino and Anglo players. Even on those mixed teams, the differences still stood out. The Latino players seemed to want the ball in any situation and appeared relaxed in possession even whilst moving the ball rapidly. Many of these Latino and Anglo players attended the same schools, socialised in the same groups and shared similar interests. Despite this, there still appeared to be cultural difference(s) that through time may seep into soccer and shape the way it is played. There may be a number of reasons for this difference, including environmental, social, cultural and political factors.

In order to understand how and why soccer is played by various communities, an in depth study into the surrounding culture was required. Thus after initially experiencing soccer games in Southern California, I decided to conduct this study into Latino soccer culture, and explore the role that symbolic communities and wider Latino culture play in shaping the Latino distinctive form of the game.

I have since travelled to Spain in an attempt to improve my Spanish to help me to understand more deeply the Latino approach to soccer in Los Angeles (as shown in the diary extract above). I have noticed similarities between Los Angeles Latino 'soccer culture' and Spanish 'soccer culture' whilst there. There is something similar about the way the players caress the ball, and the way the coach ambles silently around the pitch. The players point to the heavens after scoring a goal and as they walk onto the pitch they recreate the sign of the cross whilst uttering the trinitarian formula. Teams have long periods in possession of the ball and fewer tackles seem to be made. It is more like a chess game with coaches remaining patient, making subtle tactical moves to upset the opposition. The game is less about over-powering and out-running the opposition and instead involves outwitting the opposition using high levels

of technique. There is more emphasis on patient, controlled attacks whilst keeping possession of the ball rather than relying on a hopeful direct style.

Of course, this is one viewpoint and there are always exceptions to these norms, but there are clear similarities between Spanish soccer culture and Latino soccer culture in Southern California. Despite being thousands of miles apart there are distinctive cultural symbols that appear consistent. These similarities or partial connections (Strathern, 2004) which look the same can be different. Even though Los Angeles 're-presents' a de-centred city with no meta-narrative (Lyotard, 1984), its shifting cultural fragments can have diverse origins and symbols. In postmodern, Post-Fordist, hyperreal Los Angeles, Latino communities remain in a constant state of cultural becoming (Deluze and Guattari, 1980). Appearing rooted to more 'authentic' and traditional origins than Anglo communities (Beserra, 2005). Whist continually (re) formulating, the Latino communities in Los Angeles do still appear to hold certain shared cultural symbols that signify sameness and difference.

In contrast, the Anglo narrative is one of many interconnected 'mini-narratives' that are always situational, provisional, contingent, temporary and make no claim to universality, reason or stability (Klages, 1998). The historical, socio-economical and cultural elements fundamental to Latino communities and Latino soccer culture within Los Angeles differ greatly from Valladolid communities and soccer culture in Spain. Hence, despite the surface similarities in playing style, coaching and general approach to soccer, the processes involved in (re)formulating this 'soccer culture' are different. Soccer cultures are relative yet fluid.

Whilst coaching in southern California, I worked with Latino youth players and Anglo youth players and in the main the approach appeared different. With the Latino players, there seemed to be a greater appreciation for the ball, and training whether formal or informal often seemed to centre on the ball itself. Where as many Anglo players seemed to have various training methods that

often took place away from the ball and sometimes even away from the pitch. Again, these are my observations, and many teams in southern California were made up of players of various ethnic origins that often completed the same training routines. However, I could see a clear difference between the Latino soccer culture and the other soccer cultures. Only through Latino symbolic cultural similarities, was I able to recognise the differences with other soccer cultures. Religion, parent behaviour, coaching styles, playing styles and physical attributes were examples of some of the cultural signifiers that appeared more readily. In some cases, the Latino players were brought up in the same neighbourhood as players of other ethnicities. They attended the same high school, listened to the same music and wore similar fashion but when it came to performing on the pitch, something was different.

Latino soccer in Southern California

From wandering around the scriptorium it has become clear that there is a wealth of literature on Los Angeles the city as a sociological, cultural and postmodern subject (Davis, 1998, 2005; Harvey, 1990; Jencks, 1996; Klein, 1997; Lefebvre, 1991; Scott and Soja, 1996; Soja, 1996). Also, a wide range of literature exists on Latino Los Angeles (Bedolla, 2005; Dohan, 2003; Hayes-Bautista and Chapa, 1987; Huddy and Virtanen, 1995; Lopez, 2001; Ochoa & Ochoa, 2003;). However, there is limited literature on the role of Latino's in soccer in Los Angeles (Davis, 2005; Faflik, 2006; Kwauk, 2007; Martinez, 2005; Rodriguez, 2002), and it mostly concerns Major League Soccer and audience ratings. However, with regard to Latino youth soccer in Los Angeles, the text dries up. What little literature is available appears in Spanish and research in this area is sparse.

Youth soccer in the United States has long been a sport for the 'culturally dominant' (Messeri, 2008). According to Messeri (2008: 1) 'soccer in the United States has become dominated by the suburban white middle to upper-classes. Andrews' (2000) study on the game supports this notion, and suggests

that soccer has become suburbanised, fitting alongside single family homes, ballet classes, sport utility vehicles, lawn sprinkler systems, The Gap and the imperious Martha Stewart. In suburban areas soccer seems to have become a homogenous, extremely competitive and wholly commodified sport, with characteristics that negatively affect urban non-white populations who also wish to participate in sport (Messeri, 2008).

It is argued that the suburbanisation of soccer, with its highly structured tiered performance system and expensive training and travel costs, is primarily accessible to those suburban middle classes who can afford it. The youth soccer model in the US has three main levels. Class III is known as 'house' soccer and is made up of players of multiple ages who play for purely recreational purposes with no travel arrangements or competition. Class II soccer is considered semi-competitive, has minimal training, is semi-competitive and has age restrictions. The next level is Class I which is considered highly competitive, age specific, with teams travelling to major tournaments, playing in leagues, that require large travel commitments. These Class I players are regularly exposed to college and Olympic Development Programme (The elite player programme) coaches. It seems that the bigger, well respected clubs, are often a symbol of status for wealthier families and they often receive more scouting opportunities from college and ODP coaches.

Andrews (2000) argues that the elite level suburban model is aimed towards wealthy, often white, players who are succeeding academically. Often resulting in highly qualified, impoverished players from urban areas not being seen and recruited by universities and colleges (Andrews, 2000; Messeri, 2008). However, these studies only present the suburban viewpoint of elite player pathways in California. In terms of youth soccer within urban Latin communities in Southern California, the literature is limited. There is a wide range of research outlining the level of Latino/a support for Major League Soccer and importance of the Latino/a market in selling Major League Soccer tickets and merchandise and television rights (Delgado, 1999; Jewell and

Molina, 2005; Martinez, 2005; Pescador, 2004; Price and Whitworth, 2004; Shinn, 2002). However, in terms of Latino/a youth soccer development and wider soccer culture in Los Angeles, much of the information is limited to articles and news reports. There does seem to be a widespread consensus among recent news reports that a fairer elite player programme is needed to ensure more Latino/a players are selected for the US National Team. In an interview conducted by Woitalla (2011) with Brad Rothenburg (co-founder of Alianza de Futbol in 2011, the tournaments and tryouts in U.S. Hispanic communities have become a magnet for Mexicans clubs scouting U.S.-bred talent) stated that,

> *'Latino talent is critically important to U.S. Soccer's future. We need to change our mix at the National Team level. I am very encouraged by the quotes from Jurgen Klinsmann that we have to penetrate the cultural and ethnic divide that exists in U.S. Soccer to develop the players we need to compete at the top international level'*
>
> (Rothenburg, 2011)

For Latham (2010), different countries approach to soccer caters to different types and is dependent on wider cultural aspects. If a country's soccer style embodies the nation's aspirations, its strengths and its component groups, then the U.S. *'hasn't found yet its real identity,'* says Jürgen Klinsmann (2010: 1), the former German star who has lived in California for most of the past decade and recently took control of the US National Soccer Team. *'I'm talking about a philosophy, a style of play, that marks every nation'* (2010; p.1). For Klinsmann, the question is simple: What style should represent American soccer?

However, this question is not simple, it is complex. To begin with, the formal soccer structures in America (US National Team and Major League Soccer) are

mainly Anglo based with minimal representation from ethnic communities (Latham, 2010). The Anglo American soccer style is without culturally authentic roots and 're-presents' an amalgamation of football styles. A fragmented approach to the game that is tied to the hyperreal, with various elements copied from various soccer cultures. Hence, Anglo American soccer is continually in flux, and is not held by traditional values and ethics. It is an ever shifting style that cannot be pinned down. Therefore, it is difficult to define a single style that best embodies Anglo American soccer culture. Instead, an acceptance of this fluidity and (re)formulation may result in a more suitable stylistic approach to the game. In contrast to this Anglo approach to soccer in Southern California, it could be argued that Latino soccer culture is more centred around culturally authentic origins of a distant place.

Soccer Cultures

> *'The certainty that our football, the football of Spain, is recognised, that's very important to us - perhaps more important than the successes and the joy that you can create. Football hasn't always been appreciated, and luckily our football is appreciated now, at all levels of society'.*
>
> (Vicente Del Bosque, 2012)

> *A team is above all an idea*
>
> (Cesar Luis Menotti, 1987)

In essence, 'soccer cultures' are simultaneously an expression of culture and a challenge to the hegemony of an authoritative approach of playing approved by the soccer industry within a geographical location (Foster, 2010; Giulianotti, 1999). Such contrast in 'soccer cultures' emerges from diverse cultural influences rather than being a product of traditional approaches to coaching (Olaya, Lammoglia and Zarama, 2010). For Foster (2010), the soccer culture is defined by the style of play adopted, 'tell me how you play, and I will tell you who you are' (p. 253). Football in many Latino countries assumes the special

status as the national game whilst maintaing its local roots. Thus, since it is the national game, it is also a matter of national identity. In the United States soccer is not the national game, yet for many Latinos residing in Southern California, soccer is the most watched sport and for some is an integral part of their identity (Andrews, 2007, Kwauk, 2007; Latham, 2010; Mendez, 2004). It represents sameness and difference.

> *'Questions of identity are frequently mythic and sport in general is inescapably mythic. Like any constructed social reality, they are based on a set of common conceptions and ideals, sometimes with a basis in empirical fact, sometimes not (though mythic does not automatically mean false). Myths are simply a way for people to make sense of things: they are a symbolic tool for understanding the past and a guide to action in the present' (Foster, 2010: 254).*

Sometimes the myth will emerge from the surrounding society and set the template for the way football is played there, and sometimes football is so influential the myths can flow the other way. Something that may begin in the stadium can have repercussions in the wider society far beyond the touchline. Thus, the game of soccer can influence society, and likewise society can influence a soccer ethos and philosophy.

In Latin America, especially working-class Latin America, people did not share the 'bourgeoisie's consuming deference to all things Anglo' (Foster, 2010). Thus, kick and rush football (soccer) soon became known as particularly English, therefore particularly foreign, and therefore undesirable. Instead the Latin American people adopted their own approach to playing soccer. An approach that better represented them as people, and helped to create a shared identity. In the words of Galeano, they created 'a home-grown way of playing football, like the home grown way of dancing that developed in the milonga clubs... On the feet of the first Creole virtuoso *el toque*, the touch, was born: the ball was strummed as if it were a guitar, a source of music' (Wilson, 2009: 34). Since its conception, football in Latin America was different. A story where a player erased his footsteps in the dust after scoring a virtuoso goal, so

that his feet could not be copied, is according to Wilson, 'mythic, evidently, but indicative of the prevailing system of values' (Wilson, 2009: 38). In the development of Latin American football throughout many countries, flair has been admired above all else. This expressive style know as *criolla viveza* (native cunning), was formalised into a system known as *la nuestra* (ours). In essence, Latin American football became native and instead became fútbol (Foster, 2010).

There are seemingly endless apparent differences between Latino and Anglo 'soccer cultures'. It could be argued that these differences run much deeper than merely what is happening on the pitch itself. The *tiqui-taka* possession style football that has led the Spanish national team to world and European success may not necessarily start and end within the confinement of the training ground. The processes that lead to the Latino youth players within Los Angeles taking such care of the football and keeping such close control may not merely be a result of differing football beliefs and methods. Instead they could be influenced by differing surrounding cultural and societal beliefs. From Religious beliefs to parenting and education, the wider cultural aspects of Latino communities in Los Angeles may influence the contrasting approach to football. For Wilson (2009), the style of play and approach to playing football or soccer, is representative of a wider cultural identity and shared belief systems. Hence, would the Spanish national team be able to implement such a playing philosophy if the Spanish people impatiently demanded kick and rush, direct football, and would the players buy into a philosophy that focuses on putting the team values ahead of individual expressionism, if the cultural values of the players did not at some level replicate this. In a sense what appears on the pitch may well be a result of the complex surrounding environmental, social and cultural influences.

Thus, the surrounding social, political and economic components within communities may shape how the player plays. They are the reason why spectators cheer certain styles of play and jeer others. The reason why certain

coaches inspire and encourage players to dribble and rebel against rigid team formations, and why certain coaches demand strict team shape and structure with every player conforming. Communities create identity and give their members a purpose and a feeling of self-worth (Cohen, 1985). 'The reality of community, lies in its members perceptions of the vitality of its culture' (Cohen, 1985: 85). When attempting to gain a closer approximation of Latino identity, culture and community in Los Angeles and the emergent 'soccer culture', it is important to acknowledge the undecidable nature of this postmodern city (Davis, 2005; Abu-Lughod, 1999).

Mapping out the Terrain

A Fragmented City

This is an LA as real as there is.

Los Angles is created here. A Los Angeles as real as any other Los Angeles represented in words. Los Angeles is a city shaped by narratives. Those with voices hold power. In recent years Anglo voices have been heard most loudly.

The early Southern California 'boosters' known as the Arroyo Set., consisting of writers and publicists under the influence of Charles Fletcher Lummis (editor of the *Los Angeles Times*), inserted a mediterraneanized idyll of New England life into the perfumed ruins of an innocent but inferior 'Spanish' culture (Davis, 1998; 2005, Starr 2004). A myth which was debunked by a collection of post war American novelists and anti-fascist European exiles who gathered in Hollywood to shatter the dream with their Noir vision of Los Angeles.

These Anglo voices have been reshaping the LA dream and dominating the cultural landscape for the past century. Creating city mythography through the narratives of others. As opposed to culture produced *in* Los Angeles, these myth makers produced culture *about* Los Angeles, which in certain cases became a material force in the city's actual evolution (Davis, 2005; Fulton, 1997; Harvey, 1990; Abu-Lughod, 1999; Scott and Soja, 1996; Soja, 1996). Consequently affecting the material world through urban development, infrastructure and creation of public spaces. Each Los Angeles is a narrative produced from the narratives of others. Thus, Los Angeles is a city situated in the hyperreal world (Baudrillard, 1986). The line between fiction and reality is blurred.

Los Angeles is continually evolving and adapting both in the material and immaterial world. Consistently reinventing itself in the beholders mind providing new meaning and substance. As the material landscape is manipulated, memories lose their symbolic cues and history itself adapts to the dominant stories of urban expansion (Klein, 1997; Soja, 1996). Stretching from the sea to the mountains, spread across a huge diverse urban basin, streetscapes emanate a certain magic quality, reminiscent of Hollywood imagery. It is split into precise segments by marauding freeways, stealing the night sky with flashes of fluorescent yellows and oranges. With no real physical centre, the traveller or tourist has to create their own metaphysical centre that represents their own imagined Los Angeles. It is almost impossible to define a place that includes nearly every type of person or thing, but is not dominated by one. A city, in the most profound sense, that is suffering a crisis of identity (Davis, 1998; Starr, 2004).

There are numerous LA's. A multiplicity of narratives, each channelling their voice through motion pictures, photographs, urban spaces and text. Those with voices hold power. The power to reshape and remould the city's past, present and future. Narratives continue to alter the representation and modify the identity of the city. Thus, LA is in a constant state of flux. It is fragmented yet fluid. Whilst consisting of juxtaposing representations, its transient evolution provides commonality. Every narrative is shaped by the one that went before. A series of textual and visual regurgitations that relentlessly contribute to the adaptation of the city's meta-narratives. In this anthropoemic society, those with voices hold power (Bauman, 1998).

In a place constructed by a series of inter woven depictions, the city becomes undefinable. The meta-narratives themselves are constructed from a sea of fragmentations. Although some are more visible than others, they are all inter-linked. With its numerous depictions the city has many personalities. LA portrays a glamorous, anglo entertainment capital. Los Angeles portrays a multi-cultural urban sprawl. There is no true identity. The city presents every

type of person and at the same time stereotypes itself. The city could be represented by paradisal beach communities like Malibu, Santa Monica and Manhattan Beach. With point breaks, beach houses, seafood restaurants and cycle paths, healthy living and opportunity. In contrast, travel five kilometres east inland, and suddenly the colours fade to grey. Endless concrete, marauding freeways and low rise urban anonymity provide a bleak and menacing backdrop. Each changing version of reality is influenced by diverse, weaving narratives ingrained in the physical and built environment. The city continually reinvents itself (Davis, 2005).

LA is separate from Los Angeles. Representing a betrayal of the native city. An abbreviation immortalised by the movie industry. LA is not a real place. It can be seen everywhere but cannot be located on a map. It is a representation of the real. A simulated world synonymous with show business, where everybody is somehow connected to the entertainment industry. A simulation where average people do not exist. LA is hyperreal (Baudrillard, 1986).

The Hyperreal

As with soccer cultures, the various depictions of Los Angeles are always mediated through text. When attempting to define this city, one is continually influenced by diverse narratives. Thus, making it impossible to find the 'real LA' because LA itself is not real. It is hyperreal (Baudrillard, 1986). Hyperreality emerges when our cultural representations (our knowledge) no longer relate to an independent reality. When these cultural representations no longer have a social or human reality with which to verify themselves, they become somehow autonomous and incomparable, originating where they were found (Debord, 1977; Eco, 1986; Baudrillard, 1986; 1994). Hyperreality marks the end of representation and emerges at the multinational (postmodern) stage of capitalism after the 'mirror stage' of industrial capitalism (King, 1998). Hence, re-presentations have no historical roots or cultural source, yet claim to be reality, thus are hyperreal (Baudrillard, 1994).

For Eco (1986), the hyperreal is that which is more real than the real, the copy which is more perfect than the original. It is American, since 'the American imagination demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake' (Eco, 1986: 8). This aspiration to achieve the 'real thing' in America, has resulted in such hyperreal displays as the Oral Roberts television series, wax museums, Disneyland, the Getty Villa, Madonna Inn and Marine land. Examples where representations of reality claim to be actual 'reality', devoid of historical roots or cultural source. In Eco's (1986) account the main narrative function of hyperreal America is to provide a contrast with Europe.

In Europe, historical landmarks and tourist attractions are surrounded by the still visible sediments of its long history and high culture. For Eco (1986) this provides 'authenticity'. Whereas, in America a tourist's pilgrimage is littered with contemporary objects and architecture unrelated to the landmarks and artefacts, offering no historic or cultural legitimacy. When trying to exhibit what it means to be European, one can present their objects with clear labels, in an orderly manner, in a neutral setting such as the Louvre or Tate Gallery, and the tourists can breathe in the past a few steps away, walking with emotion among venerable stones (Eco, 1986). But in California, 'between the Pacific Ocean and Los Angeles, with restaurants shaped like hats and hamburgers, and four level freeways, with ten thousand ramps; what do you do? You reconstruct the Villa of the Papyruses' (Eco, 1986: 33).

Baudrillard (1986) uses the desert as a guiding metaphor and the notion of an achieved utopia to express the lengths of America's hyperreality. There is no middle ground. The desert offers a sublime natural phenomenon culturally untouched by white America. Whereas the American city built in the desert is the abject hyperreal cultural phenomenon. One is the hidden face of the other and they mirror each other across the desert (Baudrillard, 1986). Both are separate, yet both are sublime.

> *'What is new in America is the clash of the first level (primitive and wild) and the 'third kind' (the absolute simulacrum). There is no second level. This is a situation we find hard to grasp, since this is the one we have always privileged: the self-reflexive self-mirroring level, the level of unhappy consciousness. But no vision of America makes sense without this reversal of our values: it is Disneyland which is authentic here' (Baudrillard, 1986: 104)*

For Baudrillard (1986) Disneyland is not to be seen as a permutation on Eco's (1987) 'authentic replicas' but instead a 'real fake', therefore original. Instead of merely offering a representation of the real, Baudrillard argues that Disneyland serves as an ideological deception, with a single function. This function being to lull and reassure Americans into believing that the rest of the city is real rather than simulated. It is presented as an 'imaginary' world, which is neither true nor false, and the details of its internal organisation are glossed over and hidden (Baudrillard, 1986). Disneyland is an imaginary place which 'feeds reality and reality energy into that endless unreal' (Baudrillard, 1983: 26). It camouflages the immense script and perpetual motion picture that lies beyond its perimeter (Perry, 2002). America is neither dream or reality. It is hyperreality. America is Disneyland. It is a hyperreality because it is a utopia which has behaved from the very beginning as though it were already achieved (Baudrillard, 1986). It may be the case that only the European can see the truth of America, as he alone will discover here the perfect simulacrum.

In a sense, Anglo soccer in Los Angeles could be seen as hyperreal. Anglo Soccer is a representation of football or futbol. Soccer is an anglo institution produced in North America, with no culturally authentic roots. It is a manufactured image copied from immigrant communities and individuals who brought their version of football to the region. Anglo soccer in Los Angeles symbolises an integration of mainly European styles with Asian and Latin American influences (Bondy, 2010). Thus, it has no origin of its own. It is a representation of the culturally 'authentic'. In essence, it could be argued that

there is no original US soccer culture because it is instead a fragmented copy. The production of such a copy represents a desire for authenticity, and in the attempt to achieve that desire, a fabricated, false soccer culture is produced and is consumed as original (Eco, 1986). However, the question remains, do the ethnic soccer cultures that are imported to the region remain grounded in their own cultural authenticity, or do they become merely a shifting fragment in the hyperreal? Is Latino soccer culture centered around traditional, long established, anti LA values?

In a city that continually breaks itself down and builds itself up, it is difficult to search for meaning. How do you begin to understand a story and find direction with so many weaving sub plots? How do you look for a culturally 'authentic' Los Angeles when everything here is in motion? A fleeting image, a passing thought, a glance. Roads and streets are your view, your surroundings. Houses and buildings, cars and busses, everything is enslaved to the streets (Nooteboom, 1987). To view the city in motion is to view and read the city 'in the original' (Banham, 1971; Nooteboom, 1987). One must accept the fluid nature of the city, when searching for authenticity.

Latino Identity in the City

In this fragmented city, a deeper understanding of the Latino identity will provide context when trying to gain some insightful approximations of Latino soccer culture. When exploring 'Latino' identity in Los Angeles, it is important to attempt to unpack the definition of this fluid term and its connotations for members and non-members. 'Latino' is a broad and vague term that is used to categorise a group of people in Southern California. With a closer understanding of what this indistinct term means to its members and non-members, one can more effectively attempt to comprehend its impact on community and symbolic boundaries within the greater Los Angeles area. It is important to keep in mind the flexibility and broadness of the term 'Latino'

when attempting to map the situation within Latino symbolic communities and subsequent Latino soccer culture in the greater Los Angeles area.

'Identity is never a priori, nor a finished product; it is only ever the problematic process of access to an image of totality' (Bhabha, 1994: 51). Thus, in current times identity is not fixed, it is always evolving, adapting to the overwhelming pace of change in social contexts. Identities are embedded in the changing groups and networks that people associate with. These changing groups and networks are themselves embedded in changing societal structures and practices (Howard, 2000). For ethnic and racial minority groups the rate of this change can be rapid and in many situations complicated. Often influenced by negative societal stereotypes and discrimination senses of identity for ethnic minorities can be an important part of integrating into mainstream society, providing a sense of belonging and contributing to social participation and cultural practices (Phinney, 1990). As Phinney (1991) asserts; a strong ethnic identity when accompanied to some adaptation to the mainstream, is related to high self-esteem.

In the United States 'Latino' is a label that generally alludes to patterns of immigration and social stratification. Its definition can vary, depending on the area of the country. In New York it is more closely associated with Puerto Ricans, in Miami with Cubans, whereas in Los Angeles the category 'Latino' generally refers to an immigrant with Mexican and Central American heritage (particularly Salvadorans and Guatemalans) and their descendants born in the United States (Beserra, 2005; Hayes-Bautista and Chapa, 1987; Comas-Diaz, 2001).

More widely the term Latino (male) and Latina (female) is associated with people of Latin American 'origin' or having Latin American 'heritage'. Latino/ a encompasses many different nationalities and is preferred by many over the term Hispanic which was officially created by the United States Bureau of Census to categorise people of Spanish origin who identified themselves as

such in the 1970 census. The term Hispanic is often used to refer collectively to all Spanish speakers, offering a cultural lineage to Spain (Comas-Diaz, 2001). Often utilised by politically conservative groups who regard their European ancestry as superior to the indigenous peoples of the Americas (Falicov, 1998). Representing a form of 'identity imperialism' (Comas-Diaz, 2001). The term Hispanic is inaccurate and often offensive as it only categorises Spanish speakers as Latinos. Many of the Spanish speakers in this group, however, such as Native Americans, are not necessarily of true Spanish descent. Moreover, millions of Latin Americans do not speak Spanish or claim Spanish heritage (e.g. Brazilians) (Beserra, 2005; Comas Diaz, 2001, Falicov, 1998).

Analytically, there is not a single Latin American 'race'. Yet many individuals and officials over the course of the previous two hundred years have behaved as if such a 'race' existed. Socially the U.S. and Latin America are linked politically and geographically. People of Latin American origin living in the U.S. hold various identities. If any term is to attempt to categorise this segment of the population, it must be a flexible term taking into account the diverse national origins and the waves of population movement from Latin America for over four centuries. For Hayes-Bautista and Chapa (1987) the generic term that best fits these criteria is 'Latino'. Deriving from Latin America, the term in his view, 'preserves the flavour of national origin and political relationship between the U.S. and Latin America' (p. 65). Thus, in this sense the term could be seen as culturally neutral with respect to Latin American cultures.

However, it is impossible to categorise such a wide amalgamation of people with such diverse backgrounds. Historically, this group of people were known as 'Spanish speaking', a current misnomer, given that a large majority of this segment of the population speak English as a first language (Comas-Diaz, 2001). Hispanics, Latinos, Hispanos, Latinos, Central Americans, or South Americans, to name a few, are some of the general terms used to designate this diverse ethnic collage (Comas-Diaz, 2001; Oboler, 1995). Many individuals politically affirm their ethnic identity by using such terms as Chicanos,

Xicanos, Ricans, or Boricuas, whereas others affirm their national origins by using terms such as Mexicans or Mexican Americans, Cubans or Cuban Americans, Colombians, Dominicans, Peruvians, Salvadorans, or Venezuelans, among many others (Comas-Diaz, 2001).

Thus, the notion of self-identity and self-determination is fluid and varying, without a universal centre. 'Encased within historical eras, ethnic self-designation reflects the dialects between dominance and self-determination. Because the systematic negation and oppression of people of colour result in pervasive identity conflicts' (Fanon, 1967, as cited in Comas-Diaz, 2001, p. 115). The process of categorising this heterogeneous group is challenging. For some second and third generation people of Latin heritage born in Los Angeles, they have experienced the American version of what being Latino/a or Hispanic is. Showing the diverse complexities of identity of a community that is growing within Los Angeles. The concept of being 'Latino' in Los Angeles appears fluid and de-centred, yet at the same time is somewhat centred around geographical community (Beserra, 2005). In areas such as East Los Angeles and Maywood, 95% of the population are of Latino origin (US Census bureau, 2012). With road signs in Spanish, Mexican style architecture and Catholic Churches, these communities are part of, but apart from the wider Los Angeles arena. In the hyper-real city of Los Angeles, these areas are seemingly more Mexican (Bedolla, 2005; Beserra, 2005). Thus, despite the fluid nature of the 'Latino' identity, there does seem to be a shared sense of community centred around geographic community in Los Angeles.

The Pew Hispanic Centre (2012), suggests that the majority of people of Latin American descent in Los Angeles choose to identify them-selves by their country of origin rather than the terms Latino or Hispanic. When choosing between the latter terms 51% were ambivalent. The study showed that people of Latin American descent in Los Angeles do not necessarily share common cultural belonging. Contrary to the pre-conceived political ideas when attempting to court votes. Moreover, for many young people polled in the study

it seems clear that the notion of identity is not fixed and cannot be generalised. It seems that when interviewed in person, people prefer a more specific categorisation relating to their country of origin or their ancestors country of origin. 'For many Latinos, identity is fluid and can change with experience and context. In a larger group it might make sense to use a broader term, while in one-on-one conversations people often try to be specific' (Torres, 2012, p.1).

For many ethnic minorities living in Los Angeles, the breadth of boundaries issued by the U.S. Census is a serious issue. Recently the inclusion of the category 'Hispanic' as an ethnic group, assumes that this is a single, discrete category. Much of the Los Angeles Latino population choose rather to differentiate their own Latino subgroups from others (Comas-Diaz, 2001; Howard, 2000). Howard (2000) suggests that subgroup identification may be more prevalent than the development of loyalties to the in-group as a whole. Thus, it appears that ethnic identity is fluid, with ever changing boundaries. With complex and numerous differences. Often over simplified by governments in an attempt to court votes. Even within Latino subgroups identity is multifarious. Difference not only exists between Anglo and Latino majority groups but also within these complicated categories.

There are endless complexities that combine to give a person a sense of belonging and self-identity. Not just the origin of one's parents and grandparents. Identity can be influenced by the area of a city where one grows up, the school they attend, the upbringing they receive, mainstream media and culture, societal norms and socio-economic inequalities. It is an evolution of self. Not a fixed category with rigid boundaries. Waves of immigration and population shifts can alter the strength of one's ethnic identity drastically. People can produce identity through language, and can utilise it to either create a sense of belonging (situated) or a flight from a situated belonging. The interactionist literature on identity outlines the construction, negotiation, and communication of identity through language, both directly in interaction, and discursively through various forms of media (McAdams, 1995; O'Brien &

Howard, 1998; Howard, 2000; Hunt et al, 1994). Identity evolves with every day interaction. It is centred around two norms, one concerning respect for situated identities and a commitment to basic moral precepts, and the second concerning ways in which people deal with failure to endorse these basic moral precepts, through denial of responsibility and other attributional tactics (Howard, 2000; Hunt et al, 1994).

Language can also influence identity in cases of social inequality. For example, citizens stratified along the lower dimensions of society, with less opportunity and mobility rely on language to avoid stigmatisation. In-group techniques may include poorer people congregating on street corners, hanging out with cheap entertainment using positive identity talk to strengthen social bonds. Out-group techniques reduce the impact of stigma from mainstream society during public interactions. Including passing, creating an appearance not too dissimilar to that of the mainstream, covering, minimising the impact of their stigmatised status defiance and occasionally collective action, with gatherings and movements (Anderson, 1994 as cited in Howard, 2000). In each case, language is the collective tool utilised to create and strengthen identities in cases of social inequality.

Much of the academic literature in the scriptorium on Identity and particularly ethnic identity focuses on difference. The difference between racial groups and sub groups. Anglo differences to Latino. Mexican to Guatemalan. East to West. Although, identity is a fluid concept, difference in the ‘real’ world is much more difficult to determine and categorise. Mixed race people fall under separate categories. Identity evolves through generations and adapts to population shifts. It is difficult to define from an objective point of view, as it is a completely subjective concept. The constant becoming of an individual is transformed by a number of changing complexities. Los Angeles to one person is LA for another. Each person has their own narrative, evolving continually at varying rates. The complexities that contribute to one’s constant becoming are difficult to analyse and determine as they are so multitudinous. Each weaving

element shapes the on going narrative. Thus, to declare that such a broad group of people have the same identity because of their connection to a country of origin is futile. The debate over how to represent multiracial individuals shows ambivalence about recognising multiracial people. Such representation is complex and involved. Some actively identify with numerous 'groups' providing multiple perspectives simultaneously, others border-cross actively by shifting among different identities as they move among the different social contexts; and yet others locate on a border, experiencing 'metiza' consciousness (Howard, 2000; Root, 1996).

More recently, literature has focused on the ethnic identity of whites. One of the most commonly adopted positions proposes that most widely adopted models of white racial consciousness begin with 'essentialist racism', emphasising race difference as essential, and 'race cognisance', in which difference signals autonomy of culture and values. In this regard, social structures, not ascribed characteristics, generate racial inequalities (Huddy and Virtanen, 1995; Howard, 2000). Academic difference and world difference are separate. In Academic terms, the identity of an individual or group varies depending upon pre-disposed guidelines and definitions. Whereas in world terms, each individual is in a constant state of becoming. Naturally differing depending on the varied complexities that have amalgamated to reformulate that individual. In a sense, the academic concepts of identity are too slow moving and fixed, as opposed to the more fluid, unconstrained, artful manipulation, and revolutionary change, in culturally 'authentic' identity.

El Barrio

My *Los Angeles* exists in the *barrio*. Here, the Latino sense of community is strong and the area remains somewhat detached from Anglo LA. A neighbourhood which is a part of Los Angles but apart from LA. It is words. It is not the beach. It is not the surf. It is not Anglo. East is east. West is west. Its architecture and symbols echo a culture from a distant place and a distant time.

Mexican rather than American. In a city of innovation, traditional values hold strong. Family and Religion are central to community life. The *barrio* is anti LA. Friendships are cherished. Land is symbolic. Not everything can be bought and sold.

Los Angeles became part of the United States during the annexation of the northern territories of Mexico in 1848 at the end of the Mexican-American War (Bedolla, 2005; Dohan, 2003; Lopez and Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Ochoa & Ochoa, 2003). American Los Angeles was built on top of a city and a society that was already there. The city's leaders and promoters dealt with any tension by defining 'Mexicans' as 'of the past' and Anglo-Saxons as 'of the future' (Deverell, 2000). Subsequently removing extant Mexican-origin people from the centres of social, economic and political power in Southern California. The word Californio connotes the Mexican-origin population living in California at the time of annexation (Bedolla, 2005; Monroy, 1993; Ochoa, 2004; Rodriguez, 2002).

Southern California Californios refused to give up power without a fight, resulting in the first two decades of American rule being conflictual. A 'race war' ensued and 'racial conflict, both collective and individual, between the newly arrived Americans and the Mexican population shaped the tenor of the times' (Camarillo, 1996: 108). According to Deverall (2004), Despite this resistance, the Anglo population eventually took control, mainly due to the manipulation of the legal, economic and political systems, rendering Mexican and other non-white populations helpless. This was due to the lack of familiarity with the systems and with the English language.

The Anglo-Americans utilised this lack of familiarity to control both socially and economically, Mexican and other non-white populations (Bedolla, 2004; Pitt and Pitt, 1997). Economic control was exerted through the implementation of a capitalist economic system and the dispossession of upper-class Mexican *hacendados* (owners of large landholdings). 'By the 1870s and certainly by the

1880s, unfavourable population ratios, combined with Americans' use of gerrymandering and other forms of ethnic exclusion, gradually forced Mexican Americans out of the political area. Consequently, by the turn of the century, Mexican Americans had lost virtually all direct voice in local and state political affairs' (Gutierrez, 1995: 24).

This social, economic and political subordination was followed by the social and geographical segregation of Mexican population in Los Angeles. Over time, two separate societies emerged within Los Angeles, one white and one Mexican (Bedolla, 2005; Dohan, 2003; Rodriguez, 2002). The social and economical status of whites and Mexicans was becoming split and unequal, resulting in geographical segregation. 'By 1872 half of the town retained its Spanish character, while the other half was becoming American' (Mayer, 1978: 112). Central Plaza, in an area called Sonora Town, became an area where Mexicans concentrated which was separate from Anglo settlements. Subsequently, southern California society was 'fundamentally structured along 'white' and 'Mexican' lines, determining where one lived and worked as well as one's social status (Allen & Turner, 1998, as cited in Bedolla, 2005).

Due to these economic and social restrictions, Mexican people lived in awful conditions, including dilapidated housing, where they shared rented crowded living space. Feeling disconnected and disillusioned with politics, they took little interest in current affairs and due to the tense atmosphere regarded authority as a threat. The Mexican people were isolated and unprotected. They became completely detached from American society, not attending socially or commercially organised events, existing within their symbolic communal boundaries. The Mexican people lived such solitary lives that Americans naively maintained the false pretence of an integrated society (Bedolla, 2005; Dohan, 2003; Rodriguez, 2002).

By the 1880s, 70 percent of Mexican people lived in either the central plaza or the south of the city. The introduction of rail roads in the 1870s had led to the

industrial expansion of the central plaza region. Thus, by the late 1880s there was little room for residential expansion. Due to this, by 1887 many Mexican people began to move to East Los Angeles (Bedolla, 2005; Ochoa & Ochoa, 2005). After 1887, Mexican people became even more segregated and geographically constrained, with the majority of the population being forced into one barrio on the East side of the city of Los Angeles. This was in no small part a result of racially restrictive real estate covenants, along with increased levels of poverty. The area of East Los Angeles where the barrio was formed, provided more affordable housing than the central plaza area, and it soon became a closely intertwined community that helped to insure ethnic survival (Dohan, 2003). 'Proximity of residence reinforced the language, Religion, and social habits of the Mexican-Americans and thus insured the continuation of their distinctive culture' (Griswold del Castillo, 1979: 43). The formation of this barrio provided a certain symbolic security that allowed the culture to thrive relatively untouched by the looming spread of Americanisation.

However, there have been negative incidents where US government institutions intervened with barrio life. In 1942 the 'sleepy lagoon incident' occurred, when twenty-two 'pachuco' gang members were arrested for the alleged murder of a rival gang member after a party. There was very little evidence as to what had happened and no witnesses. Despite this, the twenty-two gang members were arrested and an all-white jury found them guilty of crimes ranging from assault and battery to first-degree murder. This led to the creation of the Sleepy Lagoon defence committee which worked for their release. The jury's decision was reversed two years later, when a higher court ruled that there was not substantial evidence linking them to the crime (Bedolla, 2005). Moreover, in 1943, the Zoot Suit Riots occurred, where hundreds of US Navy sailors on shore leave attacked pachucos in East Los Angeles. Many Mexican youths were beaten, stripped and had their heads shaved by the Navy mobs. These Mexican youths were then arrested by police officers for 'disturbing the peace'. Amazingly, more than six hundred Mexican Americans were arrested during

the riots and not a single US Navy sailor, even though they had instigated the riots (Dohan, 2003; Ochoa & Ochoa, 2005).

A more positive outcome from this segregation was the development of a distinct Mexican American identity in Los Angeles and the maintenance of Mexican language and cultural life (Bedolla, 2005; Dohan, 2003). Before annexation, class divisions were common in Californio society with upper-class Mexicans disassociating themselves from lower class Mexicans. As a result of decreased political and economic power, class distinctions became less prevalent and a more widespread 'Mexican American' identity was formed. Griswold del Castillo (1979) asserts that the hostility, discrimination and segregation experienced by Mexican people throughout this period, led to the creation of a broad multi class, distinctive Mexican American identity in Los Angeles (McClung, 2000; Ochoa & Ochoa, 2003).

The development of the Spanish language press further solidified this identity by reporting on common experiences of lynchings, discrimination, prejudice and land disputes. The Spanish language press used the term 'la raza' to describe people of Mexican origin. This definition was one based on race rather than class or culture. As the Anglo community saw the Mexican Americans as a separate race, it strengthened racial and communal bonds within Spanish speaking communities (Bedolla, 2005; Dohan, 2003). This segregation of the Mexican American people resulted in the development of internal institutions and tight social bonds within Spanish speaking society. Although, it was widely accepted that economic and political power lay with Anglo Americans. Despite this, a solidarity has ensued and a true Mexican American identity formed.

Today, according to the United States Census Bureau (2012) Latinos make up 48.2% of the population in Los Angeles County, with Spanish the unofficial language in many areas of the city. This is the official Latino/Hispanic population statistic, but many people of central and south american descent

residing in the city still find it difficult to associate themselves with these vague terms and the actual population figure may well be higher. With this large section of the population being of Latino descent, Latino culture and heritage continues to influence many areas of the Greater Los Angeles landscape, despite not always being wholly represented through the lens of the media. Landscapes of Los Angeles are imprinted everywhere, on maps, postcards, advertisements, newspapers and t-shirts with the poorer districts completely unrepresented. These everyday images form an iconography of Los Angeles that shapes people's perception of the city (Salas and Roth, 2001).

Geographer Jerome Monnet (2001) describes this as a form of 'iconographic apartheid'. For Monnet's primary concern is not time but space. Two-dimensional aerial views of the city, as provided by road maps, present an overall image of Los Angeles but one far removed from the daily experience. 'The first horizon is formed by freeways and palm trees; these mark the universe of domesticity and neighbourhood. Above the palm trees, skyscrapers mark the existence of larger worlds of work and politics, and above the skyscrapers of the mountains, providing a still larger sense of location and situating the city in relation to the world beyond (Salas and Roth, 2001). Monnet explains that the coastline, mountains, high rises, palm trees and freeways combine to create an 'icon' of Los Angeles. The city's poorer areas such as South Central and East Los Angeles communities are entirely unrepresented. Whereas the 'Westside' and downtown are seen on popular media everywhere, East Los Angeles and ethnic Los Angeles in general, goes unseen. Thus becoming alien space, unknown and menacing (Salas and Roth, 2001). 'In this way socio-spatial segregation in the city is replicated and perpetuated' (Salas and Roth, 2001, p. 10).

Los Angeles is not difficult to find. It can be seen in a film, on the street, on a postcard or in a book. What one sees when looking at these images of the city depends greatly on the conceptual framework one brings to the looking. Therefore, when attempting to make close approximations of areas of the city,

it is important to not take too much stock in iconic images (Monnet, 2001). Otherwise the more concrete, cultural aspects of the landscape may be misinterpreted or missed all together. ‘It is very easy to find only the Los Angeles we are looking for, the Los Angeles we expect or want to find’ (Salas and Roth, 2001, p.11). Therefore, in this study, it is hoped that by adopting the role of the wanderer (Bauman, 1998), and accepting that these wanderings are influenced by the background of the researcher, and mediated through previous text and images, that a closer approximation of the Latino soccer culture in Los Angeles can be mapped out.

Research Design

The Wanderer

In the city without a known central location, is it possible to find your own metaphysical centre? In a hyperreal city, how do you attempt to capture the ‘real’ Latino soccer culture without being swayed and guided by the varying narratives? One approach is by wandering (Bauman, 1998). Wandering both physically and metaphysically. As with ‘the flaneur’ (Benjamin, 1920), or ‘the stranger’ (Simmel, 1908) and similar to the ‘derive’ (Debord, 1958), the wanderer allows the city and relevant literature to pass by whilst remaining in the role of a ‘somewhat’ detached observer. Walter Benjamin (1983) developed the notion of the flaneur at the height of 1920s and 1930s Modernism, describing the flaneur as ‘the essential figure of the modern urban spectator, an amateur detective and investigator’ (p. 54). A position representing the alienation of the city and of capitalism. A stroller or lounger who would idle along 19th century Parisian streets observing and critiquing the anonymity of modern urban life. For Benjamin the flaneur met his demise with the triumph of consumer capitalism (Lauster, 2007). However, since the writings of Benjamin, the notion of the flaneur has influenced a number of interpretations

that have attempted to explain the modern urban experience and the development of mass culture from an individual perspective.

For example, with the Situationsist International, Guy Debord (1958) developed the practice of ‘derive’. ‘A technique of rapid passage through varied ambiences’ (1958). Meaning to literally ‘drift’, the derive involved playful and constructive behaviour and awareness of psycho-geographical contours, and was thus quite different from the classic notions of journey or stroll. Although the researcher in this study is adopting the position of the wanderer (Bauman, 1998), the ‘derive’ offers some important insights into the role of chance in the practice of wandering. For Debord, the action of chance is ‘naturally conservative and in a new setting tends to reduce everything to habit or to an alternation between a limited number of variants’ (1958, p.62). Hence, in this study, the researcher is aware that despite attempting to adopt a ‘somewhat’ detached style whilst wandering, it is impossible to remove physical attributes and sociability that affect chance meetings and interactions during any ethnocentric wandering. As expressed in Marx’s phrase; ‘men can see nothing around them that is not their own image; everything speaks to them of themselves. Their very landscape is alive’ (as cited in Debord, 1958: 63).

Debord (1958) maintained the randomness of the ‘derive’ by breaking through fields where chance holds sway by creating new conditions more favourable to the purposes of the ‘derive’. Thus, the ‘derive’ remains a random journey of urban exploration but within certain parameters. The first psycho-geographic attractions discovered by the practitioner may tend to fixate them round new habitual axis, to which they will constantly be drawn back (1958). During the ‘derive’ one or more persons drop their relations, leisure activities and work commitments and all their other motives for movement and instead be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find there. This process involves both letting go and its necessary contradictions of analysing the absolute or relative character of fissures in the urban network, of the role of micro climates, of distinct neighbourhoods with no relation to administrative

boundaries, and above all of the dominating action of centres of attraction, must be completed by psycho geographical methods. Psycho-geographical contours include the constant currents, fixed points and vortexes that strongly discourage entry into or exit from certain zones.

Where as the ‘derive’ relies on the ecological analysis of the surrounding architecture and geography from a particularly detached viewpoint, the wanderer (Bauman, 1998) can adopt a ‘tourist gaze’, seamlessly blending into the fleeting, transient nature of globalised, postmodern Los Angeles. Recognising and accepting a view of the city that is mediated through text and images. Allowing previous experience and narratives to act as signposts in the undulating journey. For Urry (2002), the ‘tourist gaze’ symbolises a break from everyday routine and encourages an alternative way of looking at the environment. There are aspects of this ‘tourist gaze’ that signify the experience of postmodernity. Modernity involves ‘the separate development of a number of institutional and normative spheres, of the economy, the family, the state, science, morality, and an aesthetic realm’ and vertically, ‘between high and low culture, between scholarly or auratic art and popular pleasures and between elite and mass forms of consumption’ (Urry, 2002: 76). Postmodernity represents a decline in the barriers between these realms. This decline has been brought about partly by the development of mass media, which has provided access to the culture of the elite, reducing the exclusiveness of their lifestyles. Also, the media have ‘undermined what is thought to be thought of as properly backstage, as what should be kept private and what can be made public’ (Urry, 2002, p.83).

The media plays a major role in creating the ‘tourist gaze’. Influencing what the tourist chooses to visit and how the tourist looks at a particular site. The way in which a tourist or wanderer views a place can vary depending on the purpose of travel. Urry (2002) describes various types of tourist gaze, the spectatorial gaze - acquiring sites as itinerary, the reverential gaze - looking at a shrine - the anthropological gaze - interpreting the cultural symbols of a place -

the environmental gaze - observing conservation practices and the mediated gaze - recognising a location famous for being on television or other media. In many ways, all of these approaches are highly mediated. How can one separate the influence of mass media from the experience of most contemporary tourists? The prevalence of visual media has made almost anything a potential spectacle. For many contemporary tourists, they may well reject the pursuit of authenticity and revel in the wonder of the spectacle, but for those educational and spiritual wonderers in search of the authentic, the journey is still highly mediated and simulated. Narratives of others shape the way in which one experiences the city. Therefore, when attempting to view it in its original, the wanderer must accept and acknowledge aspects of this simulation whilst attempting to maintain an inductive process.

According to Bauman (1998), with open access to global mobility, and global boundaries altering, all people have the potential to become wanderers. Wanderers are here today and gone tomorrow. They are independent and free, with a desire for the unknown. With the continual globalisation of the world, there are more potential wanderers. Wanderers can also be referred to as tourists. ‘Tourism – in sociological understanding – consists of the whole of phenomena of space movement connected with voluntary temporal change of place in space, change of the life rhythm and environment accompanied by making personal contact with the visited environmental (natural, cultural or social)’ (Przeclawski, 2003: 44).

Bauman (1998) states that tourists become wanderers and put the ‘bitter-sweet dreams of homesickness’ above home comforts through their own choice; either because they consider it the most reasonable life-strategy ‘under the circumstances’, or because they have been ‘seduced by the true or imaginary pleasures of a sensations-gatherer’s life’ (p. 92). An understanding of Bauman’s (1998) wanderer is important within this study. This approach lends itself to the postmodern, ever shifting fragmentary of Los Angeles. The role adopted in this study can be defined as that of a wanderer, travelling physically and

symbolically, attempting to define Latino soccer culture within the greater Los Angeles area. This study attempts to maintain a grounded approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), by permitting the data itself to shape the emergent theory (Charmaz, 2003; Clarke, 2005; Glaser, 1994; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). However, this study attempts to disarticulate grounded theory from its remaining positivist roots. Exchanging the traditional grounded theory root metaphor of social process/action with an ecological root metaphor of social worlds/arenas/negotiations as an alternative conceptual infrastructure (Clarke, 2005). Hence, looking beyond the 'knowing subject' and including extant discourse in the situation of inquiry. Narrative, visual and historical narratives are all integral to understanding social processes, so it is hoped that by exploring the wider situation more throughly (Clarke, 2005), a close approximation of Latino soccer culture in Los Angeles can be made.

The Wanderer and Grounded Theory

Thus, by adopting the role of the wanderer (Bauman, 1998; 2000), the researcher is accepting a forever changing landscape, and welcomes the discovery of uncharted and unfamiliar scenery. Allowing new findings to emanate and guide. The foundation of a grounded approach involves the researcher formulating a general hypothesis from observation of initial cases; investigating subsequent cases in the search for a negative instance; and reformulating the hypothesis to cope with those confounding cases that are encountered. The process is deemed to be exhausted when no new discrepant cases can be found (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The researcher then makes informed, yet rather subjective approximations, and the now revised approximation is allowed to stand. It is these approximations that form the basis for the theory building. In simple terms, where possible the researcher allows the literature and data to lead and direct the study. Thus, the process involves an accumulation of conforming evidence based on experience (inductive), rather than a process where the truth or falsity of the theory is known in advance of experience or observation (deductive).

Therefore, it is important to determine; a) what shapes and organises the choices made within the scriptorium, and b) how a researcher discovers their desired role in the process. In this study, the researcher defines an approach that allows one to open up the world, rather than impose oneself on the world. The role involves entering the literary unknown with intrigue and modesty, allowing the discovery of literature to remain open ended (Curtis, 1986; Patton, 1990). There is not a preconceived start and end point to this journey. The researcher remains self-reflexive and attempts to question why particular literary is privileged. The literary journey is not mapped out beforehand.

This inductive approach is not a rigid process. It is one of emphasis and style (Orton, 1997). To allow the literature to navigate the researcher into the unknown, the process needs to have liquid boundaries. It is a journey that is fluid allowing extreme changes of direction, rather than refusing them. In contrast to the grounded approach outlined above, some researchers claim that regardless of the method, research is inherently motivated by personal values and political and social interests (Habermas, 1972; Flood and Jackson, 1991). However, this study will define a role for the researcher that is self-reflexive and inductive, attempting to allow the theory to derive directly from collected data. Although, the researcher is aware of the positivist roots of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978) and does accept that even when adopting the Situational Analysis (Clarke, 2005), the background, experience and emotions of the researcher will affect the research journey.

The role of the researcher in this study, is to maintain a self-reflexive approach with regard to identifying literary signposts. This is achieved by adopting the role of Bauman's (1998) wanderer, who fleetingly travels from one area to another, seeing the world move by, rather than moving through the world. It is thought that this role will lend itself to the inductive research process, enabling the researcher to travel through and around the scriptorium, allowing the literature to steer the direction of the study (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This

role is inclusive and accepts that when defining culture, the boundaries have to be fluid. Literature from various areas can help to shape the definition of Latino soccer culture within the Greater Los Angeles region. Thus, by adopting the role of the wanderer (Bauman, 1998; 2000), the researcher is accepting a forever changing landscape, and welcomes the discovery of uncharted and unfamiliar scenery.

Mapping the Mess

It is advisable to look from the tide pool to the stars and then
back to the tide pool again.
John Steinbeck, *The Log from the* Sea of Cortez

How do you begin to interpret a place where everything is fragmented? A polyglot, polycentric, polycultural pastiche that is engaged in the rewriting of the American social contract (Abu-Lughod, 1995; Davis, 1990; 2005; Soja, 1996). Meaning is found in combinations of already created patterns. Identity is formulated by individual choice, not inherited as a group. Created from a bric-a-brac approach that combines several traditional styles. With a combination of weaving narratives fractured and split. Here pop art reflects culture. Lacking a common narrative, the city represents a collage of merging smaller cities.

In order to view this place in its original, one must view it on the move. Becoming part of its fluid nature. In an ever-shifting, simulated urban metropolis containing every type of person but not being defined by one, the separate narratives continually evolve. These shifting fragmentations merge to make up the whole. Thus, relativism of the collage has set in. When attempting to unpack the complex, multi-layered Latino symbolic communities in Los Angeles, the researcher must keep concepts open ended. By keeping alive an inductive process and allowing the data to shape the emergent theory. As an 'outsider' in these Latino symbolic communities, it is important to recognise

the various fragmented narratives from a neutral standpoint. Each weaving narrative merges to shape the wider community as a whole. In order to gain a close understanding of any part of the whole, one must appreciate the interrelationships within this fluid collage.

How then do we begin to map the common symbols of Latino soccer culture in a postmodern city? The methodology has to keep alive an inductive process. A process that opens up the research to a close approximation of the realities of Latino soccer culture, instead of the pretend narrative. Los Angeles is a city of intertwined narratives and those with a voice hold power. Very often the voices heard most loudly are Anglo voices, either in academic, media or entertainment circles. Most anthropological and ethnocentric accounts of Los Angeles are mediated through these texts and images (Dear, 2000; Scott and Soja, 1996). In this study, the researchers 'ethnocentric wanderings' and subsequent field notes of coaching within Latino symbolic communities are mediated through text and images. The experience itself is shaped by previous narratives. Narratives such as frayed Mexican and US relations, history of migration flows, and perceived US soccer culture in Los Angeles. These all influence the experience and observations made by the outsider of Latino soccer culture. Thus, in order to open up the research and to explore this soccer culture within Latino symbolic communities, it is important to map the complexity of this situation using an inductive, robust and postmodern methodology. One that lends itself to the cultural hybridity, spatial (dis)orders and instability of Los Angeles (Dear, 2002; Nijman, 2000).

Thus in order to keep the inductive process in play, this study adopts a Situational Analysis (Clarke, 2003; 2005). A methodological process that takes Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) through the postmodern turn. Situational Analysis (Clarke, 2005) better addresses the differences and complexities of postmodern society. By mapping out the key human and non human elements, the social worlds and arenas, and the positionality of discourse, one can better elucidate and analyse the complexities and

instabilities within the situation of inquiry. This situational mapping approach draws on interview, ethnographic, historical, visual, and other discursive materials, including multisite research (Clarke, 2003). Allowing the researcher to 'to draw together studies of discourse and agency, action and structure, image, text, and context, history and the present moment - to analyse complex situations of inquiry' (Clarke, 2003: 554). Thus, situation analysis has a drastically different conceptual infrastructure from the 'basic social process' concept that underpins traditional grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Whilst producing research on dying hospital patients, Glaser and Strauss (1965; 1967) pioneered the research method of gathering theory from collected qualitative data. As they produced their analysis of dying, they developed systematic methodological strategies that social scientists could adopt for studying many other topics (Bigus, Hadden & Glaser, 1994; Charmaz, 2003, 2006; Glaser, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These strategies recommended developing theories from research grounded in data, and lead to *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) countered the existing view that scientific, reliable research had to be produced using quantitative methodology. Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasised the importance of the emergence of theory from data, and offered systematic strategies for qualitative researchers.

It provided a challenge to the scientific paradigm at the time (Kuhn, 1964). In this method the analyst collects qualitative data through an empirical approach into the study of social life. This data is then coded, through 'open coding', word by word, section by section. Then temporary labels 'codes' are given to particular sections. The analyst then determines whether the codes generated though one data source appear in any other dater source and compare them. These are known as 'related codes', created through constant comparison of data. These related codes are then compared and form analytically ambitious 'categories'. These categories are then integrated into a 'theoretical analysis' of the substantive area (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 1995; 2003; Clarke

2003; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Thus the theoretical concepts emerge directly from coding, constant comparison and categorisation of the data. Since the emergence of grounded theory (1967), many researchers have elaborated on the theory and made their own adaptations (Biernacki, 1986; Charmaz, 2002, 2003, 2006, Glaser, 1992, 1994; Herbert & Posch, 1989; Stern, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Grounded theory methods can be modifiable during the research process (Charmaz, 2002; 2003). Glaser (1992) suggests that it is not only the theory that emerges over time but there can also be emergent methods, which change throughout the study.

However, even though Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), provided a more analytical and systematic research strategy for qualitative study, through comparisons, theoretical sampling, memos and other techniques, according to Clarke (2005) it still maintains a Modernist world view, particularly by looking for a pure 'basic social process' (Mathar, 2008) and could be pushed further around the postmodern turn (Clarke, 2005). The postmodern turn has influenced various academic disciplines such as; social sciences, humanities, and professional schools, as well as knowledge based sites of production such as; the media, film and architecture (Clarke, 2003).

'If Modernism emphasised universality, generalisation, simplification, permanence, stability, wholeness, rationality, regularity, homogeneity, and sufficiency, then postmodernism has shifted emphases to localities, partialities, positionalities, complications, tenuousness, instabilities, irregularities, contradictions, heterogeneities, situatedness, and fragmentation - complexities' (Clarke, 2003: 557). Modernism represented the rejection of tradition and authority in favour of reason and natural science, whereas postmodernism is a rejection of the sovereign autonomous individual with an emphasis upon collective, anonymous experience (Keep, McLaughlin & Parmar, 2000). In a sense, the study of postmodernism includes the study of the most complicated, interrelated and interconnected situations with a certain

acceptance of the ungraspable (Usher, 1997). Thus, staying 'true' to complexity.

Situational Analysis; Grounded Theory through the Postmodern Turn

Despite this level of complexity, situational based research after the postmodern turn is possible. Even though there may not have been a complete end to ethnography, and other methods, including grounded theory, there has been an acceptance by many that these approaches lacked the reflexivities and acknowledgments of complexities that have defined the postmodern turn (Clarke, 2003; 2005). For Clarke (2003) a combination of new and older approaches, through a multitude of methods, can provide theoretical insights through the postmodern turn. Asserting that 'such methods should be epistemologically/ontologically based in the pragmatist soil that has historically nurtured symbolic interactionism and grounded theory' (Clarke, 2003, p.1). Thus renovating the fundamental *always already* postmodern edge of a grounded theory founded in symbolic interactionism. There have been some more contemporary versions of grounded theory that have deeply enhanced the constructionist tendencies of one of its originators, Strauss, opening it up to more directly address recent poststructural/postmodern concerns with difference, reflexivity, rationality, positionality and so on (Charmaz, 2000; 2003; 2006; Clarke, 2003; 2005). These contemporary versions of grounded theory both sustain and enhance Strauss's own deep symbolic interactionist commitments. Strauss's negotiated order and related work pulled the social around the postmodern turn through its methodological (grounded theoretical) recognition of the partial, tenuous, shifting, and unstable nature of the empirical world and of its constructedness (Katovich and Reese, 1993).

For Clarke (2003; 2005) Strauss (1978; 1991; 1993) furthered the 'postmodernization of the social through his conceptualizations of social worlds and arenas as modes of understanding the deeply situated yet always fluid organizational elements of negotiations'. Strauss offered an intermediate or meso-social vision. Where the commitments people make to various groups and their positions, especially the commitment to action in situations where those groups are involved, organise social life. These groups were labelled social worlds. These social worlds were seen as mutually constitutive/co-produced through negotiations taking place in arenas. Thus these were sensitive to the instability of situations and the characteristic changing nature of postmodern assumptions, asserting that 'things can always be otherwise'. The postmodern turn has highlighted various problematics of methodology. 'These include an ever-deepening recognition of the always already political nature of the practices of research and interpretation; enhanced reflexivity on the part of the researchers - and increasingly on the part of those researched - about research processes and products' (Clarke, 2003). This recognition of the problematics of methodology has lead to a crisis of representation and has brought up many questions about the legitimacy of both research and the researcher. For Clarke (2003), this has led to a de/repositioning of the researcher from 'all-knowing analyst' to 'acknowledged participant' in the production of always partial knowledges (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). However, all of these postmodern problematics are addressed through situational analysis.

Taking methodologies through the postmodern turn, requires taking situatedness, variations, complicatedness, differences, and positionality/ relationality very seriously. Recognising their complexities, multiplicities, instabilities and contradictions is a foremost aspect of this process (Clarke, 2003; 2005). Some social scientists treat postmodernism with a certain amount of disdain due to its erasure of context. A lot of research relentlessly seeks commonalities whilst avoiding and evading representations of the complexities, messiness, and depth of actual situations and differences in social

life. If one is unsure of the complexities of situatedness after the postmodern turn, Clarke (2003) is very clear in explaining them. Most of the methodological moves since the postmodern turn have focused on individual voice and its representations. Including auto-ethnography, interpretive ethnography, new biographies/life stories, interpretive phenomenologies and many forms of narrative analysis (Clarke, 2003). Thus situational analysis goes one step further by bringing the social, in the form of the full situation of inquiry further around the postmodern turn, and grounds it in new analytical approaches that reflect the insights of postmodern theory. Clarke is deeply committed to, as Denzin (2001, p.85) puts it 'situating interpretation'. Encouraging interactionists and others, to expand their theoretical framework and be sensitive to broader domains of social action. Although, it is not only based on action. The analytic focus needs to be fully on the situation of inquiry broadly conceived (Clarke, 2003; 2005). 'In many ways grounded theory was always already around the postmodern turn, while in other ways it was not particularly so, and/or not clearly so. Situational maps and analyses make it so' (Clarke 2003: 558).

So how does Situational Analysis renovate and regenerate grounded theory method, and push it further round the postmodern turn? Firstly Clarke (2003; 2005) disarticulated grounded theory from its remaining positivist roots and enhanced its *always already* present. Exchanging the traditional grounded theory root metaphor of social process/action with an ecological root metaphor of social worlds/arenas/negotiations as an alternative conceptual infrastructure. Thus allowing situational analyses at the meso-level, in new social organisational and discursive settings as well as individual analyses. rather than focusing on a basic social process (action), Situational Analysis centred on complex analysis of the social situation through (1) maps of key elements of the situation, variation and difference; (2) maps of social worlds and arenas in meso-level discursive negotiations; and (3) maps of issues and discursive axes focused around difference of positionality and relationality. Thus 'generating sensitising concepts and theoretical integration toward provocative yet

provisional grounded theorising rather than the development of substantive and formal theories as the ultimate goals. In a sense repositioning the researcher, from' all knowing analyst' to a position more sympathetic to the complexity and instability of social situation in the postmodern era. In a sense the situation itself becomes the focus of the research, rather than the researchers personal objective of generating theoretical concepts from basic social processes based on action within the situation. Situational analysis is a research design that facilitates multisite research, including discursive textual, visual, and archival historical materials and documents, as well as ethnographic (interview and observational) transcripts and field notes to more fully take into account the sea of discourses in which we are continually awash in the postmodern era (Clarke, 2003, 2005).

Situational Maps

Situational analyses are conducted through the making of three kinds of maps (1. Situational Maps, 2. Social Worlds/Arenas Maps, 3. Positional Maps) and following through analytical work and memos of various kinds.

First are situational maps that lay out the major human, nonhuman, discursive, and other elements in the research situation of concern and provoke analyses of relations among them (an abstract situational map is shown in figure 1). These maps are intended to capture and discuss the messy complexities of the situation in their dense relations and permutations. These situational maps attempt to define ontologically the different types of elements, both human (individuals and collectives) and non-human (objects, discourses etc) that are in the situation of enquiry. This process involves the quick writing down of all these elements in no particular order and reflects the messy nature of the situation. Thus helping to approximate who and what are in the situation and who and what matter in the situation? and what elements make a difference? (Clarke, 2005, p.87). The symbolic meanings of these elements should be remembered. For example if Major League Soccer in the US was an element

within the situational map, the different symbolic meanings would be clustered around it (e.g. global capital, marketing, demographics of players/coaches/ spectators, youth policies etc). These symbolic meanings and the actors who produce them should be also be included in this mapping process, as they provide insight into the nature of the field. Of course, the question applies, when should one stop in this mapping process? The researchers decision on what is included or excluded from the map is 'a political statement' (Law, 2004). However, these early situational maps are inclusive and should include as many of the human and non-human elements within the situation. This process is an open process and does not involve ordered mapping. It is an unorganised, messy mapping process, that opens up the situation.

Figure 1. Abstract situational map framework (Clarke, 2005)

Figure 1. shows the first Abstract situational map which is intentionally very messy and therefore very accessible and manipulable. The situational map should include all the analytically relevant human and nonhuman, material and symbolic/discursive elements of a certain situation as framed by those in it and

by the analyst (Clarke, 2003; 2005). Nonhuman actors and actants structurally condition the interactions within the situation through their specific properties and requirements. Hence, it is important that the key non human elements that influence human action are plotted within the map. Clarke (2003) gives some examples of nonhuman elements that relate to the availability of research supplies in Western social sciences. Reliable power sources, physical infrastructure and materials are usually taken for granted. However with California's frequent blackouts, power output for research purposes is not always totally reliable. Thus, in Clarke's example study into research supplies, this nonhuman element might become an important relational element within the study. An element that may not have seemed of importance at first. Therefore the elements within the situational map need close analytical consideration.

Ultimately, it is the researcher's responsibility to get these into the data through ethnographic observations, field notes about interviews, and through interviews in general. The key questions in this initial mapping process are who or what is in the situation? and who and what matter in the situation in relation to the situation of inquiry. These maps are shaped by data gathered which can be captured through various qualitative approaches, and then coded using conventional grounded theorising. Clarke (2003) asserts that memoing is key in this process; inadequate memoing is the fundamental project of most research projects; scribbled notes are always better than nothing and thoughtful memos early on in the process are theoretical capital in the bank. Memoing helps to code the data, which in turn helps to form a theoretical categories through constant comparison. 'What appears in your situational map is based on your situation of concern - your project' (Clarke, 2003: 563). Although the abstract situational map will not have every element within the situation listed, inclusivity is important. Having a large, messy map with many of the elements within the situation listed that the researcher can figure out, can be empowering for the analyst. By staring at this map and continually revisiting it, adding and deleting elements allows the researcher to get a grasp on the situation. Which

allows analysis to proceed. Memoing at the end of these mapping sessions is important, noting new insights, signalling shifts of emphasis or direction and outlining further date needs for theoretical sampling (Clarke, 2003).

After producing a messy, abstract situational map of the situation containing the relative human and nonhuman elements, a working/ordered map situational map can be produced. These maps are useful in keeping a general conspectus over the elements; it is not meant to overcome the messiness, but rather, used for practical reasons (Clarke, 2005; Mathar, 2008). Thus, the ontological different elements can be sorted into a conservative classification system. However, Clarke (2005) asserts that these working/ordered maps are not integral to the development of theoretical concept, 'some people may not even want to do the ordered working version. That's fine. It isn't necessary' (p. 89). For this study, these working/ordered situational maps are utilised as another form of theoretical sampling. As elements are taken from the abstract situational map and placed into the working/ordered map, it is hoped that the researcher can gain more theoretical sensitivity to the situation and it will provide a valuable opportunity for reevaluation of the key elements. Also, by grouping the elements in this way, it could help the relational connectedness of elements emerge.

Relational Analyses

In the relational analyses of the situational maps, it can be useful to make numerous photocopies of the messy, abstract situational map, and then draw the lines representing the relations in different colours, maybe according to Clarke (2003) to highlight various perspectives. This use of colours can be very useful. For example, if say an organisation within the map holds significant power, the organisation's perspectives on other elements could be highlighted in a specific colour. This in turn would help to get a closer understanding of which actors are attended to and which are not, and showing the organisations discourses on its 'others'. Thus, silences are able to speak (Clarke, 2003). This

process is important as the relational analysis begins to show that 'worlding' does not occur due to the self-organisation of single elements, but instead occurs because of the connectedness of the individual elements that makes the ongoingness (Haraway, 2003, Mathar, 2008). As with Steinbeck's holism, it is the complexity and connectedness of individual elements that merge to create the whole. These connections are not chaotic but inter-related and inter-dependent, like the series of events that led to the Dust Bowl catastrophe. They may seem unrelated, but they combine to create a series of actions and reactions. Sometimes the connections do not necessarily require a clear purpose, they can be part of the ongoingness of the whole. Like the Joad family in the Grapes of Wrath heading West, moving forward to avoid ruin, without a clear objective.

How do you know when the situational map is a close approximation of the situation of inquiry? According to Clarke (2005), the key word here is 'saturation' from classical grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Having worked with the map numerous times and having added, deleted and reorganised, one should be able to talk at length about every entry and about how it relates to many if not most other entries, and about the relations that 'matter' (Clarke, 2005). The meaning of symbols is permanently (re)produced, therefore nothing is finished and closed, but reshaped in everyday actions (Mathar, 2008). Thus, each map should result in a series of memos about the relations plotted, that remain open and do not search for fixed answers. These memos, according to Clarke (2003) should be 'tentative, full of question, rather than being answers in and of themselves' (p. 569). These memos can act as analytical 'place holders' and help to shape the emergent theoretical sampling. Relational maps can help the researcher choose which stories to tell. Overall, situational maps allow the researcher to open up the situation of inquiry, by plotting all of the relevant human, non human and discursive elements. This process is sketchy and untidy in order to reflect the field's messiness (Clarke, 2003; Mathar, 2008).

Social Worlds/Arenas Maps

The next group of maps in the situational analysis are the social worlds and arenas maps. Social worlds represent collectives that participate in the same discourse, within one social arena. 'Social worlds/arenas/discourse analysis is deeply rooted in symbolic interactionism. Most areas of sociological research concerned with 'variables', focuses on the individual as the unit of analysis and frames the notion of the social as aggregate. Whereas, symbolic interactionism in general and social worlds/arenas analysis and focuses on meaning-making social groups, collectives of various sorts, and collective action (Clarke, 2005). Strauss (1978) defines these social worlds as 'universes of discourse'. Various questions of power enter and lead us to ask how people organise themselves vis-a-vis the broader structural situations, in part through acting, producing, and responding to discourses (Clarke, 2005). The role of mapping the social world within an arena is to 'upset the binary between Modernist conceptions of knowing subjects and objects as having essences, and the extreme end of postmodernist conceptualisation that argues that all is fragmented, unrelated, and falls into nothingness' (Clarke, 2005). There are intermediary relentlessly social spaces and places (Law, 2004), and social worlds/arena/discourses analyses seek to frame them (Clarke, 2005). The analyst needs to elucidate which social worlds and sub-worlds come together in a particular arena and why. What are their perspectives and what do they hope to achieve through their collective action? Moreover, what older and newer/emergent nonhuman technologies and other non -human elements are characteristic of each world? What are their properties? What constraints, opportunities, and resources do they provide in that world (Clarke, 2005: 110). Thus signalling the inclusion of the new, postmodern roots in the process, with the actor-network theory (Foucault, 1983) and the abolishment of the internal-external dichotomy (Mathar, 2008).

So how does the researcher produce this social world/arena map? Firstly, the dotted lines indicate porous boundaries. This porousness is what gives this

analysis flexibility, with the boundaries ability to take change and heterogeneous perspectives into account. Hence, there can be multiple social worlds and some overlap, representing from a bird's eye view, that some individuals and collectives are participating in more than one (Clarke, 2005). The researcher must then decide which stories they can tell coherently, depending upon the coding of the gathered data. According to Clarke (2005), it is highly unlikely that the final reports of a research project, will tell all the 'big stories' framed by the social worlds/arenas map. However, the map should help the research to determine which stories to tell. Here, the researcher should seek difference(s) and variation(s) of all kinds within worlds as well as between worlds. This can result in mapping contradictions and not having to commit oneself analytically quite yet precisely because of the variation(s*). 'It can mean that we are unsure when/whether there are different social worlds because of the depth of different* perspectives of participants themselves within what may be one deeply polarized or balkanized world or several different worlds' (p.112). Thus, specifying the key social worlds is the major analytical task for this map. As with Bucher's (1962; 1987) concept of segments of social worlds, where segments can be social or reform movements within a particular world, or parts of worlds deeply committed to different facets of the world's work, and not valuing other facets very highly unless or until their utility or unity is questioned by outsiders. Thus, laying out the segments of a world frames the key interior differences. The researcher is continually (re)adjusting, back and forth, among similarities and differences, boundary placements, and negotiating conflicting subgroup perspectives in producing these maps.

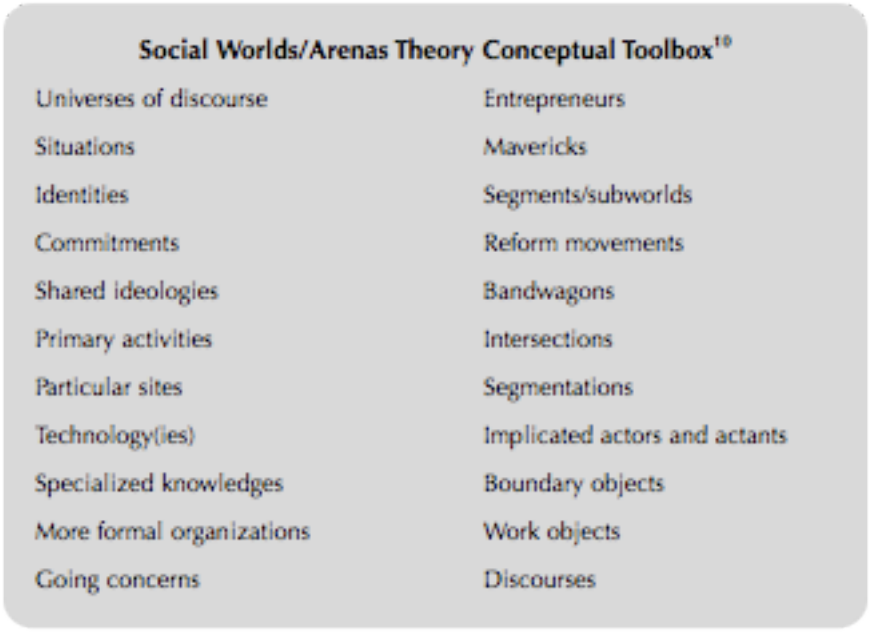


Figure 2. Social Worlds/Arena Theory Conceptual Toolbox (Clarke, 2005)

Clarke provides a conceptual toolbox to guide the researcher in plotting the social world/arena map. The sensitising concepts (as shown in figure 2) can help in locating the particular stories of interest within social worlds in the gathered data (Clarke, 2005). The difficulty when producing this social world/ arena map, is to appropriately layout the size, locations, intersections of the social worlds within one arena. The birds eye view allows the researcher to keep in mind the broader field of interest and enables interpretation of data more easily, especially when ethnographic findings seem unrelated in comparison to the anticipated practices of the social world. Therefore these maps are supposed to be reworked over time in order to achieve saturation at the end (Clarke, 2005). These social world/arena maps help the researcher to conceptualise and represent collective actors. The researcher has to actively draw the map, which enables them to get a grasp on the structuring of action within the situation. They become conceptual infrastructure of the project at hand, underpinning many of the theoretical stories later told. Once the map is produced, the researcher often remains engaged with it, seeking to modify and improve it if needed. These kind of engagements help to deepen the analysis in

the research process over time. ‘They set up ongoing interrogations of the self as an analyst’ (Clarke, 2003).

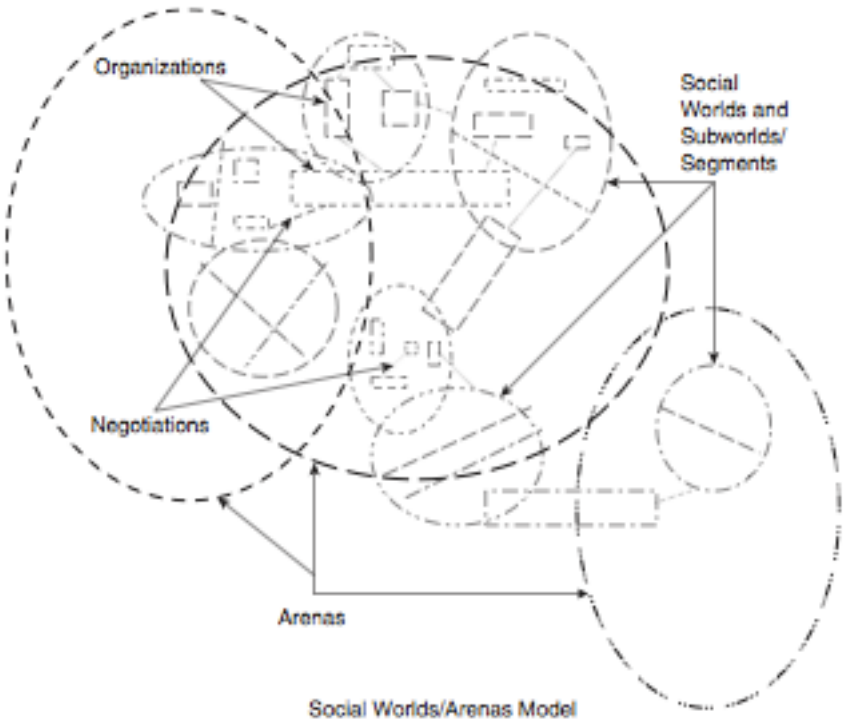


Figure 3. Social Worlds/Arenas Model (Clarke, 2005)

In figure 3, there is an example shown by Clarke (2005) of an abstract social world/arena map. The smaller circles indicate the worlds, the bigger ones the arena. This example map helps to contextualise the situation and define which social worlds cluster around the arena, all on behalf of the individual members (Clarke, 2005; Mathar, 2008). Although the members, as the map represents, are not organised in one group, but are separated individually within the arena because there is no collective social action which solely comes from the members. Despite being able to map these individuals, it may not be clear what these social world/arena maps do not capture. For example, as Mathar (2008) states, ‘what about the media within this situation? What is made invisible when we do not map them in? This, again, is a open question’ (Mathar, 2008: p.1). Social world/arena maps help to presents collective discourses and

collective actions in the social world, which can lead to perceptions of how things may further develop.

The researcher is able, with information from the collected data, to project interpretations on interactions and power relations, and include actors that may have different perspectives. Thus, the abstract nature of these maps, give the researcher the flexibility, to conceptualise the relevant discourse and actions within situation in relation to the broader field of interest (Clarke, 2003; 2005, Mathar, 2008). In this study, these social world/arena maps will be used to identify the major social worlds, sub-worlds and segments within Latino symbolic communities, and conceptualise the relations between them. The production of this map will be (re)adjusted numerous time to ensure a deep understanding of the arena and its relating power structures. The data gathered from qualitative semi-structured interviews will be coded and constantly compared (in the classic grounded theorising process), and the emergent theoretical framework will help to shape the map.

Social world/arena analysis attempts to represent most if not all of the major social worlds in a particular situation. It is a democratic 'regime of representation' (Latour, 1987), than other analytical approaches. This evolved from and relates to a Deweyian pragmatist/symbolic interactionist approach (Clarke, 2003). Thus, challenging functionalist models based on normal/ deviant, core/periphery, or substructure/superstructure distinctions. In this process of representing key social worlds, the analyst assigns power to the some what less powerful worlds, hence the democratic approach. Simultaneous legitimate analyses are possible at the same time. They can be slippery to do, but this itself can become an analytical advantage (Clarke, 2003; 2005). 'The porous nature of the boundaries of worlds and arenas and their plasticity are vital, as it is through these that changes enter the situation of inquiry' (Clarke, 2003: 124). This process of mapping social worlds within wider arenas, is a form of organisational analysis, focusing on the organisation of meaning making and commitments within a situation. The boundaries of these social

worlds, can overlap and be more or less contiguous with those of formal organisations (Clarke, 2003). This distinguishes the social world theory from most other organisational theory (Clarke, 1991; 2003; Strauss, 1982). Within the social world maps, there may be some key actors that appear separate and do not overlap or even provide meaning within the situation. For Clarke (2003), this is not necessarily a problem for the researcher, as these maps are not supposed to find all the answers, but rather conceptualise the complexity of the situation. Making these complexities clear, is fundamental to the situational analysis process. The researcher should avoid oversimplification and smoothing over, to fit well with a theoretical objective. It is these narrative differences that provide a close approximation of the situation. The perspective/ideological/discourse differences provide a fuller understanding of the situation. These differences can be more clearly represented in the last form of map in the process, the positional maps.

Positional Maps

Positional maps lay out most of the major positions taken in the data on major discursive issues therein - topics of focus, concern, and often but not always disagreement. These maps are implemented using discursive materials such as ethnographic notes, participant observation, qualitative interviews. Issues, positions on issues, absences of positions where they might be expected and differences in discursive positions are the framework for positional maps (Clarke, 2003). There is no negative position here, that would require a researcher to be biased toward a particular position, which would contradict the inductive nature of grounded theorising. Instead, there are just other positions. As with Foucault (1973), the analysis looks beyond ‘the knowing subject’. The positions plotted on positional maps, are positions in discourses. Individuals and collectives from various sorts, can hold multiple, similar and contradictory positions. ‘Positional maps represent the heterogeneity of positions’ (Clarke, 2003: 126). They do not seek to represent individual or collective voices or experiences in their own terms in depth, instead, the positions are maps to

provide a representation of the various discursive positions taken within the situation.

Positional maps are separate to situational and social world/arena maps, because here the researcher does not take into consideration individuals or groups, it is purely the discourse that shapes the map. As Clarke (2005) asserts, by articulating positions independent of persons, organisations, social worlds, arenas, nonhuman actants and so on, provides the researcher with the space to see situated positions better (p. 127). There is much emphasis on contradiction. A person or group may hold multiple, contradictory positions, therefore, it would oversimplify the matter to represent them as constant entities. Mapping the positions as independent discourses, provides space between actors and positions (Clarke, 2005). This enables the researcher to articulate doubts and recognise the importance of silent gaps. Figure 4. shows an example of an abstract positional map. To begin with, the analyst deciphers from the data, what the basic issues are in the situation of inquiry, about which there are different positions. These differences are then plotted dimensionally. This process, while seeming simple, can become more complex, when a researcher finds a position and struggles to know what issue(s) it speaks to. Therefore, the analyst must move back and forth from elucidating issues and axes, to positions and vice versa (Clarke, 2003). In the abstract positional map (figure 4), there are two main axes, representing more versus less. Analytical fracturing, which includes basic grounded theory coding an situational and social worlds/arenas mapping can open up the data for the researcher, providing heterogeneous positions and other aspects of difference(s). Coding is key in this process as it enables the researcher to identify and then label different positions taken within the data.

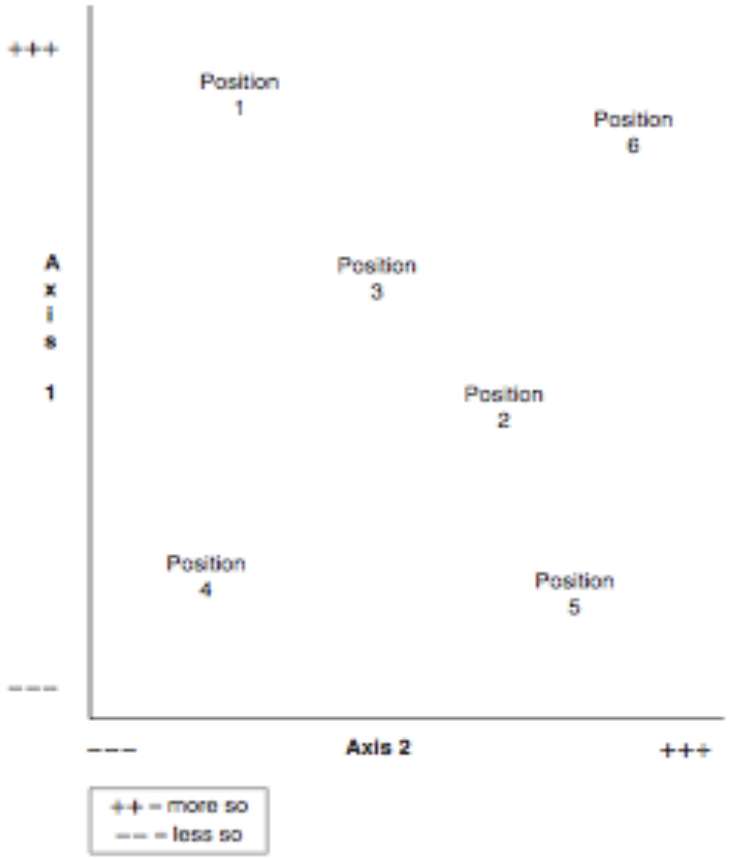


Figure 4. Abstract Positional Map Framework

Positional maps feature two axis, with the description of extremes at each end of the axes. These define the scope of the space in which positions can be articulated. The range varies from '+++' more so, to '---' less so. Whilst these extremes provide the framework in which to plot the relevant positional discourses, they are not always a must. Merely mapping the emerging positions, conceptualises the discursive situation for the researcher, and clearly captures what is not articulated. This may be key to grasping the nature of the situation. Moreover, with continued coding of the data, it may appear that some individuals or groups express multiple, contradictory positions on a particular issue. According to Clarke (2003; 2005), this represents the complexity of attempting to understand a social situation after the postmodern turn. The representation of the field's messiness, contradictions and heterogeneities, provokes the researcher to me more self-reflective, returning to the coded data and situational maps on numerous occasions, each time gaining a more deeper

understanding of the discursive complexity, which can then be plotted within the positional maps (Clarke, 2005).

Research Design; in the field

Inductive Wanderings

In this study the data was gathered in various ways. Firstly, ethnographic accounts of the situation were drawn upon, although a recognition of the mediation of narratives will be taken into account. In a sense, the researchers 'wanderings' are mediated through the 'wanderings' of others. In an attempt to reach 'insiders' within the the situation, and gain insightful data through semi-structured qualitative interviews, this study will adopt a snowball sample (Biernaki and Waldorf, 1981). With a snowball sample, subjects can be identified in desired populations that might otherwise be difficult to locate. Moreover, snowball sampling fits in very well with traditional grounded theorising where subsequent subjects are found, through coding of the interview data itself. In a sense the data itself leads the researcher to the location of further inquiry (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1978, Charmaz, 2006; Clarke, 2003).

There are two steps involved in snowball sampling; (1) to identify one or more subjects in the desire population, and (2) using these subjects to seek other subjects and so on, until the sample is met (Biernaki and Waldorf, 1981). This study will attempt to sample both 'insiders', 'outsiders' and people within the 'margins' of Latino soccer culture. However to keep alive an inductive process, subjects will not be defined as 'insiders', 'outsiders' or those of the 'margins', until coding, memoing and constant comparison of the data are completed. In the broadest sense, an 'insider' is defined as a subject who has significant involvement with 'Latino soccer' in Los Angeles at some level, whether as a

coach, player, spectator or parent. ‘Latino soccer’ is broadly defined as soccer at various levels from grass root to elite, involving any players of Central or South American descent. ‘Outsiders’ are those with no real experience of ‘Latino soccer’, but may have general soccer experience and an understanding of communities within Los Angeles. Those within the ‘margins’, are in between, with some experience of ‘Latino soccer’ but only infrequently. It is hoped that categorising in this way, will give a closer approximation of the subsequent interview data, and develop more reliable coding and theoretical sampling.

Research Questions

In this study, the questions that will be asked by the researcher when conducting firstly the abstract situational map (figure 1), the working/ordered situational map (figure 2) and subsequent relational maps, will be; (1) Who and what elements are within the broad situation concerning Latino soccer culture within Latino symbolic communities in Los Angeles? (2) Who and what elements matter within this situation? (3) What, if any, symbolic meanings can be associated with these elements? (4) What discourses, ideas, scientific criteria and concepts shape how subjects think about, conceive, and define the nature of Latino soccer culture within Latino symbolic communities within Los Angeles? (5) What economic, political and cultural conditions affect how subjects think about, conceive, and define Latino soccer culture? (6) What are the consequences of varying kinds of conceptions on ‘difference’ for how insiders, outsiders and those of the margins interact with ‘Latino soccer’?

Questions (4), (5) and (6) relate to relational analyses within situational maps (Clarke, 2003; 2005). With the abstract situational map and working/ordered map complete, the next step is to ask questions concerning relations among various elements of the maps. This process involves taking each element in turn and analysing it in relation to each other element on the map (Clarke, 2003; 2005). This is done by, circling an element and drawing lines, one at a

time, between it and every other element on the map and 'specifying the nature of the relationship by describing the nature of that line'. This process is drawn out and at times can seem tedious but at other times provides breakthrough theoretical concepts. This systematic approach ensures that connection between each element of the situation is conceptualised and analysed thoroughly.

In this study, a combination of ethnographic, netnographic and auto-ethnographic methodologies were utilised within the wider situational analysis (Clarke, 2005) to acquire thorough qualitative data. To begin with, semi-structured interviews were conducted with three subjects, identified whilst gathering ethnographic field notes. The data emerging from these three subjects (Southern Californian Youth director, Mexican heritage soccer coach from Los Angeles and a Latino parent of a youth soccer player) were coded, constantly compared and influenced written memos that provided theoretical framework. From this theoretical framework, and through snowball sampling, further subjects were identified in relation to Latino soccer culture in Los Angeles. The researcher refrained from questioning sampling leads, as unexpected interview subjects may provide insightful data into the situation. The initial three subjects identified from the ethnographic field notes, provided valuable insights into the nature of Latino soccer culture, and provided reliable data to lead the snowball sample. As the subsequent subjects were identified further interviews were conducted.

These interviews took place initially via email conversation, and then with consent, more in depth on Skype. As more data was collected, coded and constantly compared (in the traditional ground theorising process), the situational analysis mapping process began. Abstract situational maps were used as a rough exercise to plot all the major human and non human elements in the situation in no particular order. As more of the data was analysed, the abstract map was (re)adjusted, and elements added and deleted depending on their relevance signified by the coded data. As more coding was completed, the abstract situational map was reworked numerous times until saturation was

achieved. Subsequently, the relational analyses was conducted. This examined the interconnectedness of the elements within the situation, by literally mapping all the possible relational connections form each element to every other and so on. This may be a long drawn out process, but it is hoped that this visual conceptualisation, combined with the continual coding and memo writing can provide a deeper understanding of Latino soccer culture within Latino symbolic communities in Los Angeles. Once saturation is achieved in these situational maps, the social worlds/arenas map can be plotted using the coded interview data and situational maps. The researcher tried not to rule out any potential findings, and therefore interviewing was conducted in an informal manner (email interaction, occasional Skype semi-structured interview) where necessary, in an attempt to achieve a closer understanding of the situation. Thus, the interviewing process, will be implemented simultaneously with the situational, social world/arena and positional mapping process.

Moreover, this study also attempted to gather data using an online forum. Providing a real time mapping of collected data. The online forum attempted to provide a platform for open discussion concerning key theoretical concepts that emerged from the collected data. For example, after coding, memoing and constant comparing, if it became clear that Religion was a key theme within Latino soccer culture, then this may be expressed in the online forum. The aim was for subjects to take part in online, real time, open discussion on an issue in relation to Latino soccer culture in Los Angeles. It was hoped that this would provide constant (re)assessment of the emerging theory, as it would be constantly contested from various positions. The study hoped that the forum would provide continual, contested data that would be integral to shaping the emergent theoretical concepts. Moreover, the subjects themselves would be acting as evaluators, rather than the researcher holding too much influence over the emergent theory. Once, the situational world/arena maps become saturated through coding and constant comparison, the major discursive positions concerning Latino soccer culture in Los Angeles were plotted. An outline of

this methodology as a whole is shown in figure 5. It was hoped that this continual, re-evaluation of the data would provide robust, substantive and reliable data that could help to shape the emergent theoretical concept. This study started out due to ethnographic wanderings, where difference(s) became visible in different symbolic communities. Therefore in the postmodern city par excellence, the methodology utilised has be flexible enough to reflect the fragmented, messy nature of the situation.

> *'Things add up and they don't. They flow in linear time and they don't. They exist within a single space and escape from it. That which is complex cannot be pinned down. To pin it down is to lose it'* (Law and Mol, 2002: 1).

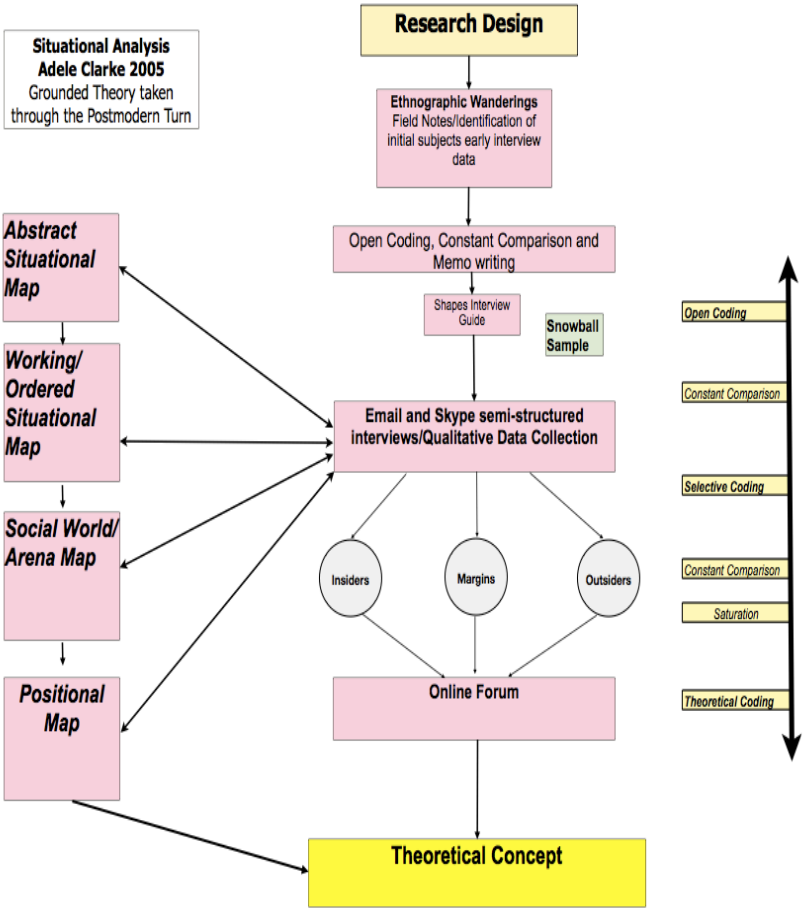


Figure 5. Research Design Overview for this study

Firstly, it should be remembered that this method assemblage outlined by Clarke (2005) that attempts to analyse power-relations in a poststructuralist way and represent the multiplicity of perspectives in the situation (including the 'minority' views, marginal positions and/or the 'other (s)' alterity) is not necessarily intended as forming final analytical products (Clarke, 2005: 59). While the maps may perhaps, do so, the major use for them is 'opening up' the data and interrogating it in fresh ways within a grounded theory framework (Clarke, 2005, p. 83). The three approaches outlined in this methodology provide a variety of ways to lay out and explore the data, provoking more the research to analyse more thoroughly. 'These approaches should be considered analytical exercises - constituting an ongoing research workout of sorts - well into the research trajectory' (Clarke, 2005: 83).

This study adopted a multiplicity of data collection methods. Initially ethnographic wanderings were utilised, both physically and metaphysically (around the scriptorium) wandering through the site of research. It is important to note at this juncture, prior to conducting the ethnographic wanderings, I was not aware of the subsequent subject of this study.

Whereas previously I had privileged the notion that the 'game is the best teacher' and that small sided games provided young players with the most suitable environment to develop technical skills, I was missing a key point, it depends who and how one is playing the game. I can envisage a huge soccer pitch in the greater Los Angeles area where a large group of Latino players had gathered to play an informal soccer match. There were about 15 players on each side, with about 4 strikers on each team. Many coaches would agree that this can be fun for players, but most would argue that these large games are not beneficial for technical development because each player would not be in contact with the ball very often and that repetition is difficult with such large numbers. However, the Latino players played in such a way that the ball seemed to be passed so rapidly along the ground, that each player seemed to be

in somewhat regular contact with the ball. Any player that held onto the ball for too long, would be criticised and/or eventually upended. Thus on a huge pitch with approximately 15 players on each side, players were still managing to receive regular passes and continual involvement in the game. Hence, this made me realise that the wider culture of particular groups and communities could shape the way soccer is played in particular areas, and the way soccer skills are learned and developed. Thus, prompting the question, Is soccer an expression of culture rather than a pre-described set of taught skills?

This realisation lead me to wander further into various ethnic communities. It must also be noted here that despite attempting to remain a Baumanesque, random, detached wanderer in a hyperreal city, one cannot remove the self from the situation, along with ones previous experience, and the influence of the narratives of others. Also, I appreciate that the role of 'chance' in wanderings can at times be somewhat predisposed. For Debord (1958) the action of chance is naturally conservative and in a new setting tends to reduce everything to habit with a limited number of variants. Debord (1958) chose to find progress in this area by 'breaking through fields where chance holds sway by creating new conditions more favourable to our purposes' (p. 63). In the research design for this study, as opposed to letting the plotting of psycho-geographical attractions direct the wanderer in the 'derive', I instead chose to accept the messiness and complexity of the fragmented narratives that shape the tourist image of Los Angeles, and accept that my ethnocentric wanderings could be directly and indirectly influenced by them. Although, it was hoped that a level of impartiality would ensue, due to the relatively little social, economic, political, cultural and geographical knowledge I had of the area.

After initially observing various Latino players/parents/teams/coaches in tournaments, it was clear that something different was happening. Catholicism seemed to be a part of everyday existence. Rosary beads adorned the wing mirrors of cars, prayers were conducted before soccer matches and praise was given to the Lord. This gratitude, faith and spirituality seemed to be shared

among many of the Latino parents, players and coaches. Also, it seemed as though there was a separation between those who could converse in Spanish and those who could not fluently. Fluent Spanish language seemed to represent sameness and difference. I also sensed a different atmosphere around parents, players and coaches. The Latino parents, players and coaches seemed to be more subdued, composed and calm where as often the Anglo counterparts would be loud, aggressive and driven. It began to become clear in early wanderings that there were particular socio-cultural elements that often signified similarity and difference. As Cohen (1985) states in his work on symbolic communities, often the symbolic community is more visible when it rubs against the extremities of a contrasting symbolic community. Thus I soon found myself being drawn to the 'Latino soccer culture' signposts that were presenting themselves amidst the LA hyperreality.

Data Collection

This study utilised a variety of data collection tools to attempt to gain a close approximation of how Latino communities and culture shapes the approach to soccer within Southern California. Whilst remaining sympathetic to the messy, post-modern and fragmented nature of the study. Firstly a series of ethnographic field notes were made in the site of research. These field notes acted like memos during initial participant observations, wanderings and interactions. These rough and uncoordinated notes were written quickly in an attempt to familiarise myself with the data and to outline any emerging concepts. These field notes and continued wandering lead to informal conversations and informal discussions regarding Latino soccer culture. The data collected from these rather informal meetings informed the subsequent snowball sample and participants began to be identified for more in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews. The data from these in-depth semi-structured interviews was then analysed using traditional Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) principles; open coding, memoing, constant comparison and theoretical coding. In the research design the study aimed to

engage participants in an online blog to allow informal discussion to take place regarding the subject area. It was hoped that debate between participants would challenge the emergent theory and provide continual mapping. However, participants did not engage with the blog resulting in no gathered data.

The in-depth semi-structured interview participants that emerged through snowball sampling whilst in the field of research were; *Paul Holocher* (Cal Poly University Head Men's Soccer Coach); *Lloyd Biggs* (Santa Barbara Coaching Director); *Richard James* (Parent of Trevor James - a promising young soccer player playing in Southern California tournaments); and *Johnny Costa* (High School Soccer Coach with various experience of coaching throughout California). The duration of each of these semi-structured interviews was approximately 60 minutes. Although Johnny Costa was interviewed several times. The data from these interviews was then analysed and informed the wanderings once I had returned back to the United Kingdom.

The subsequent snowball sample grew from this data analysis and participants were selected for in-depth, semi-structured interviews through Skype and email. A standard email was sent to numerous potential participants in and around the Greater Los Angeles area. This email outlined that the nature and purpose of the study and asked two broad questions in an attempt to spark conversation, intrigue and engagement. The first was, *'In your opinion, do players of Latino heritage in Southern California have a distinct approach to soccer? and if so what signifies this approach?* The second was rather more controversial, 'In your opinion, why are there not more Latino heritage players in the US National Team?'This email was sent to MLS clubs, coaches of various backgrounds, players of backgrounds, parents of various backgrounds, University lecturers of various backgrounds, Latino cultural attache's, and Latino activists and social commentators. I received in excess of 30 responses with approximately 25 participants engaging in answering the questions provided. From these responses I had a number of informal conversations with; *Rudi Bianchi* (an Italian born Los Angeles residents and former owner of LA

Sol a professional Women's Team in Los Angeles); *Justin Borland* (Parent to a half-Bolivian young soccer player) and *Jesus Medina* (a Mexican born California resident who gained a scholarship to play soccer when he was younger and now coaches at a high level) and *Penn Sicre* (Half Latino, Spanish descent, residing and working in Los Angeles and involved in the organisation of informal soccer games).

After further analysis of the collected data and continued snowball sample, subsequent in-depth semi-structured online interviews were conducted with the following; *Ian Barker* (National Soccer Coaches Association of America Director of Coaching Education); *Peter Mellor* (Former professional goal keeper and United Soccer Leagues National Technical Director); *Jesus Medina* (a Mexican born California resident who gained a scholarship to play soccer when he was younger and now coaches at a high level); *Rudi Bianchi* (an Italian born Los Angeles residents and former owner of LA Sol a professional Women's Team in Los Angeles). Moreover, I have had continued discussion with young adult soccer players *Trevor James* (Youth soccer player with experience of Southern Californian soccer tournaments), *Penn Sicre* (Half Latino, Spanish descent, residing and working in Los Angeles. Involved in the organisation of informal soccer games) and *Angel Rodriguez* (Youth soccer player with experience of Southern Californian soccer tournaments). Data collected from these sources was analysed and compared in an attempt to map out the complexities of Latino communities in the greater Los Angeles area and gain a close approximation of Latino soccer culture through Situational Analysis (Clarke, 2005).

Data Analysis and Situational Mapping outputs (findings)

Figure 6. Abstract Situational Map - Mapping the actors (individual and collective) and actants (elements, discourses) involved in Latino soccer culture in the greater Los Angeles area

Figure 6. shows an abstract view of the complexities and messiness of all the elements within the situation. This mapping process was not fixed and continually altered through the data analysis. The process proved useful in determining who and what are in the situation? who and what matters in this situation? What elements make a 'difference'? Whilst returning to, and modifying this messy, abstract map it became more clear through constant comparison that some elements seemed to be 'core elements' (appearing often). The early 'core elements' to emerge were Religion, Family, Community, Identity, Anglo relations and Soccer as a national past time. The next step in 'opening up the data' involves working this abstract map into an ordered

version of the mess. This does seem rather contradictory, when engaging in this analytical exercise of mapping the mess, to then attempt to sort these elements into a conservative classification system. Although, Clarke (2005) explains that the ordered situational map is not an attempt to overcome the messiness of the situation but rather to allow the researcher to examine ones situation of enquiry thoroughly. In this study, by completing the ordered situational map, it resulted in a repositioning elements and collapsing/expanding categories in the abstract situational map, which in turn proved very useful in beginning to decide which concepts, discourses, symbols, sites of debate and cultural elements are really important in this situation of inquiry (as shown in figure 7). Thus allowing the researcher to more closely and meticulously lay out all the significant elements within the situation.

Individual human elements / actors

Key players: Javier 'Chicharito' Hernadez, Omar Gonzales, Herculez Gomez
Dettmar Kramer
Coaches
Players
Parents

Nonhuman elements / actants

Media - television
Transport
Segregation

Collective human elements / actants

Catholic Church
National Soccer Coaches Association of America
America Youth Soccer Organisation
US Chivas Club
LA Galaxy

Implicated / silent actors / actants

Latino players, coaches, parents

Discursive constructions of individual and\or collective human actors

Racial Stereotypes / Discrimination
Latinos are more knowledgeable about the game
Rejection of the Anglo style
"Anglo US approach to soccer - poor mans FA"
Latino stereotype - divers, cheaters
Latino community - more social interaction
Latino players taking more care of the ball
Technique over tactics
Impact of physique
Role of the family

Discursive construction of nonhuman actants

Role of Latino leagues
Increased number of pick up games (street soccer) in Latino communities
Less emphasis on winning in youth development
Work opportunities
College/University accessibility
Pay to play
Socioeconomic status
Sameness/Difference

Political / economic elements

Immigration
Segregation
Work opportunities
College/University accessibility
Pay to play
Socioeconomic status

Sociocultural / symbolic elements

Religion
Racial Stereotypes / Discrimination
Identity - Heritage

Temporal elements

Historical Central/North American relations
Historical immigration policy

Spatial elements

Urban Space
Community
Geography
Leisure space

Major Issues/Debates usually contested

Latinos superior technique?
Latino scholarship/MLS/National Team opportunities
Pay to play
Soccer knowledge - how the game should be played
Coaching style / approach
Racial stereotypes
Strength of community
Latino - Anglo relations

Related Discourses (Historical, Narrative and/or Visual)

Historical Central/North American relations
Latino community more centred
Latino representation - Media, University, Politics
Soccer as a form of cultural expression

Figure 7. Ordered Situational Map

Even in this early stage of data analysis, the interview data showed clearly that there were specific cultural signifiers that distinguished Latino communities from other communities in the Los Angeles soccer arena. A part of the whole but separate and different. As Ana Pescador (Chief Executive Officer of the Latino Museum of History & Art & Culture, Los Angeles) expresses,

> *'Latino children of immigrant parents play soccer daily from a very early age at home and develop a soccer culture through intergenerational exchanges (in parks) and through formal induction into an organised recreational/competitive 'barrio' activity. Soccer is the primary sport activity (recreational and competitive) throughout Latin America'*
>
> (Email interview, March 2012)

Jesus Medina (Mexican born soccer coach now based in California) outlines this 'soccer passion' amongst young Latinos and explains how it thrives despite a lack of direction,

> *'They eat, sleep and drink soccer. Latino kids play soccer. They watch the Mexican league and the national team. There is a mixture of feelings in these kids. They are confused and unsure about what they are doing but they are just looking for an opportunity. A typical soccer Saturday is watching the National league.'*
>
> (Skype interview, June 2013)

Despite a minimal number of anomalies, the data showed extensively that Latino communities do share common cultural values and symbols that appear visible in the Los Angeles soccer arena. Common cultural values and symbols that also appear different to other soccer cultures. There was minimal data suggesting that this concept of 'soccer cultures' is situation based rather than related to ethnicity. In a sense for these anomalies the 'soccer culture' changes depending on the area and is not influenced by ethnicity. However, the data overwhelmingly shows that in the greater Los Angeles area, Latino

communities share socio-cultural elements that do shape their engagement in the soccer arena.

Relational outputs

The next set of situational maps includes mapping the relational connections between elements within the situation. For Clarke (2005) relational analysis is important as it suggests ‘worlding’ does not happen due to the self-organisation of single elements but instead it is the interconnectedness of the elements that makes the ongoingness (Mathar, 2008). This supports the notion that the meaning of symbols is permanently (re)produced; that nothing is finished and closed forever, but instead reworked in every day interactions (Blumer, 1969).

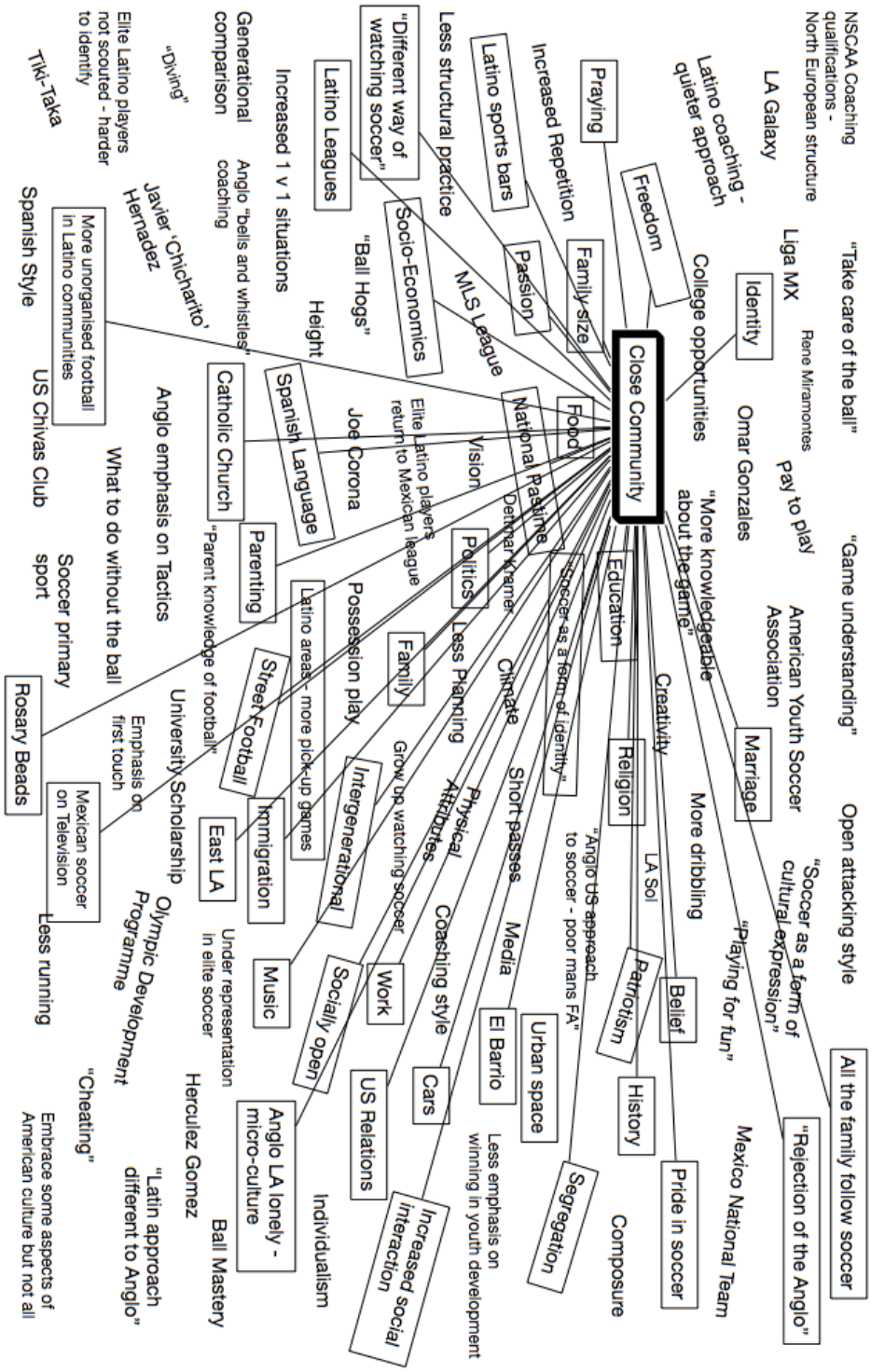


Figure 8. Relational analysis using situational maps: focus on Close Community

Figure 9. Relational analysis using situational maps: focus on Religion

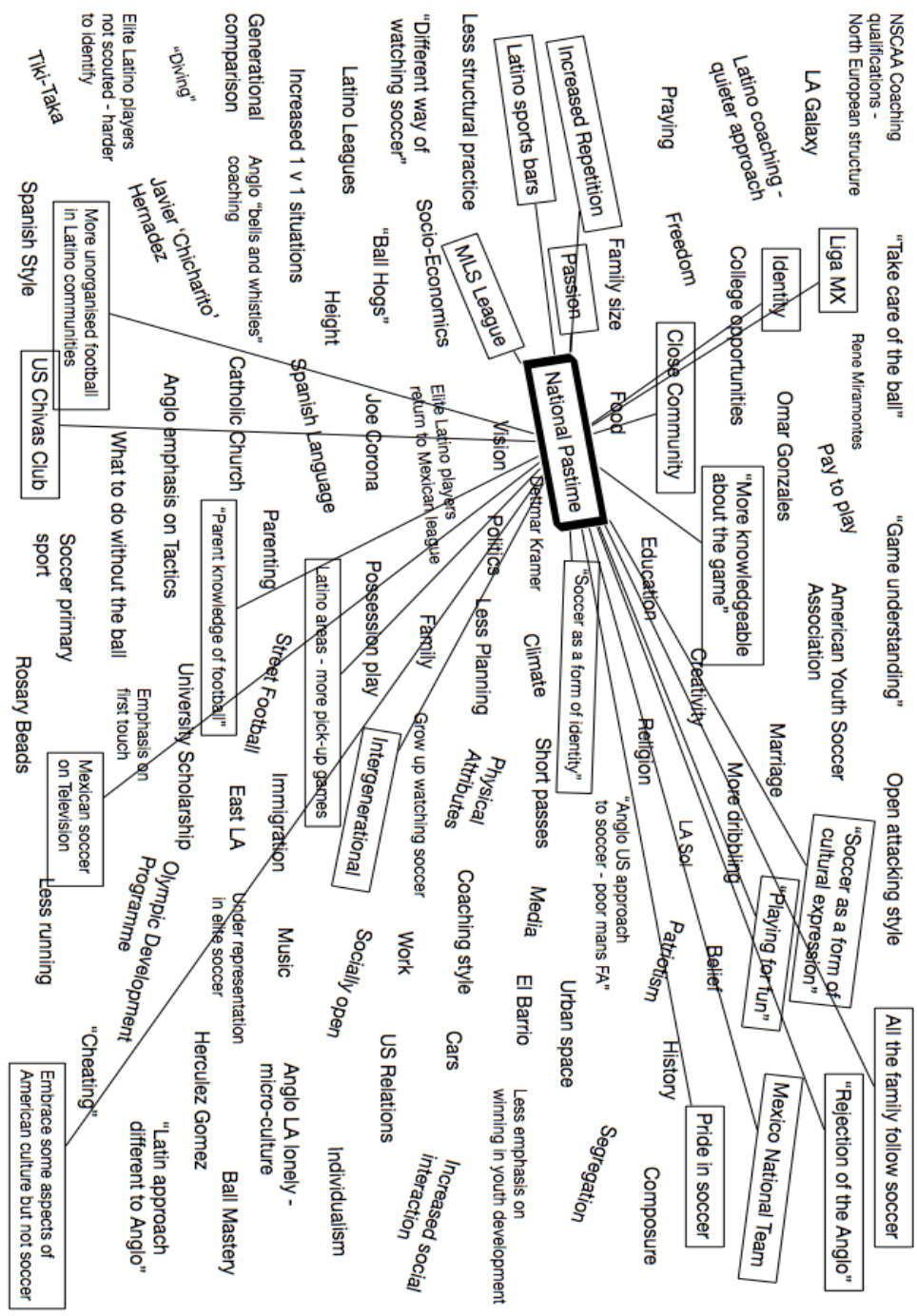


Figure 10. Relational analysis using situational maps: focus on National Pastime

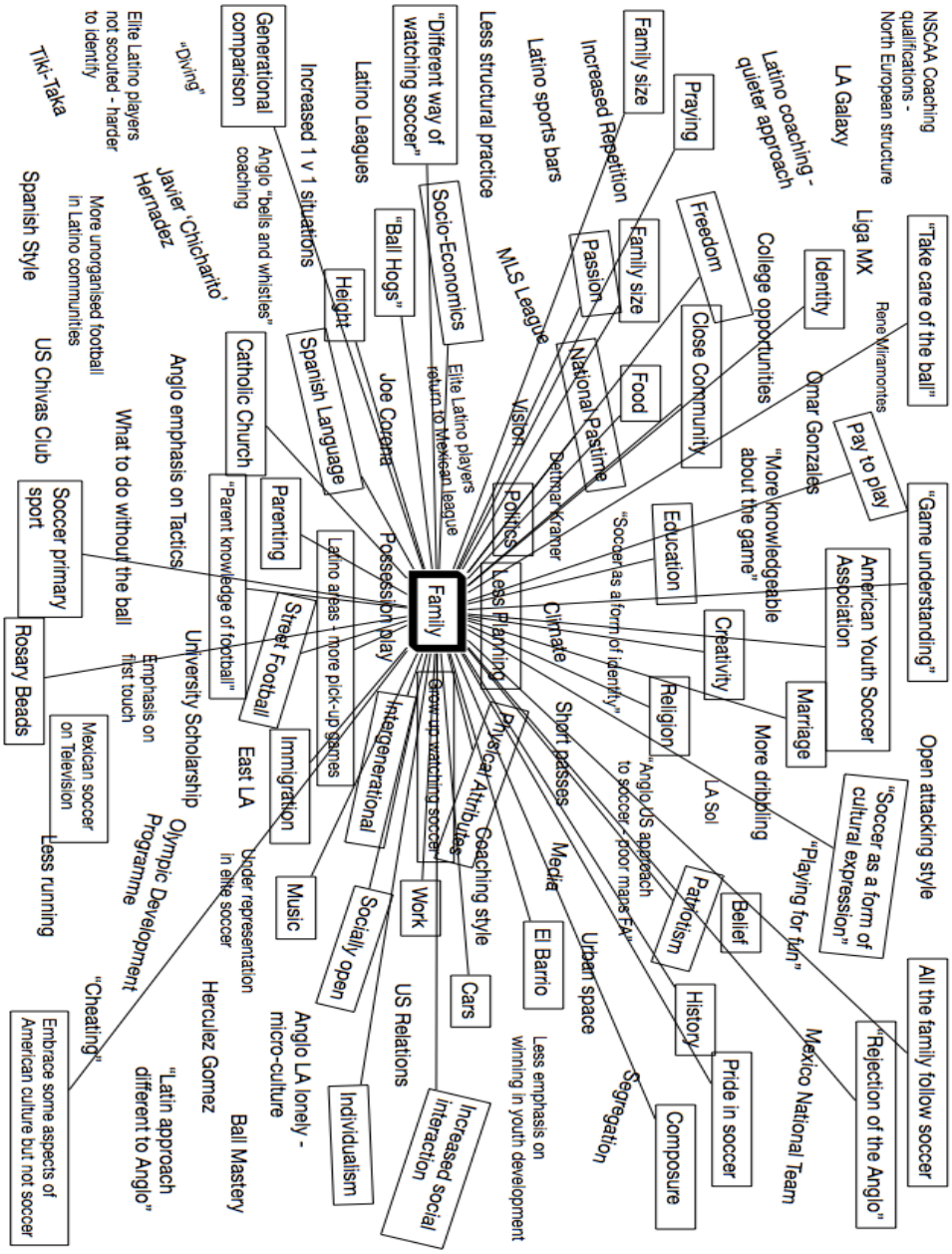


Figure 11. Relational analysis using situational maps: focus on Family

Figure 12. Relational analysis using situational maps: focus on coaching style

Figures 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 show the relational analysis of various elements within the situation. This process proved very insightful and allowed the data to be opened up further and analysed more deeply. These maps were useful in providing the important emerging story lines within the study. Whilst producing these relational analysis maps, constant memoing was undertaken. These memos helped plan theoretical sampling strategies, and provided the researcher with a coherent and provocative method of entering and exploring the complexities within the situation.

However, Clarke's (2005) relational analysis does have limitations. The process involves collapsing the various elements of the situational map by bringing 'partial connections' into singularity. However, the process does not outline how these elements are being produced and how they become elements in the first place. Moreover, can one truly grasp all the 'partial connections' within a situation of inquiry? As Marilyn Strathern (2004: 1) argues 'the world is always both one and multiply enacted – it is always both a container and what is contained. We cannot see it all at once'. Added to this, is the notion that 'individuals' themselves are made up of 'partial connections', at any one time an 'individual' can have multiple identities, (re)produced through through multiple ways of being (Mathar, 2008).

Thus, in this study adaptations of these relational maps were produced in an attempt to analyse and rate these relational connections more closely. 'Strong connections' are outlined in orange and represent relationships between elements that appear to be solidly intertwined and somewhat interdependent. 'Partial connections' or 'semi-connections' are signified by a dashed line and represent those fleeting, fluid connections that are not fixed but still influence behaviour. The 'weak connections' are outlined in blue and represent relationships that may have once been more close but now appear distant. It is hoped that by differentiating between these relational connections, each connection will be observed more closely as the researcher will now have to

assess the strength of the relationship between each element. Thus, allowing the stronger relationships to emerge more readily within the situation.

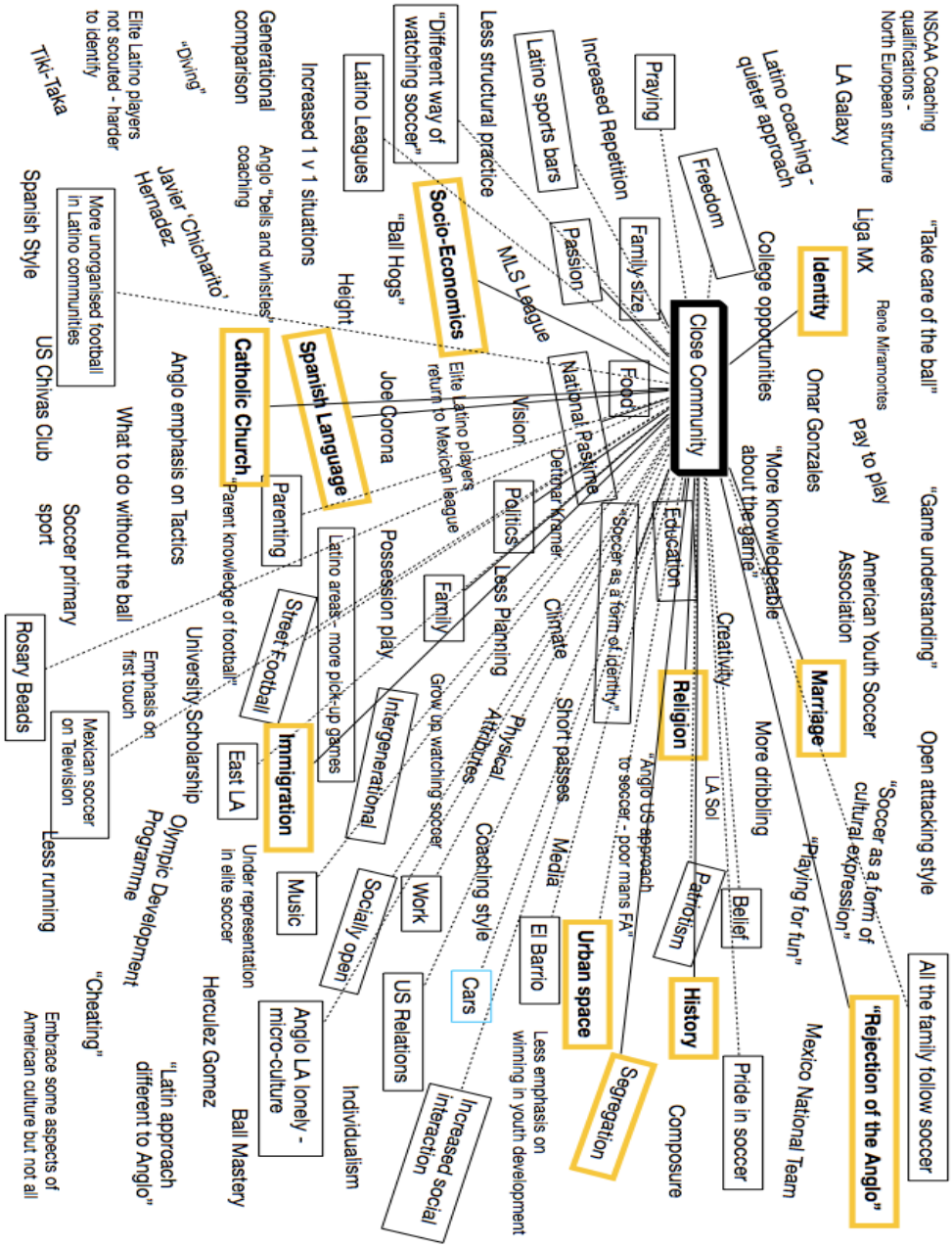


Figure 13. Relational Analysis using situational map: Focusing on strength of connections with relation to Close Community.

Figure 13. shows some of the most important connections with regard to the construction and shared commonalities of Latino communities in the greater Los Angeles area. The main 'strong connections' with Close Community were based around 'Identity'. Marriage, 'Rejection of the Anglo', Religion, History, Segregation, Urban Space, Immigration, Catholic Church, Spanish Language and Socio-economics all impact on the 'sense of community'. What is interesting here is that the the closeness of the community seems to be strengthened with regard sameness/difference. These 'strong connections' represent difference(s) with the Anglo hyperreal LA. Rather a community that is more centred around the Church and Family. Whilst also being affected by authoritative power in terms of Urban Space, Immigration and Socio-economics. Hence, this presents the question, is the closeness of community bonds developed by individuals and groups through choice, or is it enforced from positions of authority? In this example 'Close Community' can be defined using Cohen's (1985) outline, that a communities strength depends upon the shared commonalities in the minds of its beholders. Figure 13 shows the importance of Religion in this closeness. Jesus Medina (Skype interview, July 2013) supports this by expressing that even though in Latino communities 'there is internet, mobile phones and social changes, new generations mean new values, but reunions and Religion stay'.

For Jesus there is an intention to 'keep the traditional values' within these communities. Some areas of the data offer the explanation that the strength of traditional values in Latino communities is to emphasise the difference with the Anglo community. However, for Peter Mellor (Skype interview, June 2013), 'Latino communities feel a strong connection with their family origins and this shapes their own individual identity'. Jesus Medina (Skype interview, July 2013) concedes that this is different amongst US born Latinos but still insists that particular traditional values hold strong, including Religion, marriage and family. These values can strengthen 'group identities' and provide a sense of community between members (Beserra, 2005; Fernandez-Kelly, 1998) In her

study into Dilemmas of Identity Among Hispanic Children within Latino communities (1998), Patricia Fernandez-Kelly found that in Latino communities identity and self definition are issues of central importance. Of course the degree of importance varies depending on the generation and ethnic origin. Fernadez-Kelly (1998) explains how Hispanic (Spanish speaking) families and their children view themselves and their place in American society, and expresses the importance of 'group identity' to these communities of immigrant origin.

> *'Group identities bolster or limit options in education and the labor market. Shaped by the interplay between definitions preceding migration and definitions imposed in areas of destination, a group's identity depends on physical and social context. It is toponomical in character - essentialist arguments based on culture must give way to socially situated explanations'* (p. 84)

Of course, this self-determination and collective 'group identity' can be strengthened or (re)produced by external constraints and discourse. In Southern California the labelling of central American immigrant groups is a contentious issue and one that affects the potential 'assimilation' of immigrant families. Hispanic (Spanish speaking) families are particularly sensitive to the stigma accumulated over several generations,

> *'In addition to an assortment of degrading terms used by the larger society, Mexicans in the United States have coined designations such as 'cholo', 'Chicano', and 'Mexican-American'. How individuals define themselves depends on the context. Miguel Hernandez, an illegal Mexican alien, explains that he and his wife define themselves depending on 'who we are talking to. If we are talking to american people and they don't know the difference, we say Latinos; that's easier for them and we avoid hassles'*
>
> (Fernandez-Kelly, 1998:102).

The perceptions of immigrant Latino communities about themselves and other groups are not always accurate. Although, these perceptions do form the social

constructions that are an integral part of a process of segmented assimilation. These social constructions are symbolic and exist in the minds of the beholders (Cohen, 1985), helping to form communities of memory (Bellah et al., 1985). Much of the interview data suggests that often the sense of community seems 'stronger' within Latino communities. Often being compared to that of the Anglo communities. Of course the researcher accepts that these communities are vast and diverse and it is difficult to generalise, but the data does show clear sameness and difference within Latino communities. This sameness/ difference has many symbolic elements from physical attributes, to language, to Religion, to Parenting. In the soccer arena these elements contribute to a shared, common approach within Latino communities. An attitude and belief in how the game should be played and taught.

As Ian Barker the Director of Coach Education for the National Soccer Coaches Association of America states, '*there are two contrasting styles in California. The Anglo US approach is much more rooted in Northern European structures and disciplines, whereas the Latino US approach has its roots in Central and South America'* (Skype interview, June 2013). For Ian Barker the role of coaching is integral to the development of these contrasting approaches to the game of soccer:

> *'Anglo soccer coaching in America tends to have more bells and whistles. People want complex coach lead sessions with regular stop, standstill coaching points made. Where as the Latino approach is much more dry. It focuses on fundamentals and will often have lines of players waiting to perform simple techniques'.*

For Ian these contrasting coaching approaches are born out of cultural differences. 'For Latinos, soccer is the primary sport. Latino parents understand the game better. They watch it closely from a young age'. The importance of soccer within Latino communities is outlined in much of the data. In contrast to many anglo residents within Los Angeles who follow an array of sports, Latino's prioritise soccer as the main sport, followed closely by

boxing according to Jesus Medina. For Rudi Bianchi, owner of WPS team LA Sol (Skype interview, 2013), 'Soccer is a way for the Latinos to get one over the Americans. It is their chance to stick it to them. For many Latinos, Americans do not understand soccer and how it should be played'. For Johnny Costa (Skype interview, June 2011), 'Latinos understand how to play the game better, where to be off the ball and how to keep the ball for long periods. It comes from better coaching and a passion for football from a young age'. Much of the data shows that if there is a particular Anglo approach to soccer in Southern California, it could be categorised by strong athletic players and an emphasis on defensive tactics. Hence, this supports the ethnographic field notes gathered when games was observed between a team made up of Latino players and a team made up of Anglo players,

> *'The contrast is amazing. So different. Both teams seem to want to win but by utilising completely different styles. The Anglo parents and spectators watching on the side lines shout 'diver' and 'cheat' when a free kick is given against an Anglo player, whilst the Latino parents and spectators seem angered by the excessive force exerted by Anglo players. There seems to be a total clash of styles. Polar opposite approaches. The Latino set of players are comfortable in possession and composed whilst the Anglo players moves the ball forward quickly often aimlessly. One coach remains quiet and thoughtful whilst the other shouts and screams'.*

(Field notes, June 2011)

It is as though during these highly competitive matches between Anglo and Latino players, soccer identities are emphasised. There is a rejection of the other and privilege held to their own approach. As though the soccer identity is representative of wider social, cultural and political issues within these somewhat segmented communities. The interview participants from a coaching background (including Peter Mellor, Jesus Medina, Ian Barker, Lloyd Biggs, Johnny Costa, Penn Sicre, Sacha Van Der Most and Paul Holocher) all agree that there is a different, contrasting style. Of course as in the wider society there are exceptions, but in the main it seems a more technical approach is

favoured by Latino communities with the emphasis on keeping possession of the ball for extended periods. As Penn Sicre explains,

> *'Latino players tend to be more skilled than American Anglo players. Why? Don't know for sure, but they probably grow up watching more soccer and at a younger age than Anglos, who spend their youth watching baseball and American football on TV. They probably also start playing soccer at a younger age, and so develop ball skills at an earlier age, which carries on to older age. It's like learning a language at an early age, or learning golf. The sooner you learn, the better you are at it'*
>
> (Email interview, 2012)

Penn Sicre goes on to explain some of the perceived Anglo-American deficiencies in soccer and how these may have been attributed,

> *'The other skill lacking with most Anglo-Americans is a vision of the game: who to pass to and when; and playing without the ball: creating openings so that the passer has someone to pass to, someone who may be in a position to score. This can be attributed again to not seeing enough 'good' soccer when they are young, or to lousy coaching, as most AYSO 'coaches' don't have a clue about the game: they tend to be overzealous cheerleaders with poor knowledge of the game and even poorer skills. (Witness half the players at our weekly game, who are for the most part AYSO coaches)'*
>
> (Email interview, 2013)

Although, Penn Sicre also outlines some of the elements of the Latino style of soccer, that can be detrimental to their success in the sport, stating that Latino players,

> *'tend to be ball hogs, which makes for a boring game for their teammates. (By the way, many Iranians exhibit these same traits.) So while we can admire their skills and are happy when they score for our team, it soon gets tiresome never to receive a pass and not get to participate in the play because your over skilled teammate wants to keep the ball at all times. These players often cease to be invited to play'*
> (Email interview, 2013)

This assertion contradicts much of the data which suggests that Latino players tend to favour a possession based approach with increased numbers of quick passes. However it does support the notion that the Latino players are technically gifted and centre their approach to the game around the ball. Interestingly Penn Sicre offers the reason behind this reluctancy to release the ball, 'Perhaps they grow up in homes with many children and have to fight to have anything of their own, and so hogging the ball is a way of holding on to something dear in a competitive world?' (Email interview, 2013). This reasoning supports the notion that wider culture and community shapes the approach to soccer as supported by Oloya, Lammoglia and Zarama (2010) and Foster (2010) who provided studies into soccer philosophies and how these reflect wider socio-cultural elements.

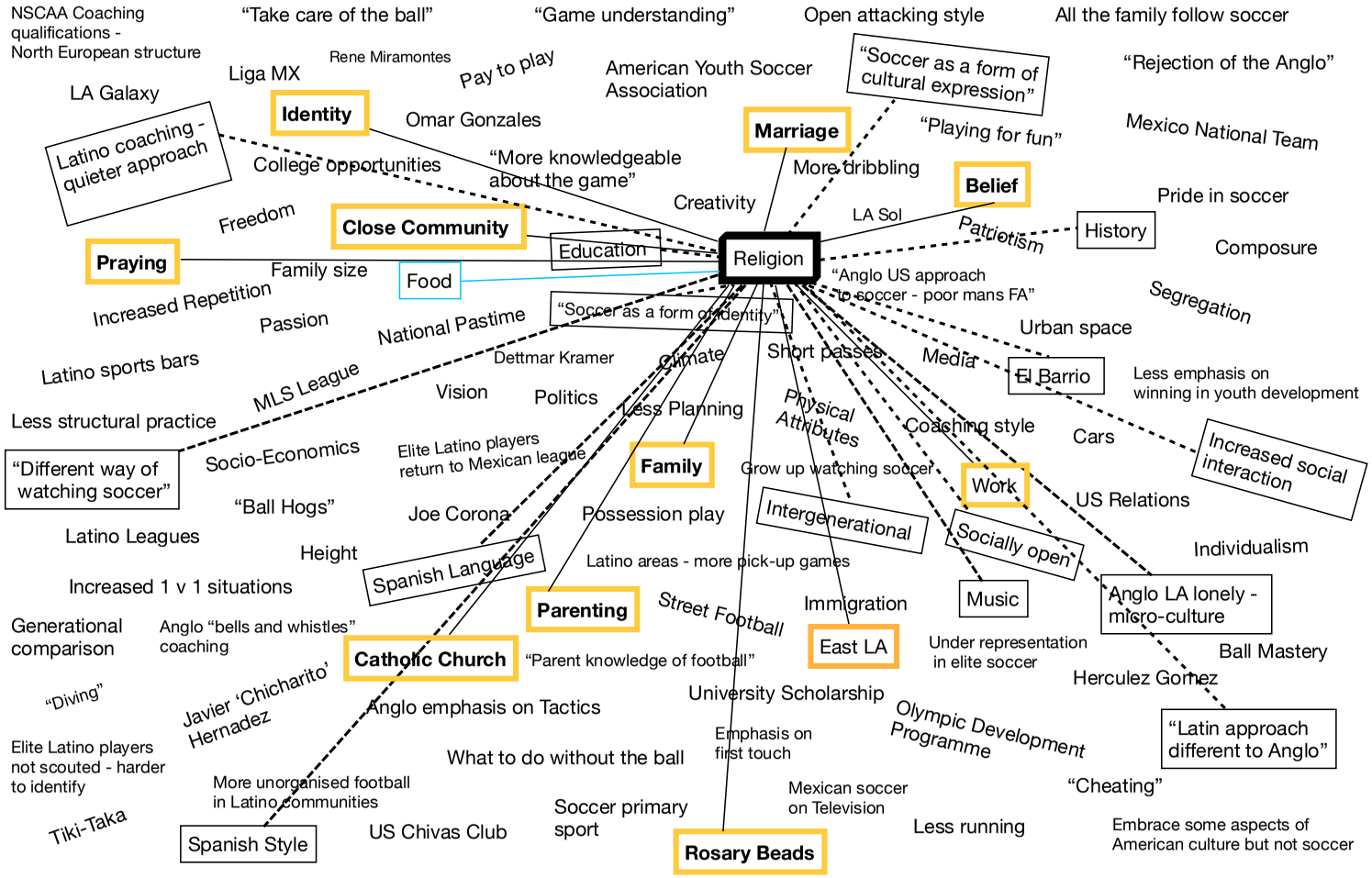


Figure 14. Relational Analysis of situational maps: focus on Religion

One of the strongest connections with ‘Identity’ and ‘Close Community’ was Religion. Much of the data showed that the Catholic Church was an integral part of Latino communities and shaped the Latino soccer culture within the greater Los Angeles area. Marriage and Family were also strongly linked with Religion, and for many provided the basis for the strong sense of community and interaction. In the de-centred, hyperreal, global city of the future where many Anglo people exist in micro climates distracted by the consumption of materials and the society of the spectacle (Bauman, 2004; Baudrillard, 1986; Debord, 1962; Davis, 2005; Kicheloe, 2002), many Latino communities still remain centred around the Church. With many attending communion on Sundays and regularly praying and giving thanks and praise. As Jesus Medina states, ‘There are a lot of marriages and people go to their Communion regularly, despite communication developments, these things are still important’.

Spanish colonialism left a legacy of resilient Iberian cultural institutions in America including Iberian cultural institutions, Catholicism, Religious and cultural syncretism, the destruction of indigenous peoples and the Spanish Language (Caban, 1998). The Catholic Church has played a major role in Latino communities within Southern California through the generations. When looking at the wider influence of the Church across various Los Angeles communities Acuna (1996) expresses that ‘for people of colour the Church has often provided a sense of place, of community’ (p. 34). According to the Pew Research Hispanic Trends Project (2012) 83% of Hispanics claim a Religious affiliation, a share slightly higher than that seen among the general public (80%). Among Latinos, most are Catholic—more than three-in-five (62%) say this is their Religious affiliation.

In terms of the relationship between Community and Religion within Latino communities in the greater Los Angeles area, Acuna (1998) states that ‘where a sense of community has developed in a Church context it is usually thanks to parishioners who initiate grassroots campaigns, sometimes with the assistance

of sympathetic Priests and/or Nuns. For Acuna (1998) a key development in this relationship and impact on the sense of community was the appointment of Roger Mahoney as Archbishop of Los Angeles in 1985. Who made an 'effort to reach out to Latinos; he speaks Spanish and knows Latino culture. Spanish speaking Priests have become more common since his appointment, as has the *Mariachi Mass'* (p. 36). Moreover, Roger Mahoney supported social action projects modelled after Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundations (IAF). Parishes furnished funds for citizen-based organisations such as UNO (United Neighbourhood Organisation), SCOC (South Central Organising Communities), EVO (East Valley Organisations) and VOICE (Valley Organised in Community Efforts). These Church groups involved members taking on 'winnable issues' such as the redlining of the Eastside by auto insurance companies (Acuna, 1996). Another key success story for the affirmation of Latino communities in Los Angeles was the renaming of Brooklyn Avenue to Avienda Cesar Chavez after the influential farmworker leader. This renaming contributed to development of a positive self image among Latino children, as it was named after a Latino leader who was both contemporary and relevant to their working class roles, as opposed to some Spanish explorer or ranchero (Acuna, 1996).

Thus it is clear that the role of Religion is important in creating a sense of community for Latinos within the greater Los Angeles area. The current Archbishop of Los Angeles Jose H. Gomez describes the role of the Catholic Church in the Latino immigrant communities in Los Angeles,

> *'In a lot of those immigrants that come from Latin America, those values are really deep in their culture: family, faith. There's an example I've seen in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles: Every single parish is packed with people in a city that is famous for everything except faith. You have the Latino community, you have the Filipino community, the Korean community. All of those are immigrants and they have deep values based in the Catholic Faith that allows them to integrate into American society. It's important for us to*

understand that and to strengthen those values as a way of making sure that our country continues the values that were part of our foundation'.

(2013)

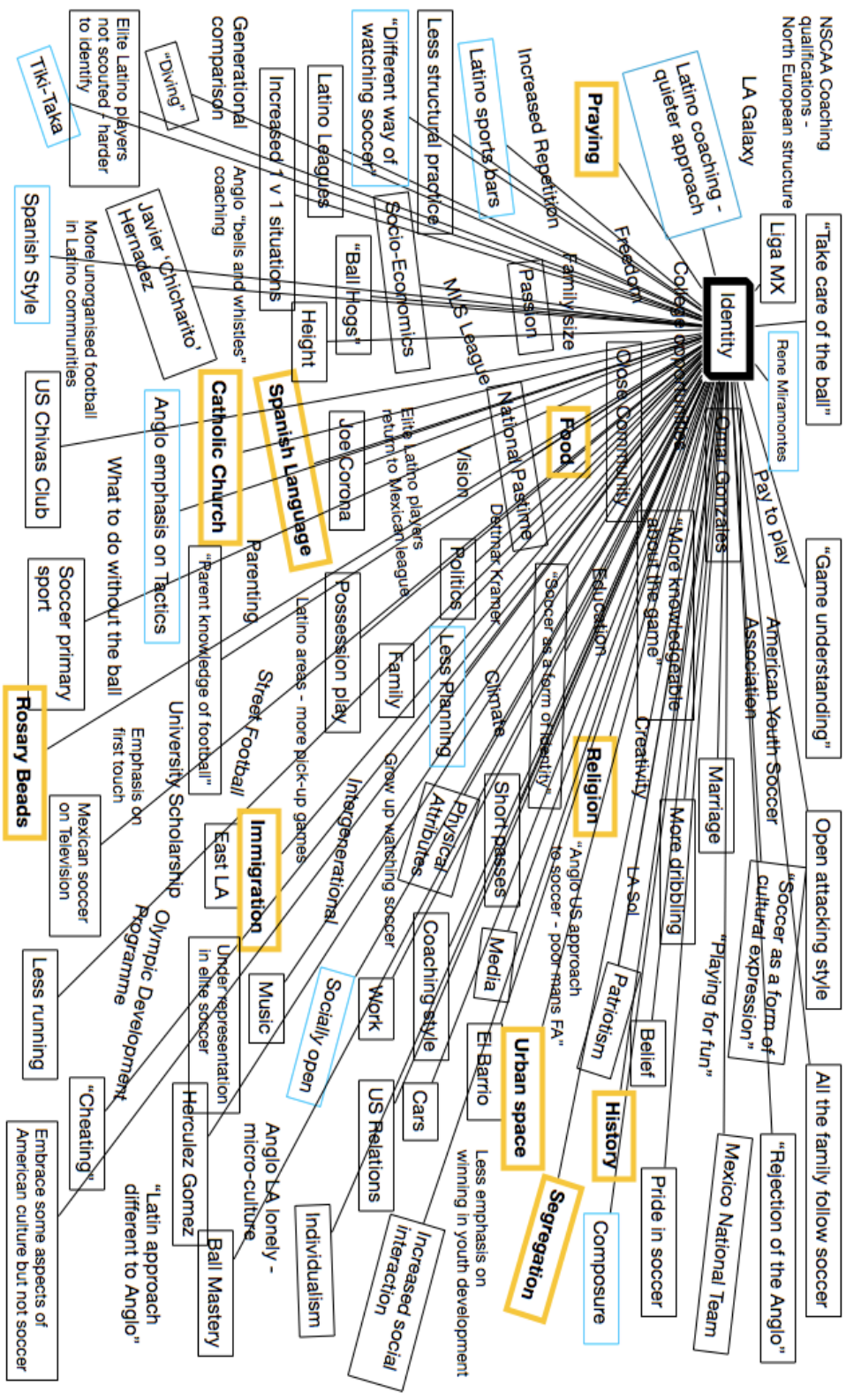


Figure 15. Relational Analysis of situational maps: focusing on Identity

Figure 15. outlines again the strong connections between Religion and Identity within the Latino community. In terms of is impact on the Latino soccer culture Johnny Costa (interview, 2011) expresses about contrasting Latino approaches to soccer, ‘for Latino players, soccer is a form of expression. A game to played the right way with certain values. It is not necessarily about winning at all costs. It is ingrained in the culture and is not pursued only for career gains and scholarships’. Justin Borland (Email interview, March 2013) supports this by stating that ‘youth Latino players in LA play for enjoyment. Both in structured and unstructured games. You wont see many pick up games in white areas, but in Latino communities they are common. Winning is a by product of playing in a certain way. Using a certain style and taking care in possession. Before the game players will pray and and praise the Lord’.

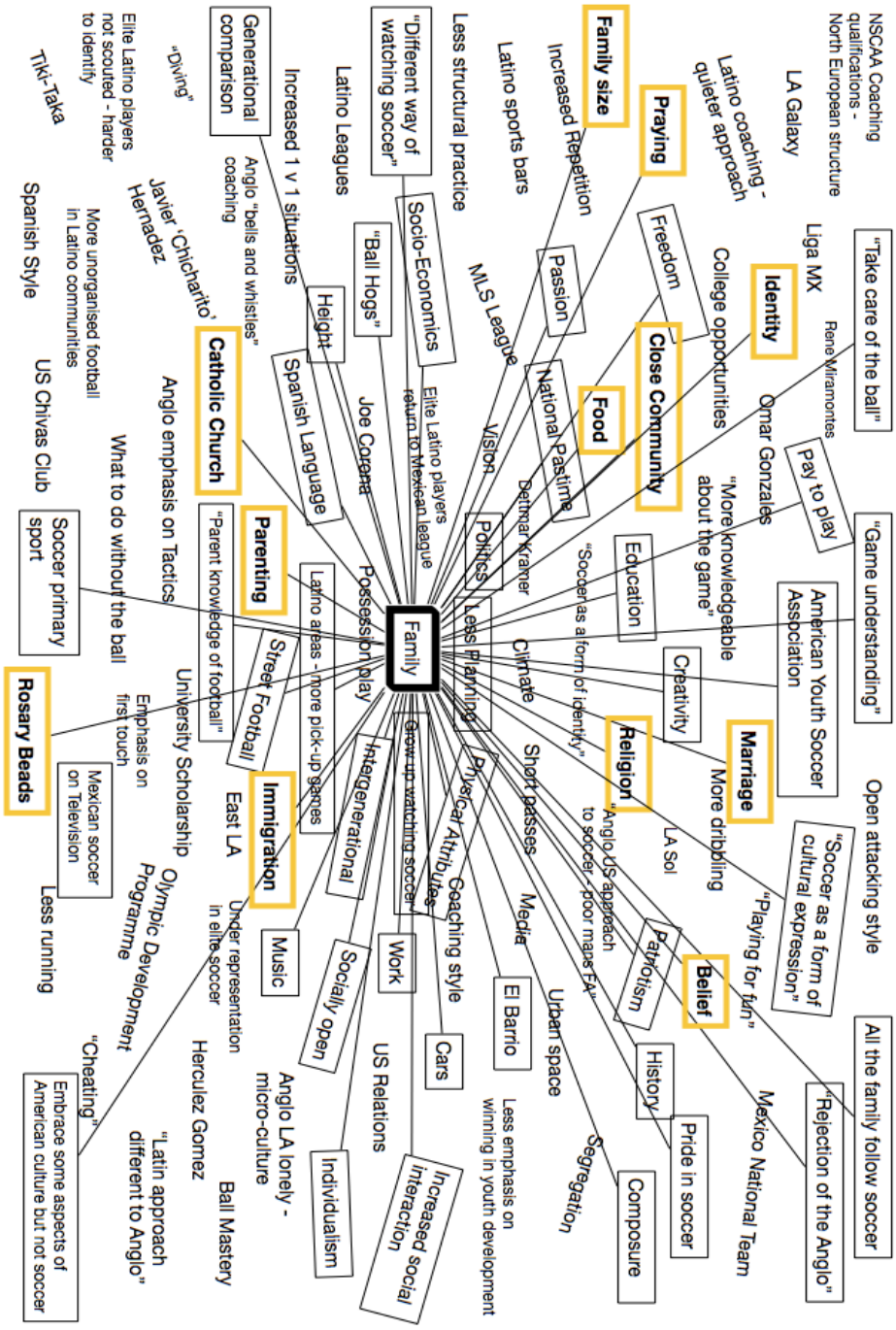


Figure 16. Relational Analysis of situation maps: focus on family

In terms of the role of family on the Latino soccer culture, the data suggests that they are often larger (2 or more children) and that they all take an active interest in soccer. Whether there is a budding young player in the family or not. As Jesus Medina (Skype interview, July 2013) states ‘it is not unusual for the whole family to follow soccer closely, it is a passion’. From wandering around the site of research it was clear that in youth tournaments and match days, the whole family would come to support their son, brother or cousin in the match. They would often gather with other families and share food and treat the tournament as a day out. Parents seemed to watch their child playing closely but refrained from shouting advice or encouragement on to the pitch. They seemed more concerned with the coach tactics and/or referring decisions.

Figure 17. outlines the relational connections of coaching style within the Latino soccer culture. The strongest connections seem to centre around a contrasting approach the Anglo coaching style. Suggesting a rejection of the Anglo Northern European rigid coaching qualification structures amongst Latino coaches. Also, there seems to be a contrast of coaching approaches. Much of the data suggests a much more ‘composed and controlled’ approach to coaching, both in training and matches. As Peter Mellor explains, ‘most white parents and players expect bells and whistle coaching. All singing, all dancing. They pay lots of money and they expect certain standards, where as the Latino coaching sessions are much more simple. Simple drills and passing’ (Interview, 2013). For Penn Sicre, the Latino coaching approach is much more focused on improving basic techniques, such as passing and receiving. ‘Even if the training session is boring for players, there is an emphasis on technical development’ (Interview, 2013). The data suggests that Latino youth coaching is more focused on technical development, and much less on tactical awareness at younger age groups. With repetitive training drills aimed at developing passing, receiving, shooting and dribbling, the essentials of the game. This could suggest that there is reduced ego in Latino coaching in comparison to Anglo coaching. It seems that the players needs are at the centre of the

coaching approach. Moreover, there appears to be a limited aspiration to appear all knowing. With many of the Latino coaches producing similar training sessions (especially in youth soccer). As though the Latino coach is not aspiring to be individual but accepts that particular, basic technical drills and routines are an essential part of development. ‘Latino coaches (at youth level), want to win, but also want focus on development of skills. What a player does with the ball is important’ (Interview, 2013). Much of the data also suggests that there is a rejection of the Anglo coaching approach but this appears not to be political but instead seems to be related to upbringing , and being influenced by Central and South American futbol. This strong influence appears to stem from parents and close family members. Even with second and third generation Latinos, that have integrated more with Anglo communities, there is an admiration and passion for Central and South American futbol. For some, this connection to Latin countries futbol, usually the family country of origin, is a matter of national identity. As Jesus Medina states ‘The whole family will watch Mexican League matches, it is important for everyone’ (Interview, 2013).

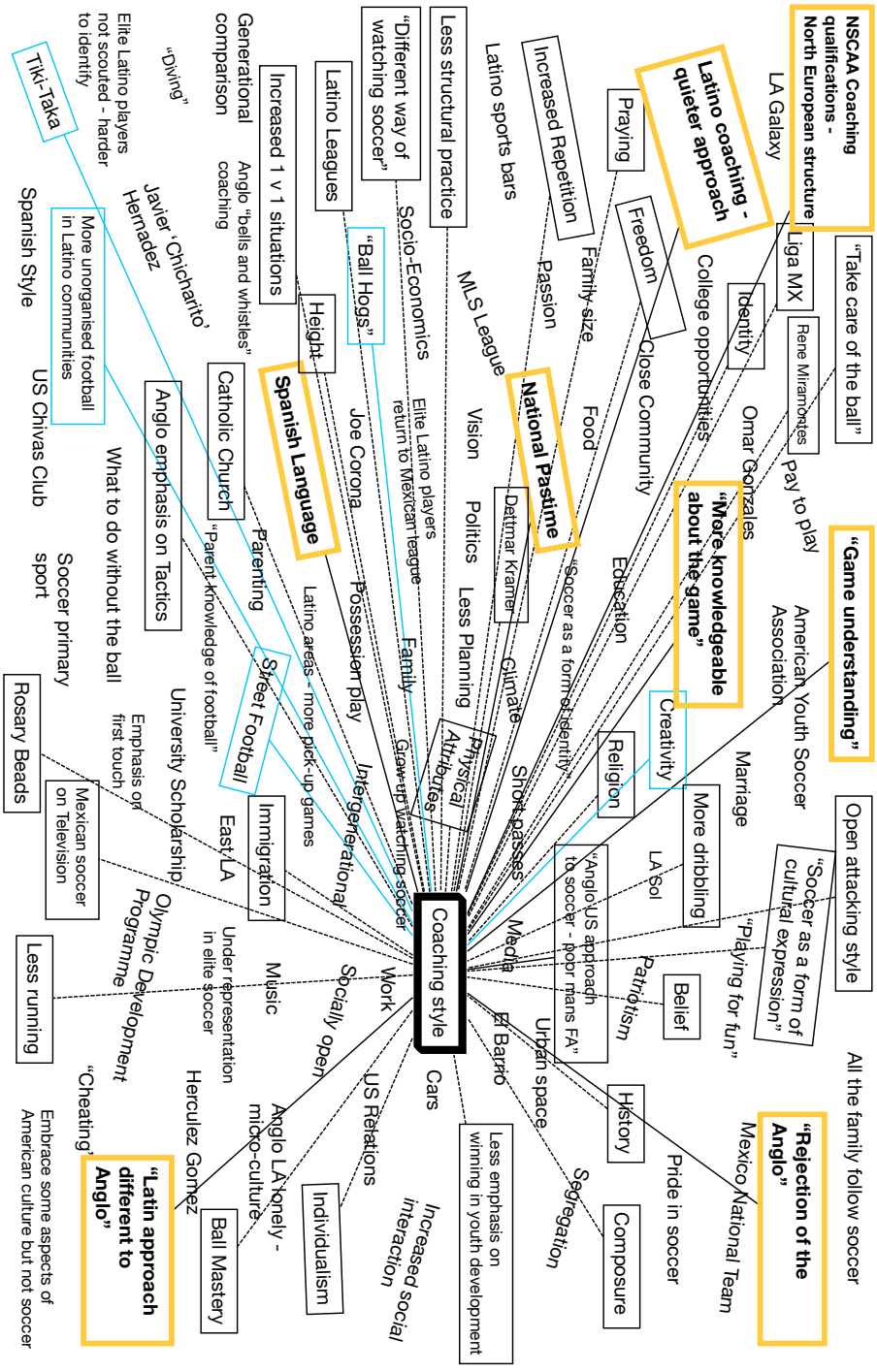


Figure 17. Relational analysis of situational maps: focus on coaching style

Social Worlds/Arenas outputs

The next mapping process involved in this Situational Analysis of Latino communities influence on Latino approach to soccer in Los Angeles involves mapping out the key social worlds and their (re)positioning in the arena of Southern California (as shown in figure 18). Thus helping to contextualise and represent collective actors - the social worlds and arenas within the situation of analysis. This process provided a deeper realisation of what are the meaningful commitments of the social world and how these are collectively acted upon in the situation (Clarke, 2005).

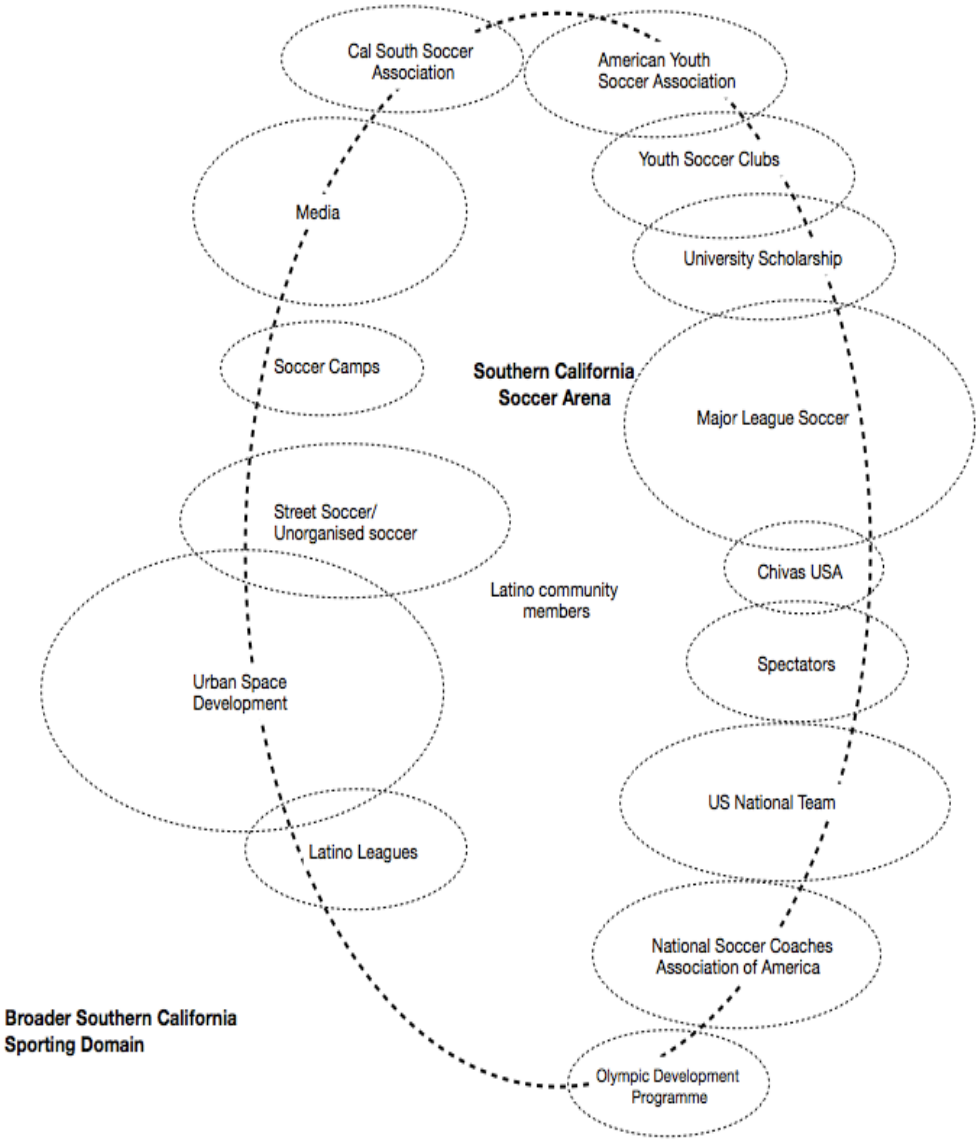


Figure 18. Social worlds/arenas map: Latino community members role within the wider Southern California soccer arena.

This social world/arena map attempts to represent the relative size and power of different worlds in relation to one another within the situation. Figure 18. shows that Urban Space Development is hugely influential in the implementation of Latino Leagues and Street Soccer/Unorganised soccer. The boundaries overlap here, suggesting that the worlds are inter-dependable. Without sufficient public space, unorganised soccer games are difficult to create. The data also emphasised the role of Urban development policy in reducing leisure spaces used more formally for Latino Leagues. As some new urban developments have reduced the space and accessibility for the implementation of Latino Leagues. As Penn Sicre describes,

> *'...in Latino communities in the East of LA, many players of a high standard depend on Latino Leagues. Because of financial constraints and lack of opportunities these leagues provide Latino players of high standards with the chance to perform regularly... often these players have dropped out of the mainstream US system and look for somewhere to play. It is a good back up for these players and provides regular soccer. Unfortunately, these leagues run in particular fields and at times politics can affect who has the right to use the field. It is important that the leagues have the pitches to continue'.*
>
> (Interview, 2013)

Figure 18. also shows the power the MLS world has within the wider Southern California soccer arena. According to Trevor James (Interview, 2011),

> *'the MLS is always on T.V. here. Most young players want to be on an MLS roster, but its so difficult. The youth setup is poor and the size of the area makes it difficult to travel if you're spotted. It is the dream though'*

Much of the data suggests an under representation of Latino players in the MLS. With the technical standards of Latino players being high it is unusual that more Latino players do not achieve big success in the MLS. According to Peter Mellor (Skype interview, 2013) this is due to education and opportunities,

> *'there are some fantastic young Latino players, but in America you have to pay to play. The best clubs can charge thousands of dollars for a young player to play. Often these are the teams that can afford to travel and play in the big tournaments in the region where usually most of the MLS and College scouts are'.*

This limited opportunities narrative is represented in figure 18. The MLS boundary is interlinked with University Scholarship which is also interlinked with youth soccer clubs. It seems clear that the three go hand in hand. Thus the so called 'talented young player' in America who has the potential to be the next on the MLS draft, has to have the resources and opportunities to achieve the success. Ian Barker (Director of Coach Education at NSCAA) supports this by expressing that 'the 'pay to play' system excludes many talented players often from Latino backgrounds. Even to play for an average club can be very expensive'. However, Paul Holocher (Cal Poly University Mens Head Coach) states that, 'things are changing, there are more players of Latino heritage in the US National youth system and Universities are being provided with more funding to go out and scout the talent from poorer inner city areas'. Figure 18. also shows a large distance between Latino Leagues and the MLS, signifying that they are not dependent and that maybe there is little influence from one to the other. Ian Barker (Skype interview, 2013) described how the MLS set up Chivas USA (a franchise of the famous Mexican soccer club) and situated in the middle of Los Angeles.

> *'They thought by putting Chivas USA in LA and having a Latino roster of players and staff that the Latinos would flock to games. It backfired, it would be like putting a Man Utd franchise in New York, all the Liverpool and Chelsea fans would stay away. This is what happened here. Anyway Latinos don't watch MLS, they watch*

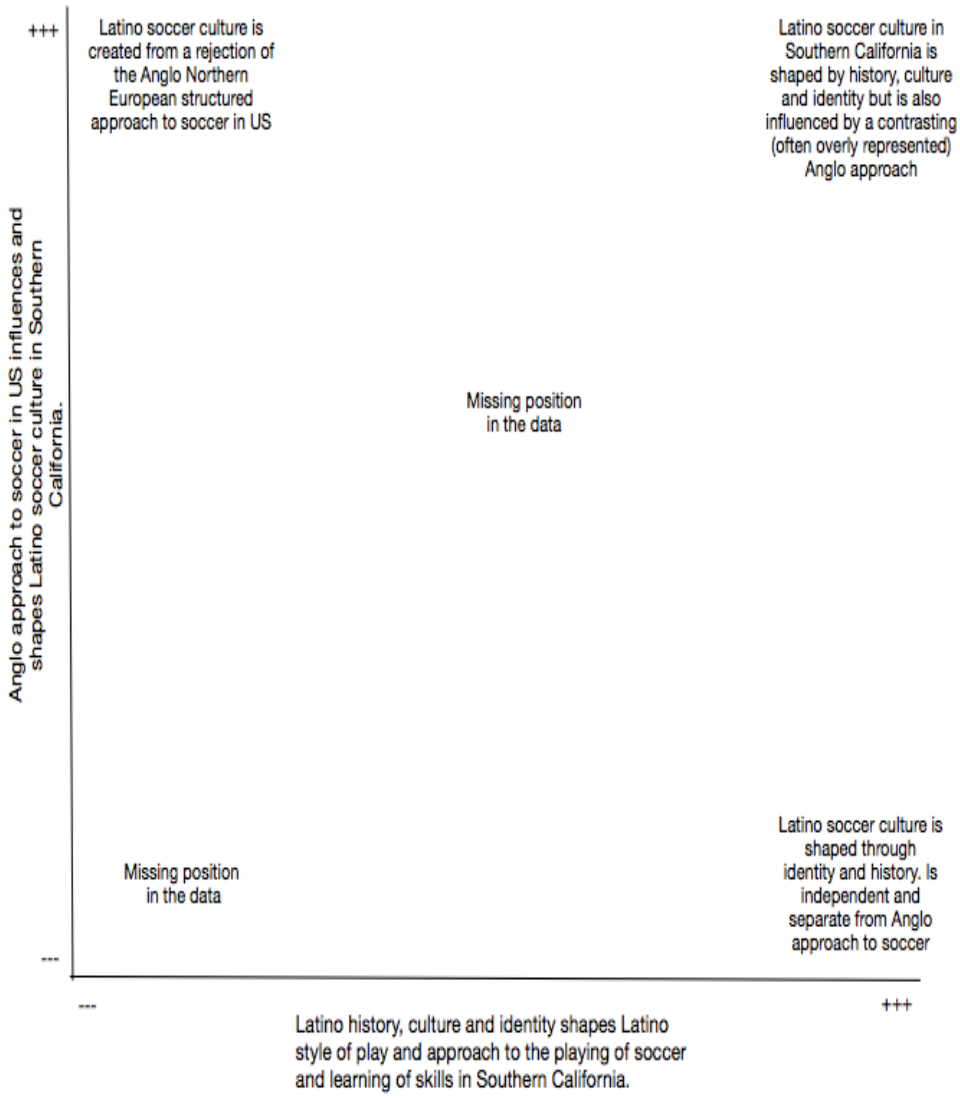
the Liga MX (the Mexican soccer league). For them the standard is better and they can relate to it'.

What is interesting about the social world/arenas map in figure 18, is that the main source of Latino soccer (through the unorganised soccer worlds and Latino leagues), appears in isolation to the more commercial soccer worlds like the MLS and these Latino sources for soccer are directly influence and it would seem somewhat constrained by Urban Space Development within the city.

Positional outputs

The next part of the mapping process involved mapping the relevant and important discourses in the situation. After analysing the data and mapping the situation, through open coding, constant comparison, memoing, theoretical sampling and most importantly saturation, a key discourse emerged that was interrelated to all other elements within the situation. This key theme from the analysis was the overwhelming acceptance (from various stand points) that there is a distinct Latino soccer culture, with various symbols and boundaries (as outlined in the situational, relational and social world/arena analysis) that is inextricably linked to Ethnicity and cultural heritage. It was thought that there may be some critique to the notion of a Latino soccer culture, as the theory implies the labelling of a particular group, 'Latino', which is so broad and generalised that it can be vague, ambiguous and misleading. This study did not fix any specific definitions to this term and instead outlined the fluid nature of Latino identity in Los Angeles. The usage of this broad term was left to the participants interpretation.

Figure 19. Positional Map: Role of latino culture v anglo culture in relation to the (re)production of latino soccer culture



Despite this, the majority of the participants confirmed that there were distinct similarities and differences that shaped the way 'Latino' players approached the game of soccer (as shown in the discourses in figure 19). These assertions were often expressed in comparison and relation to the Anglo approach (as shown in the discourses in figure 19) which appeared to hold certain hierarchical privileges within the Southern Californian soccer structures. Minimal areas of the data did echo the sentiment that Los Angeles soccer was multi-dimensional and intertwined with various ethnicities and communities. With the suggestion of a similar situational analysis being conducted of the influence of German and Italian soccer culture within Los Angeles would be just as valid. This situational analysis shows that the very nature of attempting to define culture is fraught with danger, as the situation is so messy and complex. This study presents a robust and detailed analysis of data collected through the researchers own personal ethnographic and literary wanderings. This study does not attempt to provide a rigid definition of 'Latino soccer culture' but instead outlines one method in which essences of this constantly shifting fragment can be viewed and analysed.

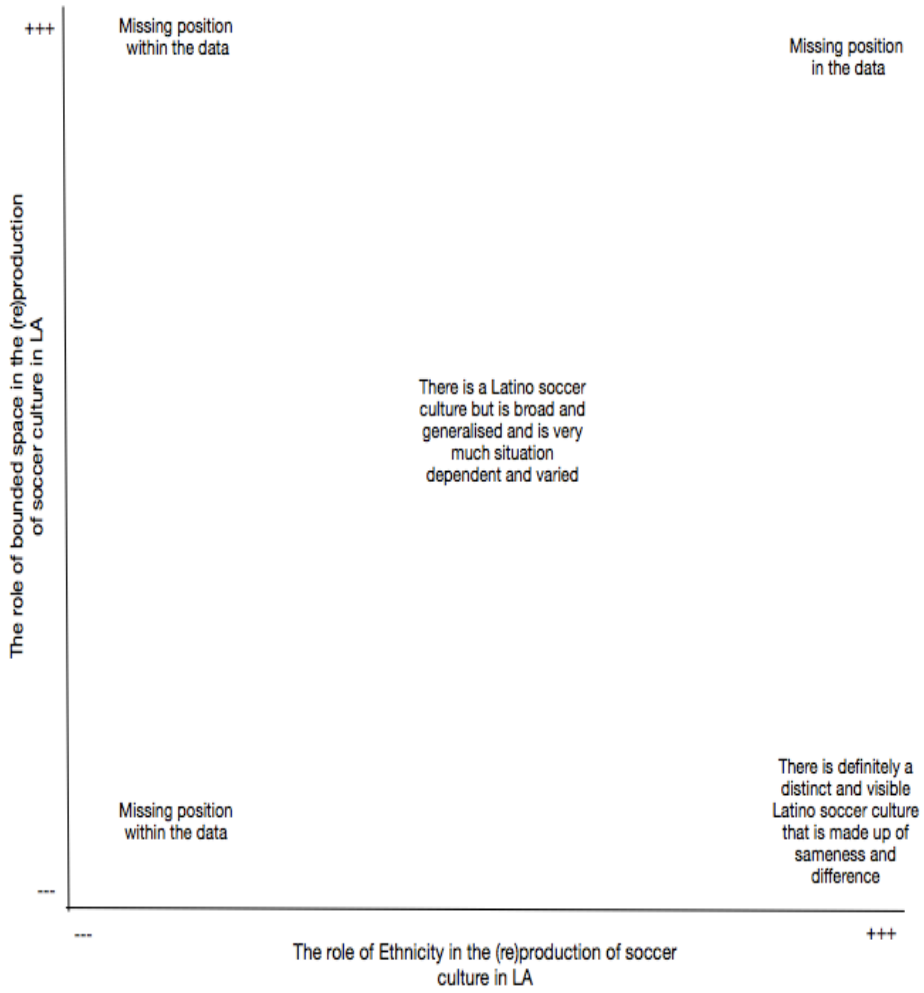


Figure 20. Positional Map: Role of Ethnicity v Role of Space in (re)production of soccer culture

Figure 20. shows that the data collected in this study outlines that soccer culture transcends space. It is not fixed around spatial boundaries. In many ways this shows that there is no real Los Angeles soccer culture that could be made up of various ethnicities. Instead Los Angeles is made up of a series of fragments. Various soccer cultures constantly colliding and (re)moulding. These soccer cultures are not rigid, they are fluid. They are also not bounded by space. A Latino player from the East side of Los Angeles can share the same cultural symbols that shape the way soccer is played and learnt as a Latino player from the San Fernando Valley. The strength of the community is held in

the mind of the beholder (Cohen, 1985). This notion presents Los Angeles the space as a blank cultural canvas (or as Baudrillard puts it ‘a desert land’). The only originality here lies in the desert. Here you must accept everything at once, as it is this telescoping that gives you America in its original, its illuminating and exhilarating side, just as in the desert, everything contributes to the magic of the desert (Baudrillard, 1986). If you approach this society with the nuances of European aesthetic and critical cultural position, you will miss its originality. Soccer cultures have migrated to Los Angeles. Los Angeles did not create them. These approaches gain meaning and structure from traditional cultures from foreign lands. Even though certain soccer cultures may be more privileged, as shown with the Anglo, Northern European approach to coach education, there is no grand narrative. The Latino soccer culture is still (re) produced readily within Latino communities in the city. Soccer cultures here may influence one another but they exist on different cultural planes, not centred around particular regional contours.

Discussion

Hyperreal Los Angeles has a multiplicity of centres which reflect the composition of race and class in the postmodern city. However, in this multiplicity, only certain groups have the freedom to move. The fragmented nature of this urban sprawl provides corporate exclusiveness. The exclusivity of postmodern Los Angeles, with its brick-a-brack collage of race and class, signifies the end of the ‘melting pot’ theory whereby differences in race and class would be assimilated into an American consensus (Parson, 1993). Regeneration in urban areas in East Los Angeles represents a way to ‘dilute the ethnic control of space’ (Parson, 1991). Postmodernism here represents a reduction in human interaction and community tolerance. The culture in this hyperreal world is that of the individual. However, the data shows that within this hyperreal world, there is opposition to this vacuous existence. The

collected data suggests that within Latino groups there is a strong sense of community based on shared beliefs and ideals. This is centred around the traditional values of Religion and family. These values cannot be bought and sold, they are not developed, they are inherent. Echoing traditions of ancestors gone by. Thus, with regard to the Latino soccer culture, these values form the basis of its continued (re)formulation. They inform the social processes that underpin Latino communities and are culturally authentic signifiers. Hence, how can an 'outsider' to this culture attempt to coach or play or even understand its depth and complexitites, without holding these values. What appears on the pitch within the white lines of the game, is the result of a series of becomings (Deluze and Guattari, 1980). These becomings are influenced by the surrounding social, cultural and political landscape. Thus, if these becomings influence the soccer culture that appears on and around the pitch, surely the coach must have an understanding of this wider culture and community. Figure 17. shows that the wider cultural landscape affected the coaching style and approach. So this raises the qustion, does a coach, coach through their own culture?

If the cultural becomings, that underpin the soccer culture, are ingrained within the coach, then these will impact and influence everything to some degree, regardless of changing external environments. With the cultural complexity of symbolic communities that shape and influence soccer culture, does one have to be of that culture to understand it closely? For Foster (2010) soccer cultures are an extension of cultural identity. A representation of shared societal values. Thus, in a gloabalised world (Bauman, 1998), with ever shifting fragemented soccer cultures, and multi-cultural teams, it seems that the role of the coach is somewhat de-centred. Hence, this study has opened up some wider questions with regard to soccer cultures and its impact on coaching; can a coach continue to coach through their own culture in an ever more fragmented world? Is an understanding and appreciation of the diverse soccer cultures ever more necessary? Does an appreication and acceptance of ones own cultural

becomings, promote a more self-reflexive approach to coaching? This in-depth situational analysis into Latino soccer culture has shown that culture can shape and influence the emergent soccer style in numerous, complex ways. It shows that the role of the coach is inter-related to various wider cultural and social nuances.

Like a movie, Los Angeles soccer culture can be re-presented like a series of different frames, split together to form the whole. Like a collage approach to construction that combines several traditional styles to form the single structure. In order to view one of these fragmentations (i.e. Latino soccer culture) is to accept it as a free floating piece within the whole. Never fixed but continually (re)adjusting. This is why wandering (Bauman, 1998) lends itself to this study. In order to see one of these ever shifting fragmentations one must also be on the move. Davis (2005) describes Los Angeles as the postmodern city *par excellence*, due to its fragmented nature and plasticity. Here everyone moves, whether they choose to or not.

Everyone here is destined to a life of choices, but not everyone here has the means to be a chooser. Similar to all other known societies, the postmodern consumer society in Los Angeles is a stratified one. 'It is possible to tell one kind of society from another by the dimensions along which it stratifies its members' (Bauman, 1998). Depending on which dimension one is plotted along, symbolises whether they are 'high up' or 'low down', in this society of consumers. The difference between those 'high up' and those 'low down' manifests itself in their 'degree of mobility'. Thus, in a city that is always in transition, those with higher 'degrees of mobility' have the freedom to choose where they move and where they reside. Leaving those without the same 'degree of mobility' behind. In a sense, Los Angeles could be seen as a site of 'apartheid a rebours', where those with the means can move away from the difficult, poorer regions, where those without the means are stuck with their own culture expressed within the game they play and we play.

Conclusion

This study shows that in order to gain a close approximation of a soccer culture, it must be viewed within the wider socio-cultural vista of a community. Soccer culture is not separate from wider culture, it is instead an expression of that culture. Religion, identity and community shape the (re)formulating Latino soccer culture in Los Angeles. Coaching and playing styles (re)present an essence of this wider culture. These styles are not established in isolation of the cultural bricolage of Latino communities in Los Angeles. Hence, when one views a soccer style or coaching approach, it should be positioned within a wider socio-cultural context.

The findings in this study show that 'soccer culture' (Foster, 2010) emerges from the wider socio-cultural fragments involved in becoming (Deluze and Guattari, 1980). Hence, supporting Olaya, Lammoglia and Zarama (2010) who express that contrast in 'soccer cultures' emerges from diverse cultural influences rather than being a product of traditional approaches to coaching. Therefore this de-centres the role of the coach, positioning the role within the broader cultural vista. In essence, this study demonstrates that the learning of soccer skills is not fixed to the coaching and playing arena. Instead it emerges from the assemblage of culturally authentic fragments.

This contradicts the cause and effect approach to soccer coaching which relies upon the coach being central to the playing style. The cause and effect approach would suggest that if one analyses coaching and playing from another culture, it can then be reproduced. By merely mimicking what appears within the white lines of the pitch. Although this is completely missing the point. What authenticates a playing style and soccer culture is how it links to the broader social, cultural and economic landscape. If one is to gain a close understanding of a soccer culture, one must immerse them self into the wider culture, viewing through the lens of a wanderer.

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