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The effects of sports participation on the Chicano athlete

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THE EFFECTS OF SPORTS PARTICIPATION ON THE CHICANO ATHLETE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Mexican American Studies

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Cesar Torrico

December 1999

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF SPORTS PARTICIPATION ON CHICANO ATHLETES

by Cesar Torrico

This thesis examines the effects of sports participation on the Chicano athlete. It analyzes several previous short-term and long-term studies that were done in the past on minority athletes but comes up with very different conclusions.

A careful examination of the previous data reveals that long-term beneficial effects can not be achieved by participating in sports. In fact, this study concludes that participation in sports by Chicano athletes may actually be more harmful than beneficial. This study was designed to debunk past studies that presented sports as the great vehicle toward upward mobility and assimilation.

Acknowledgements

To my Wife: I could never have done this without you. You are my inspiration.

To my Parents: Thank you for all of your support over the years.

Para mi abuelito: Siempre estas en mis pensamientos.

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Introduction

It's been very, very good to me. This statement has become almost cliché when a Chicano baseball player describes what the game of baseball has done for him. But have sports really been very, very good to Chicanos?

The impact of sports in American society is clearly evident. More than 20 million children aged 6 to 15 participate in sports annually (Magill, Ash, & Smoll, 1978). The impact of sports participation is hard to measure since there have been conflicting studies. On the one hand, there are studies that credit participation in sports as a major developer of character, self-esteem, and maturity (Baillie & Danish, 1992). At the same time, other studies claim that sports had no impact on the development of self-esteem, character and maturity. An article by Ogilvie and Tutko (1971) claimed that sports participation has as much chance as having a positive influence as it does a negative one.

The perception that sports are a character builder; however, is strong. Children that are better athletes are often perceived to be more mature, smarter, and leaders (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1979).

Sports and education seem to work in tandem here in the United States. It is important to note that the rest of the world does not share this philosophy. Much of Europe and Latin-America rely on club teams that are not affiliated with high schools and colleges for sport participation. There have been many studies that suggested that

students who participate in interscholastic sports have more scholastic ambitions than non-athletes (Hauser & Lueptow, 1978).

According to Schafer (1969), participation in scholastic athletics serve to shape the attitudes, morals and values of young people in accordance with the prevalent values and morals of the dominant majority. The importance of sport participation in the high school setting has been studied by several scholars with very similar results (Braddock II, 1980; Eitzen, 1984). These studies concluded that the most popular students in school were more often than not, the athletes.

There have also been studies that examined the correlation between juvenile delinquency and sports participation (Buhrmann & Bratton 1978; Segrave & Chu, 1978; Yiannakis, 1980). According to Segrave & Chu (1978) Sports participation has acted as a deterrent to juvenile delinquency. On the other hand, Yiannakis (1980) asserted that athletics seem to be a deterrent to delinquent behavior because many youth with pre-delinquent tendencies shy away from sports since sports are too structured for them to conform.

Many studies have also focused on the minority's use of sports as a vehicle for upward mobility. In order to do an in-depth study on the effects of sports on Chicanos a determination needs to be made on how large a role sports plays in the lives of the students. A determination needs to be made as to whether sports is a positive influence on Chicanos or whether it does more harm than good. The allure of a glamorous life by becoming a professional athlete may lead young, aspiring athletes to concentrate entirely on sports and virtually ignore their academic studies. If we take out the sports wildcard in

dealing with Chicanos, a close look at the dropout statistics of high school Chicanos needs to be taken into account. Statistically, in California, Chicano males have the highest rate of leaving high school prior to graduating. (Melnick, Sabo & VanFossen, 1992).

This makes the road for Chicanos more difficult since they are statistically beating the odds just by finishing high school. The case for the Chicano athlete is harder since there are not many role models in college to offer support and guidance for the new Chicano college recruits.

This study examines the socioeconomic status and mobility of Chicano sports participants. It is also the intent of this study to show athletic departments that sports may not be the vehicle of upward mobility that it has been perceived to be. In fact, sports may be yet another tool that the dominant majority uses to control, exploit and dominate Chicanos, thus perpetuating the status quo. In short, the Chicano athlete may be a victim of athletic colonialism.

Athletic colonialism can be defined as the exploitation of the Chicano sports participants by Anglo-American, dominant majority, for economic gains. That is not to say that all athletes are not exploited, but Chicanos may be more susceptible to it since there are fewer opportunities out there for Chicanos to succeed than there are for their Anglo-American counterparts. This study will debunk the myth of sports as the ultimate savior for Chicanos and other minorities.

Chicanos are dealing with the institutional racism that is prevalent in this country and somehow survive despite this obstacle. These are the following questions that this

study will be asking in order to get a clear picture of the modern Chicano athlete: Can the Chicano athlete be lumped in with the Anglo-American athlete since they share very different values, experiences and histories? Is the Chicano athlete under the burden of not only performing on the athletic field but, does he also have the added burden of knowing that opportunities may be limited outside of athletics as well?

Currently, Chicanos have a 66% dropout rate from college. (Melnick, et al. 1992). Does this fact along with the alleged institutionalized racism that exists in the United States lead these athletes to be more exploitable than their Anglo counterparts?

The significance of the study

This study provides academic institutions with valuable information that could lead them to implement policies that guarantee that all athletes are treated with dignity, respect and honesty. Athletic departments could use the results of this study to see the overall effects of athletic participation on Chicanos before they proclaim the institution of athletics as the savior of Chicanos. Athletic departments can see the results of this study and implement a policy that would be ideal for all athletes.

The Problem

Athletics are presented by the media as the great equalizer. The prevalent opinion is that minorities can participate in sports and succeed regardless of race. There have been studies that have challenged those beliefs and have shown that participation in sports has either a marginally positive effect or no effect at all on the futures of athletes. (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1990; Duda, 1985; Braddock II, 1980; Dubois, 1980; Melnick, et al. 1992).

The problem is that Chicanos are being pushed into sports as a means to succeed, while at the same time, participating in sports may actually inhibit their chances of becoming upwardly mobile. Chicanos' participation in sports may leave them more vulnerable to exploitation since the dominant majority advertises sports as the great vehicle for upward mobility for all minorities. The reality is that the vast majority of athletes do not become successful professional athletes. Furthermore, the opportunities for Chicanos to succeed are limited by the internal colonial status that they have in their own country (Barrera, 1979). If Chicanos concentrate solely on sports, they close out or limit opportunities for other forms of upward mobility.

The studies that have shown that sports is beneficial to the minority athlete have been largely used to benefit University athletic programs in order to show how athletes can increase their chances for a better life by simply participating in collegiate athletics.

Those studies are flawed. This study will show that athletic participation by Chicanos can lead to downward mobility if the athlete allows himself to be “athletically colonized” by the University for its own benefit.

Delimitation's

1. An examination of several short-term (Duda, 1985) and long-term (Melnick, et al. 1992) studies of the mobility of former Chicano athletes was made to see if any patterns emerged.

2. A multi-discipline approach was taken to study the plight of the Chicano athlete. A close examination of the internal colonial thesis (Barrera, 1979) was made in order to see if Chicano athletes were also internally colonized by the controlling establishments of sports.

Limitations

It would be difficult to determine how much impact participating in sports will have, or has had on an individual. If an individual is seen as a success or as a failure, there is no way to determine how much of the credit participating in sports deserves. If a person succeeds in life, is sports the reason? or, alternatively, is the individual simply a successful person who happened to participate in sports?

A determination of upward mobility needs to be made. How much must an individual succeed in order to be considered upwardly mobile?

The behavior of athletes needs to be closely examined to see if athletes can be treated as a monolithic group. Then, this study can see if any specific patterns of behavior emerge among athletes regardless of race or socioeconomic background.

What this study will not cover

In addition to the previously mentioned limitations, for the purposes of this study, the following things will not be covered.

This study is not intended to be used as a comparison between Chicano and Anglo-American athletes. This study is solely based on data and studies of Chicano male and female athletes. No significant data has been examined on the Anglo-American athlete.

This study is not intended for use by any educational institution as a way of either encouraging or discouraging the participation of sports by Chicano or non-Chicano athletes. The participation or non-participation in sports should entirely be left up to the individual.

This study is not to be used by anyone to compare or contrast sports participation of Chicanos and Chicanas. Gender was not taken into serious consideration for the sake of this study.

This study does not intend to explore the correlation between sports participation and juvenile delinquency and it should not be used for that purpose.

This study did not take into account, and for that reason, should not be used for the purposes of determining the likelihood of deviant behavior or mental illness by sports participants or non-participants.

Prologue: Why the Need for a definitive essay?

A definitive essay was needed for this study in order to explain the inclusion or exclusion of various terms. The following essay can be used as a guide for the following study to better understand the use of terms that may seem ambiguous or unfamiliar to the reader.

Definitive Essay

Chapter 1

The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the ambiguities that surround the use of labels when it comes to defining Chicanos.

The use of the term **Hispanic** became widely used in the 1970s as an all encompassing descriptor of the total Spanish-heritage population of the United States as conceived by the US Census Bureau and other agencies of the federal government. Used in this context the term refers to ethnic groups who trace their origins to predominantly Spanish-speaking nations of the Western Hemisphere. This term was created as a matter of convenience so that the United States government could "lump in" all persons who were Spanish speaking and had Spanish heritage for the sake of keeping tabs on this group (Gutierrez, 1995).

The term **Latino** has been adopted as a self-referent by many Americans of Hispanic descent as a way to denote their sense of a pan-Hispanic solidarity that cuts across national and ethnic lines (Gutierrez, 1995).

The term **Chicano** will be used in this study. The term Chicano is used to identify any persons of Spanish Heritage living in the United States as a way of showing solidarity between peoples who are a mixture of Amerindian and Spanish blood. The term is used in lieu of Latino since Chicano is a term that was picked by Chicanos for Chicanos rather than a term that was picked by Anglo-Americans for their own use and convenience.

There are also whole sets of terms that are used to explain the process that Chicanos go through in order to assimilate or attempt to assimilate into the mainstream.

Assimilation denotes the process in which one set of cultural traits is relinquished and a new set acquired, through communication and participation. The change is gradual and may take place in any degree, achieving full assimilation means the incorporation of new members into a society so that they are not distinguishable from former members. (Gutierrez, 1995).

Acculturation may be defined as the process of cultural change in which more or less continuous contact between two or more culturally distinct groups results in one group taking over elements of the culture of the other group or groups (Gutierrez, 1995).

Assimilation is the ability of the Chicano to wear a mask or put on a facade that allows them to appear that they are a member of the dominant society in order to achieve a short, quick benefit. As soon as the benefit is achieved, the facade will be taken off.

Deculturation is the process of losing part of one's native culture, while gaining some elements or aspects of the dominant culture. In other words, losing traits that are a part of their native culture and replacing them with traits from the dominant culture (Acuña, 1981).

Internal Colony is a term that was coined by Mario Barrera in his book entitled Race and Class in the Southwest (1979). The term refers to Chicanos or other minorities that are internally colonized by the dominant power. Internal colonialization may include exploitative tactics like illegal deportation, discrimination and using the victims as a

reserve, and usually exploited, labor force. This theory is outlined in more detail in Chapter 3 of this study.

The operational definition for this study of **upwardly mobile** will be defined as the ability to show a significant marked improvement in one's financial quality of life as a result of participating in sports.

The operational definition for this study of **access** will be used in this study as a means of measuring the opportunities that Chicano athletes have of participating in sports and gaining advantages as a result of that participation, i.e., college scholarships, preferential treatment at school or work etc.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

A majority of the existing resources that were available dealt with sports as a vehicle for upward mobility. In other words, sports is a vehicle for minorities to succeed in American society.

Many studies have been done to study the plight of the African-American athlete. Dr. Harry Edwards is the premier authority on the subject since he is not only a scholar, but was an athlete that saw the effects first hand (Edwards, 1984). Jack Olsen (1968) also noted the exploitation of the black athlete by Universities and professional sports teams.

Several studies of minorities in sports viewed sports as a vehicle for assimilation: (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1990; Eitzen, 1984; Melnick & Sabo 1994). Many studies that were done from a sociologist point of view concluded that sports are a mirror of society: (Snyder & Spreitzer 1979). According to works done by Olsen (1968) and Edwards (1984) the minority athletes will continue to be exploited as long as they are still subservient to the dominant society.

Another aspect that has been looked at is the phenomenon of "stacking" racial minorities at certain positions in sports such as basketball, baseball and football: (Loy & McElvogue 1970). Many other follow-up works have been done that have reached similar conclusions (Dougherty, 1976; Leonard II 1988). A good example of stacking is

evident among African-American athletes who are concentrated in the outfield positions in baseball while being discouraged from pitching and catching. In football, African-Americans are stacked at the wide receiver and defensive back positions. In basketball, prior to the virtual domination of African-Americans in all positions, they were primarily concentrated at the forward positions.

In Sports: A social perspective . (Curry & Jiobu 1984), the authors conclude that there is a relationship between wealth and money and the sports that people can participate in. Their book basically states that there is a direct correlation between wealth and social status. They concluded that these variables determine what sports athletes are more likely to participate in. E.g. A person that has more money is more likely to take up figure skating and golf than a person of a low socioeconomic status.

Curry and Jiobu (1984) summarize their findings in this regard as follows:

Sports that feature teamwork, physical contact, informal training, and low technology appeal to the working class, according to one line of reasoning; while sports featuring more refined skills, less physical contact and greater technology appeal to the upper class (Curry & Jibou, 1984, p.47).

Another article looked at the effects of high school sports participation by *Hispanic* boys and girls: (Melnick, et al. 1992). This study followed the high school sports careers of Hispanic boys and girls and the effects that it had on them after they left high school. The study concluded that high school sports participation had either no effect or a positive effect on the students. In no cases did participation in sports have a negative effect on the student. The article announced that athletes had positive experiences in school because of the "value climate". According to Snyder & Spreitzer

(1979) the value climate is related to how much the school values its sports. If a school holds its sports in high esteem, then the athletes are treated with preferential treatment. The study also concluded that the positive effects of sports happened mostly during high school and did not extend into college. Finally, this study found that the positive effects were more noticeable for Chicanas since participation in sports for Chicanas helps them gain as much freedom as their Anglo counterparts.

Even within this reality, the best student-athletes do not succeed in becoming professional athletes. According to Eitzen & Sage (1978), less than one-tenth of one percent of athletes participating in high school sports will ever make a career out of it.

The importance of sport participation in the high school setting has been analyzed by several scholars, Buhrmann & Bratton (1978), Eitzen (1984), with very similar results. These studies concluded that the most popular students in school were, more often than not, the athletes.

There have also been works that studied the correlation between juvenile delinquency and sports participation. (Buhrmann & Bratton 1978, Segrave & Chu 1978; Yiannakis, 1980). According to Segrave & Chu (1978) sports participation acts as a deterrent to juvenile delinquency. On the other hand, Yiannakis (1980) asserted that the reason that athletics seem to be a deterrent to delinquent behavior is that many youth with pre-delinquent tendencies shy away from sports since sports are too structured for them to conform.

There have been many studies that have focused on the minorities use of sports as a vehicle for upward mobility (Melnick, et al. 1992; Picou, 1978; Snyder & Spreitzer,

1990). In order to do an in-depth study on the effects of sports on Chicanos a determination needs to be made on how large a role sports plays in the lives of the students.

Many scholars have questioned whether sports is a positive influence on Chicanos or whether it does more harm than good (Dubois, 1980; Duda, 1985). The allure of a glamorous life by becoming a professional athlete may lead a young aspiring athlete to concentrate entirely on sports and virtually ignore their academic studies. Many athletes make this choice and decide to attempt to make a career out of sports even though it is extremely unlikely that they will be able to make a living out of it. This leads them to underachieve academically and face the consequences of not graduating from high school. Statistically, in California, Chicano males have the highest rate of leaving high school prior to graduating. (Melnick, et al. 1992).

There will be four different ideologies or criteria that will be used to find out why Chicano athletes and Chicano non-athletes leave high school in higher numbers than their Anglo counterparts. Below are a few of the different ideologies that could be used to gain a better understanding of the qualitative data, but however, were not used as a part of this study.

Wilbert Marcellus Leonard II (1988) took a sociological view of sports and broke it down into two different approaches: The functional theory and the conflict theory.

The functionalist theory basically states that society has a variety of roles that need to be performed. The functionalist view holds that each member of society has a specific role that he needs to fill. The functionalist theory also holds that some roles in

society are more important than others and that those who perform the more valuable tasks should be rewarded more than those who perform the tasks that are seen as less important. According to this theory, it is up to society to entice its members to perform all of its tasks.

The conflict theory states that social stratification exists because of inequalities in power, privilege, prestige and wealth throughout society (Leonard II, 1988). This theory can be used to explain the reason why Blacks were denied participation in professional sports until the middle of the 20th century.

If this study were to apply the conflict theory to Chicanos it would find that although they have been allowed to participate in sports it was done only because those in positions of power recognized that there was an economic reward in letting minorities participate in sports. Evidence of this can be found in the fact that minorities are virtually invisible in management and ownership positions in professional sports in the United States.

The Marxist view, which states, that societies are based on class is another effective ideology that can be used in looking at sports and how it affects the lives of Chicanos. If this study were to examine the United States as a society based on class, then it could draw some conclusions as to how minorities' patterns of participation in sports reflect the society as a whole.

Method

There were several long-term (Melnick, et al. 1992) and short-term (Duda 1985; Snyder & Spreitzer 1990) studies that were done in the past to measure the upward mobility of Chicano sports participants. This study will take the existing data from the above mentioned studies and analyze it from the ideological perspectives and cross-cultural methodologies used to study Chicanos in the Chicano studies department at San José State University.

Four main ideologies, or approaches, will be used to interpret the data collected for this study. These approaches will be based on the books and theories of: Mary F. Rogers (1996), Gareth Morgan (1986), Mario Barrera (1979) and Kenneth R. Hoover (1994).

Below is a summary of the four major ideologies that are used in the Chicano studies department to study Chicanos:

Barrera's internal colonial model, asserts that Chicanos are forced to assimilate into the mainstream by the dominant society. This model could be used to explain what sports Chicanos participate in and the level of exploitation that they endure when participating in these sports (Barrera, 1979).

Gareth Morgan's theory used the "machine" model to explain how Chicanos and other minorities were kept at the lowest rungs of society. This machine model could be

used to explain how historically Chicanos and other minorities were excluded from participating at the collegiate level and professional level of sports. This model could also be used to explain the submissive status that Chicanos have in collegiate athletics (Morgan, 1986).

Mary Rogers' book entitled Multicultural Experiences, Multicultural Theories (1996) will be used in order to achieve balance in this study and provide a woman's perspective into this multicultural topic. This book tackles many issues that are important within the Chicano community and most certainly affect the Chicano athlete.

Kenneth Hoover's Ideology and Political Life (1994) will be used in order to examine the paradox that exists when Chicanos are seen as reform liberals, when in fact, the opposite may be true.

Chapter 3

Part I

A Brief overview of Barrera's Internal Colonial Thesis

The Chicano athlete will be submitted, for the sake of this study, to a series of criteria that will determine the overall effects of sports on the life and upward mobility of the Chicano. The first criteria that the Chicano athlete will be submitted through is the "internal colonial" thesis by Mario Barrera. The Chicano athlete is "internally colonized" and the Chicano will not be able to fully achieve the benefits that sports should give him.

The internal colonial thesis is being used in this study because it provides a solid theoretical framework for better studying and understanding the Chicano athlete. Barrera's thesis has been accepted as a valid way to measure the progress of Chicanos and other minorities by many working within the field of Chicano studies.

The internal colonial thesis will be used to draw some parallels between the Chicano athlete and the Anglo-American athlete. This internal colonial thesis will be used to show the differences in opportunities between the two groups as a result of sports participation. The next few pages shall be dedicated to proving how the internal colonial thesis affects Chicanos.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

The Chicano has been a part of the United States since the signing of the *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*. They have long been subjected to racist laws, and policies that have prevented them from fully assimilating into the mainstream. Since these policies and laws have been in effect for so long they have, in fact, become institutionalized.

The repeated violations of the treaty have stripped Chicanos of any chance of being assimilated into the American mainstream society. Barrera focused his book on the American Southwest and the way the Chicano was treated, both overtly and covertly, by the legislature and by the racism that is prevalent in that area. Barrera's internal colonial thesis can shed some light on the plight of the Chicano athlete. According to Barrera, the Chicano will not be assimilated into the mainstream since they have been internally colonized by the Anglo majority.

The internal colonial thesis is useful when studying Chicanos whether they are athletes or not. The racial inequality that has plagued the Chicano since 1848 has made them "aliens" in their own country. The *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* guaranteed Chicanos full citizenship and all the rights and privileges that came with it. The Treaty also guaranteed that all the Chicanos' land rights would be respected. This has not happened.

The relative ease in which Chicano workers are and were exploited has been documented since the 1850's. The migrant worker lifestyle of many Chicanos has led to their exploitation, deportation and in many cases death. Racial intolerance toward

Chicanos, and minorities, has led to a situation in the American Southwest that has put the Anglo-American in the top position in society and minorities at the bottom. This is yet another aspect of internal colonialism which places the colonized people at the bottom of the societal ladder.

The division of Power between Anglo-Americans and Chicanos

Power is a zero-sum game, meaning that if one group of people want power then it must be forcibly taken from another group. In this case the two participants are the Chicano and the Anglo-American. The Chicano must take away some of the power from the Anglo-American in order to end the cycle of being on the lower rung of American society.

Barrera also uses the term "downward mobility" and applies it to Chicanos. The downward mobility started for the Chicanos with the taking away of the land by the United States government: a direct violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The downward mobility of Chicanos has continued since. The Chicano athlete is a part of this downward mobility, which inhibits their ability to achieve their full potential since they may not be able to dedicate themselves fully to the entire school experience, which may or may not include extracurricular activities such as sports. Those are just some of the factors that lead Chicanos to have less success in academics than their Anglo-American counterparts. The Chicano's unequal treatment by the dominant majority has prevented them from achieving upward mobility and pursuing success just like other Americans.

Another fallacy that has been around regarding the Chicano is that they have refused to assimilate into the mainstream. The truth is that assimilation is a two way street. Not only does the minority need to be willing to be absorbed but, more importantly, the dominant majority needs to be willing to absorb the minority. In the case of the Chicano, the dominant Anglo, majority has been unwilling to absorb them into the mainstream.

Chicanos as a reserve labor force

Chicanos have also been used as a reserve labor force when needed by the dominant white majority. Chicanos and other minorities are used when there is a labor shortage. Chicanos are kept close by to keep the Anglo workers under control due to the threat of losing their jobs to the minority worker. Historically, the Chicano, Mexican National or "Bracero" was put into a subordinate position and forced to submit to the will of the Anglo.

This type of environment has led many of the Chicanos to become migrant workers. The migrant worker is basically a seasonal worker who moves from place to place depending on where they are needed. This has created a generation of migrant students that have been unable to attend school continuously from September through June just like Anglo-American students.

The prevalent attitude today in California and throughout much of the Southwest is one of hysteria. This hysteria is fueled by an economy that has been affected by the end of the Cold War and the affect it has had on many of the corporations responsible for the defense contracts. The end result of this has been fewer jobs available for everyone in

California. The Chicano and Mexicano have become convenient scapegoats. This is a clear example of using the Chicano as a reserve labor force. This is just one of the phases of being part of a colony that lies within borders of a country that is colonizing you.

What did you say Pilgrim?

One of the greatest paradoxes that faces the Chicano is the one that places them as "foreigners" on their own native soil, while at the same time has the foreign European Anglo-American as the citizen. Chicanos have been living in the Southwest for several generations yet they are still seen as foreigners simply because of their race.

The close proximity of the Mexican border leads to this paranoia that any Chicano must be an illegal alien taking away another job from a well deserving "American".

The Chicano's ability to live between two separate and distinct cultures is both a blessing and a curse. On the one hand, they have the advantage of enjoying the best of two cultures, while at the same time, they are not fully integrated into the American society as a result of it.

All of the above examples are ways in which the Chicano is seen as an invader rather than a citizen by the dominant white majority. The term internal colony is used to describe Chicanos who are being oppressed by the Anglo-American and treated as foreigners on their own lands. The Chicano athlete has far more obstacles to overcome than his Anglo-American counterpart. This is one of the main reasons that sports may not have the same effect on Chicanos than it does for Anglos. Anglo-Americans sports participants view sports as more of an extracurricular activity that enhances their lives.

while the Chicano may see it as their last chance to achieve upward mobility. This is the foundation that this study will use to study the Chicano athlete.

The Role of Government and the different models that will be used to study the Chicano athlete.

Barrera also describes how the government has played a crucial role in the subordination of the Chicano. There are several distinct models and doctrines that can be used to illustrate this.

Manifest Destiny was the belief that it was the duty of the United States to expand its borders from the Atlantic Ocean all the way to the Pacific Ocean. The racist attitudes that were prevalent in the 19th century laid the foundation for the conquest of what is today the American Southwest. The racist attitudes led to the institutionalization of laws and policies, both official and not. Furthermore, the application of these policies, both overtly and covertly, has left the Chicano and other minorities fighting for whatever power is left over.

Max Weber believed that the government is the institution that has the monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. This has been shown in various times since the Mexican-American War. There was the forcible removal of Mexicans from their land after the War. Second, there was the illegal deportation of Mexican-Americans during the depression. Third, there was the suppression of Chicanos in Los Angeles that led to the murder of Ruben Salazar by a Police officer. Many believe that the murder was an assassination that was ordered by the Chief of Police at that time.

who believed that it was his job to protect the interests of the white middle classes at the expense of minorities.

Another model that can explain the division of power in the United States comes from William Domhoff. Domhoff's model comes from his book entitled Who Rules America Now? The premise of this book is that America has been ruled and continues to be ruled by an elite group of men that own some very key corporations and are on the Board of Directors of several others (Domhoff, 1983). This theory would help explain why Chicanos have been left out of virtually every key position that they need to hold in order to become members of the mainstream.

These models prove useful in examining how Chicanos have been suppressed and exploited in order to maintain the status quo. The dominant majority would like nothing more than to keep Chicanos and other minorities at the bottom of society.

It would be a mistake to pick one of these models and apply it to Chicanos. The reason that Chicanos are in a subordinate is not easy to categorize into one theory. The reality is that a combination of these theories is the reason for the subordination of the Chicano. The Weber theory fits since the government has had a hand in forcing the Chicanos to accept their subordinate status. Second, the Domhoff theory also applies to Chicanos since it can be useful in understanding why a very small elite controls everything.

These models combine to paint a complete picture of the Chicano experience in the United States. The Chicano experience has been full of paradoxes and injustices that have all attributed to their continuing subordinate status in the United States.

Chapter 3

Part II

A Brief review of Kenneth Hoover's

Ideology and Political Life

Kenneth Hoover's book outlined the various political ideologies that have shaped nations for centuries. In particular, this study will closely examine Hoover's definition of reform liberalism as it applies to Chicanos.

Hoover outlined the political spectrum and placed the Marxists, Socialists and Liberals to the left of the spectrum and put Conservatives, Monarchists, and Fascists on the right. The political ideologies that are placed to the left (Socialists and Liberals) believe that the similarities between people are most important. The fundamental beliefs of the ideologies on the left hold that people are generally rational and good. They also believe that each individual has a right to choose what they want to do since no one person is better suited to do one job over anyone else. They also stress the importance of equality of labor and distribution of economic rewards. Finally, liberals also note the importance of equal access to political participation (Hoover, 1994).

The political ideologies that are placed to the right (Conservatives, Monarchists, and Fascists) hold that the differences between people are more important than their similarities. These ideologies believe that each individual person has different abilities and limitations. The adherents of these ideologies believe that it is up to conservative and fundamental institutions like the family, church, and the military to keep people within their abilities in order to best serve the nation.

Hoover's book closely explored the conservative and liberal political ideologies. In particular, Hoover's ideas on reform liberalism are important to understand in order to gain a better understanding of the Chicano. According to Hoover, reform liberalism brings together ideas from populism, progressivism and socialism (Hoover, 1994).

The reform liberal ideology was born out of the ideas of John Locke who believed that all people have certain "natural" reasoning ability and that they have certain "natural rights" that come as a result of this (Hoover, 1994). The ideas of reform liberalism came out of the era of the Depression and were President Roosevelt's response to the nation's ills. Ironically, in the wake of the depression, many Chicanos were illegally deported from the United States and sent to Mexico since they were seen as threats to the Anglo-Americans who were competing for the same jobs.

Reform liberals want to use the government as a tool to give equal access to all groups to the rewards that society has to offer. The reform liberals believe that generally people are rational and good and are able to make decisions for themselves. They also believe that certain barriers exist that prevent minorities from having the same access that

others have. The reform liberals believe that the government, not institutions, should play an active role in securing an equal playing field for all members of the society.

The traditional conservative ideology sees the individuals as semi-rational and not capable of running their own lives without the help of government institutions. According to traditional conservative ideology, individuals need institutional constraints in order to prevent them from giving in to their temptations.

The traditional conservatives also have a rather low opinion of the average person's abilities. In short, they see giving too much power to the masses as dangerous to the governmental institution. They see the masses as dangerous, since they may lack the knowledge and resources needed to effectively make governmental decisions. The traditional conservatives differ from the reform liberalism in the fundamental way in which they view the individual. The conservatives see the individual as flawed with imperfect behavior. The conservative does not, however, count on the government to make those changes. Conservatives instead count on social and political institutions to bring out the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of members of society.

The Paradox that lies exists when Chicanos are labeled as reform liberals.

The most accepted norm is to place Chicanos in the reform liberal ideology. This is problematic since the Chicano is attempting to achieve the same success and status that Anglo-Americans have achieved. The reform liberals, want above all else, to make the political process fair regardless of race, wealth, background and power (Hoover, 1994). It is the primary objective of reform liberals to make the political system accessible to all the members of society.

Chicanos are perceived to be reform liberals that appear to be fighting for equal access to the political process and its inherent rewards. This suggests that they are trying to gain the same power that Anglo-Americans have who are seen as the complete opposite (traditional conservatives). If Chicanos achieve the same status as their Anglo-American counterparts and are perceived to be upwardly mobile, they will no doubt do anything they can to maintain their newfound power and status. The ideology that is best suited for maintaining the status quo is the traditional conservative. Hoover states in his book that in order for a minority to assimilate into society the minority must be accepted by the dominant culture. This has not happened for the Chicano. This reality makes it impossible for a Chicano to achieve upward mobility.

This paradox proves that it is basically impossible for Chicanos to be upwardly mobile since once a token amount of Chicanos become upwardly mobile, they are then used by the dominant culture to prove that the system provides equal access to all races.

In order to succeed the Chicano would have to go through a period of **assimulation**. The term "assimilation" should not and can not be confused with the term of assimilation. **Assimulation** differs since the Chicano is not truly *assimilating* into the society. Instead, the Chicano is pretending to be a part of it only temporarily. It is as if the Chicano is wearing a mask in order to get through certain situations when needed. **Assimulation** means that a Chicano will act as if he has bought into the dominant majority's way of life, when in fact, he is only pretending to do so in order to get a quick temporary reward.

The assimilator (Chicano) is pretending to be a part of the society, while at the same time, he is rejecting it since he knows that he must appear to be assimilated in order to gain a short, quick benefit. A Chicano that appears to be more assimilated is more likely to be accepted by his Anglo peers since he is seen as less of a threat than the non-assimilated Chicano. Even if a Chicano is able to go through a period of "assimilation" the benefits from this will be short term and will not be able to provide the "assimilator" with long term upward mobility.

Chapter 3

Part III

A Brief Overview of Gareth Morgan's Images of Organization

The writings of Gareth Morgan, in his book entitled Images of Organization outline the various “machine” models that can be used to explain how the dominant Anglo majority uses machine type models that perpetuate the status quo, and suppress anyone who tries to change it.

This study will use Morgan’s book to analyze the Chicanos since it is a widely accepted authority on bureaucratic models. This book may be used in studying any type of organization public or private. The model that Morgan presents is also an invaluable tool in explaining why the status quo is so hard to change once it is established.

The use of a machine model is prevalent today in the United States. The organizations that are run like machines are called bureaucracies. The bureaucracies are expected to run as a machine in a predictable, routinized, and efficient manner. (Morgan, 1986). Bureaucracies are used mostly because of their efficiency and consistency. Ironically, today bureaucracies are often seen as quite the opposite: inefficient and inconsistent.

There are many strengths and weaknesses to using the machine model. The obvious strengths of the machine model are evident. According to Morgan if there is a

straightforward task to perform, then the model has a better chance of working properly. According to Morgan, the machine model is most effective when: The environment is stable enough that the machine will produce the same product over time, and when the user of the machine model wishes to produce the same results or product over time. The model is also more effective when the human parts of the machine are compliant and behave as designed (Morgan, 1986).

There are also, however, limitations to using the machine model. First, the machine model has difficulty in adapting itself to a changing environment. Second, it can create an environment in which the bureaucracy of the machine may get in the way of rational decision making, since the machine model does not allow for deviation even if the situation calls for it. Third, the goals of the organization may not be met if individuals who are running it see their own individual interests as more important than those of the organization. Lastly, the model has a dehumanizing effect on the people that are entrusted to run it (Morgan, 1986).

The machine model that was outlined by Morgan is useful in explaining how the treatment of the Chicanos since the end of the Mexican-American War has not significantly changed over time. The subordinate position that Chicanos have held has led many people to believe that Chicanos are institutionalized into being the subordinate of the Anglo-American.

In many cases, government institutions like the Police, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and other agencies have been used as tools to control and suppress minorities and any other groups that are seen as threats to the Anglo-American majority.

A clear example of the Machine Model that went awry is the case of the Los Angeles police department during the 1960's. The conservative ideology of the Los Angeles police started during the tenure of William H. Parker, who headed the Department from 1950-1966.

Parker did exactly what Morgan warned against. He took the organization of the Police Department and molded it in his own image. He believed that the Police Department should be run as a strict authoritarian and anti-Communist organization (Escobar, 1993). The L.A.P.D.'s monopoly on the legal use of force led them to implement policy without question. The L.A.P.D. had the legitimate use of force which made it the unquestioned authority in Los Angeles. The decade of the 1960s had brought in a period of various so-called subversive groups that were seen as a threat to the Anglo-American middle classes. Parker believed that it was his primary duty to protect the rights of the middle-classes. He sought to destroy any radical groups like the Black Panthers or any Chicano movements (Escobar, 1993).

The past experiences that the Police had with the Black Panthers led the police Department to have a very hard-line approach to suppressing any type of Chicano uprising or protest with great force. According to Thomas Reddin, who replaced Parker as Police Chief, "...when preventing urban riots, police should engage in overkill- kill the butterfly with a sledgehammer..."(Escobar, 1993, p.1495).

This clear example of police abuse of power led to the execution style murder of journalist Ruben Salazar. It happened during a demonstration that was in protest of the excessive number of Chicanos dying in the Vietnam War. Ruben Salazar had written

stories about some Chicanos who were seen as dangerous by the police. Salazar soon became a target and was sought out by police and murdered by a tear gas projectile shot through his head (Escobar, 1993).

The Los Angeles police department is a clear example of how running organizations like a machine can have disastrous effects. In the case of the L.A.P.D. the Chief built the machine in his own image without regard to doing his main job, which was to protect and serve the rights of all Los Angeles citizens. Not just the rights of the Anglo-American middle-classes.

It is evident that the L.A.P.D. became a tool for the police chief to control the Chicano movement while preserving the status quo for the benefit of the Anglo-American middle classes. The resulting actions by the police led to even more friction between Chicanos and police.

The machine model can be used to better understand how Chicanos and other minorities have been forced to remain in a subordinate position. The machine model is one that can be used to explain why Chicanos' efforts have not been more successful in gaining more access to the rewards that society has to offer. The government has been run like a machine that has effectively protected the interests of the dominant Anglo-American while sacrificing anyone who got in the way.

Once the machine was established it took on a life of its own. The practices against Chicanos and other minorities all became a part of the machine. The way minorities were handled all became part of the bureaucracy. Morgan warned in his book that once a bureaucracy was established, anyone who challenged it or attempted to change

it would be seen as a troublemaker. These “mechanistic” organizations lead to mindless order following, which in turn, leads to the possibility of workers doing things that they know are wrong or illogical but will not take responsibility for it since they feel like they are only a cog in a much larger machine.

The bureaucratic machine that was established by the United States government *vis a vis* Chicanos has led to their unequal treatment. The government has acted as a machine when dealing with Chicanos. This machine-like response has limited the flexibility in which the government has acted toward them. The people that are entrusted to run this machine do not question it since they are only a small part of the overall machine. Another aspect that prevents change is that most of the people that are in charge of running the machine are part of the Anglo-American majority and have no incentive to change the status quo.

This study will submit the Chicano athlete to the machine model and see if he can succeed in a society that is set up to see him fail.

Chapter 3

Part IV

A brief overview of Multicultural Experiences, Multicultural Theories.

Mary Rogers provided this study with a multicultural analyses from several different writers. Rogers' book entitled Multicultural Experiences, Multicultural Theories is a combination of many articles that give the often unheard perspective of females and minorities.

One of the articles was written by Maria C. Lugones and Elizabeth Spelman. This article is a dialogue between the two, which questions women's exclusion, in historical writing. According to Spelman, women have been victims of "internalized oppression" much like Chicanos have been. The points, that Spelman covers are very similar to the same concerns that Chicanos face. First, Spelman questions the objectivity and accuracy of white males writing about the female experience; the same could be said about the Chicano experience. We have seen many examples of the unflattering portrayal of Chicanos by white males in previous chapters. The main point that Spelman has is that women have been virtually left out when it comes to telling their own stories. In her words, "...the hallmarks of a self-determining individual or individuals... is having a voice to express and tell their experiences and feelings" (Rogers, 1996, p.26).

Another concern that Spelman has is that when women have been asked to or given the opportunity to articulate their feelings it has been in order to give the thoughts

of all women, without making a distinction between the thoughts and feelings of Chicanas, African-American, Jewish or Asian women.

Maria Lugones, a Chicana, gives her thoughts on the subject of the virtual exclusion of the Chicana voice in historical writing. Lugones points out that much of the time that Chicanas have been asked to voice their opinions they are usually complaining about their lack of inclusion in the feminist movement (Rogers, 1996).

The importance of Multicultural Experiences, Multicultural Theories in using it as a criteria for determining the upward mobility of Chicano sports participants is that it provides this paper with the impetus needed to question the objectivity of all of the previous studies that have been done on Chicanos.

The mere awareness that studies done on Chicanos by non-Chicanos may not be as accurate as they should be exposes those studies to greater scrutiny by Chicanos and questions their validity and usefulness in helping Chicanos. The authors of these studies may have altruistic intentions when conducting these studies but the data may not always be interpreted in the most accurate manner. On the other hand, if a Chicano conducts these studies, he may also be unfairly biased. This study has attempted to be as critical as possible, in order to reach valid results.

Chapter 4

The realities that all Chicanos must face regardless of sports participation

Before applying the Chicano athlete to the four criteria presented in chapter 3 this study must acknowledge certain realities that exist for the Chicano athlete. First, Only 28.7% of Chicano high school graduates are enrolled in College compared to 38.3% of Anglos (Carter & Wilson, 1991). That fact also takes into account that only 50% of Chicanos ever graduate high school compared to 87% for Anglos. Second, of the Chicanos who actually make it to college, only 34% graduate compared to 53% of Anglo-Americans (Mortenson, 1991). Lastly, the average income for Chicanos in 1990 was \$29,197 compared to \$49,479 for non-Hispanics (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). All of these realities must be taken into account before sports can be presented as a panacea for Chicanos.

While it has been proven that Chicanos make less money than their Anglo counterparts it has also been proven that they are given less access to the educational system as a means of improving their position in society. These two realities make it virtually impossible for Chicanos to improve their position in society by any means. If a Chicano attempts to use sports as a means of upward mobility they will almost always fail since only 1/10 of 1% of sports participants make a career out of it (Eitzen & Sage, 1978).

The four criteria presented in Chapter 3 as it applies to Chicano athletes

Many factors have contributed to the subordinate position of the Chicano in U.S. society. First, the racism that developed in the Southwest as a result of the "Manifest Destiny" doctrine of the 1840s made the Anglo-Americans believe that the Chicano was

culturally, biologically and socially inferior. Second, Chicanos were displaced from their land. Third, discriminatory laws were entrenched in society in order to give Anglos an unfair advantage over minorities. Fourth, these laws were institutionalized into the structure of society to limit access for minorities (See Chapter 3, Part I).

Developing solutions to these historical developments are not easy, since the dominant Anglo majority may not see them as a problem. Until this limited access is truly recognized as a problem the Chicano will continue to be on the bottom rungs of society.

In many of the sources reviewed in chapter 2 the solutions followed a cultural deficiency model that blamed the "victims" and non-Anglo cultures as the problem. These models state that minority cultures are responsible for the problems that negatively affect them (Moynihan, 1965). This is not the correct approach to take when dealing with a specific minority that has been denied all of the same rights and privileges that have been given to other Americans.

The Chicano athlete, under these circumstances, has very different reasons for participating in sports. First, not all of the potential Chicano athletes are able to have the choice of participating in sports, since 50% of them are forced to dropout of school and take menial jobs to help support their families (Mortenson, 1991). Many Chicanos also participate in sports because they see it as their only way out of poverty. This leads them to concentrate solely on sports and ignore their academic studies.

Many of the short term and long term studies that were discussed in the second chapter concluded that athletics had little or no effect on the upward mobility of Chicano

athletes. The results of those studies coupled with the evidence that is provided by Barrera gives little chance of improvement or upward mobility for the Chicano athlete.

According to the theories of Barrera, Chicanos have been subjected to racist policies, laws and attitudes that have actually made them more likely to become downwardly mobile, rather than upwardly mobile. The combination of these factors has led the Chicano athlete to gain no significant advantages in upward mobility by participating in sports.

The application of the Barrera "internal colony" thesis to the Chicano athlete proves that Chicano athletes' chances for upward mobility are neither enhanced nor hurt by participating in sports. The Chicano athlete is a part of the Barrera internal colony and faces the greater challenge of not only competing for employment in everyday life while attempting to succeed in the arena of sports.

The Barrera internal colonial thesis can be used to profile the Chicano athlete as internally colonized. The challenges that he faces, which have been going on for so long, have become institutionalized and are very much a part of the fabric of American society. Another obstacle that the Chicano athlete faces is the fear that the dominant Anglo majority has of becoming the minority. This has led to many discriminatory laws being passed in order to ensure that the Anglo majority remains in control.

The recent passage of Proposition 187 denies legal immigrants, many of whom are Chicano, living in California, basic services that other Americans are entitled to currently receive. Proposition 187, is aimed directly at Chicanos as a means of social control. The dominant majority, according to Barrera, is not willing to give up its power.

Currently, the Anglo majority is becoming more and more concerned with becoming the minority and losing their stronghold on the power that they gained as a result of the Mexican-American War. Sports participation by Chicanos in no way changes this reality.

To take a more historical example, the combination of the conquest and domination of the Chicano in 1848, along with the period that established the colonial labor system soon after, led to the current subordinate position of the Chicano. The Depression was a major turning point in the history of the Chicano. The Depression led to the "scapegoating" of the Chicano and other racial minorities for the nation's ills. The Government also played a role in keeping the Chicano in a subordinate position by first violating the *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* in order to advance the positions of Anglo-Americans, while at the same time keeping the Chicanos in a subordinate position. The current situation in California has the Chicano once again being the scapegoat for the ills of society. The option to participate in collegiate sports in no way alleviates this reality.

To put it another way, Chicanos in the United States have not been given the same rights and privileges that have been given to other Americans simply because they are not Anglo-American. Participation in sports in no way helps Chicanos achieve upward mobility.

It has also been alleged that the Chicano community has refused to assimilate into society. The truth of the matter is that a racial minority needs to be accepted by the dominant majority first before they can successfully assimilate. Currently, Chicanos have not been accepted by the dominant society. As the evidence suggests, sports are not an assimilation mechanism and once again do not contribute to upward mobility. Sports has

been used as an exploitative mechanism in which Chicano athletes' bodies are exploited by the system, both corporate and educational, and then cast aside once they have been used up.

The application of the Morgan "machine" model to the American society can illustrate why Chicanos cannot break out of the cycle of poverty, which includes low paying jobs and a second class status in the United States. The Morgan model shows us how the treatment of Chicanos can become institutionalized and according to Morgan, "routinized". If the subordinate treatment of the Chicano becomes routinized, then the Chicano will find it very difficult to break out of his inferior position in society.

If the Morgan model is valid then we can see how the Chicano is forced to be subordinate to the Anglo. If this is the case, then the mechanization of the discrimination and mistreatment of Chicanos will make it nearly impossible for Chicanos to be upwardly mobile. This in turn will cause the cycle to continue indefinitely until a drastic paradigm shift takes place in society.

If this is the reality, the Morgan model proves that Chicanos will not gain any significant advantages from sports participation. The Chicano athlete may actually become downwardly mobile if he attempts to earn a living from playing sports.

For Hoover, the Chicano athlete's participation in sports leads to a paradox. In this paradox the Chicano is most often seen as a reform liberal attempting to gain access to greater rewards in society. One of the touted avenues for doing this is sports participation. The paradox lies in the fact that if a Chicano gains access to the rewards, then he will do whatever it takes to maintain this status. This paradox proves that

Chicanos cannot become upwardly mobile without further assimilating into society thus, in essence, becoming more conservative than liberal. However, as Hoover points out, the Chicano is unable to assimilate into society in the first place.

While Hoover uses a political scale to demonstrate the lack of access for the Chicano athlete, the final theory to be applied to the Chicano athlete in this study, is the one put forth by Mary Rogers in her book entitled Multicultural Experiences, Multicultural Theories. Rogers details how full admission into the bourgeois society requires full assimilation by the minority (Rogers, 1996). For Rogers the case of the Chicano athlete has two problems that will prevent the full assimilation of the Chicano into the dominant Anglo society. First, the dominant culture, in this case the Anglo-American, has to also be willing to accept the Chicano into the mainstream. This has not happened yet and the Chicano is still internally colonized in his own country. Second, the Chicano, whether or not he or she is an athlete, should not have to give up his or her culture in order to be accepted into the mainstream. A great number of Chicanos, either consciously or sub-consciously, refuse to give up their culture, language and other distinguishing characteristics in order to gain greater access to the rewards that society has. Since Chicanos have not been accepted into the mainstream, the application of the Rogers criteria to the Chicano athlete shows that a Chicano athlete cannot achieve upward mobility until he is willing to shed his Chicano identity, and trade it in for an innocuous Anglo-American accepted one. With this restriction, the Chicano will find it very unlikely to achieve upward mobility and have equal access to the same rewards that other groups in the United States have.

Contradicting the four criteria detailed above is table 1. It is a summary of the studies that were presented in Chapter 2. The studies in Chapter 2 concluded that participation in sports by athletes has positive effects regardless of race.

Table 1. Sports Participation and Upward Mobility for All Athletes

	Upward Mobility	Higher Academic Achievement	Long term effects
S&S	N.A	X	X
M.S.&V	N.A	X	X or none
B	N.A	X	N.A
S&S= Snyder & Spreitzer	M.S.&V= Melnick, Sabo, & Van Fossen		B= Braddock II
	O= negative effect	X= positive effect	
	N.A= not applicable		

However, the studies in Chapter 2 failed to take into account the assimilation process as outlined by Hoover and Rogers as well omitting the Morgan machine model when studying the results of athletes' sports participation over a period of time. The studies in Chapter 2 also fail to address Chicanos' internal colony status, which left them more susceptible to exploitation by the dominant Anglo majority.

These studies also failed to address the concept of having a "level playing field" for all athletes, nor did they take into account the various factors discussed in Chapter 3 that are realities for the Chicano athlete. These realities put Chicanos in a historically

disadvantaged position that continues to the present time and makes it virtually impossible for them to succeed.

The studies in Chapter 2 have failed to take into account factors that could lead Chicanos and other minorities to the phenomenon known as downward mobility. The data on table 2 using the studies detailed in Chapter 3 demonstrate that the studies done by Snyder and Spreitzer. (1990); Melnick. et al. (1992) and Braddock II (1980) fail to take into account the criteria that was outlined in Chapter 3.

Table 2 Sports participation and upward mobility by Chicano Athletes

	Upward Mobility	Academic Achievement	Long term effects
Hoover	()	N/A	()
Barrera	()	N/A	()
Morgan	()	N/A	()
Rogers	()	N/A	()
	() negative effect	N/A positive effect	N/A not applicable

The results of this table suggest that sports participation by the Chicano athlete may actually inhibit chances of upward mobility instead of promoting it.

What the previous studies have said about effects of sports participation on athletes

Snyder and Spreitzer (1990). suggest that high school athletic participation by Chicano students leads to improved academic achievement. However, in their conclusions they admit that if an athlete goes to college primarily to participate in

athletics without being prepared for the academic rigors of college then the athlete is likely to fail. This is critical since the Chicanos who attend college are seen as the best hope that the Chicano community has of achieving upward mobility. As stated at the beginning of this chapter the number of Chicanos who actually attend college is statistically low. It is this reality that leads many Chicano athletes to believe that they have achieved their goal by simply attending college. These Chicano athletes are content just by being the first in their families or their entire communities to attend college.

Previous studies have claimed that high school sports have a positive effect on upward mobility or no effect at all (Melnick, et al. 1992). However, they fail to mention that participation in high school sports may have negative long-term effects on the athletes. They fail to take into account several external factors that are unique to the Chicano. These factors include being internally colonized, their failure to be accepted by the mainstream in order to assimilate, and the historical mistreatment of Chicanos that has been established since 1848. To cope with this reality, the Chicano community has come to view these behaviors as the established norms. Under these conditions, the community would see anything that keeps students in school as positive, no matter how exploitive. What the study by Melnick, et al. (1992) measures is not actual positive effects on upward mobility but “desired” positive effects by the Chicano community.

The study done by Braddock II (1980), claims that sports participation by athletes regardless of race, are not an impediment to educational attainment. However, Braddock II admits that the black athlete may see athletic scholarships as a means to becoming a professional athlete while white participants see it as a means to gain a degree without

paying for one. The study by Braddock II takes a look at impediments that are not placed in front of athletes as a result of sports participation. The Braddock II study, however, cannot be applied to Chicanos since it fails account for the many impediments that Chicanos already face regardless of sports participation.

According to the study done by Schafer, (1969) sports are a means for Chicanos and other minorities to become assimilated into American society and to gain equal access to the political, social and economic system. Schafer contends that assimilation by the minority is done without the consent of the dominant majority. However, this study contends that exactly the opposite is true. Sports participation by minorities may be an obstacle to assimilation. This is the reality because they are forced to create their own separate ethnic leagues which leads them to retreat further into their own communities instead of becoming a part of the larger Anglo-American one. Even with this evidence Schafer is confusing acculturation with assimilation as defined by this study in Chapter 1. Schafer's study misses the mark by claiming that the gaining of Anglo-American culture by the minorities is tantamount to gaining acceptance by the Anglo-American society. If Schafer's conclusions are correct, then learning to play baseball makes you an Anglo-American. To extend this argument to its logical foolishness, anyone playing baseball throughout the world is becoming an Anglo-American. If this study were to use Schafer's logic, then Japanese and Cubans who are playing baseball are trying to be Anglo-Americans.

There has been too much emphasis placed on past studies that claim that sports participation by minority athletes can only be beneficial. The reality is that sports

participation when not coupled with a strong academic background is a recipe for downward mobility. The lack of Chicano role models leads many impressionable Chicanos to choose sports, not as a diversion or entertainment, but as a legitimate vehicle for upward mobility. If Chicanos continue to make this choice they will become a part of the statistics that show Chicanos at the bottom of the economic ladder in United States society.

The four criteria that have been used in this study come to a different conclusion than the studies show in Chapter 2. This reality is one that Universities and Colleges may not want to accept. The evidence provided by the use of the criteria points directly to a path of downward mobility for the Chicano athlete.

Universities and Colleges have used other studies on Chicano athletes, which have come to very different conclusions, as a means of perpetuating their billion-dollar revenue generating athletic programs. These studies came to the exact conclusions that the Colleges and Universities needed and hoped for. The results, however, could not be further from the truth. The University and Colleges that have funded and used those studies as a means of promoting athletics as the great equalizer need to reexamine their policies and stop exploiting Chicano athletes.

The Chicanos who have achieved upward mobility by any means will, no doubt, be used by the Anglo-American majority to dispel the notion that equal access does not exist. They will be trotted out in public to prove that Chicanos have as good a chance as anyone at achieving the American dream. Politicians will use them to garner support at the polls, educators will use them to say that equal access was given to them in schools

and society as a whole will use them to convince itself that equality of opportunity and access does exist for all in the United States.

The truth of the matter is that the dominant majority allows only a token number of Chicanos political, economic and social access to the mainstream. This is done to control the majority of the Chicano population by somehow alleging that the few Chicanos who "made it" are there because they simply followed the same path that Anglo-Americans followed, thereby suggesting that those who have not "made it" did not because of lack of effort, intelligence and hard work.

Young Chicanos also lack the role models that are needed to encourage them to attend college, earn a degree and work in white-collar jobs. It is this lack of role models that perpetuates the cycle of downward mobility and continues to keep Chicanos shackled to the bottom rungs of society.

Until society recognizes the virtual exclusion of Chicanos from participation and access to the political, social and economic system of the United States this problem will continue in perpetuity. Chicanos must prepare to take the power from the Anglo-American rather than waiting for it to be shared.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The rise of Chicano boxer Oscar de la Hoya has been meteoric. His humble beginnings in an East Los Angeles neighborhood led him to a gold medal at the Olympic games in Atlanta. It took two years to win his first world championship belt. De la Hoya could be the poster child for Chicano athletes. With his movie-star good looks, de la Hoya has achieved the status and fame of a rock star. The story of a man rising up from humble beginnings to a millionaire before he reached the age of twenty-five may seem like the embodiment of the American dream. Should other Chicanos try to emulate de la Hoya? After all, is de la Hoya not living the American dream? The answer is no.

De la Hoya is the exception and not the rule. Millions of kids participate in sports every day and only a tiny fraction of those are able to earn a living as adults playing sports. The studies that were mentioned in the previous chapters support the assessment that sports participation does not necessarily lead to a career in it as an adult.

The application of the four criteria i.e., (Hoover, 1994; Morgan, 1986; Rogers, 1996 and Barrera, 1979) has led this study to conclude that Chicanos as a whole have little chance of upward mobility through any means.

Previous studies such as the one done by Melnick, et al. (1992) have shown that participation in sports by Chicanos have either no effect or a marginal positive effect on them.

There were also many studies that concluded that sports are used to steer young

people into the mainstream. Snyder and Spreitzer (1990), Melnick and Sabo (1994) and others have stated that sports are a vehicle for assimilation.

Sports may be a vehicle for assimilation for Chicanos, but that does not necessarily lead to upward mobility since according to Hoover (1994) and Rogers (1996) Chicanos cannot assimilate until they are accepted by the Anglo majority. A distinction between assimilation and upward mobility had to be made in order to be able to critically examine the evidence that has been presented by this and various other studies. (See chapter 1 for definitions)

While sports may promote assimilation for some ethnic groups it may have the opposite effect on other minorities who choose to create their own sports leagues and stay within their own ethnic groups. Ethnic groups like Chicanos have created their own soccer leagues throughout Northern California. These leagues are predominantly made up of Chicanos or other newly arrived Spanish speaking men.

Chicanos and other minorities such as African-Americans have been drawn to sports participation since they see it as the only place where they can compete on an even level with their Anglo-American counterparts. Even though less than one tenth of one percent of sports participants make a professional career out of it, African-Americans and Chicanos still continue to strive to become the next de la Hoya or Barry Sanders. That is because they see that slim chance as their only hope of becoming upwardly mobile (Eitzen & Sage, 1978).

A careful interpretation of the data provided by several in-depth studies has led to the conclusion that Chicano athletes that do not also concentrate on academics will

actually experience the phenomenon known as downward mobility. The inclusion of the four criteria shows that participation in sports by Chicanos may not have any positive effect on their overall futures unless they take advantage of the education that may be available to them if they were not athletes.

The studies shown in review of literature in Chapter 2, and the criteria developed in Chapter 3, as well as the analysis presented in Chapter 4 generate the following possible conclusion: Chicano sports participants are not likely to achieve any long-term benefits from participating in high school and college sports. In fact, the data suggests that they may actually be increasing their chances of downward mobility by participating in college sports. The four criteria that were used in Chapter 3 to determine upward mobility by Chicano collegiate sports participants demonstrate that Chicanos face a difficult struggle to achieve upward mobility regardless of sports participation. These factors include lower socioeconomic status (Barrera, 1979); cultural identity (Rogers, 1996); mechanized adaptation (Morgan, 1986) and minority reform status (Hoover 1994). Add to these factors the exploitation that many Chicano athletes experience in high school and college sports and the time consumed in these activities, and you have a recipe for downward mobility. Thus, this study recommends that Chicanos and other minorities seek avenues other than sports in trying to achieve upward mobility.

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