

ABSTRACT

Soccer and Mayan Society: Localization of the Global Game

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Ethnographic field work conducted with Deportivo Santa Isabel, an adult male recreational soccer team in Momostenango, Guatemala. The team provides a story of local adaptations to the forces of globalization. Soccer is an international game widely popular in Guatemala. The approach is to use ethnographic research on a specific team to illustrate processes of social adaptation and localization of the global game in a Mayan setting. The soccer team incorporated religious symbols and acts as part of their procedures and identity. The meaning of the sport also plays a role in the social and economic imagination of the players.

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SOCCKER AND MAYAN SOCIETY
LOCALIZATION OF THE GLOBAL GAME

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Sports are useful in understanding the reactions to and other results of globalization and localization in a culture or society. Arens uses sports by describing football in the United States as a ritual and microcosm of the American cultural domain (1976). Soccer can also be used to discover the interwoven nature of a society and the sports that it plays. It is an international game with set rules enacted and enforced by an international governing body. Soccer is itself a form of globalization. What role does soccer play on a society that is undergoing change through the forces of globalization? How do the participants and observers of the game adjust it to their social needs? What role does it play in the psychologically shaped frame of mind of the local culture? Field work done on Mayan society in Momostenango, Guatemala is examined to answer these questions. The observations of local conditions in Momostenango are essential to understanding the role soccer plays in Mayan life. Globalization does affect the culture through soccer themed clothing and competition. Globalization also has changed the cultural institutions like the *Cofradías* (Cook and Offit 2008). However, as Mayan society adapts soccer, it is infused with hierarchy and culture from the local traditions and institutions. Soccer in Momostenango, like Mayan culture, undergoes changes due to globalization and local dynamics, and in fact, soccer as played in the local setting may provide a useful model for the local dynamics of acculturation and transculturation in the globalizing age.

The globalization of soccer has introduced the sport as a competitive communal alternative to other activities. Globalization introduces soccer in the form of televised

games, team shirts, and other paraphernalia to recipient cultures. Ben-Porat examined the process of globalization and its implications for soccer in Israeli society and discovered that the paraphernalia are exemplified in Israeli soccer. He listed the flow of capital, labor, and culture as the underlying process that effects the changes in Israeli society (2004). Andrei Markovitz states that "Sports' most important capital is cultural, political, and social, not economical" (1976). Even if we accept the above, we also see that economics affects soccer. First, the forces that shape the culture are shown to also affect soccer in different studies around the world. Sports in general are seen to hold values of the society that plays them (Arens 1976, Jones 1976). Sports integrate a fan base into a sub-culture organized around the sport (Luschen 1967). The sub-culture that played soccer usually infused their ideological beliefs into it. In Latin America, soccer is a masculine sport (Gaitan 2006). In the United States, the majority of soccer players are adolescents and women (Markovitz 2010). It is clear that culture affects soccer.

Soccer, Social Control, and Cultural Change

Soccer was used as a form of political and social control. The Brazilian military dictatorship constantly identified themselves with their national soccer team during official events, going as far as playing the theme song of their most famous player, Pele. The fascist Franco regime used the rivalry between Real Madrid and Barcelona as a way to provide an outlet for anger for the Catalan region (Foer 2005). The games had a therapeutic affect for the oppressed. Foer describes Camp Nou, the home stadium of Barcelona, as "the heroic center of resistance to Franco's military dictatorship" where the Catalans could "yell and scream" in their own language (Foer 2005, 195). Similarly, factory owners and the elite of Peru acted as father figures instead of bosses to the soccer

players on their teams, giving them praise and extra jobs in return for the workers being content with their position (Stein 1988). The workers on the soccer team are offered incentives in the form of better working conditions, allowing themselves to continue to be oppressed.

Soccer allows for the spread of ideas into a new setting. It becomes the symbol of progress. The modern version of the game in the U.S. and Europe has turned capitalist in the search for victory (Kuper and Szymanski 2009). The players are commoditized. They are bought and sold in a "transfer market" in order to win championships. Certain players have a higher value than others, and clubs pay a higher price for their services.

The changes to the traditional way of obtaining and maintaining a soccer team in a local setting follow the changes in the social and political sphere. The modernization of Brazil occurred through the face of Pele. The military dictatorship used his likeness on billboards and television commercials. He eventually made bad investments with relatives and friends and left for the New York Cosmos. There, he learned about good American style business, not to do business with family, and returned to his country with a new neo-liberal agenda. This is also a case where the translocation of one soccer star changes the ideological landscape of his home country. He was then the face of fighting the corruption in the domestic professional Brazilian soccer league (Foer 2005). Brazil is an example of the schism that arises in the spread of capitalist soccer. The leadership of Brazilian teams became foreign investors. However, they lost their support from the fans by breaking unwritten customs, such as not selling players to rival, cross-town teams. Eventually, the foreign investors failed because "they know nothing about our culture, about our local characteristics" (Foer 2005: 137). The corrupt old management, that

reclaimed power after the foreign investors were removed, lost much of its power because the fans demanded more accountability (Foer 2005). Soccer has a contradictory effect on the oppressed. It either becomes the last bastion of an oppressed people's identity, or the machine that perpetuates the imposition of one political idea on another.

Commoditization of Soccer Players

Now, there is also clear evidence that soccer is affected by economic situations. Soccer was localized and easily accessible to Latin American players (Gaitan 2006). The easy accessibility of a ball and a group of people make soccer one of the easier games to play for the poor. Claussen also argues that soccer has become a commodity that has been commercialized (2007). The global sport involves high salaries and attracting fans. Soccer is now being sold in the form of shirts and broadcasted throughout the world on television. It has become a "capitalist business enterprise" where the "flow of money, labor, and products across national borders shape culture" (Moniz 2007). Soccer especially moves people around the globe. Players are bought and sold in an international market. Brazilian soccer players are the "french chefs" of the soccer world. They are sought after and coveted, especially in victory hungry European soccer teams. New brands of soccer player, Nigerian soccer players, are also imported to bolster a "serious" team's side. The Karpaty soccer team from Lviv, Ukraine, was once state run under the Soviet Union. After the collapse, converted capitalists poured money into the club in attempt to become more European. The once local team had become a global, modern, European soccer team by the owners purchasing and introducing expensive Nigerian soccer players at the cost of not developing their own young talent, on whom

the town used to be proud to rely. Soccer is affected by cultural, political, social, and economic forces that flow across borders through globalization.

Soccer and Religion

Markovitz did not mention religion among the factors that affect sports. Claussen saw the ritualistic aspect of a match of soccer, describing the referee as neutral and godlike. He is invisible and active in the game, controlling the rules and enforcing them (2007). Other sports have been infused with religious and ritualistic qualities such as in *Cricket the Trobriand Way*. Even the secular international soccer displays religious qualities with the "cultural fabrication" of the celebrity manager and coach (Wagg 2007). The managers are ideological figures that prepare the ritual of the game, and they achieve their status through their team winning, or otherwise, they will be replaced.

The "constructed landscapes of collective aspirations" describes the shifting of goods, people, symbols, and ideology (Appadurai 1996). The colors that are represented on jerseys create a sense of identity. However, the identity is translated across regional and national boundaries. It creates an "imagined world"(Apadurai 1996). The "imagined world" with which people now associate themselves is the world of the big name teams that win trophies. It is the world of the victorious. The fantasy of belonging to a victorious group occurs through mass media, which leads to the opportunity to capitalize on a business opportunity. Not only do the official soccer teams sell the shirts for their own coffers, but unofficial sports paraphernalia are sold in third world town markets. The jerseys do not need to be official to place the wearers into fantasy presented by the mass media.

Global Forces in Momostenango

It is important to understand the global and local forces affecting Mayan society. Mayan society of the twenty-first century is undergoing changes due to globalization. First, the forces of globalization are established. The forces that affect different cultural institutions may indirectly affect the perception and popularity of soccer. From five o'clock in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon, the plaza in Momostenango is bustling with people and vendors. The noise from the plaza is advertisements for anything from hemorrhoid cream to Justin Beiber's newest hit single. The vendors sell pirated DVDs of the newest blockbusters. All this material American culture is surrounded by others selling fruits, vegetables, and bread. It is clear that globalization is at work. How does modernity affect soccer in the community? How does the global game affect the community? The themes that affect both are economics, individualization, religion, and commercialization. The relationships will be explored through ethnographic fieldwork.

The Mayans in Momostenango are poor and have a history of oppression (Gonzalez 1995). The neo-liberal economy and the political actions of the Guatemalan government have changed the cultural landscape of Momostenango (Brown 1999, Cook and Offit 2008). The influx of cheaper, foreign made Chinese blankets destroyed the blanket industry in Momostenango (Cook and Offit 2008). The sales of Momostecan blankets fell and the industry was no longer viable. The knowledge of making them was useless. Looms that made them now stand empty as a reminder of the drastic effects that globalization can bring into a community. Yet, there were also objects of globalization that had a positive impact. Japanese made pickup trucks allowed Mayans to travel farther

faster, and carry more. Tourism has also been a driving force of change in Mayan life by bringing in revenue. However, both the pickup trucks and tourism is a double edged sword. They both change the cultural landscape in Mayan society. Pickup trucks bring in dependency on oil, and tourism leads to loss of cultural survival when the space is taken by another cultural entity (Brown 1999). Working people leaving Momostenango to work in Guatemala and the United States that send back remittances also affect the local economy.

Not only do men leave town, but missionaries from different religions come to town. Religion has also been a major force that has historically brought more changes into Mayan culture. There are cases on the conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism. The change brought about a greater focus from the group to the individual (Golding 2001). Now, heavy drinking and costly fiestas have been replaced with smart investments. The culture changes little by little, from being about the community towards being one of material gain and personal wealth. Communal progress is now measured through individual wealth (Goldin 2001). New occupational trends and changes to the local economy are reflected by changes in values and ideals.

However, change is not the only response Mayan society has made to the forces of the twenty-first century. Even though globalization has affected the community, it does not always completely destroy prior institutions. Though men have left Momostenango to find work elsewhere, like in Guatemala City or the United States, the men would return to participate in their cultural and religious activities such as the Monkey's Dance (Cook and Offit 2008). The Monkey's Dance is an example of continuation of the cultural landscape despite the cultural changes occurring all around.

Another form of continuation is the preservation and use of Mayan ritual altars. Fewer participate in the ancient religious rituals, yet the attempt to preserve their proud history is still evident. Even those who have left to work elsewhere are sending money back so that they can support their family, and also help to support the annual festival.

The former model of community is changing in response to the forces of globalization. Media, religion, ideology, and economy affect both the local community and the sport that it plays. The "imagined world" created by soccer is a result of colonialism and globalization. The interaction between the local and the global can be examined by understanding the role soccer plays in the community. Can we identify interaction between soccer and culture in Momostenango? How do the forces of globalization affect the players on the team and the league that they play in? The forces are changing the soccer infrastructure in Momostenango. The history of a specific team and its place within the barrio will be explored. The soccer team Deportivo Santa Isabel, will be described through ethnographic research to illuminate processes of adaptation and localization of the global game.

CHAPTER TWO

Soccer in Momostenango

There are some intricacies that exist within soccer that are demonstrated cross culturally. Ethnographic research begins with the understanding of the role soccer plays in the community. Is it played often? What is it used for in the community? Religion and mass media affect soccer in the community. Analyzing the team Deportivo Santa Isabel relies on understanding the role of soccer in the community. We can begin to understand soccer through boys kicking a ball around in the plaza.

Who Plays Soccer?

Soccer is a rather simple sport to pick up. First, the accessibility of soccer depends on whether or not the players have a ball to play with. The ball can be a licensed, official FIFA soccer ball, or, it could be a very light, cheap, and not very durable plastic, balloon ball. Second, there needs to be an area to play. This does not mean that there are no obstacles that hinder the movement of the ball. An alley way works. The plaza after market day works as well, even when there were chairs and tables thrown about. Third, there needs to be participants. The participation begins with passing the ball from one person to the other. Interested men or boys passing by join for a quick kick and pass before going about their business. Then, the boys begin to take each other one on one, playing keep away, and attempting to do tricks. Now, invoking the name of a famous player, in this instance famous Argentine playmaker who plays for Barcelona, Lionel Andrés Messi, provides the fourth intricacy of soccer. Invocation has religious contexts. Invoking may lead to possession, but in this case invoking involves

the invoker infusing himself with the "supernatural" ability that Messi has to weave the ball through opponents without it getting taken away. "Ai va Messi!" (There goes Messi) can be either said by the person controlling the ball while he takes on opponents or the opponents that are amazed that the ball cannot be taken away. The latter describes the association of one's (soccer) prowess with a soccer idol that magically eludes opponents with the ball. It is worth noticing that he is affectionately known as the "little wizard" (Inside Football).

On several occasions, boys gathered to kick a plastic ball around. What did the boys do when the market was out? Some were at school. After school they would help in the stores or stalls. They would often be in their school uniforms as they helped their family. Then they would continue to wear them as they kicked the ball. Most adults just walked by on their own business as the boys kicked the ball. Only the young men on occasion would kick a ball back that had strayed from its intended path. This does not mean that adults find the game to be childish.

One afternoon in Momostenango, three little boys began passing a green balloon ball around, two of them looked older than the third child. They began with the passing game. They passed in a triangle, making sure each person got to pass the ball. Then the sharing phase ended. Soon, the two older kids were more likely to try to juke on both each other and the younger kid. The game went from communal to competitive. The kids were very serious at winning. They take their competitiveness to the next level. From the plaza, they went to an alley way and made makeshift goals out of plastic bags and jackets. The actions were even more competitive when playing in the alley. The two older boys became one team, while the younger one was joined by another young boy

that joined during keep away. The object of the game changed from friendly passing to playful keep away to full out battle to score more than the other team. The passing, communal phase, became the playful, trickster phase, and turned towards the warlike phase.

During the trickster phase, they began taking on the persona of great players. The kids compared themselves to Lionel Messi and Cristiano Ronaldo. They never mentioned a Guatemalan player's name. They continued to use the persona of Messi and Ronaldo during the warlike phase. The invocation of great players resembles a religious ritual in order accomplish a task.

Teenagers and Adults

Boys are not the only ones who compete in this manner. The Mayan teenagers at the Mormon Church also began their soccer games by passing the ball between each other. Some horseplay and skill competitions occurred before they began playing a full game. The game was fiercely competitive, though they did not associate each other with any great soccer players. The participants played soccer late into the night. The games continued because of floodlights on the church grounds. As the sky got darker, more Mormon men and teenagers came to play soccer. Only men participated in the games. The women were inside the indoor gymnasium playing basketball. Soccer in Momostenango is a male dominated sport. Soccer can be seen as a social adaptation to the traditional Mayan patriarchal structure. The sport is accessible and cheap to the population of Momostenango, allowing for the adoption of the sport as a replacement for the traditional social structures among the indigenous male population in Momostenango.

The adults also competed with each other. The friendly games were self-organized by the players. Friends would gather and play at a commercial soccer complex. The soccer complex was one cement field that was half the size of a soccer field and had blue and green lines to mark the boundaries. The cement field was surrounded by high fences. The complex in which I observed the men playing charged forty quetzales (5 dollars) per hour. The teams that played often had the loser pay at the end. During the short matches, women were not present. The boys, the Mormon teenagers, and the Mayan adults are self organizing. Soccer is a collective bonding experience after times of work. The participants are only male, and they play competitively and aggressively.

Mormons

Religion also played a role in organizing soccer within the community. The Mormon Church in Momostenango provided ample opportunity for members to participate in sports. The Church complex contains two outdoor basketball courts that doubled as concrete soccer fields, where the goals were under the baskets. They also had an indoor basketball court inside the church. It would seem as if the church is actively recruiting and attempting to accommodate the local culture by incorporating sports into the church. A Mormon missionary was asked why they had so many athletic fields on the church premises. He simply said it was to incorporate the lifestyle of the people so that they are eased into the church. The propaganda of sports was seen in Brazil to push for a new, capitalist business model and Spain to push for a way for the masses to be complacent (Foer 2005). Here, the agenda is religious, and the Mormon Church is actively pursuing the conversion of the Mayans.

One day, a Mormon from Nigeria doing his missionary work invited Momostecans to a volleyball game. The game continued following volleyball rules. They hit the ball properly, rotated when needed, and kept score with the proper terminology. They played to the best of three encounters. Late into the third match, the Mayan players began returning the ball across the net with their heads. When the ball went out and had to be retrieved, the retriever would dribble the ball back with their feet. After the third game, the players kicked the volleyball back and forth to each other, and then kicked it towards the box where the ball is meant to go to be put away. Mayan women participated in the volleyball game, where none participated in the soccer game. Sports help the institution bring in the population. The institution changes the games played, co-ed volleyball instead of soccer.

Capitalism and the Mass Media

The media provides examples of the language of soccer in the community. Advertisements lined the streets. They consisted of soccer players on posters for cell phone companies and on yogurt and cake advertisements. Most telling of the impact on the psychology of the sport is the commercials on the television during games or other breaks in general programming. During the Gold Cup game between Guatemala and Honduras, the half-time commercials consisted of patriotic messages about supporting the team. The commercials contained fans dressed in blue and white jumping and cheering for the national team. Many of the commercials were sponsored by the telephone company, Tigo, which also has many advertisement posters posted around the city. There were jingles and songs about the greatness of the Guatemalan National soccer

team. However, in every commercial, most of the players were of dark skin color and all the spectators were of a lighter skin color.

The reality is that Guatemala was for a large part of its history, under control of the Ladino population. The European descendents still make a large part of the wealth in the country, whereas the Mayans are marginalized (Brown 1999). Yet, it is the Mayan soccer players that make up the bulk of the national team. The goal of the advertisement is to associate the national team with wealthy and happy Ladinos. Ladinos are associated with wealth, so to strive for progress, one supports the national team. In this way, supporting the national team equals joining a better life. Even with the racial undertones, the commercials display unifying symbols through the colors of the flag to the love of the national team.

There was a soccer game played during a market day. The game was played in the middle of a busy road in front of the municipal building center, cutting off traffic. The participants were the tuk-tuk taxi drivers. They positioned their vehicles as boundaries for the game. Four were used as goal posts. The game attracted a large crowd that made considerable noise. On no other market day was this observed to occur. This was most likely not a planned event. The males that drive the taxis self organized into an amalgamation of physical prowess.

The tuk-tuk taxis the men drive are a product of globalization. The men decorate their taxis with pop culture images. Often, they involve cartoon characters or Christian symbols. They also paint soccer symbols onto their taxis. Many taxis have the crest of the European giants, Barcelona and Manchester United, painted on. These two teams contain a massive global fan base that is increased by their games being played on

national television. The paintings are there to show an affiliation with the fan base of a successful soccer team. Their taxis are associated with victorious teams. The symbols may be used to attract customers. There are an abundance of taxis in Momostenango. In a new capitalist system, they must use different means of obtaining customers.

"Poor countries are poor at sports" (Kuper and Szymanski 2009). It is undeniable that the history of Guatemala has left the country poor (Little 2005). Soccer is affected by the athleticism of the athletes. Many of the players are affected by being either diabetic through the excess unhealthy foods they eat or malnourished by the lack of food. The poverty of the nation and the town caused by outside forces of globalization play a toll on the health of the people and the level of game they play.

Structure of the Local Soccer League

The structure of the municipal league provides the rules of the game in Momostenango. Soccer is an imported commodity. Soccer played in Momostenango maintains the rules and regulations that the international game contains with minor additions and changes. None of the teams in the municipal organization receive funding from the Asociación Municipal de Fútbol. The bylaws are filled with what counts as punishable offences. The offences include the standard yellow cards (fine of 10 quetzales) and red cards (fine of 15 quetzales), as well as fines for aggression towards members of the association or referees (fine of 200 quetzales). They include fines for failure to show to a game (100 quetzales, 200 quetzales second time), illegal changes to players, coaches, and staff (10 quetzales), and the price to use the municipal field for practice (10, 15, and 25 quetzales increased per hour (Asociación de Fútbol de Momostenango).

The teams are required to follow certain rules when on the field of play. Teams on the right side are the visitors, if there is a conflict in color of the jersey, the visitors switch to a different color. The referee is the maximum authority, anything done against the referee by the players, coaches, or staff is likely to accrue fines. The bylaws also state that the captains of the team are obligated to set the example for the rest of the team. The inclusion of a captain shows a hierarchy within the team.

Rules exist for the protection of the players and referees. However, the Asociación Municipal de Fútbol contains a rule in which at least one young player play at least 45 minutes of the game or the team risks forfeiting the match to a 2-0 score line and having to pay 10 quetzales in fines. The organizers have an interest in finding and developing young talent. These underage players are future prospects for the Liga Nacional and even the national team.

Soccer in Momostenango is a recreational sport employed by boys and men of all ages. The sport contains rituals that are followed in order to play. The sport is used to advance an agenda, whether for advertising or spreading religion. It is a self organizing male bonding sport that fills the need for controlled competition in the society. The understanding of where soccer is situated in the local setting will be explored by ethnographic research on the soccer team Deportivo Santa Isabel.

CHAPTER THREE

Deportivo Santa Isabel

Deportivo Santa Isabel is a team from the barrio Santa Isabel. Don Selvin was asked questions about the structure of the current team. He is a current player and also the self-proclaimed Mayan shaman to the team. The team is maintained by a quartet of organizers that volunteer funds to the team. The four organizers pay 625 quetzales (Around 80 dollars U.S.) for a total of 2500 quetzales (320 dollars) for the season. The funds go towards paying for balls (75 quetzales/10 dollars), referees (50 quetzales/6 dollars), water for the players (3 quetzales/40 cents), and an extra 15 quetzales (2 dollars) worth of water for each game. Since there are 18 players on the team, then a total of 54 quetzales for water. Deportivo Santa Isabel spends 169 quetzales (21 dollars) each game assuming they do not buy more balls for each game.

The teams do not play for monetary gain, and there is no governmental support for the self supported league. Soccer is affected in the community as a result of the new neoliberal agenda. The government and community do not provide for the teams as they once did, as illustrated by the state of decay the soccer complex is in. The field is only partially sodded with large areas of dirt and puddles of all sizes scattered about. The complex was once a community structure, but it was privatized for commercial gain. However, a new, all Momostenango soccer team, walled off the field and began charging admission for twelve years. The privatization of the field limited the ability for other teams to practice and play. They needed to also pay a steep fee of 100 quetzales to use it. The field was viewed as an opportunity to make money, but the teams that support themselves by donations from the fans and who pools together their resources to purchase

uniforms, water, referees, and alcohol for celebrations, could not afford more costs. The all Momostecan team is now defunct, and the field has been reopened in 2007 by the Mayor and leaders of the four barrios, but none will pledge support and funds to repair the facility.

The team wears red bars running down a white background (red and white alternating stripes). The team did not have its own jersey, but used the Major League Soccer team Chivas USA jersey instead. Chivas USA is located in Los Angeles, California. They are an expansion side named after the more famous and successful Mexican soccer team Chivas de Guadalajara. Chivas USA was second to last out of sixteen teams in the 2010 Major League Soccer season and fourth to last out of eighteen teams in the 2011 season (MLS.com). Chivas de Guadalajara instead came in eighth out of eighteen and first out of eighteen in its last two regular seasons (Federacion). Why did the team go for Chivas USA, a mediocre team compared to Chivas de Guadalajara? The team decided to ignore the insignia of Chivas USA and the MLS patch on the side of the right sleeve so that their colors could be represented in the game. However, other shirts that did not have white stripes were used, as long as the barrios favorite European super team's logo was on it. A total of six past shirts were shown and three had Manchester United crests. One shirt had its own Santa Isabel crest on it of a quetzal bird sitting on a soccer ball. That shirt had red and white stripes. The last shirt had another European super team on it, AC Milan. The colors on the last shirt had not red but black stripes. Weaker teams like Chivas USA were ignored for the preferred colors, but patterns and colors were ignored if the insignia of a famous and successful team were on it. The symbols on the uniform are a unifying feature of a soccer team. They are the most

important aspect of the uniform. The home jerseys had the stripes and colors, but the away jerseys mostly contained a different color with a different crest. The away jerseys' crests were those of the famous teams, as if portraying that they are a force to be feared in an away crowd. However, they all play at the municipal soccer field, so their fans are the same. Yet, it provides an opportunity to emulate the great teams in terms of skill and victory.

Victory in soccer is important enough that a specific ritual occurs on the game ball. The team soccer ball is red and white, paralleling the color scheme of the uniforms of the soccer team. It is kept under the altar at the shaman's house. The altar contains thirteen nahuales, totems that represent spirits, that he consults when performing rituals and horoscopes. He has a specific ritual for blessing the soccer ball and the team before a game. First, while holding the ball, he asks each of his nahuales to bless the team. He asks that no one is injured, that it will not rain, and for the team to win. He sprays fragrance on the ball and kisses it. He then asks the patron saint of the barrio, Santa Isabel, whom the barrio is named for, to bless the team and help them win. He performs the ritual alone, though he is a defender on the team. He also helps to organize practices with the team. He gave credit to any wins to the nahuales. "When we win, I already knew, since I asked the nahuales."

The team also has its star players. The captain of the team is the midfielder Pedro Pelico. He is the older brother of the National Under-20 Guatemala team member Josue Pelico. When talking about Josue, the team members of Deportivo Santa Isabel sounded proud. Even the association between the brothers kept being brought up by the shaman. The implication is that Mayans can escape their bonds of poverty by associating

themselves with soccer elite in the country. Soccer could be a tool in which they may be emancipated. The rules of the game in Momostenango suggest that the organizers have an interest in finding and developing young talent. The rules contain a provision in which at least one underage player (younger than 16) must play at least 45 minutes in a game. These underage players are future prospects for the Liga Nacional and even the national team. The recruitment is enforced severely by having the team that does not provide a young player for the game lose the game automatically.

The matches were played on a dirt field with some patches of grass and weeds. The goals had nets but the nets had holes. The field was fenced in with a chain linked fence on the spectator's side, but walled with cement at the other touch line. The wall was falling apart and there was a large gap. The game itself was played with two teams of eleven.

Santa Anna versus Tunayac

A soccer game between the teams from the barrios of Santa Anna and Tunayac was observed in this stadium. The game was not part of the team the research is on, but many critical observations about soccer in the community were nonetheless presented. The stands were filled with only men. The women that were present were cooking at vendor stands at the entrance of the small stadium. Men were the only soccer players that could participate, and now the main spectators to the sport are men. Soccer in Momostenango is a male dominated sport.

Another observation is that of the referee. There were no linesmen, and the referee had to manage the game by himself. The referee should be an "invisible force of justice," seen but not heard (Claussen 2007). The spectators never rose to their feet when

a goal was scored. Only shouts of "bueno!" and whistling emanated from them at goals. However, when they saw a player lose the ball or disagreed with the referee's decision, they would rise to their feet and shout obscenities at them. The spectators have free reign to verbally attack the referee. However, the players on the field have no such power. The realm of the sport is separated by the realm of the spectators. Spectators may have the power to express their emotions, but are powerless in the outcome of the game. The players follow the rules in the competition in order to win.

Both teams had their own uniforms with their own crests. They played in a set formation of four defenders, four midfielders, and two forwards. They had specific roles on the team that they played. They hardly broke their fixed formations. Both teams also had an older person as coach on the side lines. However, many of the players were more heavy set. There were no substitutes on the bench for either team. The same twenty-two men played the entire ninety minutes of the game.

One spectator recognized me after the game. We had helped him plant medicinal crops two days ago. Mario used to live in Austin, TX as an illegal immigrant. He spoke English well. When asked which team he supported, he said neither of them. He was only there because he liked to watch soccer games. He currently lives in the barrio Santa Isabel, but he does not support that team either. He says that he likes L.A. Galaxy from the United States, AC Milan from Italy, Barcelona from Spain, Manchester United from England, and Comunicaciones from Guatemala City. He listed his favorite teams as soon as he said he did not support Santa Ana or Tunayac. He is an international Momostecan. He preferred the international variety of soccer. The same could be said of the tuk-tuk taxi drivers with their painted soccer crests. None had a Guatemalan soccer

team on their taxi. Only one that I saw had a Guatemalan flag on it. The international variety of soccer is the promised land of soccer. They imagine their world to be in the international, wealthy setting.

Interviews with Don Federico and Don Acabal

After understanding the local conditions of soccer, a few questions were asked of what soccer used to be like in the community. Interviews were conducted to better understand the role of soccer in the Mayan community in the past. Two former players and two recent players were interviewed from the team. They provided valuable insight to the past and present condition of Deportivo Santa Isabel and Mayan soccer.

Don Federico is 73 years old. He has played on soccer teams in Guatemala since he was 15 until he was 55 years old. He has played on Deportivo Santa Isabel. He describes the communal effort of the team when he was part of it. Don Federico says the team did not have disciplinary problems like it has now. Though he admits he has not taken part in team affairs in years. He also described the reason that the young men played the sport. He was also a physical education teacher at school and coached the team Santa Isabel in the past. The interview is translated from Spanish.

The first question was about when Deportivo Santa Isabel started. Don Federico had a golden age mentality, where the past was superior to current events.

Don Federico: "I don't exactly remember the year, but it was a soccer team, that was famous for years. It used to be a good team with very good players, playing against other very good teams. There used to be competition. It was emotional and attractive game. The team was born from enthusiasm that everyone had for the game. We organized the game from friends and players in the barrio Santa Isabel. Our proudest moments were defeating Municipal. We played competitively and got better because of it. We trained three or four times a week while the sun was high in the sky. Now, everything has deteriorated. Just like the

soccer nets. I hear that there is still a Santa Isabel team around, but not as good as our Santa Isabel team."

Interviewers: Why do you believe things have deteriorated?

Don Federico: "It's one of the reasons that I myself became isolated. The players have had professionalism imbedded in their heads. Back in my time we played for the love of the game, not for any other reason. The players now are interested in some kind of benefit for their services. They demanded payment, uniforms, and other things like that. That is where we believe things have deteriorated. There were players that had money, so they were recruited to the better teams, so everyone wanted to do that. We had to support each other. We bought our own uniforms and balls. They only play for themselves now. That's one of the cancers that hurt the game. Now, I don't even go to the stadium because there is absolutely nothing to see."

Interviewers: What did you do before games? Such as praying?

Don Federico: Me personally? Yes, sometimes we would kneel before we entered the pitch. We did the sign of the cross. When we scored a goal, we dedicated it to the Lord.

Interviewers: What did you attribute winning and losing to?

Don Federico: "Um.. Soccer is a team sport. There are eleven of us. If we scored, all eleven of us scored. If we won, all eleven of us won. Of course, only one person scores, but someone had to pass him the ball. so everyone was a part of winning. The bad is that we celebrated with drinks, with beers. We would win and celebrate. We would also lose and celebrate with beer anyways. That's the way we celebrated winning and losing. We had a lot of fans and friends who would drink with us."

Interviewers: What about women?

Don Federico: "Women? No. We guarded our women. We were more sensitive back then about that. Now, there of course has been change. There are even women teams. But back then, no. Actually, the women played basketball. Now, women can do other things."

Interviewers: Does that mean women did not watch you play?

Don Federico: "That they did. Our girlfriends. They would hug us and give us a kiss. Made us happy."

Interviewers: I understand you are familiar with Josue Pelico?

Don Federico: "He used to come by and play with my kids. He came to my house. He knew my family. They played in the streets and grew up together. Now, he is in the major league."

Interviewers: Do you know how he managed to make it to the top leagues?

Don Federico: "I think that he was studying in Quetzaltenango, and he was given an opportunity to play in the minor leagues. There are scouts that watch the minor leagues for players who have ability. Then, they contracted him. He was in the minor leagues of Club Xelaju, and then he went to major leagues."

Interviewers: What background did the players who were able to advance through the system come from? Did they need money?

Don Federico: "No, here it was the family.... maybe that was one of the reasons that some couldn't advance much because they had low economic circumstances. Now if a son wants to play, the father supports them. Back then, we had to work. My dad died, I had five younger sisters, and I had to support them and my mother by working. That may be the reason I could not advance. My economic condition. My life's condition."

Don Federico: "It has transformed a lot. We have realized that the United States did not play soccer. Or we never noticed them. They were never in any championships. But then they started playing and they quickly became the best in CONCACAF. They started like this (motions low) and rose (raises hand). The competition there is better now than even in Mexico. Mexico is no longer good. They used to be number one, but when the US started playing, they became first place."

Interviewers: Why do you think the United States rose faster than anyone else in

CONCACAF?

Don Federico: "It is because of their economic situation. They have a better economy than us. They can buy shoes. We had to pull out of our pockets. We had to manage everything. There they can be financed by big teams. Our quetzal is losing value. When I was young, the quetzal was worth more than the dollar! We were better off economically, but then we declined. It devalued and devalued. The United States has maintained its economy. Over there are now soccer fields. Before it was just American Football and baseball. But then a fusion of American and Latin American soccer players lifted the United States to get better."

Interviewers: Where did you work when you played soccer?

Don Federico: "I was in the textile industry. I made ponchos. It was the work of my father. Later, I worked in the municipal government. For 18 years. I then worked twenty one years in radios and telegraphs. Now I'm retired."

The interview with an elderly former player, Don Federico, the older generations

believe that the game is in a state of relative decline due to a rise in delinquency and

drinking in the barrios of Momostenango. When the seventy-three year old began playing

at the age of fifteen, they played for the love of the game as well as for pride in their

community. Young players now hope to be picked up by larger teams as opposed to

supporting the present community soccer team. Instead of playing for the love of the team and the game, players are playing for monetary gain. Many expect to be paid for their services on the field. There is also no communal effort to provide legitimate practices for the teams now as opposed to before, when they had a physical education teacher.

Another interview was conducted with the father of the Shaman. Don Oscar has been playing for eighteen years. He was also one of the first converts to Mormonism in the community. He works for the radio company in Momostenango. The team played two times a week and had a game on Sunday. The games were self-sufficient. They only asked for donations from the barrio they represent. The team would purchase twelve shirts for eighteen players so to save money. He is adamant about how the soccer team Municipal was the villain. He described that everyone wanted a team from a barrio like Los Riscos or Santa Isabel to defeat Municipal. It would be a form of poetic justice against the Ladino controlled city center. The similarity is drawn between Barcelona and Real Madrid in Spain. Any win Barcelona could get out of Real Madrid was a victory for the Catalan people. Here, any victory over Municipal was a victory for the marginalized Mayan community against the oppressive Ladinos.

Don Oscar's ideas about the role soccer plays in the community are similar to that of Don Federico. He also had a golden age mentality. But, Don Oscar described the reasons that soccer has deteriorated were because of drinking and delinquency. The structured practices that he describes occurred in the past were gone because of these new problems. Another reason for the deterioration of soccer was the paying of players. Only

skilled players were paid. The payment of players caused those who did not receive the same benefits to quit the teams.

Another money making scheme that Don Oscar was bitter about was the government's walling off of the soccer complex. The Municipal government then charged teams to use the field. Since the fields were closed, practices did not occur. Don Oscar believes that not practicing led to idleness. Then, because the men were idle, they would cause delinquency problems in the community. The field has recently been reopened (2007) but the field remains in a state of decay and no one wants to put in money to fix the field.

Don Oscar described the jobs that players had in the past. They were mostly weavers and vendors. The jobs were mostly subsequently lost through time. Don Oscar worked, played soccer, and went to church. However, if soccer got in the way of work, he would go to work. If it got in the way of church, he would go play. He also described the social events that the Mormon Church would hold. There would be a youth event that involves soccer. The goal of the meet, according to Don Oscar, was for social cohesion. Yet, he also said that soccer scouts would come out and watch.

The final interview was with Don Acabal. He was president of Deportivo Santa Isabel Club. He described that there were two teams of Santa Isabel, an A team and a B team. He was on the A team nicknamed Aguila Santa Isabel but they no longer exist. He explains that the reason the team no longer exists is because the players became older, had families, more demanding jobs, and some former players have even left the city. They used to work in textiles and as vendors, but after the collapse of those businesses many have moved to the United States.

Don Acabal himself says that he does not have any time. He also laments that the money he earns is not worth enough. Having to support a team is expensive. Paying for water and referees for every game is expensive. He even described instances where guest players from the capital are hosted by the team so that they can compete against each other. Don Acabal explains that "when the expenses become too great because one has a family then one cannot collaborate in a soccer team."

Interviewers: How did you pay for everything?

Don Acabal: "There were six people. For example when we had to pay for something or we start a tournament and have to buy jerseys, the cost is split between the six. Everything is split between the six. There is no institution that sponsors us. The six do play. Even if they don't they pay."

Interviewers: How are the six chosen?

Don Acabal: "Some volunteer, but mostly they are asked as friends to please contribute."

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis

Fall of the Cofradías

Globalization changes the social and cultural institutions in Momostenango. At one point, the indigenous Mayan religion and rituals were incorporated into the Catholic faith making a "Mayan Christianity" (Cook and Offit 2009). Now, the Mayans practice a plethora of religions that were introduced by missionaries, from Seventh Day Adventists to Mormons. The pluralistic society changes the cultural institutions in Momostenango. The same is observed in soccer. Deportivo Santa Isabel has taken on a different meaning and reality than before. It is all caused by transculturation, which occurs when the people accept profound change in some aspects of a culture in order to preserve some other institutional arrangements (Cook and Offit 2009). Mayans in the community are "changing occupations" by the loss of their economic industry and experiencing a "redefinition of values and priorities" by the influx of new missionaries and religions (Goldin 2001, 3). Their cultural institutions are adapting to new societal and economic pressures.

There are a number of different systems that allowed Mayans to continue to own their own culture. The Cargo system was a system of festival sponsorships that aided in community solidarity by a sponsor providing the financial support for a festival. The elders would appoint a wealthy person to sponsor the fiestas. The men were usually in their forties, married, and well established in the community. The purpose is that it kept certain individuals from accumulating wealth (Cook and Offit 2009). It was a mechanism for leveling the economic advantages that Mayans may accumulate. Not only

did it level the field by having the sponsors spend the money, but it also redistributed the economic wealth to the participants of the fiestas. The social structure and redistribution of wealth functioned in eliminating conflict. The Cargo System is a conservative construct to eliminate conflict that resists change.

The Cofradías are patriarchal brotherhoods ran by Costumbristas that supported the cult of saints (Cook and Offit 2009). Their Cult of the Saint is characterized by the Cargo System. They were at one time in competition with the Catholic Church because of their different beliefs. Yet, the Costumbristas incorporated Catholic teachings, ideas and symbols into their traditional Mayan religion. The Cofradías was a syncretic brotherhood that blended ancient Mayan religion with Catholicism.

There are changes in the participation and the amount of people attending the cult of the saints. This is due to the new religious movements and the opposing values they introduce into Momostenango. Goldin argues that aggressive Protestant religions have affected Mayan morality to lessen the usage of alcohol and spending frivolously, which many Protestants claim is the problem with Catholics (2001). The advancement of women through the new religions also impacts the Cofradías. The feminism that has been introduced into the society by Protestantism is a threat to the patriarchal dominion of the Cofradías. The Protestant religions have led to a greater emphasis on competition instead of community. The Cargo System was necessarily abandoned in the face of a new individualized mentality about profits and success.

The Cofradías service and fiesta that I attended in Momostenango was in decline. The inside of the sanctuary they meet at was empty of people. There were so few people, that American students had to be volunteered to help carry statues of the saints around

town. Donations that are usually asked from the members of the group were asked of a visiting college professor and his students. The lack of volunteers in the Mayan community is because the exodus of many young men to find work in Guatemala City and the U.S. and the increase expense of the fiestas (Cook and Offit 2009). The feeling of futility and impending end of their cultural institution is caused by global forces on their local setting. The Cofradías may continue to survive, but in a reduced and marginalized state. However, the Mayans will continue to adapt their changing local settings to fulfill the role that the Cargo System fills.

The Neo-Liberal Economy

Mayans once wish to maintain their values of community, as a Mayan author wished that "new generations could grow with the values and aspirations of the group" (Gonzalez 1995: 220). The Protestant changes in religion change the focus from the group to the individual. There is a "Greater emphasis on competition" and "relying on one's own effort" (Goldin 2001: 11). Neo-liberalism leads to the system of private sponsorship for the community being destroyed (Cook and Offit 2009). The new values of protestant Mayans perpetuate the desire for private wealth (Goldin 2001). The Mayans do not want to spend their own money; they want smart economic investments, not community building investments. They are now individualized instead of community oriented. The transnational economy aids in the decline of the Cofradías. Migrants to the United States send back money, trucks, and cell phones. The remittances are changing the social and economic reality of Momostenango. The inequalities of wealth occurring through remittances from the United States led to Mayans wishing to advance their own personal and economic interests (Hagan 1994). The neoliberal economy leads toward the

wish for a modern lifestyle. Material gain and personal wealth is how they now measure their communal progress (Goldin 2001).

Just as the influx of Chinese blankets has marginalized the blanket industry, the influx of new religions and new capitalist ideas also relegated prior religious institutions to marginality. The brotherhood of the Cofradías collects money from volunteers for the fiesta. However, the Mayans are becoming thinking neo-liberalists and realize they have to live in a neo-liberal world. They are more careful with their money. This leaves little for Santiago and his cult. The lack of volunteers is more apparent if there are none to carry the Saint in a procession through town. I had the honor of carrying Santiago through the town because there were no other members that would carry him. The procession was small, and stopped at a few stores and houses of the few remaining practitioners. The Cult of Santiago and the Cofradías was indeed in decline.

That is not to say the community is no longer important. Instead, the individual is prioritized. There is a need for community solidarity (Goldin 2001). The greater emphasis on the individual is a change that goes against the truth of poverty in the Mayan community. A Cargo System was used to ensure no one was above another monetarily. Now, the consumer products are advertised to a community that can hardly afford to buy them, but still imagine they can with saving and frugal spending.

Localization

The Mayans do attempt to retain their culture through a series of dances. The Monkey's Dance is a dance maintained through the decades. It is a collection of pranks and clowning skits on the ground and dangerous acrobatic tricks on a rope suspended above the on looking crowd. It attempts to control, meet, and defeat their insecurities and

fears in the changing world (Cook and Offit 2011). The dance is a heavy burden that requires a huge commitment of time and money from the participants. The new Disfraces Dance requires the hiring of a band and purchasing elaborate costumes. Yet, it "lacks the ideological salience of the traditional dances with their stories" and "fails to link community structure to origin tales," it "reflects the world view and values of a new generation that validates status via consumption, is comfortable with open competition, and is familiar with pop culture and its transnational iconic imagery" (Cook and Offit 2009: 56). This is the prime example of transculturation in a Mayan setting. The reason the Disfraces Dance works will be the reason that soccer also highlights the hallmarks of the dance.

The localization of soccer can be seen through Deportivo Santa Isabel. Soccer also requires time and money, but not as much as the dances did. Soccer also provides an opportunity for success in the field, whereas the dances return one to equal or lesser wealth of their neighbors. Soccer teams provide a new form of secular solidarity that infuses the aspects of the Cofradías, community, and Mayan masculinity into a short game. There is the hope that if one is talented enough; they can advance through the system into better pay and better play. The team's advancement is shown through the success of Josue Pelico. The imagination that accompanies soccer is donning the jersey of a famous player, gaining their power, and using them for success. The Monkey's Dance is a dangerous dance that also requires supernatural aid. The Shaman and the jerseys provide the supernatural aid to Deportivo Santa Isabel. The Monkey's Dance also requires the sharing of costumes (Cook and Offit 2008). Another similarity is their collection of donations. The soccer team has some of their players volunteer to front

most of the money. The Cofradías also have an elder choose someone to volunteer to provide the funds (Cook and Offit 2008). Deportivo Santa Isabel players own the jerseys communally. They each pay their dues, the team purchases the jerseys, and the players pick out their number from a pile. The sport is a complementary, secular brotherhood that meets certain needs and addresses certain fears.

Deportivo Santa Isabel is a competitive team. They are praying for victory on and off the field. Their competitiveness fulfills the new criteria for progress created by the introduction of competitive Protestantism and the neo-liberal economy. During game days, when their blessed ball is not on the field, they would attempt to kick out the opponent team's ball so that theirs may enter. The competitive and religious aspect of the team provides a familiarity with the sport.

The masculine aspect of soccer is appealing to the men who are shifted economically and physically from emigration and remittances. The men on the team used to work in textiles and as vendors, but after the collapse of those businesses many have moved to the United States. The collapse of the economic infrastructure has led to a decline in the male population. Yet, in their new setting, the common language is soccer. They may join other Mayans in supporting each other in the new, strange country by soccer (Hagan 1994). They are unable to participate into the Cult of the Saints or any other masculine activities. Only soccer provides a masculine connection to the people of Momostenango. Soccer is a useful way to participate in a brotherhood far away from their home.

Just as the Cofradías and the dances are changing, so is the idea of what soccer means for the men playing. Don Oscar and Don Federico claim that soccer is in a worse

state now than in the past. Their golden age mentality is influenced by what they see as an abandonment of playing for masculinity and companionship. What they claim to see now is the decline of soccer through delinquency and drinking. The structured practices of the past and their reliance on themselves and their community for donations are replaced with paying players for their talent instead of their work ethic. Don Oscar claims that the catalyst to the huge increase in delinquency is the walling off of the Municipal soccer field. The idle players had nowhere to play. They can play on the streets, but there is no structure provided by the team. The capitalist idea to wall off the stadium has led to consequences they could not have foreseen.

The decline of the economic infrastructure in Momostenango influences the decline of soccer. The exodus of men also leads to a decline in the local league. Men who return are more interested in international soccer. They play abroad, but they witness the majesty of the great teams of Europe. Mario still watches the games, but he is not as interested as watching the big teams play high stakes games.

Conclusion

Soccer is useful in observing the changes in Momostenango because it is a popular and often played sport. The meaning of soccer is understood by the localized features that it adopts from the community. Older generations saw the sport as a form of social cohesion to build and strengthen relationships. The younger generation uses soccer to gain social status. Prior to this, social credibility was gained through the cult dances and other religious institutions which are slowly beginning to fade. The former model of community is changing in response to the forces of globalization and their

impact on the traditional culture. Soccer parallels the Cofradías brotherhood through the aspect of community. However, the same changes that affect the brotherhood also affect Deportivo Santa Isabel. The changes in ideologies caused by introduction of new religions, the downward trend of the Guatemalan economy, and the loss of jobs due to the influx of foreign goods leads to changes in the social structure of the community (Offit and Cook 2010). The loss of communal effort and community spirit provide new opportunities of imagined success with gaining social status and the promise of playing professionally. The current nature of the sport mimics the male bonding apparatus of traditional Mayan society which has been lost with the increased transnational economy. The loss of patriarchal institutions because of the advancement of women forces the male youth to search for new avenues to pursue dominance in society (Bourgois 1996). The depletion of the cargo system parallels soccer's new role as a method to pursue the goals of young men. Soccer provides a sport in which the patriarchal hierarchy is renewed despite the loss of traditional way of life due to the decline of traditional Mayan institutions like the Cofradías.

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