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When I entered graduate school at Chicago, I had a vague desire to write a book in the tradition of the Chicago School. I loved works in this tradition that delved deep into a specific social world and found meaning through the perspective of real people engaging with processes that were of interest to social scientists. Although I have wavered in my belief over the years in the possibility of actually accomplishing this, I have always believed in this kind of sociology.

I cannot help but feel like I have been extremely fortunate in terms of the kind of fieldwork I have been able to do: for anyone who knows me personally, they would quickly realize that one of my main areas of interest that brings me intrinsic joy is the sport of soccer. I enjoy watching it, playing it, talking about it, coaching it, refereeing it (well, that is

complicated), and being near it. I could not have entered the world of my dissertation initially if it were not for an ability to play the sport. Playing itself was key methodologically because it gave me access to a relationship that emerged as critical in the dissertation: the mutually shared world and interactions of the undocumented 1.5 generation and second generation teammates and the larger milieu they operate within.

What I did not expect to find in fieldwork were the sincere friendships that emerged throughout this process. My key informants have come to be friends, and my experience in Chicago is tied to these connections. There were periods where I would spend multiple hours every day for months at the facility—when I was healthy I would play and when I was injured (which happened with increasing frequency), I would just hang around the facility or the office with the owner Mr. C and "the guys." People were welcoming and allowed me into their worlds in such a way that adds both depth to the work and an increased ethical responsibility to get it "right." While I cannot name them here, they know who they are and we will continue to be connected long after this project is concluded.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACA: Affordable Care Act

ATEDPA: Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996

CLASA: Chicago Latin American Soccer Association

DACA: Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals

IIRIRA: Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996

IRCA: Immigration Reform and Control Act

PRWORA: Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

NCAA: National Collegiate Athletic Association

NAIA: National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics

USSF: United States Soccer Federation

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I employ an institutional-based approach to immigrant incorporation based on over five years of ethnographic fieldwork that contributes to the emerging literature on the increasing significance of citizenship status in immigrant lives. In the context of a lack of comprehensive federal immigration reform since 1986, living "without papers" has led to the emergence of distinct status groups that I investigate in a particular fieldsite I call Chicharito's Place and a social milieu I call Mexican Chicago. This fieldsite is an example of what I call an "ethnic safe space" and part of a milieu that people incorporate into and that allows the undocumented a certain degree of comfort within which to interact and exist. My dissertation argues for a distinct way of looking at the integration of Mexican Americans by highlighting the following: the power of undocumented status to alter incorporation trajectories, the multidimensional nature of the process generally that sees people moving forward in certain domains but not others, and the role that living within mixed-status communities plays in immigrant integration. In particular, I examine the experiences of two sociologically similar groups of children of immigrants: the undocumented 1.5 generation and their citizen-born, second-generation peers. I study these issues by delving deeply into a world where people are made similar by a sport and dissimilar when stepping outside these confines. It is society, our laws, and even our healthcare system that has worked to sharpen the distinction between and within this population. This institutional-based approach reveals spaces of belonging that add texture to theories and our understanding of undocumented life in the United States today.

PREFACE

The classic immigration narrative is one that often begins with an individual, usually of European origin, who arrives to the United States in search of a better life. Through hard work and dedication, he is able to move up the socioeconomic hierarchy while paving the way for his children to even more fully achieve the "American Dream." These children speak English, enter the middle class, intermarry, and become "normal" Americans. While overly simplistic, a version of this story is believed to be accurate by millions of Americans. Due to shifts in the economy and changes in the demographic reality of immigration, this basic narrative has begun to be challenged over the past several decades.

Like many other academics interested in the study of race and immigration, my engagement and initial interests in these topics stems from my personal background. My father, who was born and raised in Limerick, Ireland, in a particular historical context that is recounted in Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes*, used the traditional Irish sport of hurling to come to America in the late 1960s to find work and housing and to begin building a life "without authorization" (McCourt, 1996). My mother came on a tourist visa from Belfast and found a job as a waitress in an Irish pub where my father happened to be bartending. They lived in Irish neighborhoods, worked in Irish bars, and had Irish friends. Afraid to go "home" for fear of not being able to return, they began to build a life in the United States "without authorization" like millions of immigrants before and after them.

Undocumented life at that time was made easier because of the social world and connections that existed within the Irish community of New York City.[1] This was a world that connected individuals who shared a particular ethnic background and came to life through

[1] Mary Corcoran, a student of Herbert Gans in the 1980s, wrote about this community in *Irish Illegals: Transients Between Two Societies* (Corcoran, 1993).

interaction at bars, churches, construction sites, and shared community spaces like the sporting grounds of Gaelic Park. While they had access to this support network, they were nevertheless forced to often live in the shadows. This changed with the sweeping immigration reform of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) signed into law by Ronald Reagan in 1986 that provided a pathway to citizenship for millions of other undocumented individuals who already had built a life in this country.

While my parents were raised in relatively impoverished backgrounds and entered the United States as "low-skilled" and "uneducated" workers, my *own* experience as a second generation child of white, English-speaking immigrants was one where I rarely felt any "different" than those in the lower-middle-class New Jersey community I was raised in. I saw other white people who spoke English and who attended similar churches and schools. I distinctly remember the first time I recognized that there may be something a bit "different." I was in fourth grade at a birthday party and remember a classmate running across the room to emphatically point out to me that my father had a "funny" accent. While I didn't quite understand what that meant, I remember the thought process that was involved—"why doesn't he sound like everyone else?" Another difference was that when my friends spoke of family, they meant more than their parents and siblings; they were referring to grandmothers, grandfathers, cousins, and uncles who were often an intimate part of their daily lives. When I went "home" (as my parents still call Ireland) for my tenth birthday, I finally met these people. However, *they* were different: foreign people with thick accents living in a different culture and leading distinct kinds of lives. During one of these trips "home" I remember thinking that my only connection to this foreign land was that my parents happened to have been born there. As I moved on to undergraduate studies and continued reading more about the history of immigration,

I began to see in a clearer way that the simple fact of my being born here allowed me to "become American." Was this the case, though, for groups of people who are not white and who do not come speaking the dominant language of the United States?

As I will detail in the introduction, my own case is atypical when considering recent trends in post-1965 immigration and the subsiding of the great waves of European migrants. While my own experience growing up in this country is at the same level functionally as a second-generation, child of foreign-born, undocumented immigrants with initially low levels of human and social capital as many of the individuals we will encounter in my project, their reported experiences of integration have a different texture due to factors associated with race, ethnicity, and historical context of reception. This dissertation seeks to uncover that texture. My dissertation project is an ethnography of a slice of a network in what I call Mexican Chicago that examines the integration experiences of mainly Mexican American men in the 1.5 and second generation. In this work I examine the lives of Mexican American men as they navigate their daily existence, move through the world, and negotiate what it means to "become American."

There are two major points of similarity between my parents' experiences and those of the individuals in Mexican Chicago that I will discuss in the pages that follow. First is the existence of a strong and vibrant network of co-ethnics that became active through interaction. While the world of the Irish in NYC has changed drastically in the past several decades due to changing patterns of immigration, it was alive and vibrant then and was a particular kind of world that my parents incorporated into along with that of the larger American society. The second point of similarity is that one such space was related to a shared communal cultural practice and sport. It was the interactions that occurred in Gaelic Park where my father would

find housing and job leads. This type of world exists in Chicago today and is centered around the sport of soccer.

On Soccer

Critical to my study is the sport of soccer. Although soccer and sport more generally are not often used by researchers in social scientific scholarship, it is an extremely fruitful tool in helping us understand and unpack the complex phenomena involved in issues like immigrant integration. The sport functions as a network and a set of institutions that help newer and older immigrants and their children find their way in the city, make friends, find jobs, and build a sense of community. More generally, it can point to specific ways that immigrants integrate into the United States. It is *a* vantage point, *a* lens, *a* network that can help us better understand key questions related to immigrant integration that matter to scholars and policymakers alike.

Soccer is an important game in the Mexican community generally and a connecting feature amongst my informants. The main fieldsite for my fieldwork in is centered around the sport and is the physical space for an internal, vibrant economy where an organization brings large groups of people together, where fathers and children play and watch the sport, referees officiate games, and a network and hub of interaction takes place. The vast majority of the men I will discuss either played, watched, coached, refereed, or were otherwise involved in producing, playing, and organizing the sport. It is a sport that brings this diverse population together and is a distinct and unique part of the world of Mexican Chicago. By Mexican Chicago, detailed in Chapter 3, I am referring to the series of spaces where immigrants who identify as Mexicans interact, live, and work. This is not a world that can be touched but is one that exists through and in interaction with a series of spaces and institutions. I use this concept, borrowed from the work of Nicholas De Genova, as a way to bring to life the multiple worlds of my informants (De

Genova, 2002; 2005). The diverse population of Mexicans in Chicago are present here, diverse in terms of bicultural competence, citizenship, socioeconomic status, skin color, language ability, and place of origin in Mexico—but they come together to participate in this sport that in many ways connects and unifies them.

Detailing the history of soccer in the United States is unfortunately beyond the scope of this dissertation (see West, 2016 for a historical overview and Markovitz and Hellerman, 2001 for a masterful and scholarly treatment of the subject). Critical to note for our purposes is that the sport can have a specific meaning and relationship within ethnic identities and national cultures. Much vitriol has been directed in the national sports media at Mexican Americans' "obsession" with soccer and their seeming "inability" to follow the United States national team, with some commentators linking this to the group's inability to "assimilate" (Shinn, 2002). For instance, Brandon Valeriano quotes an article in the *Los Angeles Times* that expresses such concern that these fans are not ultimately loyal to their home country:

> For many of us who generally oppose the silent invasion from the south, if those who broke the law to come here acted as if their true loyalties were with the United States, then much of the fire in this highly combustible subject would be doused. (Ziegler quoted in Valeriano, 2014:292)

While it is the case that many Mexican Americans play primarily in Mexican/Hispanic leagues and follow professional Mexican league teams or the Mexican national team, the reasoning behind this is less a product of "loyal" tendencies and more of structural barriers and the place of soccer in the American sportscape (see Markovits and Hellerman, 2001).

The vast majority of players and immigrants in this soccer network where I conducted fieldwork identify as Mexican or Mexican American. This is not to say that the network is entirely of this population as there are players from Honduras, Colombia, El Salvador, Argentina and other Central/South American countries on the different teams I have played against and for.

The owner of my fieldsite, Mr. C, approximates “90 percent are Mexicans.” While it is difficult to get the exact percentage of this, the majority of participants in the Hispanic soccer networks in Chicago are Mexican Americans (Pescador, 2004).

Why is the sport so ethnically homogenous? What are the implications of intergenerational networks participating in this cultural activity? Why did I choose to do fieldwork focused on immigrant integration at a soccer facility? Through participant observation and ethnography, I explore these meanings and the lives of my informants as they make their lives in the city. Soccer is a way for these young men to maintain aspects of Mexican culture. Using Spanish on the field, believing that soccer is a “Mexican” sport, the club and national teams they root for and the intergenerational nature of how they come to know the sport are all illustrations of why this sport “feels” Mexican to many of my informants. The meaning of soccer as a game and cultural practice in these young men’s lives will be detailed in Chapters 3 and 4.

The undocumented experience a certain sense of belonging in particular communities, and the sport of soccer is one example of an institution that immigrants can participate in. This is a critical point that I develop in Chapters 3 and 4, which contributes to a more nuanced theory of undocumented life more generally in the United States. Undocumented youth in particular are strongly interwoven into the fabric of community life and within institutions like Chicharito’s Place. Through years of interaction and attachment to places like this facility, such immigrants develop a strong connection that makes them in many ways indistinguishable from their citizen-born peers. It is places and spaces like these and the relationships and interactions that occur there that makes these individuals a distinct part of the world. When the whistle blows and a game starts, the meaning of citizenship in one sense can temporarily recede into the background.

Moving Forward

How our society treats the more than 11 million people who are undocumented is one of the great civil rights issues of our day.[2] My goal in this dissertation is to shed light on some of these lives as well as others in these networks as they navigate the integration process and make a life in the city. My aim is to provide an analysis that is rigorously sociological but also one that is relevant to generalists and those interested in public policy. Writing about assimilation and incorporation is tremendously problematic, not least because of the imprecise nature of the concepts used and the way outcomes of the process have been defined in the literature. My dissertation seeks to unpack some of these problems by focusing specifically on processes and mechanisms and by using the words and meanings of the individuals themselves who are living these processes. What does this process of "integration," "assimilation," "becoming American," "acculturation," and "incorporation" mean to them? How do they conceptualize this, particularly when embedded in diverse networks where some are legally allowed to integrate in ways that others are not?

One issue in the literature is related to confusion around the categories scholars use to assess immigrant integration. Before moving to a more formal introduction, I will now detail two life stories of individuals who are in the same "category" (Mexican American, 1.5 generation, male) but who are making their lives in Chicago in very different ways. These stories highlight problems of traditional models of "assimilation," pointing to the uniqueness of the Mexican American group while speaking to how patterns of immigrant integration generally are shifting in the twenty-first century.

[2] Due to the difficulty in studying and accounting for this population, there is some disagreement in the literature as to the exact number of undocumented immigrants currently residing in the United States. I rely on the latest data from the PEW research center, which estimates between 11 and 12 million (Passel and Cohn, 2017).

INTRODUCTION

Categorically Unequal: Jose Calle and Julio

Jose

Jose Calle,[1] affectionately referred to by those who know him as "Mr. C," is an affable and loquacious man in his late fifties who has lived his whole conscious life (from five years old) in Chicago. He was born in 1958 in the Mexican city of San Luis Potosí. Desiring a "better life" and an escape from poverty,[2] his parents decided to make the difficult journey north. "It was different then … much easier to get in … my father had a cousin that was in Chicago … it was a simple choice really." His parents chose Chicago due to family connections, and their living situation when he was young was "very difficult … we lived with cousins, friends … in a lot of places … it was hard." Mexican Chicago was indeed vibrant during this time due to the networks that drove immigration as these family connections made it a desirable spot for future rounds of immigration. For this reason, his family entered a world where many individuals they would meet were from San Luis Potosí.

While his parents were "uneducated" they had a "tremendous work ethic." Through his uncle, Mr. C's father was able to gain work doing construction and spent most of his life working "fifteen-hour-a-day shifts." His parents were able to regularize their status, and eventually all of the Calles became US citizens within ten years. The family settled in the Chicago neighborhood of Nedved Town in 1962, a now predominantly Mexican American neighborhood that has changed in a variety of ways over the decades. Mr. C explained that it was "becoming Mexican … but there were a lot of Poles." It was so Polish, in fact, that he reports his

[1] Names and locations have been changed throughout the text to protect anonymity.

[2] Quotations here and throughout the dissertation are from notes I took after ethnographic conversations. Methods will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

first English as a Second Language (ESL) class was in Polish: “They were speaking to me in English and Polish … and I didn’t have a clue.”

Mr. C remembers the painful period when he was thrust into school without a “word of English,” where he had “no idea what people were saying.” It was something that he “just had to figure out.” While his parents could speak only rudimentary English, they emphasized very early on that if he was going to “make it” in the world, he would have to learn and speak English. “If I spoke Spanish at home with a friend my dad would make me do the dishes that night … because he said that Spanish was the language of the dishwasher … and that if I wanted to be something … I needed to speak English.” His father of course said all of this to him in Spanish: he wanted his son to have a different and “better life” than him, and strongly believed that this was fully possible in the United States. “He believed you could do anything in the States.” This is a belief that Mr. C and many in the network strongly share.

Mr. C was a talented soccer player and gained a scholarship to a local college. To supplement his income, he played for local teams in different Mexican and Hispanic soccer leagues in the city—organizations that are still thriving today, some of which are now hosted in the soccer facility he owns. At college he developed his passion for photography, and after graduating he was able to rise from an entry level job at a small electronics/camera company to a management level position. The owner of the company took notice after seeing his initiative in creating a sales strategy for the growing Mexican population in Chicago. He has always been careful with money and invested whatever he had, so he was able to build relative wealth that allowed him to move out in 1990 with his young family to Campos, an area in Chicago that he often refers to as a “Mexican suburb.” His three children—all boys—went to college, and one is

now working towards his doctorate. He invested in Chicharito's Place in its initial years,[3] and through his considerable connections in the soccer world, he was able to build a strong and vibrant clientele base. He now runs its day-to day operations with his son, Roberto. He is proud of his background and credits his success in the world to the sacrifices his parents made. Like many others in this world, he believes that regardless of citizenship status and the neighborhood you grow up in, "everybody can make it. You just gotta help yourself."

In many respects, Mr. C's story follows what I will describe later as the canonical or traditional model of assimilation. There has been noticeable progression across the generations in the Calle family: His parents had an elementary school education and made the difficult journey north in search of a better life; Mr. C went to college and now owns a business; his children are all college graduates or attending college and have a variety of choices and options open to them as they make their lives. His parents worked blue-collar jobs and continuously struggled with money and lived in housing that was shared with cousins and other family members. Mr. C was able to buy his own house when he moved out to the suburbs, and his children are poised to continue moving upwards along the traditional path that has been enshrined in the "American Dream."

Generation is the category that is traditionally used in the measurement of "successful" assimilation. Mr. C is a member of the so-called "1.5 generation": individuals who were born in Mexico to Mexican nationals who were subsequently socialized in the USA. He was able to regularize his citizenship status and entered the particular economic climate of 1960s Chicago. This is a world that influenced his integration experience and incorporation trajectory; however, it is one that is not the same for everyone, even those who are in the same "category" like Julio.

[3] In the dissertation I will refer to my fieldsite either as Chicharito's Place or simply Chicharito's.

Julio

Julio is another 1.5 generation Mexican American male making his life in Mexican Chicago. He is a good looking and fit young man who takes care of his appearance. Born in 1986 in what he describes as dire poverty in the small Mexican town of San Juan de los Lagos, his family decided to make the trip across the border to also "make a better life." They first arrived in San Diego and moved permanently to Chicago to live with cousins when Julio was seven years old.

Unlike Mr. C, though, Julio has had a strikingly different incorporation experience primarily due to his inability to "get papers." His views on life and the integration process are sometimes contradictory, and this is due to the comparison group he uses when thinking about his present situation: people who were "left behind" in Mexico and those within his friendship and family networks who underwent similar socialization experiences but who "have papers." Several of his cousins and one of his aunts have citizenship, and this frustrates him because of the many roadblocks he sees in his own life. While he faces many problems in his life due to issues I will discuss in detail in Chapter 6, he reports being extremely happy to be in the United States, a feeling that is associated with the many family members who have yet to "make it here."

His life has been marked by much uncertainty, from his first teacher who was a "Puerto Rican who only kinda spoke Spanish" (in an ESL class at his first school) and his classmates who made him feel "humiliated" and "stupid," to guidance counselors who "had no idea what to do—had no advice" for his post-high school aspirations. Looking back at his life, he can see two different periods that are marked by the moment he "found out" that he was undocumented. Prior to this realization, one could see him as moving along a line similar to that of Mr. C; he was

planning on going to college and eventually getting a job that was “better than his parents.” After finding out, he has continuously felt uncertain of what he can and will do, and he has had to figure out ways to make it in the far more precarious world of unauthorized work and life. The implications behind the movement between the legally protected world of elementary and high school to that of undocumented status is one that he continuously negotiates and attempts to make sense of.

Even with these roadblocks, he was able to leverage connections in Mexican Chicago into a 75 percent scholarship to a local community college. He has the highest status of my informants in terms of ability as a player, and if he was born in a different world or in different circumstances, his soccer ability would most likely have led to a scholarship at a Division I school. There are five different divisions or categories available for those interested in continuing to play the sport after high school: the NCAA has Divisions I, II, and III. The National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) also has its own league and rules that exist outside of the NCAA. Finally, there are community colleges (two years, where one can move to an NCAA or NAIA school). As the highest level of amateur soccer in the United States is generally understood to be Division I college soccer, one can better understand the skill level of this young man at the time. Division I colleges can give scholarships, and the best players from this group can continue onwards to semi-professional or professional careers afterwards. But this was not to be for Julio.

A constant theme in his life after finding out about his status has been feeling like he was moving forward only to then hit a wall: he broke his foot during his second season in college, and unable to receive medical care and fearful of what would happen to his scholarship if he told his coach that he couldn’t play, he quit and dropped out of school. He expresses frustration at

"not knowing anything" and believes that "no one helps" him in understanding what rights, if any, he has in the US. He never applied for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) because he initially "didn't know (he) could," and when finding out about his eligibility, he decided against paying what was for him a significant application fee of $495. He believes that no one in a position of authority in high school understood his situation. After becoming consciously aware of this "master status" of being "undocumented" (which he almost always refers to as "without papers" or "illegal" when speaking English), he has simply had to "figure it out by myself." Due to this and the inability to get legitimate work other than a few hours coaching, he has been forced to move and live in an underground economy that is filled with even more uncertainty.

He has been able to find work as a soccer coach for around ten hours a week making $11.00 per hour "under the table," and the rest he makes by playing on various league teams in Mexican Chicago, as Mr. C did during his college days. These teams are run by an assortment of business owners, long-time residents, and gang members who invest in good players to help their teams win games. Again this is a precarious life—one that drastically changed for him the day his mother told him he was "illegal." He fears injury and wishes that he could live a different kind of life: "But what can I do, nobody helps me man … you don't even help me … how can I do anything (without papers)?"

The life stories of Mr. C and Julio are similar in many respects: they both arrived to Chicago from Mexico as children to parents with low levels of financial, social, and human capital. Yet they have lived different lives because of three interrelated factors that I will address in subsequent chapters: undocumented status, historical change, and local policy contexts. Looking at these life stories shows the need to see change not only across generations but within

them, and points to a further need to use comparisons not only across ethnic groups but also within them. Explaining the processes and mechanisms involved in the significant differences we see in their trajectories is a key element of this dissertation.

Due to a lack of comprehensive immigration reform since the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, citizenship status has gained in significance within immigrant lives and communities. Examining the role of citizenship status during the period since IRCA reveals emerging processes of differentiated status groups based on whether or not one has "papers." Citizenship conditions one's life and everyday experiences in powerful ways that help us to better understand diverse patterns of Mexican immigrant integration more broadly.

Mexican Chicago: Modes of Incorporation in a Mexican American Network

The incorporation of immigrants in the United States has been a major concern of American sociology since the founding of the discipline. Gaining a better understanding of these issues, which at their core relate to the meaning of "becoming American," is at the heart of my dissertation. The integration of Mexican immigrants and their children in particular is arguably the most important issue in the contemporary debate on immigration. They are at the center of these issues due to both their sheer demographic presence as well as how their purportedly lower levels of human capital lead to questions about their "assimilability" (Huntington, 2004; Buchanan, 2007). Mexican migrants who arrive in the United States outnumber all other immigrant groups. Figures from 2003–13 show Mexicans as having the highest percentage of those granted permanent residency status (more than double that of the second country, China), while also having more unauthorized individuals in the US than any other country. The most recent estimates in 2012 come in at 6.1 million such individuals; this is more than *half* of the total undocumented population in the United States today (Bean, 2015).

With regards to academic debates, the size and internal heterogeneity of this group point to it being an extremely useful one to study if we are to better understand the complexity behind contemporary patterns of immigrant incorporation. These issues also figure prominently in policy debates and within the public imagination and, at their core level, relate to questions of American culture and the meaning of "belonging." The importance of this has only heightened in recent years as the issue of undocumented immigration has divided the country.

The very size and the continual persistence of Mexican migration is of particular social significance to scholars and policymakers interested in how patterns of migration are altering our world in the twenty-first century. Will these immigrants and their children follow the path of earlier waves of immigration and steadily move up the socio-economic ladder? Or will they experience "downward assimilation" and become a permanent member of the underclass? What role does undocumented status play in this process, and what differences does such status play in the lives of these individuals as they navigate different domains of incorporation? Examining these processes and working to uncover mechanisms behind divergent incorporation trajectories is a vital task for social scientists today.

With the passage of the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965, the national origins quota system that largely dictated immigration policy in the United States was abolished. This led to profound demographic changes with the majority of the "new immigrants" arriving from countries in Asia, Africa, and Central/South America (Bean and Lee, 2009). It also contributed to the shifting landscape of social scientific research into assimilation. This demographic shift, coupled with a changing economic structure, called into question the classic assimilation tale where successive generations of (mostly European) immigrants would steadily move up the class structure to eventually become a part of the "mainstream" (Telles, 2006:7). The extent to which post-1965

immigrants and their children are either assimilating into the United States or becoming a part of an ethnic underclass is a key theoretical and policy question in both the discipline and the wider political arena.

One key difference with these other newly arriving groups is that while Mexicans are an important part of the post-1965 wave, they are also a pivotal part of earlier waves. There has been a continual "replenishment" of this population throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century (Jiménez, 2008; 2010). This replenishment has an impact not only on how scholars assess generations but also on the lived reality and ethnic identity of Mexican immigrants in the United States.

Neither the overly positive or overly negative accounts of this group's assimilation and incorporation are entirely correct when it comes to accurately portraying the people in my study or the Mexican American experience in the twenty-first century more broadly. We must take into account how the incorporation experiences of this group are impacted by its internal diversity; this diversity can be seen in citizenship status, social class, residential location, skin color, generation, and language ability. This is a unique group in that Mexicans are also by a significant margin the highest percentage of the foreign born, constitute the highest percentage of those living with undocumented status, and are the largest share of the New Second Generation (children born to post-1965 immigrants). These children, who can be members of the 1.5 or second generation (and beyond), are the main focus of my dissertation.

Gonzales notes that at "no other point in the last century have immigrants represented such a significant percentage of the nation's population, and their children are the fastest growing segment of children under the age of eighteen" (Gonzales and Roth, 2015:1). I focus on

these children and these two groups in particular because of their importance now; understanding their experiences will tell us much about the future of immigrant integration generally.

Research Question, Argument, and Plan of Dissertation

It is important to clearly state the research question that spurred this dissertation. It relates to a significant issue that has been raised in academic literature and one that is passionately debated in the public, a point particularly evident in the build up to the 2016 presidential election. When it comes to the integration of immigrants, why are Mexicans not faring similarly to other groups? Specifically, why is it that Mexican Americans are faring worse on measures associated with economic and educational progress, particularly between the second and third generation? These questions have been addressed in hundreds of studies and have been discussed both by important figures in the discipline and in the wider intellectual and political arena. (Some of the more important studies include: Alba, 2006, 2009; Alba, Jiménez, and Marrow, 2014; Bean, 2003; Bean, Brown, and Rumbaut, 2006; Bean, Feliciano, Lee, and Van Hook, 2009; De Genova, 2002; Gonzales, 2011; Haller, Portes, and Lynch, 2011a, 2011b; Jiménez, 2008; Massey, 2009; Menjívar, 2000, 2006; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, 2006; Portes and Zhou, 1993, 2012; Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller, 2005; Rumbaut, 2005, 2008; Smith, 2005, 2015; Telles, 2006, 2010; Waldinger, 2001; Waldinger, Lim, and Cort, 2007; Waters and Jiménez, 2010; Zhou, 1997). My dissertation is able to contribute to this literature specifically through the institutional-based approach that highlights the simultaneous inclusion and exclusion immigrants can experience in the multiple worlds and spaces they inhabit.

I explore issues pertaining to whether immigrants and their children are either "assimilating" into the United States or becoming a part of an ethnic "underclass." I argue that incorporation is not simply a two-pronged pathway heading either toward the "mainstream" or

toward “the underclass.” Incorporation should instead be seen as a multidimensional process in which immigrants can move at different rates across distinct domains. Focusing on these specific domains, I explore the multiple incorporation pathways of my respondents that are influenced by factors including local context, birth cohort, and socioeconomic status. Perhaps most importantly, I find that undocumented status is an especially powerful force across these domains and a key mechanism that helps drive negative trajectories that scholars point to when looking at the Mexican American group as a whole. I study this issue through delving deeply into a world where people are made similar by a sport and dissimilar when stepping outside these confines. It is society, our laws, and even our healthcare system that has worked to sharpen the distinction between and within this population. These distinct status groups are vital to understanding the question of Mexican American integration.

The dissertation is attuned to the macro and micro levels involved in the process of incorporation: I focus on both life stories and individual experiences and the social world that exists at my fieldsite, the Mexican network more generally in Chicago, and the local, state, and federal laws that work in many ways to condition immigrant lives. I will trace these stories, focusing specifically on their perception and understanding of their experiences of incorporation, detailing in the process how they arrived in the city, how they found work, and where they first lived. Focusing on this micro level will highlight the significant impact undocumented status has on the lives of those in my study.

Two major reforms happened during this period that deeply impacted the lives of many Mexican Americans in Chicago. These reforms point to how divergent immigrant trajectories can occur as a result of factors that go beyond race and ethnicity; instead, they can be a result of political decisions (or indecisions) made by city, state, and federal governments (Tuohy and

Talen, 2017:374–76). When I began doing fieldwork in late 2012, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) was being intensely debated in Congress. DACA, which provides temporary relief from deportation for immigrants who have spent most of their lives in the United States (or the 1.5 generation who are often referred to as "the Dreamers"), was eventually passed, and many of the people in my study debated whether it was in their best interest to apply for it. The second piece of reform came with the Affordable Care Act (ACA). While this has had a positive impact in lowering the uninsured rate amongst the poor in the United States, it explicitly excluded the undocumented from participating in it. Conducting fieldwork in this community allowed me to witness firsthand how such federal reforms worked to "brighten the boundaries" between immigrants and how it had an effect in creating deserving and undeserving categories (Gonzalez, 2011; Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). These decisions have long-term effects on immigrants at the individual, family, and communal level (Bacallao and Smokowski, 2013). DACA and the ACA are two examples of how political reform can widen the gap between documented and undocumented immigrants. Healthcare and immigration are two of the most divisive issues in American politics, and in Chapter 6, I will show the significant health implications that immigration policies can have.

Chapter Overview

Chapter 1"That big white guy": Methodological Approach

The method of the dissertation, detailed in Chapter 1, is ethnographic and well suited to address the research question. My fieldwork has been mainly centered in Chicharito's, which has served as a second home for me in the five years I have spent there. It is a large soccer facility located in a predominantly Mexican neighborhood in Chicago that I call Nedved Town. It has been functioning since 1998, and the evening/night time activities are almost exclusively geared

towards and shared by Mexicans. Through hanging around, coaching, and playing on teams, I developed friendships and began to follow individual lives as they moved through the different neighborhoods and social world that is Mexican Chicago and beyond. The sport is mainly played by males at the facility and this, coupled with access issues that I discuss in this chapter, has led to my specific focus on male youth. These individuals are generally between the ages of 18–40 and they are either undocumented themselves or live in a family unit with undocumented members—this could be parents, siblings, or aunts, uncles, and cousins—the literature refers to this group as "mixed-status families." The ethnographic method is key in addressing these issues generally as the undocumented are a vulnerable population and difficult to access.

Chapter 2 Assimilation, Incorporation, and Integration of Mexican American Immigrants: A Literature Review

In Chapter 2 I provide a review of the voluminous literature on immigrant integration and explicitly detail the theoretical interventions of the dissertation. This review points to problems in the study of Mexican incorporation and concludes by building a pragmatic approach influenced specifically by the work of Herbert Gans and Feliz Garip that I follow in the remaining chapters. This approach recognizes the unique nature of the Mexican group through issues like replenishment, the power of undocumented status to alter incorporation trajectories, the multidimensional nature of the process that sees people moving forward in certain domains and not others, and the heterogeneity of the population more generally.

With the massive proliferation of literature on Mexico-US migration have come multiple theories attempting to explain who these immigrants are, why they come, and what happens to them once they arrive. Rather than put forth a singular idea or theory that best explains the answers to these questions, a more pertinent question is rather to "assume all explanations as equally plausible, and ask when and for whom each one might be most relevant" (Garip, 2017:4).

It also recognizes that the uniqueness of the population makes creating one unified correct theory to be both implausible and unnecessary. Focusing on context and the conditions of particular aspects of this group allows us to see important processes and mechanisms involved in immigrant integration. Not only is it important to focus on context, the dissertation also highlights the meaning that specific institutions play in building and maintaining community that lead to the production of a particular milieu that ultimately allows for a more nuanced picture of undocumented life in the United States today.

Chapter 3 Mexican Chicago: Local Context and Multiple Worlds of Incorporation

Chapter 3 discusses the role of local context and the production of this social milieu in more detail. While the ethnography focuses on a place, I do this in a nontraditional way. Mexican Chicago is a social world that exists in space and in the minds of people in my study. This world is not a definitive space with clearly marked boundaries that can be easily localized as done in traditional ethnographies of particular neighborhoods. It is also not simply the presence in Chicago of people that identify as Mexican. Rather, it is a world that exists in individuals' minds, comes alive through interaction, and one that is present in particular kinds of institutions. It emerges historically and from/through interaction in specific spaces. It is also a web of institutions and organizations that Mexican immigrants in the city interact with and utilize in various ways. These kinds of institutions and organizations include particular kinds of churches, health facilities, restaurants, schools, and places like Chicharito's. They serve the important purpose of allowing the undocumented a certain measure of freedom to move in and out of without the kind of fear associated in other institutions.

Driving a half mile from my house in the gentrifying neighborhood of Nedved Town to Chicharito's allows me to enter this different kind of world that is evident from more than the

language being spoken. It is the people who are here, the long history of this community, and the particular kind of cultural activity that is being played that all come together to produce this space as "Mexican." The contours of Mexican Chicago are impacted by the long history of immigration and the nature of replenishment.

I show how Mexican Americans do not simply integrate into American society, but they also incorporate into a particular world that has existed for more than a century and whose vibrancy is linked to Chicago being a major port of entry for Mexican immigrants. While the world is, of course, linked to the larger city and nation, it is one with an internal economy, institutions, and meanings that are brought to life for those who participate. Incorporating into this world and the city more generally leads to a discussion of bicultural competence and the importance of citizenship in traversing these multiple worlds. The undocumented 1.5 generation, in particular, can have highly developed bicultural competence but be limited to finding work within the confines of Mexican Chicago due to limitations imposed upon them by citizenship status; that is, they often find it difficult to translate bicultural competence into employment in the formal labor economy that requires, for instance, bilingual speakers.

To better understand the lives of those in my study, the chapter on Mexican Chicago also highlights the specific historical and socioeconomic contexts. These immigrants live in a world highly structured by immigration policy, and federal and state laws permeate their everyday existence. While undocumented immigrants and their family members face an enormity of challenges due to their status, the state of Illinois is actually one of the more progressive states when considering state laws that circumscribe the lives of those with this status. At the time of writing, undocumented children can receive healthcare through the Allkids initiative, undocumented college students can attend state school for in-state tuition rates, and

undocumented individuals can get driver's licenses. This is not the case in a majority of states (Hernández, 2012:525–28). We will see the impact that a shifting economy and socio-political landscape has had for this specific group and examine the role it has in the experiences these individuals have of their incorporation as well as how it differs from prior immigrant waves and groups. This historical analysis will demonstrate the role that policy changes, enacted at local levels, plays in incorporation pathways.

Chapter 4 Chicharito's Place: On Siting Replenishment

Chapter 3 helps us to understand the social context of Mexican Chicago. While it is necessary to understand this context, we must also be sensitive to the individual level of feelings, beliefs, and self-understandings that occur in incorporation. People make places, and Chapter 4 establishes a sense of place for the reader while also calling attention to the benefits of viewing replenishment within a physical space.

My fieldsite is an example of an institution in Mexican Chicago and a space where undocumented immigrants can feel comfortable interacting within. Here I show how soccer brings parts of this community together at a time when federal reforms (or a lack thereof) are working simultaneously to drive them apart. Soccer represents an ethnic activity and serves as the glue that binds many people in the network. It is a game that has its own flavor that can be seen as part of this Mexican network and identity.

This chapter makes an intervention in the literature on replenishment and Mexican immigrant incorporation. While theoretical and interview-based work on the importance of replenishment has been successfully done through the innovative work of Tomás Jiménez, I show why it is important to look at the specific spaces where the effects of the process through interaction and witnessing the role that social networks play in actual physical space can be seen

and analyzed. Replenishment creates and sustains the particular world that those in my study are being socialized and incorporated into.

Chapter 5"If only I had those 9 digits": On the Power of Undocumented Status

I discuss undocumented status specifically in Chapter 5 and the implications that result from living within a mixed-status community where one can experience simultaneous inclusion and exclusion. I focus this chapter on the experiences of the undocumented 1.5 and citizen-born second generation and detail the rising significance of citizenship status in creating clearly differentiated status groups for those with and without papers. I find that the 1.5 generation is similar in almost every respect to their second generation peers: they attend similar schools, have parents with similar levels of socioeconomic status and education, speak English relatively fluently, and have similar friendship networks. The main difference often lies in what many of my respondents refer to as being "without papers" or undocumented. The 1.5 generation is in an often almost impossible situation: socialized primarily in the United States yet treated as nonbeings by the state, they are forced to enter the world of their undocumented first generation parents when they turn eighteen. This is a world their socialization has not prepared them for, one with informal labor markets and often informal health care. This lack of preparation often had devastating impacts on the psychological outlook of those in my study. I find that such federal and state policies that work to distinguish deserving and undeserving immigrants can create feelings of anomie for individuals who are formally obstructed from belonging to a society that they were raised in. The psychological impact of undocumented status for this generation is related to what I find as a distinct advantage for those in the second generation. Those who are born in the United States can have a sense of belonging to two countries, whether that be through accessing Mexico's healthcare system or traveling for family vacations, whereas those who are

in the 1.5 generation often feel a sense of belonging to neither. I also call attention in this chapter to the heterogeneity that exists more generally within the undocumented population related to time of arrival and historical context. I conclude this chapter by examining how experiences in the educational domain are impacted by generational and citizenship status and point to the benefits of studying integration by looking at specific domains.

Chapter 6 Health Without Papers: Immigration, Health, and Citizenship in the Twenty-First Century

In Chapter 6, I show how experiences with the healthcare system in this group challenges traditional models of incorporation found in previous literature. While scholarship has begun to focus on different institutions important in immigrant integration, like education and employment, little work to date has centered on experiences these immigrants have with the healthcare system. In this chapter, I show how those in the 1.5 generation often received access to healthcare before age eighteen but would suddenly lose such access when they became adults and "found out" that they were "illegal." I provide further data from my research on mixed-status families, and I find that in the healthcare domain, citizenship and second generation status can mean different things for a child with undocumented parents than it can for children of citizen parents. In the health domain, I find that this is due mainly to low levels of health literacy coupled with fear that their undocumented parents have of interacting with healthcare institutions.

Through my chapter on health and the impact of the ACA, I show how undocumented status can be institutionalized both socially and through governmental policies. Examining the experiences of undocumented immigrants in the health care domain is one illustration of why the treatment of this group constitutes one of the great civil rights issues of our day. Underutilizing

the healthcare system is significantly associated with worse health outcomes, higher mortality rates, and worse health crises throughout one's life.

I make the argument that recent healthcare reforms have worked to further sharpen the divide between young immigrant men in the 1.5 and second generation. Although these groups are raised in similar circumstances and share much in common, I will show how widely different experiences with the healthcare system has led to a hardening of the distinction of being, as many of my informants note, "without papers." The second generation are shown to have more options, including traveling back to Mexico for healthcare, whereas the 1.5 generation, upon reaching adulthood, are far more limited in their ability to seek care. Thus, such reform has further worked to sharpen the distinction between immigrants with and without citizenship in ways that have significant health implications now and in the future (Galarneau, 2011; Ortega, Rodriguez, and Vargas Bustamante, 2015). This analysis contributes to an understanding of immigrant health as well as legal processes of exclusion.

Conclusion: "In their hearts and in their minds."

In my concluding chapter, I begin with two vignettes about what life is like for undocumented immigrants, particularly in the post-Trump era. I then move to a summary of the main theoretical interventions of the dissertation, including a discussion of the increasing significance of citizenship status in creating distinct status groups, the importance of particular spaces and institutions where undocumented immigrants can interact and feel comfortable, and how looking within specific domains—including health—demonstrates the benefits of researchers seeing integration from a multidimensional perspective. One theory or perspective is not sufficient alone to account for the diverse experiences of this group: context, citizenship, and

individual characteristics require an approach to immigrant integration that makes use of multiple theoretical approaches rather than dogmatically following the tenants of one theory.

Limitations

It is important to point out limitations to this analysis. Anticipating general criticisms from more quantitatively oriented sociologists, I recognize that this is not a "representative" sample of Mexican Americans. As opposed to "statistical significance," this dissertation aims to achieve "societal significance" by highlighting process and unpacking mechanisms associated with the incorporation experiences of this vital immigrant group (Small, 2009:22). In other words, I identify this as a case of a broader phenomenon of incorporation and unpack processes and mechanisms involved in this experience. The depth of immersion and fieldwork will help to achieve the kind of methodological sophistication that Mario Small speaks of when he refers to the importance of "interpreting meaning of respondents' statements within their cultural contexts" (Small, 2009:12). Another potential limitation is that I focus almost exclusively on the voice, thoughts, experiences, and lives of men. Gender is an important part of the immigrant experience (Parrado and Flippen, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2001; Pessar and Mahler, 2003). As such, my dissertation strives to achieve this "societal significance" specifically with regards to better understanding the experience of men. To do this, I attempt to accurately capture the life experiences and social/cultural world that this network exists within.

A note on terminology is also in order—assimilation, incorporation, acculturation, and integration are often used interchangeably in the literature. When I use assimilation in the dissertation, I am mainly referencing the lengthy history of literature on the topic and the terminology that prior scholars used, as these earlier researchers were mainly referring to the process whereby members of ethnic minority groups become socialized and embedded in a new

host society and would supposedly become more like the dominant cultural group. During this earlier period of scholarship, the dominant cultural group usually referred to the white, middle class (Alba and Nee, 2003:1–5). This concept was heavily criticized beginning in the 1960s, and other terms have been used to describe similar processes including adaptation, incorporation, or acculturation. I am most interested, though, in what actual immigrants think of the general process these concepts are meant to describe and will use their words when describing these experiences. Chapter 2 focuses on these terminological issues at more length.

Conclusion

This dissertation examines ideas associated with literature on immigrant integration and the process of incorporation through ethnographic fieldwork in a soccer world. By looking at a specific subset of this one particular immigrant group, I am interested in unpacking the mechanisms associated with actual individuals' experience of this process. The fate of this group and the question of the extent to which they are assimilating in the United States or becoming stuck in an ethnic underclass is of extreme policy significance, and the dissertation seeks to help us better understand factors that lead to particular routes of integration and make sense of the different life trajectories we see. The increasing significance of citizenship status in creating clearly differentiated status groups has serious implications and is vital to understanding these issues.

Through the method I employ, I have been able to closely examine how undocumented status is negotiated within the community and in individual lives. I will discuss what it means to not simply live with this status but also, for instance, to live within a family that has a mixture of the documented and undocumented or to have friends in one's social network who can do things— such as traveling on an airplane—that they cannot. At my fieldsite, we will see that

uncertainty, fear, and a lack of understanding of legal process characterize the experiences of those who are undocumented. Before turning to a review of the literature, let us now move to an in-depth description of my methods.

CHAPTER 1

"That big white guy": METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Fieldnote January 11, 2013

I remember my first league game vividly. José Luis had seen me play in a *cascarita* session and asked me afterwards whether I could play for his friend's (Jesús) team, "the Sharks." I was excited about the opportunity—I had waited about a month and had been trying to figure out a way to get onto a league team. They were playing the following night, a Thursday. I arrived fifteen minutes early to the game and stretched mainly by myself to avoid the awkwardness that my presence seemed to generate. While José Luis clearly liked me, I had not met the other eight players on the team, and they seemed curious about my presence. José Luis smoothed this over a bit by saying "I was a good guy" and that I was "good" (as a player).

This kind of experience was something that was not new to me (though writing about it and seeing it as a method of access to a research question I was interested in certainly was). I have joined new teams wherever I lived over the past fifteen years: from suburban New Jersey to Rochester, Dublin, Washington DC, Oxford, and now, Chicago. These experiences, particularly my initiation to Trinity College Dublin's squad in Ireland, proved helpful in the sense that I "knew" what I had to do to be accepted in this group. A combination of the following was necessary: to play well and be seen as an asset to the team along with playing in a particular style. This style can be characterized as one where you do not "hog" the ball; you pass when it is appropriate, you take responsibility for the duties of your position (i.e., playing defense when it was needed), you play "hard" (that is, where you show that you are giving maximum effort), and you are prepared to "stick up" for your teammates if such a moment arose that required your support (i.e., a fight or hostile action on the part of the opposing team). I knew all of this before

heading into the game, but I nevertheless felt a level of nerves that I had not experienced since my first training session for the University of Rochester. Looking back, I see these nerves as a combination of my conscious awareness that I was not as "good" as I used to be coupled with the (perceived) impact I believe my presence was having on this situation ("You look different you know … you are white and you are huge," a friend later recalled).

I started the game (as opposed to coming off the bench), a decision made by Jesús that was clearly the result of José Luis reporting that I was "good." I tried to get into the game but felt like the nerves wouldn't quite go away. Our team then won a free kick near where I was running, and I tried to quickly take it. Something then happened that had never occurred in my entire career (both with regards to practices and games): while running up to the ball I had not decided whether I wanted to shoot or pass, and completely mis-hit it as a result. The ball went straight to the opposing team and caused a counter attack. Fortunately, the counter did not result in a goal, and I knew that I needed to do something quickly to make people forget what had just happened. About thirty seconds later, Jesús got the ball near the halfway line, and I made a sharp diagonal run while calling for the ball. He played a delicately weighted pass that allowed me to hit the ball first time, and when I connected I knew immediately that it was a quality, "pure" hit. The goalie dove, but it flew past his fingertips and hit off the post before going in. I heard shouts of approval from my teammates and felt a sense of relief. From that moment, I began to feel more comfortable and knew that this kind of fieldwork was possible.

Introduction

My dissertation work is in the tradition of ethnography. Ethnographic studies that examine immigrant group incorporation have a long and illustrious history in sociology. These studies have been important in helping us to understand the everyday world of immigrants and

their children as they "become American" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 2004; Gans, 1962; Foner, 2001; Kasinitz, 1992; Waters, 1996; Itzigsohn, 2009). Ethnography allows for the in-depth examination of daily decisions and life experiences wherein integration, acculturation, and assimilation take place. Through analyzing these experiences, this method is able to look at and highlight important features of these processes. It is through the everyday decisions, interactions, and experiences that individuals resist, reshape, and interact with patterns of incorporation.

The dissertation draws on multiple qualitative methods including an ethnography of a soccer facility, ethnographic interviews, and participant observation in the Mexican network I have identified. These different methods, which include over five years of fieldwork, provide an in-depth look into this population that is of increasing importance for public policy and scholars alike. This is not a traditional neighborhood ethnography as the processes of interest are not bounded at a geographical level—I put forth the idea of a Mexican Chicago, which exists in the minds of participants and comes alive in and through interaction at spaces like my fieldsite, Chicharito's Place.

The methodological approach of the dissertation is also guided by the logic of case study—my study is on one part of one immigrant ethnic group in a particular city and is focused primarily on men. The strength of such a study is that it allows for full immersion and an in-depth knowledge of my particular case and the socio-political context it is found within. I attempt to overcome the generalizability issue through this immersion and by thoroughly engaging with existing literature and theory. This case study tests existing theories in the literature, particularly those of canonical assimilation, "new" assimilation, and segmented assimilation theory in an attempt to better understand mechanisms and factors associated with the underlying processes involved. With this sufficient grounding in the empirical and theoretical

literature, my dissertation weighs findings against both theories and ideas in the field to build upon our existing theoretical knowledge.

With an interest in immigration and community change, I decided in the summer of 2012 to move to the Nedved Town neighborhood in Chicago, a predominantly Mexican American neighborhood that is widely considered to be undergoing the process of gentrification. I wanted to study Mexican Americans in particular due to how important the group is with respect to population size and how prominent they are in policy debates. As a qualitative researcher and ethnographer, I searched for a place that would provide access to a community where I could fit in. Given my own particular background, I knew that a soccer center would be a good choice, and I found myself going to Chicharito's Place often nightly several times a week beginning in December of 2012. My first fieldnote from this facility was on December 10, 2012:

> Alongside mainly factory buildings and empty spaces, this seems to be a strange location for such a large soccer facility. Two double doors with various advertisements in Spanish greet me, and there is a long winding walk that leads into the actual facility. On this walk I am immediately struck by the paintings and murals on the walls—some of famous Mexican soccer clubs like "Chivas" or "America" are alongside Mexican jerseys and club teams. There are also large signs for the Tiny Strikers soccer club, a company that probably holds its sessions within these walls. Seeing the actual door into the playing arena, I think to myself that the building kind of has that "feel" that only a facility that dedicates itself to soccer can have.

From this initial visit, I began to attend more regularly, and I was able to gain access primarily through my background as a player. Soccer can be understood through different lenses, whether it be through watching, playing, coaching, refereeing, or organizing the leagues where the activity occurs. Prior playing ability and coaching and referee experience offered a unique avenue into many different aspects of the sport.

Gaining Access

I came to be embedded in this facility and social world through my experience and knowledge of the sport of soccer. Given the racial and ethnic homogeneity present in the leagues

at Chicharito's, I found gaining access to be relatively difficult initially. White people, even soccer players, are extremely rare: two of my longer term connections noted that "I never saw a white person at Chicharito's before" and "I didn't understand why you kept coming around." While access is something that I believe is continually negotiated, my ability to play at a decent level coupled with my genuine interest in the sport has made becoming a part of this community much easier and has allowed for interaction to become more natural. Through this soccer background, I was able to begin to play in late night *cascarita* sessions where anywhere between fifteen to forty-five people would come to play between 11:00 p.m to 2:30 a.m. *Cascarita* is a Spanish word that can be translated to the American English "pick up." Unlike leagues and when groups of people rent a field, *cascarita*/pick up sessions are those where anyone can theoretically come and play. The types of people who would attend such a gathering (which is more popular in colder weather due to the limited amount of spaces to play) are mixed: there are those who work very late hours and cannot play in leagues, those who are looking for something more informal and "less serious" than leagues, and those who just want to play an extra game.

Apart from playing in these *cascarita* sessions at night, my initial entrée into the facility was provided through serving as a coach for a company I call Tiny Strikers. This company, which uses soccer as a tool in child development programming and caters to a more upper-middle-class population, used the space in the morning from 2008 to late 2016. I was eventually able to gain full access to the facility by meeting coaches and office workers who were involved in the transition that occurs when Tiny Strikers ends and league play begins. It was essential that I could contribute to a team and be considered an asset—without this the fieldwork simply could not have been conducted. General soccer knowledge (including about global football leagues and clubs, the history of the sport, prominent players, and current events) also allowed me to

communicate with people and gave me a legitimate reason to be there. The data in this study relies primarily on fieldwork. I spent over five years mainly at the facility, often for four to five nights a week. As I got to know particular individuals, I told them about my "book project" and asked if I could discuss their lives in more detail with them. This was often informal: meetings over lunch, watching World Cup or English Premier League games, and attending Thanksgiving meals or Quinceañearas. We would discuss issues ranging from the mundane to the serious: from the eternal debate over which international footballing star was better, Ronaldo or Messi, to politics, fears of deportation, and thoughts of suicide. My level of familiarity with the individuals at Chicharito's varies as some connections were more intense than others and some older than others. This depends on factors including whether individuals were teammates or opponents and when they started playing at Chicharito's.

An example of these different kinds of connections will be illustrative: I have played for a team on Sunday nights the past three years that is run by Mr. C, the owner of the facility. Mr. C likes a mixture of what he calls "young kids" (high school students who have the potential to play in college) with some more experienced players. Mr. C, who in the fall of 2016 took a part-time position as an assistant coach of a local NAIA school, has a specific mission for his teams: to help the high school kids realize how they can use soccer to benefit their lives. When they are in their final year of school, he often uses his network connections to get them tryouts with local universities, community colleges, or with the team he now coaches. Over the years, I have played with about twenty-five different players on this specific team (which usually played on Sunday or Monday nights), and there are six such players (three 1.5 generation undocumented, three second generation) I have seen go from juniors in high school to freshman players at a local

college. While the core group of players generally stays the same, there are new members of the team every season. I thus start new connections with players when these seasons start.

After I made a few connections and certain people saw me as a potential asset to their team, I decided early on during fieldwork that I would play on several different teams throughout the week. This ensured that I would gain access to more individuals in a context that was deeper than simply playing *cascarita* or "pickup" soccer. There are unique social features of being on a team that would bring me closer to people as we would have weekly games and often hang out afterwards. This had methodological and personal benefits as I was exposed to more people and became a part of the facility and team units that I enjoyed. Over the past five years, I have played on nine different teams (each indoor team has usually eight to twelve players). I also played outdoor in the summer of 2013 and 2014 on three different teams. Outdoor soccer is generally 11v11 (that is, there are at least eleven players on each team due to the larger field size), and games were held throughout the city of Chicago. This activity enabled me to meet and interact with an additional thirty players and also gave me access to different parts of Mexican Chicago outside of Chicharito's.

Since the initial *cascarita* sessions, I have spent approximately fifteen hours a week (often more, sometimes less) at the facility and participating in activities associated with the network generally. I have written daily fieldnotes about my observations and experiences. My usual method was to speak into "voice memos" on my iPhone while at the facility and listen/write them down later that night. I would also periodically email myself sentences or ideas throughout the night so that I could remember particular details while writing up fieldnotes. Due to the undocumented status of many of the players and coaches I met, gaining access was difficult, and I could not aim for a random sample. The ethnographic approach, though, is

important because it allows us to see how undocumented status and living in these communities is experienced by these men themselves. I ensured confidentiality at multiple points in the data collection process. All names and places have been anonymized in both this dissertation and my private fieldnotes.

I have conducted hundreds of "ethnographic conversations" and have also interviewed the main participants and regulars on multiple occasions. Apart from this, I have done other ethnographic interviews with people who are more peripherally located within my own personal network. Through these interviews and conversations I have learned, among other things, about daily life, the texture of Mexican Chicago and the fears of deportation, the anxiety that is caused by being in mixed-status families, the desire to work and "be normal," and the inability to do so without citizenship. The conversations and experiences of these young men often surprised me, particularly with respect to racism towards other groups or other Mexicans (based on skin color, language ability, or where in Mexico they came from) and some of their political beliefs. As a researcher I tried to follow the best traditions in our field and attempted to influence the conversations as minimally as possible to allow my informants to directly communicate their thoughts and feelings related to different processes of interest. Direct quotations in this text are either from transcripts of interviews or fieldnotes written after conversations in the field.

It is important to discuss the concept of ethnographic interviewing, which has been of such importance to this study. Formal interviews have the potential of altering the dynamic and relationship between researcher and those they study. Not desiring to change the power dynamic, I focused on using ethnographic conversations or interviews during my time. These were often done in an informal and semi-structured way. As I began to analyze my data, I would prepare questions on emerging themes of interest. I would then use those questions, when appropriate,

while doing fieldwork. They were thus more natural than a formal structured interview. For instance, for my health-related work detailed in Chapter 6, I would focus on reactions to injuries and behavior generally. I would follow up and ask more probing questions when it was important and appropriate. While some did tell me that I "asked a lot of questions," I would do it in such a way that attempted to convey genuine interest in their lives, thought processes, and experiences.

However, the ethnographic method goes beyond simply interviewing in that I was able to witness the daily life experiences of these individuals and their reactions to events as they occurred. Partly because of the extended amount of time spent doing research, many individuals at my fieldsite invited me into their own social worlds as well as that of their peers, families, communities, work, and legal worlds. I quickly found that what occurs at Chicharito's is only a portion of the story my informants wanted to reveal. I have thus employed what Mitch Duneier labels "extended place" ethnography (Duneier, 2001). As my dissertation seeks to examine individuals' interaction with more than the world at Chicharito's, it was important to follow individuals as they navigate different institutions in their day-to-day lives. My research examines the network that exists both within and beyond that of Chicharito's Place. With regards to an issue like replenishment, I see it as "in" Chicharito's as well as "in" work, school, and other institutions. My research carried me to those places to see what role it was playing in the incorporation process more generally. Replenishment alone does not explain this world, and more is needed; this is why I developed Mexican Chicago as a series of spaces where replenishment (and other processes) can be seen in action.

The extended length of fieldwork also allows me to see the web of connections and the things that matter in people's lives. People treated me differently, especially in the beginning.

Some were unfriendly, some were excited to talk to someone different, and others wanted a favor or saw an opportunity, as noted in an early fieldnote two months into my research:

> Manza, a 45-year-old goalkeeper whose best playing days are well behind him, doesn't speak fluent English, but I can tell that he is curious about me and wants to be friendly. After the game the team—the Sharks (many in the squad have started calling me "white Shark" due to my skin color) were all sitting around drinking Victorias, a popular Mexican beer, when he approached me to ask whether I was dating anyone … I responded that I was not … he then excitedly responded: "Oh, I have a cousin for you! She is great … only one kid … she has a big bottom, you know, like a horse! She is kind of white, you know, like you … from Guadalajara."

I later learned that Manza had sponsored this cousin's trip to the United States and paid for her crossing and helped her to find work and housing. He had a strong desire for her to do well, and in later conversations, he would go on to tell me how hard he was trying to find her a suitable mate.

Importance of Playing on League Teams

When I became more of a regular in the *cascarita* sessions, people started to ask me to play on their league teams, and with this began a deeper embeddedness within this world. Playing on league teams was important for several reasons. The act and process of being on a team has significant implications for the building of friendships and connections within the unit as the group is involved in a common purpose and aim. These teams often have a history that matters to the individuals involved. For instance, one team I joined up with and played with for the nine indoor seasons of Fall, Winter, Spring and Summer (excluding times when I was injured with a torn meniscus in August 2016), was called "the Sucios," which means "dirty" in Spanish with sexual connotations; most individuals have a name on their jerseys that is "dirty" in this way. It consisted of men who have been playing together for the past decade or so. The age range of this group of about eight regulars is between nineteen and thirty-eight; depending on the quality of our opponents, two of the players often brought their little brother, who was fourteen

years old when I began playing with them. They formed the team in high school, and the team is a part (even if small) of their identity and experience in Mexican Chicago. Some teams have an even lengthier history than this, and some individuals are connected to teams that they have been playing on since they were as young as four and five.

The individuals on the Sucios are all very close. When one of the players got married last summer, one teammate was a best man, four others were in the wedding, and everyone else was invited. Forms of bonding happen on the field and after the games, sometimes including going out drinking and other times just hanging out discussing the game, their lives, and the world in general. The period after the games is where the vast majority of my fieldwork happened. Examining my interactions with this team provides a good illustration of my main data collection method. Of the eight regulars on this team, five are second generation and three are 1.5 generation and undocumented (two of whom have DACA status). While I employed ethnographic interviewing with all of these teammates, I also was able to access unique data that happens as a simple result of hanging around for a long time. The continual interaction over a lengthy period would provide stronger connections generally, new insights, as well as live reactions to events of interest. By hanging out weekly, I could, for instance, follow up on reactions and thoughts on the controversial 2016 presidential election.

I am a regular on three other teams and have played on average four nights a week: these have included Lecheros City (Milkmen), Sharks, Atletico Espanol (Mr. C's team), and La Bamba (sponsored by a local restaurant). My involvement has also diversified within the facility and beyond, as along with playing on several league teams I have served as a coach and referee for the popular youth leagues and also worked as a security guard. Playing on these teams and

participating in the life of the facility generally provided access to hundreds of individuals at different stages of incorporation.

Other Roles: Refereeing

Most of the roles I assumed during fieldwork came naturally, whether as a player, coach, friend, or fan of the sport. Others proved more difficult, especially refereeing. I noticed early on that Sundays were a particularly vibrant day in that intergenerational networks were present, and I could clearly see the socialization of children into Mexican Chicago occurring. This was difficult to witness, though, as I had no "legitimate" reason for being at Chicharito's on Sundays, and I was consciously aware of how it might be slightly odd for a single, white adult male to watch games where children are playing. Since I had a referee license and prior experience in this role, I thus decided to referee (or "ref"). I was initially surprised at how easy it was to acquire such work, which was relatively well paying compared to other jobs at Chicharito's and in the Mexican soccer network more generally. Games consisted of two 17-minute halves and would generally last about forty minutes total and paid the following rates: Adult male league games ($25), Adult female games ($20), high school games ($20), and youth games ($15). Jesús and Miguel Angel, two first-generation undocumented immigrants who work exclusively as referees, get paid "under the table" and make a decent living. Jesús reported that he could make anywhere between $400 and $800 per week cash, depending on how many games he officiates.

I quickly learned that this job was relatively easy to acquire because of how difficult the work actually is. This difficulty is due to a variety of reasons. First, one cannot "win" as a referee—the ref is most often either not noticed (which is a good thing) or is seen as bad. Due to self-interest, both teams are extremely biased as to what happens during the course of the game,

and improperly dealing with the tension that exists in these games can lead to all sorts of problems. An example from a fieldnote will illustrate this:

Fieldnote May 15, 2015

Antonio asked me to ref a high school game on a Saturday—I was initially reluctant as I had decided to stop refereeing but decided to do it as a favor. This reluctance is also related to the fights I have seen in this particular age group: as the kids get older, the culture of having to win tinged with the particular aura of masculinity leads to these situations of higher tensions in games. As the game began, I noticed that the teams clearly did not like each other, and they began fouling early. The game was beginning to get more "chippy," and this escalated when a player from one of the teams excessively celebrated a goal by running past the opponent's bench. After one particularly bad foul, I gave a blue card[1] (equivalent to a yellow, given as a warning) and told the two captains of the teams that they needed to stop or more cards would follow. I gave them both eye contact and tried to establish my authority—but I could tell that they did not really accept this. On the very next play one of the players ran the length of the field and slide-tackled an opponent from behind; the deliberate nature of this was a clear red card. I did not have time to issue a red card, though, as the tackle led to both benches clearing. Punches were thrown and one fifteen-year-old player was hit in the side of the head (the player who threw this punch was banned from Chicharito's for two years but not charged with an assault). It took security

[1] Blue cards result in a two-minute penalty where the team of the individual issued the card will be short-handed (i.e., "down a man"). More serious fouls are given red cards, which result in expulsion from the game and a minimum two-game suspension (this varies based on the severity and nature of the incident). Mr. C will often review red cards on video (the premises and fields are being recorded at all times). Examples of blue card infringements include talking back to a referee in an especially insulting and aggressive manner, fouling from behind, deliberately fouling, fouling with excessive force, "trash talk" towards opponents, playing with too many men on the field (usually happens due to an accident when players sub each other out). Red cards are any serious infringement of the rules and include an excessively bad foul, elbowing, or especially virulent abuse of a referee (or most kinds of assault generally). The most common reason for a red card was fighting.

about a minute to break up the teams (a minute is a *very* long time in such a situation), and as there was only two minutes left in the game I decided to end it early and walked off the field.

The culture of the sport will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. While such situations were sometimes difficult for me to handle, being a referee in the facility provided an important level of access to Sunday activities, which proved to be critical for several of the arguments of the dissertation, including better understanding the intergenerational socialization of children into the world of Mexican Chicago and the idea that people incorporate into multiple worlds. While it was important to have access to the Sunday activities, I decided early on in fieldwork that I would avoid such situations and refereeing due to the potential for problems. I refereed for one season (sixteen weeks) in the fall of 2014 and was able to meet enough individuals and establish a connection where I could attend on those days without refereeing.

Playing on teams, though, is where I gathered the most data, and such work did not come without challenges. I came to care deeply about my status as a player in the network and always wanted to contribute to my team positively and be seen as an asset. I often found myself depressed after losses, especially when they came in games where I played poorly. On these teams I always played "up top" (otherwise known as a "forward" or "striker"). In this position my responsibility was always clear, and I took it seriously: to score goals. I found myself caring about where I was on the goal scoring charts (*lider de goleo*) and paid attention to it weekly. These concerns are, of course, minor when compared with the challenges that those in my study face daily, but it speaks to the type of participant observation I conducted. I looked forward to going to Chicharito's, particularly the Monday and Tuesday night men's team (Lecheros City and Sucios United respectively) that I played most regularly for that had the most consistent identity in terms of the same players attending every week.

Sport, Race, and Participant Observation

Whiteness and general outsiderness is not something that I believe is ever really overcome, and gaining access is something I saw as a continual process, especially as new seasons often meant new teammates. Though it was often helpful that people were curious about my presence, I see my race as something that was initially a barrier to access and now as something that I continually negotiate. Race is an extremely important factor in my dissertation, and I have attempted in my analysis to be self-reflexive and to consider how my presence as a tall, white male with limited Spanish language ability was influencing the situation.

For instance Jorge, a second generation talented young man who was twenty-one years old when we met, will rarely have a conversation with me when he does not mention something about my race. Early on in our friendship, he asked to take pictures with me to show he is "friends with a white guy." This was in jest—but it also had meaning in that my presence and whiteness were impacting the social situation. Being "on a team" creates a particular kind of camaraderie, but who I was and where I came from still was important. The simple fact that must be kept in mind is that Jorge and many others had not had much interaction with many white people outside of school authority figures in their lives. The neighborhood Jorge grew up in is segregated, the schools he went to were almost entirely Hispanic and Mexican, the teams he played for were all in Mexican Chicago, and the factory he works at with his father consists of predominantly Mexicans and Central Americans. As with a few other friendships in the facility, my connection to Jorge grew stronger by playing on the same team and socializing after games.

My outsider status is one that did have its advantages—people often find it necessary to explain things that would otherwise be assumed to be known by an in-group member. Throughout my time I also demonstrated a sincere interest in what was happening in people's

lives, and I do not think that this is something that can be feigned. This is difficult to describe in terms of "method." The way I would explain this is related to my particular philosophical understanding of how to best comprehend "meaning" in individual's lives—what Leo Tolstoy referred to in his *My Confession* as getting to the notion of "that by which men live" (Tolstoy, 1882). It is centered in the simple yet vital recognition that every individual being we encounter exists within his or her own "world." This is a mental world that has developed since birth, one where he or she uniquely experiences life, emotions, love, and pain. This is a world that is real and only fully understandable to the individuals themselves, but can nevertheless be accessed by others with time and effort. I always tried to be sensitive to these worlds while doing fieldwork. Apart from grasping the larger social context and understanding the institutions these individuals interact with, I am also deeply curious about their understandings of life and what it is that makes their life "meaningful."

I have also attempted to take the advice Mario Small imparts in his article "De-Exoticizing Ghetto Poverty" (Small, 2015). Small argues that there is a need to focus on "everyday life" in a way that avoids stereotypes. Ethnographic work must show individuals as more than the "sum of their problems," and we should strive to present their lives in a way that is empathetic and as complex as these lives actually are in reality. I have attempted to do this through being forthright about my research and by conveying genuine interest in people's experience.

Conclusion: Getting to know Mexican Chicago

Leagues at Chicharito's Place represent one slice of a network in the Mexican community in Chicago. It is a world that people in my study integrate into along with the "mainstream" that many theoretical models use when considering the abstract question of degree of "assimilation."

This Mexican community is a long-standing ethnic network that has existed throughout the twentieth century and into the present day. It is also a world that has become even more vibrant over time through the process of replenishment. It is not a "world" that people consciously label, but one that is particularly apparent to an outsider as they attempt to learn the rules and expectations within it. It is apparent in "big" things, like the language used and the symbols that are present to the naked eye (Our Lady of Guadalupe is a prominent image in many of the restaurants and stores in Nedved Town, for instance). It was also evident in smaller things that I found extremely difficult early on. One example of this was how people greeted each other (which is something I still sometimes get wrong). There is a particular form of hand greeting that I had not done before between two males of comparable status where one does an open-handed slap that then transitions to a "pound." To avoid awkwardness, I now consciously make a pound fist as early as possible to alert the other individual of what I would like to do. From one of my earliest fieldnotes:

> After changing, I step onto the field and see four players getting ready for this *cascarita* session—they are Mexican males between the age of 18–25, and I recognize one of them from the other time I played. I was not sure of this recognition, but when his eyes catch mine I see them light up with a sense of familiarity—he shouts "*Irelanda*, you're back!" (I wore an Ireland jersey the last time I had played), and when he walks over to me, he makes a move to greet me but I am confused as to what he is expecting. I go in for a "pound" but his hand is awaiting a "normal shake"—I got it quite wrong. This made for an awkward form of social contact (one feels weird pounding someone's palm), and I tried to immediately move away from this awkwardness by pretending to stretch my hamstrings.

The majority of these individuals were raised in ethnically segregated neighborhoods and attended segregated schools where the student body was either mainly Hispanic (and predominantly Mexican) or Hispanic and African American. This is a "slice" of the Mexican Chicago network in that it is an ethnographic examination of a portion of this world where the main connecting activity is the sport of soccer. This is an enormously popular sport within the

Mexican community generally, and it is a part of the cultural life of this population in Chicago. The ethnographic work and participant observation I have conducted over the past five years is part of a methodological toolkit I have employed in order to study a group that is difficult to access. I highlight the life stories of individuals located at different stages of incorporation in order to examine and unpack processes and mechanisms associated with divergent life trajectories as well as the differences they see in "becoming American." These conversations and interviews teased out the idea of assimilation as a two-way street where immigrants both influence and have an influence on their host society (Gonzales, 2011). In the chapters that follow, I describe the process involved in how people incorporate and co-navigate these worlds. Before moving to this context, we will now return to a review of the literature and the state of the field in order to situate my research in the broader intellectual tradition it is a part of.

CHAPTER 2

THE INCORPORATION OF MEXICAN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The process involved in the incorporation of immigrants into host societies has been an important element in sociological thought throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. Theories have evolved and been refined with the new era of immigration, which is generally agreed to have been ushered in with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. The most dominant of these theories has been that of classical assimilation, but these models have evolved to account both for flaws and historical changes to immigration patterns.

Richard Alba notes that the particular case of Mexican-American immigration "requires that we move beyond our conventional approach to research … [as] this approach leads to contradiction across multiple research, who vary in the support they find for different theories … and the competing adherents frequently butt heads as each side in the dispute attempts to marshal the preponderance of the evidence for its ideas" (Alba, 2017:646–47). Mexican-US migration is "no doubt the most analyzed international migration in the world" (Alba, 2017:645). This chapter reviews some of these theories, but rather than seeing them as pitted against one another, it adopts the perspective that they can be complementary when we consider circumstances and context. Herbert Gans recognized this in his earlier writing, and Feliz Garip's most recent work argues for this more pragmatic approach to theory building and testing, particularly with regards to this difficult and diverse population. Circumstances and context matter deeply and rather than focus on the centrality of a particular theory, we must, as Garip notes, "identify specific conditions that affect specific groups of individuals" (Garip, 2017:18). I do this by looking at a specific Mexican American soccer network and the experiences individuals have within it when integrating into domains, including health and education. I contribute to this literature by

showing how citizenship status is leading to the creation of specific status groups and by clearly demonstrating the multidimensional nature of the process through my analysis of the healthcare domain. Doing so allows us to see distinct mechanisms where we can construct a theory valid within that domain and "under a specific set of conditions" (Alba, 2017:647).

Through a review of the literature, this chapter will lay the groundwork upon which the rest of the dissertation will be built. This effort will provide us with the tools to better explain both the life stories of the people we meet in the dissertation and the contributions of my work more generally. I will begin by explaining the history of the literature on assimilation, spending time specifically on the three major theoretical approaches: classical assimilation, "new" assimilation, and segmented assimilation. The approach that I lay out here builds most notably on the recent work of Tomas Jiménez and Roberto Gonzales. Following this, I will move to a conclusion detailing the three keys to the approach I employ in my dissertation. This approach is one that attempts to account for the role of undocumented status, is sensitive to the role that local context and historical change plays in immigrant trajectories, and recognizes incorporation as a multidimensional process. Through examining specific institutions and the social milieu of Mexican Chicago, I also highlight simultaneous inclusion and exclusion that adds a more nuanced understanding of undocumented life.

Major Theoretical Approaches

The dominant theoretical model that has been used to understand immigrant adaptation in the social sciences throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century has been that of assimilation (Zhou, 1997; Waters and Jiménez, 2005). We will now move to a review of the three main strands of assimilation theory: Canonical Assimilation, Segmented Assimilation, and "New" Assimilation theory.

Canonical Assimilation

The idea of assimilation as a "straight-line" progression of immigrant groups to the mainstream can be found in what is often referred to as the canonical account of assimilation. General features of this canonical account include the idea that progression was inevitable, and over time immigrants would come to be more like the mainstream in terms of socioeconomic factors while adopting its values and behaviors. In "setting a new agenda for sociology," the beginnings of assimilation theory is usually traced to the writings of Robert Park and the early Chicago school scholars who were concerned with the incorporation of European immigrant groups at the turn of the twentieth century, as seen for instance in Thomas and Znaniecki's classic work (Waters and Jiménez, 2005; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1984). The canonical account itself, though, is notably found in perhaps the most influential book in the field to date, Milton Gordon's 1964 publication of *Assimilation in American Life* (Gordon, 1964; Hirschmann, 1983). In this work, Gordon divides assimilation into seven subprocesses that relate to each other sequentially in three stages of cultural assimilation or acculturation (adopting values of the "core culture" or mainstream), structural assimilation (entering dominant primary groups), and marital assimilation (which was critical to full assimilation for Gordon). The theory proved to be relatively accurate in many ways when considering the earlier European waves, which did see general upward mobility as well as an eventual decline in the importance of ethnicity that became "symbolic" and "voluntary" (Gans, 1979; Waters, 1990).

Gordon makes a distinction in his work between structural assimilation and acculturation. According to Gordon's theory, the final outcome of this canonical straight-line approach was the loss of the immigrant group's original culture and traits and an adoption of the host country's language and values. This approach dominated much of the field between the 1960s and 1990s

but was increasingly criticized for its explicit and implicit ethnocentrism. Specific critiques were levied against the assumed hegemonic dominant majority culture that emerges from reading the text and following his theory. Scholars found, for instance, that this dominant majority culture that assumes a one-way process is inaccurate. This leads us to our discussion of "new assimilation."

New Assimilation

Alba and Nee's *Remaking the American Mainstream* is an important work in this debate (Alba and Nee, 1997; Alba and Nee, 2003). They reformulate traditional assimilation theory in order to address some of the changes we have seen in contemporary migration. Their innovation is to highlight (along with a number of important socio-economic dimensions) the process of "boundary blurring" by which immigrants and their children become closer and then eventually indistinguishable from the mainstream. While they recognize the importance of race and the changing demographic realities of current waves of immigration, they argue that boundaries will eventually be blurred across generations.

Segmented Assimilation

The insights from these earlier studies and the reaction to the normative assumption of the canonical account, coupled with the pattern of immigration drastically changing with the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965, led to the influential development of segmented assimilation theory of Portes, Zhou and other colleagues (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). This concept, which builds and draws upon earlier research by Herbert Gans, has sparked research and lively debate in the field (see, for instance, Haller et al., 2011a, 2011b; Alba et al., 2011). Segmented assimilation concerns itself with understanding the different trajectories of immigrant groups and focuses on the role that structural forces play in this process. It is concerned with

where these new immigrants are assimilating and sees different paths including that of downward assimilation, rapid assimilation, and selective acculturation, the latter of which refers to the ability of immigrants to be upwardly mobile through strategically maintaining aspects of their cultural and ethnic identity. This theory argues that channeling these trajectories are characteristics of the immigrants themselves (race/class and human capital) as well as the type of reception they receive by the host society. Empirical evidence supports aspects of this theory (and it has been commended for highlighting the role of context) and its major theoretical advance is that it questions the presumed linkage in much of the literature between incorporation and upward mobility. The concept of downward assimilation, though, has been significantly critiqued in the literature.

While segmented assimilation argues for different incorporation experiences among different groups, it still assumes assimilation as a final end product. It begins and ends with this notion. This is theoretically limiting because it does not allow us to think about the content and mechanisms behind incorporation. Our theories cannot start with an assumption of eventual assimilation (as an end point) because it fails to account for the different kinds of integration that take place. The presupposition is that assimilation will eventually take place, and we will see that many in Mexican Chicago do not follow these paths. A newer perspective is needed that highlights the impact of being undocumented, one which is a hybrid of different theoretical approaches to the process.

On Assimilation

Originally defined as "the social processes that bring ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life" (Alba and Nee, 1997:828), early theorists saw integration as a linear path with one clear outcome. These kinds of theories have been criticized for encouraging

an idea that immigrants could achieve success by overcoming cultural and linguistic deficits implicit in their status as an immigrant (Rumbaut, 1997). This ethnocentric view that posited an inevitable outcome also implied that immigrants needed to overcome their "cultural distinctiveness" (Heisler, 2000:77). This was a problematic theoretical perspective for other reasons, including that it was weak in explaining mechanisms behind the persistence of inequality and differences scholars were seeing in particular immigrant groups.

Newer theories have attempted to focus on the drivers of immigration and the interactions that occur between immigrant groups and their host society—that is, rather than viewing such a process as a one-way phenomenon, scholars became more interested in the impact that immigrants were having on their society as well. Proximate and distal causal mechanisms were developed to explain assimilation, the former referring to individual/group relationships and the latter the larger macrostructure of the state and other institutions (Alba and Nee, 2003). A consensus began to form around the idea that immigration was not a single, universal outcome but one that should rather be seen as a process that occurred in unique ways across generations for different groups. Race and ethnicity began to be considered as more important factors in this process due mainly to different characteristics of immigrants themselves.

There are problems in the current literature on the integration experiences of Mexican Americans, particularly scholarly reliance on generation as a concept of measurement, and scholarly neglect at the theoretical level of the importance of citizenship status (Jiménez and Fitzgerald, 2007; Alba et al., 2014). While generation is the most frequently used temporal marker to describe the incorporation experiences of immigrants, its usage in the literature often leads to an incomplete understanding of Mexican American integration. The multidimensional nature of this process becomes evident when we view the different kinds of experiences

immigrants have within different domains, including health and education. While others have recognized the importance that undocumented status has on individual lives, there is a need for a more systematic theoretical effort to account for these effects that we see particularly with respect to its effect on children living within mixed-status families and those within their social networks.

Conceptual Confusion in Immigrant Integration

Examining the sociological literature as well as other relevant disciplines reveals how words like integration, acculturation, assimilation, and incorporation are often used interchangeably. These are terms that are also rarely explicitly defined. Privileging the words and experiences of immigrants who are undergoing these processes is one way through this conceptual murkiness. It is important to connect these experiences and ideas of informants with the literature in order to make contributions to our scholarly understanding of issues surrounding immigrant integration, and as such, it is necessary to define how I use these terms.

In the literature we see that assimilation is something that is measured most often with variables of socioeconomic status, language retention, intermarriage, and spatial concentration. Assimilation is a process by which immigrants both acculturate and eventually experience mobility as they become integrated into mainstream or the dominant society. This literature primarily looks at assimilation as a process that occurs across generations. Incorporation began to appear much later in the discipline and is in part a reaction to the normative features that are assumed in the term "assimilation." Incorporation describes similar processes that look at the ways immigrants and new arrivals are being integrated into dominant society. Incorporation, though, can be split into "types" or domains, a point that will be shown when we look at the incorporation experiences of those in my network through interactions and experiences with the

healthcare system (Bloemraad, Kortewag and Yurdakul, 2008). Along with integration, I use both assimilation and incorporation in the dissertation, the former to refer particularly to the different theoretical frameworks that have been used throughout the past century in the discipline. I use incorporation to refer to similar processes, but specifically as a way to open up space to look at the particular process within specific domains and dimensions. Within the concept of incorporation, we can also think of the importance of factors like "belonging" and "social cohesion" alongside the more traditional measures that are used in assimilation, like human capital and socioeconomic status (Gans, 1979, 2000, 2007).

It is also important to define explicitly what we mean by the different generations. While generational categories are not always strictly defined, in this dissertation I define first generation immigrants as those who arrived in the US in their late teens or as adults, the 1.5 generation as arriving as children (before age 12), and the second generation as being born to at least one immigrant parent (though the vast majority in my sample are born to two).

Immigrant generation, which is the most frequently used temporal marker of assimilation, can be understood as the distance from the point of immigration. This was used almost exclusively by sociologists and other social scientists when examining the assimilation experiences of the "Great Waves" of early-twentieth-century European migration. Jiménez finds that birth cohort must be added as it allows us to capture important *intra*generational differences (Jiménez, 2010; Jiménez and Fitzgerald, 2007; Alba at el., 2014). This is due to the fact that it captures time since immigration is a historical milieu as well. We saw the importance of this when we compared the two stories that opened this dissertation: Mr. C who came to Chicago in the 1960s when he was four years old and Julio, who arrived in 1989. In this instance, Julio has

been socialized in a globalized, postindustrial economy with massive unauthorized immigration whereas Mr. C grew up during a period of desegregation and deindustrialization.

Replenishment

As discussed in the Introduction, some scholars and public policy figures fear that Mexican Americans will not assimilate and that their incorporation trajectory will not be reminiscent of earlier immigrant groups (Huntington, 2004; Buchanan, 2007). Apart from implicit racialization and an understanding of the "mainstream" as the white middle class, undergirding these ideas is a particular perception of Mexican Americans. Dismissing critiques that have been shown to be without empirical basis—for instance, that they are slower than other groups to learn English—there are attributes of this perception that are important and significantly impacted by the continual arrival of new immigrants (Waldinger et al., 2007). The work of Tomás Jiménez (2008) has been especially influential at revealing the importance of replenishment, which my fieldwork corroborates. He argues that these newer arrivals lead to a perception that stereotypes *all* Mexican Americans as lacking documentation, having low levels of English proficiency, living in highly segregated ethnic neighborhoods, and having low socioeconomic status and low levels of human and social capital (Jiménez, 2009:20–30; Ochoa, 2000). While this is accurate for some within this group, it is clearly not the case for this group as a whole. This perception has worked to reinforce the low status of Mexican Americans as a group, even for those individuals who have been here for several decades or generations (Agius-Vallejo, 2012:667–68). As Jiménez writes:

> Immigrant replenishment provides the means by which Mexican Americans come to feel more positively attached to their ethnic roots. But it also provokes a predominating view of Mexicans as foreigners, making Mexican Americans seem like less a part of the U.S. mainstream than their social and economic integration and later-generation status might suggest. (Jiménez, 2009:5)

The undocumented are an important part of the negative stigma associated with the Mexican American group. As noted by Viruell-Fuentes:

> Furthermore, because anti-immigrant policies have heighted the racialization of anyone perceived to be an immigrant, their effects are likely to extend to documented immigrants and their U.S.-born co-ethnics. For instance, in the case of Latinos, race/ ethnicity and immigrant status are often conflated, such that, in the popular imagination all Latinos are perceived to be Mexican, all Mexicans are seen as immigrants, and they, in turn, are all cast as undocumented. These conflations mean that anti-immigrant sentiments aimed at undocumented immigrants translate into a hostile environment for entire groups of people, regardless of their immigrant status. (Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, and Abdulrahim, 2012; 2103)

These perceptions work to hide the integration experiences of many others, like Mr. C and his children, who are moving along lines very similar to that of traditional assimilation theory. When we view the life stories and trajectories of this hidden group, we see them as "increasing" in the different variables scholars most often used to assess assimilation, including education (attending and graduating college), residential mobility (either moving to the suburbs or to middle- and upper-middle-class neighborhoods), and language acquisition (being fully bilingual or no longer speaking Spanish) (Haller et al., 2011a, 2011b). Replenishment thus has the power to influence how outsiders view Mexican Americans. It also influences the way people in my network view themselves.

Problems in the Literature

Three major problems that can be seen when examining the literature are the over-reliance on the importance of generation, a lack of attention to variance within categories, and an inability to account for the role that local context is playing. My fieldwork has provided insight into these limitations while also emphasizing how important shifting legal, economic, and policy contexts are in this process.

Research on the incorporation of this group has come to differing conclusions, and the work that is done is often about a process that is rarely adequately defined (or is done so in

different ways). We do not know enough about the actual life experiences or the "trajectories" of these individuals that we are seeking to better understand and explain. The vast majority of literature that seeks to evaluate Mexican American incorporation, particularly those that rely on survey data, uses data that at best fails to capture the intricacies of the group and at worst distorts their experience entirely. The problem in these studies is both due to the types of measurements that are used to define and assess assimilation as well as the actual data that is available. Some studies look at Hispanics as a group (and fail to capture the unique experience of Mexican ethnicity) whereas others look at Mexican Americans generationally (which is extremely difficult to capture due to continuous replenishment). The data is also complicated by the difficulty in capturing those who are undocumented—the largest proportion of the undocumented in the United States are indeed Mexicans. While the data often does not include them, I will show in my dissertation how their status influences not only their own life experiences but that of their family members.

There is also a problem in much of the literature related to the inability to account for local context. This is especially noteworthy since in the absence of comprehensive federal immigration reform, decisions that impact immigrant lives are increasingly being made at state and local levels. This had led to variations at local levels impacting incorporation trajectories. The method of my dissertation is well suited to address these issues, and my analysis is sensitive to the role that local contexts, policies, and practices of federal and city governments play in circumscribing the lives of the undocumented and others in my study.

Mexican American Assimilation

When considering these theories of assimilation and the Mexican origin group in particular, several scholars have noted that this group is an important test case for assimilation

due to its sheer size, lengthy history of immigration, replenishment, low levels of human capital, and their racialized incorporation (Smith, 2014; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Another significant and often neglected factor is the internal heterogeneity of the group with people of different legal statuses and generations.

The majority of the literature on this group agrees that while there is progression between the first and second generation in major socioeconomic variables, after the second generation both educational and occupational progress is stalled. The canonical assimilation theory cannot account for this lag nor can it explain the differential paths, for instance, of those with or without legal status or the role that phenotype plays in the process. Segmented assimilation is much better equipped to do this, but again, it overstates a prediction of a negative trajectory. The differences and the debate lie in the *outcome measure* used in the definition of progress and the implications that definition has—if Mexican descendants are compared to earlier generations of co-ethnics, evidence points to them moving (or rather maintaining) into a working, lower-class group. When compared to a reference group of middle class (as traditional assimilation does), the evidence is not as promising. Both sides and the majority of the literature agree that a lack of educational progress after the second generation coupled with a shifting economy that provides more returns to higher levels of education is the main reason behind the stalling we see in critical measures of socioeconomic mobility for the third plus generation of Mexican descendants. Needed in this research is an examination of the mechanisms associated with divergent life trajectories, and my dissertation project seeks to contribute to this by closely analyzing the social world of a Mexican American community and the lives of select individuals at different stages of the assimilation process. As I discuss below, this method allows for the uncovering of process that can help in both the understanding of this vital group as well as in the building of theory.

Further, due to the internal heterogeneity of this group, there is a need to rethink the comparison groups when evaluating their trajectories of incorporation. The literature usually compares Mexican-origin individuals either intergenerationally or to other immigrant groups. The goal of any ethnography is indeed to ensure that the social processes we are interested in are ones that actual people understand, use, and employ in their daily lives (while being conscious of the structural forces and constraints that can also impact their trajectories). In agreement with the concept of homeland dissimilation, my fieldwork finds that individuals in the network compare their experience with those who are "left behind" in Mexico. If we use this as a comparison group, which people in my study often do, a more clear upward trajectory can be seen in the data. This explains why people faced with what we see as discrimination and a variety of other barriers report being so positive about the United States. The self-perception of these individuals about their place in American society is one that is deeply impacted by the idea of what their life would have been like if they were not in the United States and like those who were "left behind."

We cannot think of mobility in the same way for the undocumented group as we can for those who are documented in my network; without concrete ways they can legally participate in life, these men and women are extremely vulnerable to becoming the "disenfranchised underclass" that Portes and his colleagues warn about. My case studies will also demonstrate how this is a much more complicated group than the literature recognizes. Undocumented status impacts families and has the power to alter intergenerational trajectories (Enriquez, 2015). The state of this group deserves special attention in any analysis of Mexican immigration and assimilation. While research on this population is difficult to do, available data points to the growth of this group at alarming levels, with approximately 11.1 million residing in the US in 2011, the largest share coming from Mexico (Gonzalez, 2011). These individuals do not enjoy

basic rights and privileges of citizens, including receiving public assistance or federal funding for college, which makes them doubly handicapped when considering the aforementioned requirements of the postindustrial economy where higher education is key in achieving upward mobility. Menjívar rightly points out that you can consider the documented and undocumented as "two different social classes" (Menjívar, 2006:1000). The especially negative outcomes we see for this group stresses the importance that immigration policies have played in incorporation.

Contexts of Reception and the "Bumpy" Line

Herbert Grans, writing in 1992, argued for an idea of "bumpy line assimilation." He noted how immigrant adaptation studies were too simplistic and that acculturation can occur in nonlinear ways. I build on this theory to help explain the life experiences of the individuals in my study. Incorporation trajectories do not always follow a clear linear process—rather, due to factors like changes in local contexts in law, trajectories can shift and move laterally, upward, downward, and even backward. Bumpy line assimilation acknowledges the multitude of possibilities for incorporation and does not predict simple endpoints like the mainstream or a marginalized underclass. It recognizes that assimilation is a process that can break apart at many different points while allowing for a host of potential outcomes due to variations in personal traits, gender, social position, language ability, bicultural competence, cultural context, institutions, local laws, and citizenship status.

Incorporation as a linear process often assumes that different individual-level characteristics are responsible for one's life trajectory—what is needed in our theorizing is more sensitivity to the role that contexts of reception and change during the life course can play on mobility. Sociological and other social science literature is very good at describing how and why immigrants experience (or fail to experience) upward mobility. By focusing on incorporation

across generations solely as a linear process, such work often fails to account for changes that happen *within* the life course. This is particularly apparent when we consider legal and policy changes that have happened during an individual's own lifetime. Within one's life course, one can have access to health insurance and then lose it, not be able to drive and then be able to, have to pay international tuition rates for college and then see reductions.

The context of reception that the segmented assimilationists speak of is one that needs to be adjusted so we can account for trajectory changes occurring during one's own lifetime. The work of Helen Marrow on Mexican migration in the rural South has helped to deepen our understanding of this (Marrow, 2012). This work points to the fact that variations in trajectory are not simply due to individual-level differences in human capital but can be a product of shifts within contexts that the immigrants have little control over. Segmented and new assimilation theory excels at examining between-group variation in assimilation—why some *groups* achieve educationally and economically more than others. It is decidedly less effective, though, when viewing difference within groups; that is, while the literature is relatively good at showing reasons behind intergenerational mobility, it is much weaker when it comes to *intra*generational mobility. The ethnographic approach that I have employed allows us to examine within group variation of this particular network, and the weaknesses/holes in the literature are borne out in my fieldwork.

It is clear through many of the life stories I will describe in the pages that follow that change can occur at the state/federal level that cause shifts in these trajectories. We need theories that can better account for historical shifts and the role that local institutions play. The stories we encounter in my dissertation shed light and add credence to a more "bumpy line" view of

assimilation where it is a process that can be significantly impacted by changes to the socio-historical context in which my participants are living.

It is necessary to study and understand immigration law and policy because it ultimately has the effect of categorizing and sorting individuals in this network. Through the different institutional domains they are embedded within, these laws and policy changes work to shape, constrain, and condition individuals' hopes and activities. The notion of "bumpy line" assimilation acknowledges the wide range of possible assimilation outcomes that do not necessarily follow a clear linear path. It allows for immigrants to be both in the mainstream on some levels (whether it be linguistics or education) but also maintaining strong ties to ethnic cultural values (which is particularly strong in a replenishing community). This theoretical approach does not predict the same processes and outcomes for the entire Mexican origin group. Rather, due to things like context of reception, individual-level characteristics (bicultural competence, language ability, personal traits, skin color), and changes in policy, there can be a multitude of trajectories.

Assimilation theory overstresses the linear direction of incorporation processes and fails to account for differences that occur across the wide range of social dimensions that characterize an individual's life. I find in my dissertation that people can move along lines similar to the theoretical traditions we have encountered thus far (such as classical assimilation) within certain domains but not others. I use the health domain to illustrate this—how those with citizenship are moving along a certain path and then must enter a radically different world after turning eighteen.

Conclusion

My review of the literature has focused on several potential reasons why we might not be seeing similar patterns of upward trajectory across generations for the Mexican American population. First, we do not have the right tools to measure a replenishing group in a context where citizenship status is becoming increasingly important. One way to build upon Jiménez is through showing what replenishment looks like within a physical space, a task that I take up in both my chapters on Mexican Chicago and on Chicharito's Place. This is a context in which one can live almost exclusively within the confines of this immigrant-dominated world and is one where the ability to move out of it can be blocked by legal context and one's citizenship status irrespective of one's bicultural competence. The current historical time period is one that has an economy vastly different than the one that existed during the periods when traditional assimilation theory was formulated. This "hourglass economy" is bifurcated with jobs at the very bottom and the very top and is one that is characterized by an even stronger need for college education to "get ahead." Getting such an education, though, is made difficult in this community due to both a disadvantaged schooling system and federal laws that make college education more difficult for those without citizenship.

One of the main points that emerge from the review of the literature is that the Mexican American group is unique and that a newer approach is needed. This is particularly true due to the power of undocumented status, a point that I have seen throughout my time in the field. It serves as a "master status" that does not simply have a tremendous impact on individuals who happen to be undocumented, but is something that runs through families. An institutional-based approach to immigrant incorporation that focuses on the spaces and places where these

individuals live can allow for a more nuanced understanding of undocumented life in the United States today.

We will now move to my chapter on Mexican Chicago and the social milieu that can be seen when applying such an institutional-based approach. I show what a specific world looks like with regards to this emerging distinction of being with and without papers through an analysis of a specific space that is organized around the sport of soccer. Within the walls of a place like Chicharito's, the barriers emerging that separate this community are temporarily brought down. The undocumented first and 1.5 generations play alongside the second and third generations. This will help us to better understand some of the main processes of interest, including why interactions in multi-status communities matter in issues of immigrant incorporation.

CHAPTER 3

MEXICAN CHICAGO: LOCAL CONTEXT AND WORLDS OF INCORPORATION

Fieldnote: October 2014

Our team, the "Sucios," were playing "Ola Verde" (who for some reason wear yellow). The score was tied 4-4 with around ten seconds left in the game. I got the ball around the middle of the field and turned to shoot to attempt an unlikely last second winner. It was at this point that I felt studs go down my ankles. I knew at that moment that it was a "professional" foul (acceptable in common practice since time was almost up and it could theoretically save the game if the unlikely were to happen) but was also "dirty" (done with excessive force). As one doesn't always think quite rationally during such moments, I turned and kicked the perpetrator in the back of his legs while also telling him to "go fuck himself." This infuriated my opponent, who is called "*Chocolate*" (in Spanish) at the facility due to his dark skin complexion. He informed me in Spanish that my mother was a whore and then attempted to headbutt me—fortunately he is 5'6" and was only able to reach my chest. Immediately after doing this he ran away, which was important because it allowed me to save face without resorting to further violence. I then got my head together and decided to walk off the field. At this point the other team's bench had cleared and they were running over to confront me (which I only later learned). Chava, my second generation, 5'10" twenty-four-year old teammate (who two weeks prior had become a father), jumped off the bench to defend me and ended up tackling two of their guys. Fortunately for all of us security came onto the field quickly and ended this little spat.

A week later Chava was driving with his cousin, a known "gangbanger" in a local group called the "Two-Six." Roberto and Mr. C had mentioned on many occasions that while the Perez brothers were "good" (not involved directly in the gang) their family (and extended network of

cousins) were “bad.” Apparently his cousin was having some beef with a local rival gang member and decided to drive to where he was supposed to be hanging out. Unfortunately for them, this individual was prepared for them coming, and when they got to his corner, he shot six times into the car, striking Chava four times. His cousin was not hit, and he was able to get Chava to the hospital, which almost certainly saved his life. One of the bullets, though, had grazed his spine causing paralysis.

When I arrived at the facility the day after the shooting (not knowing that this had happened), I asked Mr. C if the Perez brothers would be playing. “Oh, you didn’t hear … Chava got shot … idiot … he is so fucking stupid … he shouldn’t have been hanging out with those guys, I’ve been telling him for years.” I was shocked, but tried not to let it show. “Is he going to be alright?” I asked, and Mr. C responded that it looked like he would survive, but that he was probably paralyzed. “Idiot … he is so stupid.” The response from Mr. C and others in the facility and network was one that assigned blame to Chava for being “stupid enough” to hang out with the wrong crowd.

I called Miguel (his older brother) the next day to ask him if I could do anything and to let him know how sorry I was for what had happened. During our conversation he told me that one of the first things that Chava had said was “Man, I am never going to walk, I am never going to play again.” Miguel, who is still struggling with what happened to his brother, said that he told him, “I thought you were going to die … like, be dead … like, not here anymore … you have to live, look at Maria (his daughter) … she is going to need you—she does need you.”

Immigration is a network phenomenon, and this is seen in how the Perez family was able to respond to this tragedy. They were able to leverage the power of their extended network when this tragedy struck. Through fundraisers (including raffle tickets for a television that a local store

had donated) they raised enough capital to pay for much of his treatment and rehabilitation. Through family connections with construction workers, they were also able to make the necessary wheelchair accessibility modifications to their parents' house. The work was mainly done by one of their cousins who only asked the Perez family for the materials that were needed. As Miguel noted, "Of course (his cousin) did it for free … there was never any question about that." Further, his immediate family and extended network of relatives all pitched in to help take care of his newborn daughter, visit him while he was recuperating in the hospital, and raise more money as rehabilitation expenses accrued long after the events of that tragic night. There are countless other examples of how his family continued to pitch in to "keep his mood up" (Miguel noted that this was the most "difficult part") and make him comfortable. One illustration of such efforts occurred the night of a housewarming party I had about a year after the shooting. As all three brothers were my teammates for more than two years, I invited them but wasn't sure what to say about the fact that I lived on the third floor of a building without an elevator. I told Miguel this, and he just responded: "We'll make it happen." The night of the party, the brothers arrived together and simply carried him and the wheelchair up the stairs. As they ascended they made light of the situation by telling Chava that he was "getting fat" and that he needed to stop eating so much.

Looking back on this event, there was less shock and much more condemnation put on Chava than I was expecting. This reaction was due to the kind of social world that these individuals have been a part of and made their lives in. With very few exceptions, there are four primary neighborhoods, including Nedved Town, where everyone in my network grew up (from five to twenty-five years ago generally), and where many still reside. These neighborhoods are plagued by many of the problems that other low-income neighborhoods suffer from, including

high levels of crime and violence, residential segregation, low-resource schools, and structural racism. Many of those in this network grew up in crowded housing with cousins and relatives in mixed-status families without health care/insurance.

When Chava was shot, the reaction within the network was dismay and sadness, but it wasn't "shock" because it was an event that while tragic was understandable in this world. Antonio refers to his upbringing in one such neighborhood as "extremely difficult" and "really rough … there were a lot of bad people, bad things … and it was there every day." The poignancy of this context was brought to life for me within the first few weeks of fieldwork when Tito, one of Julio's cousins who has "papers," nonchalantly recalled getting "checked" and then jumped one weekend by a rival gang and how one of the guys that was involved in this was murdered in retaliation a week later.

Introduction

The opening vignette raises multiple issues in immigrant integration including a disadvantaged local context, problems of citizenship status, and living within mixed-status families. How do sociologists theorize context in immigrant incorporation? How do we begin to make sense of these worlds? To better understand the processes of interest in the dissertation, it is necessary to highlight the local context and "world" that these individuals were raised in and are a part of. This local context is one that plays a role in shaping mobility and the incorporation process, and these individuals can be seen in many ways as a product of their environment whose agency is significantly constrained due to pressures in this world.

This story of Chava's shooting may prime the reader to think of a world of violence, but this is a rhetorical strategy that hides the complexity of what the world actually is and does not do justice to the more nuanced reality these individuals are a part of. The threat of such

altercations exists alongside a constellation of other forces and ideas including the building of families, the perils of a lack of citizenship, the educational pursuits and dreams of teenagers, the initiation into gang life of prepubescent boys, and the soccer fields where people "can get away from it all." It is a world of hope and danger, of happiness and terrible tragedy, and one of opportunities and constraints. Understanding this is vital and must be done through the words, eyes, and lives of those who are a part of it.

At the same time, it is also important to avoid the tendency within many related ethnographies to overly glamorize the individuals in the study by painting them in the best possible light. Abrego and Gonzales rightly point out something that ethnography of this nature is particularly well suited for this. They argue that what is needed are "portrayals and accounts of impoverished, troubled young people whose daily lives of struggle are constructed by a lack of legal access, resource-poor urban and rural high schools, a narrow pipeline to postsecondary education, and an adult world rife with legal barriers to full participation" (Abrego and Gonzales, 2010:155). This is what I see with many of my respondents. For instance Chava does many "illegal" things that one can argue are less than admirable—he dabbles in cocaine, hated school and dropped out in tenth grade, bragged about having "side chicks" in addition to his "baby mama," and openly and repeatedly proclaims hatred for African Americans. But he also is a caring and genuine family man. Before this incident, he was working hard to provide for his new child and girlfriend at the same food preparation factory his dad has worked at for over twenty years, and he has a powerful bond with his brothers and cousins.

In this chapter, I will make several arguments about the importance of Mexican Chicago. This includes how it allows for specific spaces to exist—like Chicharito's—where undocumented immigrants can feel comfortable interacting. Further, due to its vibrancy and long

history, it provides the replenishing population a relative degree of choice in integration. Newly arrived immigrants can work, eat, and play all within this network without having to fully "integrate" in the traditional sense (including learning the language of the host society). Their children, though, interact with mainstream institutions including schools out of necessity and develop higher levels of bicultural competence as a result.

Through an institutional-based approach to immigrant incorporation and an uncovering of the world of Mexican Chicago, one can see how spaces and institutions can work in ways that counter processes associated with assimilation, such as allowing undocumented, first generation members to live and work with a certain degree of safety within its confines. It is a world that the children of immigrants incorporate into and exist within to varying degrees, often dependent on citizenship. Immigrants thus experience simultaneous inclusion and exclusion in the multiple worlds they interact within, and a better understanding these institutions and this milieu can lead to a more nuanced understanding of undocumented life specifically and immigrant incorporation more broadly. Understanding this milieu is the goal of this chapter.

The World of My Dissertation: A Brief History

Before we flesh this argument out in more detail, it is important to provide a brief background that details the history of this Mexican origin group in Chicago and the socio-economic environment they are embedded in. Context matters for several reasons including, for instance, that while undocumented immigrants and their family members face an enormity of challenges due to their status, the state of Illinois is actually one of the better places to live. This is ultimately due to the wide variation that exists in state-level policies aimed at this population. Unlike many other states, at the time of writing, the undocumented in Illinois can, for instance, attend state colleges for in-state tuition rates and acquire driver's licenses (Tsao, 2014). A

shifting economy and socio-political landscape has had implications for this specific group and speaks to unique experiences these individuals have compared to prior immigrant waves and groups. This historical analysis demonstrates the role that policy changes, enacted at the local level, plays in incorporation pathways.

The issue of migrant integration is an important one in Chicago as it has long been a traditional immigrant gateway. Eighteen percent of the Chicago metropolitan area is foreign born, and Mexicans are the largest share of this population (De Genova, 2005). Data from 2004 shows that Mexicans accounted for over forty percent of all immigrants in Chicago, and over the next three decades, this population is expected to double. Of the 1.6 million "Latinos" in the region, around eighty percent are Mexican with the vast majority of these in the first, 1.5 and second generation. During the 1990s alone, the Mexican population in Chicago increased by eighty-three percent (De Genova, 2005:95–146; Fernández, 2011:1–56; Nuevo-Kerr, 1976). The integration of this group is different than other immigrant groups mainly due to its sheer size. As one task force charged with investigating ways to "integrate Mexicans" better into the city noted: "Chicago has never before faced the task of incorporating such a large proportion of its population from a single foreign country, all sharing a common language and culture, in such a short period of time" (Doetsch and Ponce de Leon., 2006:10).

Chicago was a key destination for Mexican migrant labor beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century due in part to the expansion of railroads. As early as 1907 there are records of Mexicans coming to work in the railroad industry, and census data points to the population developing significantly after this. They were an important presence during WWI and were often recruited to work by companies due to cost and the need to break strikes, particularly in 1919 (Fernández, 2011). As evidenced by the work of Michael Innis-Jimenez on the multi-

generation Mexican neighborhood of East Side (in the Southeast Side of Chicago), Mexicans played a significant role in the booming steel mills and the meatpacking industry in the early twentieth century. Prior to 1916, some 1,000 Mexicans made their home in Chicago, but by 1930 the group had bloomed to over 25,000. Established neighborhoods during this period included those near the steel mills (including South Chicago), those near the meatpacking industry (including Back of the Yards), and those near the railroads (such as the Near West Side) (Nuevo-Kerr, 1976). There were fluctuations around the 1930s due to forcible removals and deportations, but the waves still continued, and during the period between 1940 and 1960, the Mexican population tripled (Nuevo-Kerr, 1976; Innis-Jiménez, 2013).

The dramatic acceleration of Mexican migration to Chicago started in the late 1960s. Between 1960 and 1990, the Mexican population increased six-fold to more than 350,000. According to the 2000 Census, Mexicans in Chicago numbered over 530,000 in the city, a bit less than twenty percent of the total population within city limits. The historic barrios mentioned above can still be seen on the Southeast Side, particularly evident in South Chicago and the East Side. It is in this latter neighborhood where one can find Our Lady of Guadalupe, the oldest Mexican Church in the Midwest (Innis-Jiménez, 2013; Walley, 2013). The Near West Side area had a very large Mexican population that was eventually pushed out to neighboring Pilsen and Little Village due to urban renewal and Richard Daley undertaking the construction of the University of Illinois at Chicago (Betancur, 1996). The Pilsen neighborhood has long been thought of as a "port of entry" for newly arrived Mexican migrants (Betancur, 1996, 2002, 2011; Anderson and Sternberg, 2013). Between the period of 1960 and 1980, the population went from under 7,000 to more than twelve times its size at 83,000 (Caruso and Camacho, 1985:8). The population in Back of the Yards, the neighborhood that serves as the backdrop for Upton

Sinclair's *The Jungle*, also dramatically grew during this period. Even with deindustrialization and the dramatic decline in jobs in the areas of steel, meatpacking, and the railroads, the population of Mexican migrant labor continued to increase. Many began to work in the growing service sector.

The long history of twentieth century Mexican migration to Chicago has seen the vast majority of workers concentrated in low-skill jobs including manual labor, industrial operatives, and the service sector. Indeed, John Betancur's analysis of workers during the period of 1970 to 2000 found that Mexicans were twice as likely to be working in factories than African Americans and had the lowest wages in manufacturing of any ethnic group. As Betancur argues, this illustrates that Mexican migrants and the undocumented especially have formed a vital segment of the working class in Chicago "and occupy an especially central place at the 'de-skilled' core of industrial production" (Betancur, 2011; De Genova, 2002).

With continual replenishment over at least five generations, we see why the concept of applying generation to understand the incorporation pathways of this group is complicated. This replenishment has also impacted ethnic identity, community development, and ethnic consciousness. Through fieldwork, it became clear to me that immigrants were not simply incorporating into the city of Chicago and the United States, but they were also integrating into the world that had been created and sustained by co-ethnics. Both immigrants and their children are a part of this world, and factors like citizenship status influence the degree to which they must be involved. The processes involved and the importance of this history is captured in the concept of Mexican Chicago.

Local Context: Incorporation, Context of Reception, and Mexican Chicago

The majority of undocumented immigrants reside in cities. With approximately 11 million undocumented individuals in the United States, over 6.8 million currently reside in the twenty largest metropolitan areas (Passel and Cohn, 2017). From their status as renters and homeowners to employees, consumers, and parents of elementary and high school children, the undocumented are clearly an important part of local communities and economies. While the federal government has plenary power in terms of setting and enforcing immigration policy, a lack of comprehensive immigration reform has led to a proliferation of locally generated policies in cities and other subnational governments across the United States. Although these subnational governments do not have constitutional power to create immigration policy, they have the ability to regulate public space via ordinances, local land use, and zoning regulations. These regulations, such as granting driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants, or admittance to public state universities at "in-state" or "international" tuition rates, can ultimately either protect and promote the lives of the undocumented or constrain and restrict them. This helps us understand why there are such significant variations across space in the life experiences of this vulnerable population.

Mexican Chicago

While looking at census tract data of a neighborhood like Nedved Town allows one to quickly realize they are living within a community where the majority identify themselves as Mexican, the understanding of a community as Mexican is one that occurs at a deeper level that is continually negotiated as groups and individuals experience this community through the passage of time. Spaces within the community, including public institutions like schools, religious organizations, and private institutions like Chicharito's Place, can allow for the creation of shared ethnicity and sense of community.

Mexican Chicago is a long-standing ethnic network that has existed throughout the twentieth century and into the present day. It is a world that has become even more vibrant over time through the process of replenishment. This is a world that exists in people's minds, one that is activated in interaction and has a distinct impact on the incorporation process as individuals become both a part of it and the larger society it exists within. Continuous Mexican immigration in the form of replenishment does not simply lead to a more heterogeneous community but is one that promotes interactions across generations and statuses. This is due in part to the highly segregated neighborhoods that people live in and the development of ethnic enclaves and the subsequent ethnic consciousness that exists as a result. Within Mexican Chicago, friendships and relationships are formed through interactions with these recently arrived co-ethnics and individuals who have been in the network all of their lives and in multigeneration families.

One important element that distinguishes a space in Mexican Chicago from other public spaces is how the undocumented are treated. Undocumented life in general encourages seclusion—people with this status (and those in their family) often do not interact with state or other institutions for fear of deportation or being seen as a "public charge." Many also simply do not know what rights, if any, they have as undocumented residents. Institutions like Chicharito's are places where the undocumented can be free to interact without fear of reprisal; they are clear in their acceptance and in the understanding of the reality posed to those living with this "master status." Other examples of such spaces that I have seen include churches, flea markets, and particular bars and restaurants. While Mexican Chicago can be understood as its own social world, people within my network have different levels of bicultural competence. This construct, which should be seen as existing on a continuum, helps us understand the relative levels and ability for individuals to navigate multiple social worlds.

A further important aspect of Mexican Chicago is how it is a world where people can connect to resources about finding employment and information about housing and other opportunities that can be helpful in the integration process. This is complicated by the large presence of the undocumented and is one reason that perhaps helps explain why Mexicans do not use "traditional culture" for upward mobility as reported for other groups in the literature who use "selective acculturation" (Zhou, 1997). A key difference in Mexican Chicago when compared with Portes's ethnic enclaves may be seen when we consider the impact that undocumented status has on weakening such networks. Citizenship status, which has increased in significance since the time of Portes's seminal work, can weaken those mechanisms he and Bach found to be so critical for "positive" incorporation (Portes and Bach, 1985). This, coupled with low levels of human and social capital and narrowing paths within the "hourglass economy" that used to allow blue-collar workers to steadily move up the socioeconomic ladder, adds to this precarious situation for Mexican immigrants and their children (Massey, Durand, and Pren, 2016; Durand et al., 2016). All of these factors combine to comprise the world that individuals in my dissertation are being socialized into.

"It's not the words … it's the way we play:" Soccer in Mexican Chicago

Andrew Guest's work argues for the "usefulness of understanding sport as an empty cultural form that is given particular meanings in local contexts" (Guest, 2007). As a game and cultural practice, the meaning of soccer in these men's lives is of clear importance. Important questions that we must consider include: Why is the sport so ethnically homogenous? What are the implications of intergenerational networks participating in this cultural activity? Why do fieldwork focused on immigrant integration at a soccer facility?

Soccer is one lens through which to view why some people feel not entirely Mexican and not entirely American—rather they are caught in a space of two different yet highly interconnected worlds. The sport is a way for these men to maintain certain aspects of Mexican culture. There are cultural and institutional elements in this that should be further elaborated upon. The sport is institutionally a part of the Mexican Chicago economy and is present in places like Chicharito's—it is a sport where people of all ages play and one that results in employment opportunities for (amongst others) league organizers and referees. It is played in institutions that can be seen as ethnic safe spaces where undocumented and documented immigrants interact and co-exist. Informants noted that there are specific cultural elements of "Mexican soccer" that included using Spanish on the field, believing that soccer is a Mexican sport, the intergenerational nature of how they come to know the sport (through fathers and uncles), and rooting for specific teams.

There are different leagues and soccer communities throughout Chicago and the United States where young adult males can play. Each of these leagues has its own culture, one that depends on the history of the league and the general demographics of the participants. While we are all playing the same sport and the quality in terms of how "good" players are can be similar across leagues, there is a different qualitative element involved when one analyzes how the sport is organized and practiced. The differences in the game can be pointed to in easily observable ways, including the lack of diversity present and the language being spoken, and in less clear ways more difficult to explain including the style of play, the philosophical approach to the game, and focus on the outcome.

Soccer is a part of the fabric of this world and is a sport played by individuals of different ages and skill levels. For many of the people I have interacted with over the years, the sport is

one of the most enjoyable things in their lives. It connects some back to their youth and is often the only institution people engage in outside of family and work.[1] "Soccer has always been a part of my life," explains José Luis. "I can't imagine what it would have been like growing up without it." José Luis's most fond memories of his childhood are of his days playing: the sport connects him "to when I was younger, you know … it's like … the one thing that I have always done … like a constant (in my life)." Respondents describe how the sport has been critical to their identity. For many, particularly those who are first generation like José Luis, the sport is one that they participated in while in Mexico and now in the United States. Jesús has similar fond recollections of the sport from his childhood and mentioned that his "best memories" of Mexico City were playing soccer on the streets with his friends and his father. For my informants in the second generation, their fathers who have a connection to the sport that spans participation in Mexico were heavily involved in their sporting activities growing up. Indeed they themselves played in the different leagues that exist within the network, which include organizations like CLASA, Hispano, and those at Chicharito's. This intergenerational nature of the sport is passed down from parents to child and is seen in some of the nicknames at the facility where kids take on the names of their father. These combinations serve to point out the interesting world created in an environment where replenished ethnicity is present and one that has cultural practices brought over from one context to another.

The "Mexican" nature of soccer is recounted in the following fieldnote:

Fieldnote February 1, 2014

Tonight was my fourth *cascarita* session. I knew from talking to one of the league managers the night before that the "best" in terms of the busiest and highest quality players were

[1] Indeed the 'cascarita' (or 'pickup') sessions exist so as to accommodate the large population who work late hours at, for instance, restaurants and hotels who otherwise could not make league times.

on Fridays and that the *cascarita* session would begin soon after the last league game, which was scheduled at 10:40 p.m. and could end anywhere between 11:20 p.m. and midnight depending on delays. *Cascarita* sessions cost five dollars, and I pay my fee in exchange for a yellow wristband that indicates both that I paid and am old enough to consume alcoholic beverages. The *cascarita* teams have a minimum of six players (6v6) and end after either five minutes or one team reaches two goals. During busy nights, it is thus in people's interest to form strong teams to ensure adequate playing time.

The last three sessions I attended have been relatively successful, but I am nevertheless worried about finding a team to play with. I decide to get there a bit early to watch the league game between Los Apaches and CD Vagos and situate myself initially near one of the goals where the majority of people watch. CD Vagos consisted of younger and far more talented players but the tenaciousness of Los Apaches coupled with the lack of discipline in CD Vagos kept the score tight until the very end. Much to the consternation of Los Apaches, CD Vagos ended up scoring a controversial winner with under 30 seconds to play—shouts of *MANO ARBITRO* resounded throughout the facility as they argued vigorously with the referee that there was a handball in the buildup to the play that allowed a player from CD Vagos to score the winner. The ref tried to walk away but was grabbed by a player who tried to turn him around to protest his case further. This action of physically touching the referee led to a straight red card and two security guards ushering the player off the field.

While watching the game I walk around the main field hoping either to see a network contact or a small group that I could join for informal "knocking the ball around," which usually consists of juggling and doing tricks as we wait for the *cascarita* session to start. Doing so was

helpful in the last three sessions in that I can demonstrate to the others that I might be a useful addition to their unit.

There were about thirty people present to play in the *cascarita* session, which meant there was going to be between five and six teams total. The process of forming teams would appear slightly chaotic from the outside, but I have found that there is a relatively clear structure and process. Important factors involve whether individuals are regulars—that is, they attend frequently and have made connections with other players—whether people have arrived in larger groups that could automatically serve as a team, or whether someone was clearly very talented. Given the intense desire to win games, these very talented players would be quickly approached by individuals hoping to improve their squads.

I see Gabriel, a twenty-eight-year-old second generation player that Mr. C introduced me to the week before. I am happy to see he is going to play, and I ask him if I can join whatever squad he ends up in. He nodded affirmatively. Gabriel then proceeded to find four other people who could join our team. We watch the end of the league game and discuss recent results in the English Premier League. He then turns to me:

> "Listen man, when this (last league game ends) grab one of those *casaca's* immediately so we can get on the field first … the *casaca's* are behind where the security dude is." When he said this he noticed my confusion and I told him: "*casaca*? Like a pinny you mean?" "Haha, you are so white man … yeah a fucking 'pinny'" and he says this in what he believes is the voice of a stereotypical white person. He continues to make fun of me (in a friendly way) about this. Speaking to our newly formed unit he says "Hey everyone, lets all get a "pinny" before we play … that's white for the *casaca*!" I pretend that I don't get what he is doing, and tell him that I thought it was just the Spanish word for a pinny. "Haha, yeah man … I guess that's a Spanish word. What you got to understand bro is that its more than that … soccer is Mexican around here, around here it is Mexican … I mean we all speak … well most of these guys speak English or whatever, but that's the way we play the game … like that (pointing to the field) is the *campo* not the field … it's not the words though it's the way we play … it's a style, it's a passion, it's a thing bro … you'll see."

Gabriel refers to a particular style and approach to a sport that is played around the world. He sees the particular practice of it as having a unique "Mexicanness" to it, and I attempt to probe this a bit further:

> "What do you mean, soccer is Mexican? I'm not Mexican, I have played all my life" I jokingly protest. "Haha … listen … go on the north side and play up there and then come down here and tell me whether this is Mexican and whether that is Mexican … and it's not because you see a bunch of Mexicans here … it's a style bro, it's a thing. They don't play it like we do, they don't love it like we do, they don't see it like we do."

Gabriel compares the soccer at Chicharito's with that on the "north side," which in the network is an amorphous category for white and more affluent leagues. White leagues does not refer to a specific place but also to a kind of style, one that is reflective of the disconnect in the structure of soccer in the United States that has led to the creation of informal leagues like the ones at Chicharito's and CLASA that exist outside the mainstream of the United States Soccer Federation (USSF).

Gabriel graduated from a local elite private college and works as an architect in the city. He has high levels of bicultural competence and has reported in other conversations how soccer is a place where he feels most Mexican. He was introduced to the sport by his father, his favorite team is América in the Mexican league, and he has always played in these Mexican/Hispanic leagues. He thus plays the sport with other people who are Mexican, learned about the sport from his father, and passionately supports a team where his family originated from in Mexico. Soccer and Mexicanness are sometimes synonymous in his head.

The popularity of soccer is also related to the safe spaces it provides, a point I will elaborate upon in the next chapter. These spaces provide sites for the celebration of ethnic identity and a place to feel comfortable regardless of citizenship status. Further, soccer in the community can generate a form of social capital in that it is one of the primary leisure activities

people participate in, and it represents a site where relationships are created, sustained, and strengthened. Watching the Mexican national team is an opportunity to celebrate what can be described as a fragile sense of identity, something we will see more clearly in the opening to Chapter 4.

For some, like Samuel, a twenty-seven-year-old member of the second generation, soccer has been with him since an early age. The "first shirt my dad got me was a Cruz Azul jersey, bro, and the Mexico jersey."[2] From birth, Samuel was introduced to a particular cultural and national approach to the sport, and he has kept that attachment throughout the years by playing in leagues and supporting his father's team. "You know it isn't a sport … I know you know, but sometimes people don't understand … it is a part of who I am, my whole identity, you know? I can't imagine my life without it (soccer), it is in my blood." The sport is a feature of these young men's lives, one that they become socialized into mainly through the experiences of their fathers, and it is an opportunity to celebrate and participate symbolically with a country that they were either raised/lived in or that of their parents and ancestors.

While some have argued that Mexicans not supporting the US national soccer team is indicative of their not assimilating, the homogeneity we see in leagues at places like Chicharito's and the expressions and feelings represented by Gabriel and Samuel are more indicative of structural factors (Valeriano, 2014:291–93). This relates to what some commentators refer to as the "pay-to-play" system in the United States that creates a situation where one's ability to climb the ranks of the hierarchy as a player is often contingent on access to particular networks, including ones with college coaches. Access to these networks involves playing for elite clubs that can cost thousands of dollars per year to join. The notion of sport as a meritocracy is one that

[2] Cruz Azul, along with América and Chivas, are among the most popular teams in the Mexican professional league. Many of my informants came from (or have relatives who came from) the cities and regions of these teams.

is deeply problematic when considering this and the lack of effort by the institutional structure of the USSF to incorporate Latino communities (Brown, 2007). These Latino communities, like the leagues we see and will analyze at Chicharito's, are thus "informal" in that they are not directly connected to the hierarchy of the USSF.

Examples from my fieldwork attest to this disconnect, including the story of Eduardo, a second generation member who was so talented as a child that he had serious dreams of playing professional. This is a common aspiration of many in the network—to "turn pro" someday, even causing some youth to focus on the sport more than their education. The percentage of people who actually do make it is extremely small, something related both to the difficulty in turning professional generally and the disconnect between informal Latino leagues and mainstream USSF institutions that provide routes to playing on college teams. Unlike the vast majority of guys I have met during my time at Chicharito's, Eduardo did have something special in terms of talent.

Since the leagues he played in were disconnected from the formal US soccer structure and because of his parental contacts back home, he decided at age sixteen to move to Pachuca on a pre-contract trial with their professional team "to try and make it." The "competition was so fierce, they are playing for their lives you know, it took the fun out of the game … I think I was good enough, I dunno … but I couldn't stay anyway … I think I coulda made it, but Melanie (his future wife) and I just started dating and I was missing her and so I came back." While this dream did not work out for Eduardo, he came back to the United States, got a college education, married Melanie, and now works as a manager for a national paint supply company. He still plays a few nights a week in these Mexican leagues because of his "friends" and he doesn't like

what he once referred to as "white boy soccer." The feeling and belief that soccer has a unique Mexicanness to it is a widely shared thought in the network.

Amateur competitive soccer in the formal structure of the USSF ends at college. If one does not turn professional, there are very few avenues left for competitive soccer. This is *not the case* in Mexican Chicago, a point that significantly surprised me early on in fieldwork after witnessing players in their mid-to-late thirties on higher level CLASA squads. One can play at a high level in leagues until one is no longer able to physically—the disconnect with the USSF and the ability to play at a high level on teams throughout one's adulthood might speak to why playing soccer in college is not as enticing an option for people in the network. This is something related to what Mr. C refers to as a need for a "reeducation," and part of his own personal mission is to help talented players use their ability to get a college education. Since having a college education has become more important in the modern economy, the disconnect in these Mexican leagues and the USSF can be seen as having unintended but potentially seriously negative consequences for these young men. Over the past five years, I have witnessed dozens of players who could have gone on to a decent college career as well as other nonplayers who decided against school; this was most often due either to one's desire (and/or need) to make money now or to problems with citizenship (or a combination of both). I will discuss this more in Chapter 5.

Multiple Worlds: Mexican Chicago and Beyond

Due to factors like residential segregation as well as a long history of immigration to Chicago, individuals in my network grew up with several distinct worlds in mind: Mexico, that of larger American society, and that of Mexican Chicago. The 1.5 and second generation (and beyond) are distinguishable in the network by how fluent they are in both worlds—those who are

high in bicultural competence, for instance, are ones that flow in and out easily. There are several groups of people who are in this space at a given time: outsiders, insiders with varying levels of bicultural competence, and a group of individuals who live almost completely in this world. These are not strict categories; for instance, one informant (David) was born in the US and has an undocumented Mexican mother and an "anglo" father. He grew up not feeling a complete part of either world and reports being seen as white by his Mexican friends and as Mexican by his teachers. "My teachers and lots of people treated me like I was Mexican, but I'm not … well not really … I just look Mexican to them." Julio noted that "of course David isn't Mexican, like real Mexicans … [because he] doesn't even speak Spanish at home." There are also individuals who exist almost solely in the network and who rarely interact with "mainstream institutions" and only do so out of necessity.

The internal heterogeneity of this population that sees difference in skin color, social class, length of time in the US, citizenship status, and other things have meanings that are not always the same inside and outside of Mexican Chicago. Skin color is a good example. Eduardo is often referred to by others as a *guerro* and notes that "people often think I'm white. Even white people think I'm white." Eduardo's decisions and incorporation trajectory involve graduating from a local college and now serving as a full-time manager at a national paint company. This, coupled with his skin color, leads some like Jesús to refer to him as a *pocho*, or "sellout." Miguel Angel, on the other hand, is from Oaxaca, is darker, and "looks Mexican." Julio refers to Miguel Angel as "actually Mexican, like peasant Mexican" due to his facial features and skin color. Though it has slightly different meanings, the latter cannot escape racial stereotyping both within and outside the network whereas the former can "pass" outside of the network.

It is again important to think of the inner world of this network itself. Mr. C notes that there are "major differences between big city Mexicans and those that come from small towns … big city Mexicans are more arrogant … people that come from small towns are more humble." Regardless of the accuracy of these particular stereotypes, it should be clear that there is significant variation within this group, and something like skin color can mean different things inside and outside of the network.

When we think about the context of reception and segmented assimilation theory, it is important to note that this pre-existing Mexican American community these people enter and become embedded within is often just as vital to the incorporation story as the "mainstream" they will assimilate into, purportedly. This has to do with the neighborhoods they live in and the social circles they are embedded in, including schools and employment. New arrivals to Chicago are incorporated both into Mexican Chicago and that of the city and nation more broadly.

What it means to be Mexican in Mexico is obviously much different than what it means to be Mexican in Chicago; depending on whether one is born into or arrives to this world has a significant impact on experience. Those who are born in the United States or came to this country as children have higher levels of bicultural competence formed through their interactions with the main socialization agent of the United States—the school—even though many of the schools people went to were highly segregated and either majority Mexican or a mix of Hispanic/African American.

Mexican Chicago and Integration

People in my study are a part of Mexican Chicago to varying degrees. Spanish language television, Catholic mass services, newspapers, and other forms of media are products and parts of this world. Ethnic culture and practices are continued and perpetuated in this network and are

impacted by replenishment. Even though the English newspaper press has struggled in recent years to maintain readership in Chicago, Spanish language print and broadcast media networks (Univision, *Hoy* and *La Raza,* for instance) have grown.

This world can be understood as a complete social system when we consider the lives of some in my study who remain firmly and often almost entirely exclusively embedded within it. This is due to a variety of factors, including citizenship status and language acquisition. The vibrancy of the world is linked to the economy and the kinds of opportunities that are available within it. In my fieldwork, these individuals work as referees, cooks, office workers, cleaners, and hold a host of other positions. Due to replenishment and the nature of this network, they can exist very easily in Chicago and other parts of the United States without learning English or assimilating along the lines of the canonical approach.

Bicultural Competence

One's level of bicultural competence speaks to the ability to exist in multiple worlds. The children of immigrants, many of whom are born in the United States, are often amongst the most skilled in terms of one major feature of bicultural competence: dual language ability. Miguel Angel notes:

> "Yeah man … my mom doesn't speak English … so when she needs to do things I often gotta go with her … like the other day she was looking at a different apartment … we didn't know if the guy spoke Spanish so I had to leave work to help."

The people in my study have different levels of bilingualism and biculturalism, and this is related to how firmly embedded they are in institutions in Mexican Chicago. While length of time in the US has been associated with Americanization, the story is complicated by citizenship (Bean et al., 2015:17–44). Undocumented status can have the effect of forcing people to live and work in this unauthorized world because legal restrictions block access to institutions and

employment outside the more safe confines of Mexican Chicago. This is particularly apparent when we compare the experiences of the undocumented 1.5 generation and citizen-born children—the latter often can translate their bicultural competence into different forms of capital in both Mexican Chicago and beyond whereas those in the undocumented 1.5 generation are often forced into the world of Mexican Chicago. We will return to this discussion in Chapter 4.

Mexican Chicago and Integration: The Case of Jesús

The contours of Mexican Chicago have been shaped by continual replenishment of new arrivals of immigrants, and this has led to a world that can be seen in certain ways as opposing the process of assimilation. This is a vibrant network with a powerful underground economy. There are sources of employment and housing, and it is a world that allows for the building of friendships and the participation in leisure, hobbies, and sporting activities. Institutions like Chicharito's are ethnic safe spaces where people can feel comfortable interacting and living. This is particularly helpful for newer arrivals or those in the undocumented first generation who may not speak English, who are in need of employment, or who have limited connections to the city. Replenishment can thus serve as a positive force in that for these individuals, there is an existing community with a certain degree of freedom to move, mainly within spaces that are institutionally accepting. While this is certainly a constrained life, the significant pre-existing network of individuals of similar status can provide certain opportunities for new arrivals and the undocumented.

Jesús is a thirty-eight-year-old undocumented first generation informant who arrived to Chicago in 2003. Through family connections, he was able to get a job initially as a landscaper. Since soccer was one of his main passions, he found a team to play on shortly after his arrival and quickly found out that he could referee. "It was cash every night, and I don't have to be

working on the lawns." He referees five to seven nights a week and makes anywhere between $400–$800 a week in cash "under the table." When I met Jesús, he was taking English lessons but didn't like them because they were "hard" and he didn't see the value in continuing. "I make good money, I can referee forever! Look at *conejo* (the nickname of another referee); he's like sixty and makes more than I do man." The nature of this world and the economy and the opportunities that exist reduces the necessity of having to learn a new language for Jesús. As a referee he does not need to speak English because the vast majority of the players speak Spanish, and the league organizers who hire him and pay him also speak Spanish. He hangs out mainly at Chicharito's (and the other institutions that host the Mexican soccer network), his cousin who "has papers" owns the house he lives in, and he rarely interacts with institutions outside of spaces like Chicharito's.

Language learning has its own cost-benefit analysis for him, and any stigma thus does not seem to alter that equation enough to change his mind that learning English is worth it. This idea is further highlighted in the following fieldnote:

Fieldnote December 2013

Early on during my fieldwork, after a Sharks game, a bunch of the guys decided to stay around and have a few beers. While sitting around a table at Chicharito's with a few buckets of Modelo in front of me I asked him:

> "Yo Jesús … why don't we practice languages with each other. I'll start being serious about Spanish, you English." "Nah, *güey*" he replies. "English is too fucking hard … fuck that … I work, play, and drink beer … that's all I need." He says this laughing and offers a cheers with his Modelo bottle.

This cost-benefit analysis perspective for language learning is helpful when considering the level of English and Spanish of all of the members of this world. What it means to be Mexican is something that is defined by outsiders and insiders, and some people do not neatly fit

into such categories. Julio believes that his strong command of English distinguishes him from other Mexicans, and he will often comment on how "wetbacks" and "dirty spics" need to learn English. He is saying this ironically, though it is something that of course has meaning in that he is attempting to distinguish himself from that group. He works on his accent and studies English words to not sound like one of the pejorative label he so often uses for fellow Mexicans. "I don't want to sound like a 'spic', you know?" Talking about Jesús, he speculates: "People like that are not good for us (Mexicans) … if he is here he should learn English … there is no way they (the government) are going to give us papers if we have people like that."

José Luis, on the other hand, arrived at the same age as Jesús and has a much more significant grasp of English while still working and living almost exclusively in the network. This was due to "love." The first restaurant he worked in, he began dating the owner's daughter, a "Jewish American" woman who was two years his senior. "I wanted her to understand me," so even after fourteen-hour work days he would find time to take classes and would practice with anyone he could. "My cousins used to yell at me to stop speaking English … but I was in love! What else could I do?"

Those who want to "make it" in institutions outside of Mexican Chicago are aware of the need for English and the stigma that comes with an accented or incomplete language. When Antonio, a second generation cousin of Julio, had an interview for a job as a legal assistant, he noted that he was worried that his white boss would think he was some "stupid Mexican."

> "You know, I had to speak like you," pointing a finger at me. "… like white people … I (had to) speak proper English if I was going to get the job."

This is a form of code switching that Antonio believes is necessary to "make it" in what he perceives as the "white" world. While he must undergo such code switching to enhance his

chance at getting the job, he is able to apply for such jobs in the formal labor market unlike many of his cousins and friends because of the privileges associated with birthright citizenship.

Social mobility, though, can occur for the undocumented in Mexican Chicago. For instance, Rafa, a fifty-four-year-old first generation Mexican, began at Chicharito's as a "handyman" and is now in charge of closing up at nighttime. This is a relatively prestigious position, pays well, and is one that commands respect. This involves putting the money from the day, which is mostly cash due to the clientele, into a safe and often expelling intoxicated people from the premises. Rafa does not speak much English, and Mr C. notes that this is because "he doesn't have to. He makes good money, he's older, he doesn't have a wife or kids, he just sends money home to Mexico and does his thing." Thus when we as scholars consider the pathways of these immigrants and their children, it is important to keep in mind the world of Mexican Chicago and the different opportunities that exist within and outside of it that are often conditioned by time of arrival and whether one has "papers."

Analysis

Replenishment and the world of Mexican Chicago can serve as a positive force in that for new arrivals, there is an existing community with a certain degree of choice available in terms of "integrating." One can interact with individuals of similar status within a significant pre-existing network. While this choice has considerable constraints, I have found that assimilation is not an inevitable outcome amongst this group. Within the network, a lack of Spanish or English are associated with particular kinds of statuses, but people make choices based on cost-benefit analyses related to their lives and what they believe is best for them. This is one way we can see replenishment as a force that can work against processes of assimilation—Mexican Chicago has

responded in such a way as to provide outlets and a means of subsistence for Jesús and others who are formally excluded from other institutions.

The experiences of the undocumented first and 1.5 generation can be starkly different in Mexican Chicago. People in the undocumented 1.5 generation, like Joshua, learned English out of necessity when he entered public schooling in the United States. Joshua remembers being thrust into school "without a word of English" and remembers how "all the [other] kids would make fun of me … I didn't understand anybody … I used to come home crying … but man I had to learn so I did … my life got way better after I learned; I remember that man." The undocumented 1.5 generation are high in bicultural competence but face barriers to integration due to difficulty in acquiring higher education or moving into the formal labor market on account of their citizenship status. They may have a stronger desire to leave the confines of Mexican Chicago, a desire that has been formed in part by schooling and interactions with friends/peers who "have papers." While the first generation like Jesús can be relatively content with living within the confines of Mexican Chicago, the experiences of Julio, Joshua, and hundreds of thousands of others in the undocumented 1.5 generation differs in key ways in part because of the comparison groups they use when evaluating their lives. These comparison groups are formed in important ways through the social milieu of Mexican Chicago and are seen in the interactions that occur in spaces like Chicharito's Place.

It is important to discuss Mexican Chicago with respect to the particular sport that is the connecting feature of my fieldwork. This will serve as a transition into the next chapter, which delves more deeply into the world at Chicharito's Place.

Conclusion

Mexican Chicago is transforming the social space of the city itself (De Genova, 2005). Immigrant incorporation should not be seen as a one-way process whereby immigrants eventually integrate into the "mainstream." The vibrancy and growing market of Mexican Chicago speaks to its own internal world that is a part of the larger city. It is one that new immigrants incorporate into, existing immigrants are influenced by and in turn influence, and one that interacts and is part of the larger city and state institutions.

This world is constituted by a series of spaces where the undocumented feel comfortable interacting. One such institution is that of Chicharito's Place. Soccer as an activity has the power to bring these people together and make a heterogeneous community similar along a certain dimension even during a time when federal reforms and political rhetoric is driving them apart. Within the walls of Chicharito's, the barriers that emerge that separate this community are temporarily brought down. The undocumented first and 1.5 play alongside the second and third generations. The chapter on Chicharito's Place will delve into these meanings.

CHAPTER 4

CHICHARITO'S PLACE: ON SITING REPLENISHMENT

Witnessing a World Cup: *No Era Penal*

It was June 29, 2014, a day that lives in infamy in many Mexican minds. The World Cup had entered the knockout stages, reducing the field of 32 to 16 teams. Mexico was playing heavily favored Holland ("the Dutch"), but many people in the network were nevertheless optimistic. "We can do it man … we always play good against European teams at the World Cup," explained Juan, a twenty-four-year-old undocumented, 1.5 generation, joint Mexico and United States fan who passionately supported the former on that day.

The week before this game, there were Spanish language advertisements in various media peppered throughout the city and community that made people aware that Chicharito's Place would be a special place to watch this game—and indeed it was. "All told … over 2,000 people came," Mr. C recalled afterwards. It was a vibrant and enthusiastic atmosphere before kickoff: men and women, grandparents and young children almost all dressed in the familiar colors of red, white, and green of the Mexican National Team, or "El Tri." A wide segment of the diverse population of Mexicans in Chicago was present including prominent community members, business owners, busboys, gang members, and college students—documented and undocumented—all united together at least in this moment to watch and hope for victory. During my four years of fieldwork, this experience was one where Mexican Chicago felt most potent and real.

As with all Mexico games I have watched over the years at Chicharito's and elsewhere in the network, the game was televised in Spanish for several reasons. While outsiders might assume this is simply because some people did not speak and understand English (which is true

for a portion of the population), it is more related to (as one of my informants noted) “the American commentary (being) just fucking awful.” There is a pride and history that goes with watching this team that is understood not just by any commentator. Spanish and an intermingling of English could be heard throughout the facility—Modelo and Victoria bottles were everywhere along with a palpable mixture of excitement and fear before kickoff.

To accommodate such a large crowd, Mr. C had his eight televisions turned on as well as two large projectors. The game started off at a frenetic pace, and the entire facility reacted to the pace of the game in almost alarming unison. When a Dutch shot grazed the crossbar early on, the loud and powerful sound of relief that resonated through the facility literally made the hairs on my neck stand up. There were no neutral observers, and especially no one of Dutch ancestry, present. I could barely contain my own support for this team, an intensity of feeling that surprised me. Looking back, this no doubt related to a combination of the ebullient collective effervescence palpable in the facility, the multiple Modelos I had consumed, and my own cultish belief in the glorious nature of the sport.

To the shock of the footballing world, Mexico was the better side in the first half and struck almost immediately after halftime when one of their most famous players put them ahead with a neat finish. Could it be that Mexico would defeat the mighty Dutch? The excitement in the crowd was barely containable, as the dreams and hopes of them and the millions of other fans in the United States and Mexico seemed possible. Taking a lead in the game, though, altered the way Mexico played on the field, and this change in tactics could also be seen as a change in the way people at Chicharito were reacting to the game: it was as if the game went from feeling like there was nothing to lose (everyone thought Holland would win) to potentially everything to lose (a victory that would surely rank as one of the greatest in their history). As I looked at the

transfixed faces around me, I knew everyone understood what was happening. The ensuing thirty minutes saw wave after wave of Dutch attacks. The comeback felt inevitable when one of the international superstars of Holland struck in the eighty-eighth minute to draw the game level. This would send the game into extra time, or would it? "My God, Lord, if we get to penalties I swear I will be good for the rest of my life!" Alejandra proclaimed as we both watched a dejected looking Mexican player pick the ball out of his net. Similar declarations and prayers could be heard throughout.

What happened next is infamous and known in this world simply as *no era penal* (or "never a penalty"). Deep into extra time, with only seconds remaining, a Dutch player had dove and won a penalty. "He cheated!" I heard among other loud and desperate protestations. "It can't be," I thought to myself. It was a penalty, and the Dutch forward calmly converted it, sending Holland into the next round of the World Cup (where they would eventually lose to Lionel Messi's Argentina in the semi-finals). There was sadness and some despair—a feeling that only time could heal and make less sharp. After the final whistle, the majority of people stayed at Chicharito's; while sad and infuriated at the outcome (most people passionately described how they didn't really lose, but were cheated out of the victory: *no era penal*) they continued drinking and socializing while their young children played soccer on the fields or one of the many arcade games at Chicharito's.

While people in Mexican Chicago either have come from or have distant relatives in a vast array of areas in Mexico, soccer at the international level functions in an important way to unite them all. This is never more the case than in the World Cup, the most important soccer competition that is held every four years. In a way, the eleven players on the field come to represent the entire nation-state, a responsibility and privilege that weighs heavily on the players

who are distinctly aware of having the hopes of an entire nation resting on their proverbial shoulders. While individuals at Chicharito's come from diverse backgrounds and are of different generations, cheering on the Mexican national team at a World Cup allows them to share in the identity that comes from being from the same country of origin and being in a country that labels them as a distinct group. When I asked a second generation friend which national team he rooted for, he told me that "always USA and Mexico … and if they play each other I have to go with Mexico … because of my dad … I … feel more Mexican when I watch Mexico play … it's in my bones … my blood." Another informant, Alejandro, notes that watching the national team play is the most powerful way he experiences and celebrates his culture: "There is nothing like it … it is my country, but I am here (in America), but I am with all these people (pointing to the hundreds of people around him) and we are watching our country, our team, our … us really." To relate this all to the more theoretical language of the literature review of the last chapter, this story shows when replenishment is sited: it points to different generations sharing a common identity and the vibrancy/reality of Mexican Chicago that comes through interaction.

This event is part of a world that I have lived in and analyzed over the past five years. I use the space of Chicharito's and the network that interacts there as a lens into the larger Mexican American community in Chicago. It is a world of Mexican American immigrants and their descendants, a diverse group of people of different generations and backgrounds who share a country of origin, however distant. It is a product of a lengthy history of migration to Chicago that has led to the creation of vibrant networks and institutions. It is an important and essential part of where Mexican immigrants and their children make their lives.

In an immigrant gateway city like Chicago with a lengthy history of Mexican immigration, the social milieu that has emerged can allow some immigrants to live almost

entirely within its confines—this world can thus serve in some ways as a counter to assimilation. This is especially critical when considering the vulnerability of new arrivals and undocumented immigrants who can be fearful of institutions and spaces outside of the more protective confines of Mexican Chicago. Particular institutions become important as physical spaces where interactions in this replenishing community occur; one such space where it is brought to life through the activity of soccer is Chicharito's Place. From the undocumented first generation immigrant employee who arrived to the United States four years ago who checks their bags for weapons and alcohol at the security checkpoint to the second generation youth playing on teams with their friends in front of a diverse mix of undocumented and documented parents and relatives, the heterogeneous nature of this replenishing population is evident.

Introduction

Playing, organizing, and watching soccer in this network can serve as a powerful expression and experience of ethnic identity with the potential to unify aspects of the Mexican American immigrant population in Chicago. When these players, fans, parents, coaches, referees, cooks, security guards, and cleaners step outside the relatively safe and comfortable confines of Chicharito's, they are confronted with sharp boundaries and distinct status groups that divide this population along the lines of being "with" or "without" papers. The increasing significance of citizenship status in immigrant lives coupled with a broader context characterized by an absence of comprehensive federal immigration reform since 1986 and rising anti-immigrant sentiment makes grasping the particular worlds that immigrants incorporate into a pressing and important need.

As detailed in Chapter 2, some scholars and public policy figures fear that Mexican Americans will not assimilate and their incorporation trajectory will not be reminiscent of earlier

immigrant groups (Huntington, 2004; Buchanan, 2007). Apart from implicit racialization and an understanding of the "mainstream" as the white middle class, undergirding these ideas is a particular perception of Mexican Americans. Dismissing critiques that have been shown to be without empirical basis—for instance that this population is slower than other groups to learn English—there are attributes of this perception that are important and significantly impacted by the continual arrival of new co-ethnic immigrants (Waldinger et al., 2007). Tomás Jiménez's work has been especially influential at revealing the importance of replenishment (Jiménez, 2008, 2009). He argues that these newer arrivals lead to a perception that stereotypes all Mexican Americans as lacking documentation, having low levels of English proficiency, living in highly segregated ethnic neighborhoods, and having low socioeconomic status and low levels of human and social capital (Jiménez, 2009:20–30; Ochoa, 2000). This perception has worked to reinforce the low status of Mexican Americans as a group, even for those individuals who have been here for several decades or generations (Agius-Vallejo, 2012b:667–68). As Jiménez writes:

> Immigrant replenishment provides the means by which Mexican Americans come to feel more positively attached to their ethnic roots. But it also provokes a predominating view of Mexicans as foreigners, making Mexican Americans seem like less a part of the U.S. mainstream than their social and economic integration and later-generation status might suggest. (Jiménez, 2009:5)

Jiménez's work shows how the constant influx of immigrants shapes the assimilation experiences of both new arrivals and co-ethnics in complex ways that can be both beneficial and costly (Jiménez, 2009). He argues that replenishment creates intergroup boundaries by contributing to nativism and the stereotype that all Mexicans are associated with unauthorized status. It also leads to intragroup boundaries by contributing to expectations about ethnic authenticity.

Building on the last chapter that elucidated the particular milieu of Mexican Chicago, I will use Jiménez's work as a frame and examine the meaning of replenishment within the specific space of Chicharito's Place.

This chapter is centered around several key points and arguments. First, I show the benefits of "siting," the theoretically informative idea of replenishment. Chicharito's is an example of a space where replenishment can be seen and analyzed. Second, I show how and why the soccer world is important to recognize in and of itself. It is a game played with ferocity and passion, so much so that security must be hired to guard against the level of intensity. Soccer can be seen as bringing this group together even in a time where federal reforms and political rhetoric is driving them apart. Within the walls of Chicharito's, the barriers that emerge that separate this community are temporarily brought down. Third, I discuss the importance of institutions like Chicharito's that are firmly embedded in Mexican Chicago in allowing the undocumented to interact without fear.

Soccer at Chicharito's

The importance of the game to many of the people's lives goes beyond the walls of Chicharito's. My fieldnotes from a wedding ceremony for Eduardo and Melanie, two second generation Mexican Americans, points to these meanings:

Fieldnote August 2014

Eduardo and Melanie got married this past weekend about eight years after they started dating. They wanted to have a "dream wedding" so decided to wait until Eduardo had a full time job and they could afford something other than "one of those shotgun' things." Before the speeches, two mini soccer balls were passed around and everyone at the wedding signed them. Pablo, Eduardo's best man, gave a speech that talked about the role that soccer played in their

lives and in their friendship. “Soccer kept us from doing other things,” he said as they both started laughing. He went on to talk about how proud he was of “how good we are doing,” pointing to how both had graduated college while also calling to mind some of their old friends who got involved in gang life or who dropped out of school. Towards the end, he pulled a soccer ball from under the table (the “same one we used to play with as kids”) and invited Eduardo to stand up and join him—everyone started clapping as they juggled and laughed for the 100 or so people in attendance.

As Eduardo’s story suggests, soccer plays an important role in many of these young men’s lives and serves as a unique lens through which to view larger questions related to integration. It is also an activity that, through the organizations, institutions, and leagues that structure it, is involved in the socialization of children. Soccer is pervasive in the network: it is visible in the shops, in what people wear, in what people talk about— it is a feature that can be found throughout Mexican community in Chicago. It also can serve as a lens onto the broader processes that this ethnographic work is seeking to explore. As we discussed in Chapter 3, the organization and playing of soccer is one part or slice of the distinct world of Mexican Chicago. The fieldwork I have done has been inside of a vibrant soccer network with leagues like the Chicago Latin American Soccer Association (CLASA) and Hispano serving as important organizational structures that bring large groups of co-ethnics together. Chicharito’s is a critical site in this world as it is one of the major physical spaces where these leagues and individuals can come together. Because of the weather in Chicago, it is a site that is particularly important in the winter months. It is also a place that, due to its history and the extensive network of its co-owner (Mr. C), Mexicans in Chicago with and without papers can feel comfortable in this space.

My fieldwork here provides a window into the lives of the people in my study as they "become Americans" and make their lives in Chicago. Chicharito's Place is a particular kind of space within this world, one where replenishment and intragroup diversity of the population we see in general are present. From the children of foreign-born Mexicans (who would be characterized as 1.5 or second generation depending on time of arrival) who participate in the popular Sunday youth leagues to the male adults who play in *cascarita* (pickup) sessions that run nightly from 11:00 p.m. to 3:00 a.m., the internal heterogeneity of this population can be seen and the effects of replenishment (through interactions and connections) can be assessed. It is also a site where an important cultural activity is practiced, one that exists both in Mexico and the United States. In what follows, I will describe the culture of leagues as well as the internal world of those who staff or who are employed because of this facility and network including managers, security guards, referees, kitchen workers, and others I have interacted with during fieldwork. This activity as well as playing, watching, and organizing soccer is analyzed and used as a lens through which to view and understand experiences of immigrant incorporation. Let us now move to a description of Chicharito's and the particular rules and order of this world that governs interaction of individuals in the space.

Fieldnote November 10, 2015

It is a Friday night, and there is a championship game at Chicharito's. Tonight is the most competitive league, and as I make my way into the facility I am asked to hand the security guard my bag as he searches for weapons, drugs, and alcohol. The security guard is a quiet first generation Mexican man who arrived to the US three years ago—he greets me in Spanish and tells me to go through. As I turn towards the fields, I see the familiar sights of Mexican league

jerseys and flags and hear *banda* music playing loudly. There are about 200 people present to watch this match between La Bamba and Deportivo DF.

Though Julio's friends all play for La Bamba (he even designed the logo of this team, and many of these friends refer to him as an "artist," both for his drawing ability and creativity on the field), Julio is playing for Deportivo DF. The manager of this team, who according to Mr. C is "high up" in a local gang and is known to bet large sums on games, pays all of his players for their services. They are a collection of the most talented amateur players in Chicago, and the level of the game promises to be quite high. Julio received $50 per game in the regular season and $100 cash for playoff matches; due to difficulty in acquiring "legitimate" work, this is his main source of income.

I know that the game will be intense based on how many people are here, the body language of the two teams as they warm-up, and the extra security Mr. C has hired for the night. There are two security guards on the field and four walking around the field during the game. It is clear that everyone is taking this game with the utmost seriousness, and no one more so than "Big Manny," the coach of La Bamba. He is a thirty-year-old undocumented 1.5 generation obese male who stays involved in the sport he loves through his coaching role. As I wait for the game to start, I am joined by Manuel, a referee originally from Guadalajara who does not speak much English, something that is not necessary for him given his particular career in Mexican Chicago. He shows me pictures of one of his daughters who just had her Quinceañeara. Next to him is a thirty-four-year-old first generation Mexican construction worker who people in the network refer to simply as "Paisa." He mentions that he has bet serious money on the game and listens intently to the introductions of the players on the loud speaker while holding a 32-ounce Corona Familiar as his two-year-old child rests her head on his shoulder.

Pictures of the squads are being taken by a photographer from a local newspaper (*Hoy*), and I notice many new faces in the two teams. Since this is the final, both teams have elected to bring the best possible players. These players, colloquially referred to as "ringers," often did not participate in most, or any, of the regular season, and come to the final to "get paid" and help the coach win. This includes a former Mexican professional player of Cruz Azul along with two guys from a local Division I university who, according to NCAA rules, certainly should not be participating in such an event. The Mexican professional player was brought over by Morelia, this year's winner of the outdoor summer CLASA season, the most prestigious and competitive soccer competition in Mexican Chicago (and what I would argue is one of the highest levels of amateur soccer in the United States). Other players I recognize include Chicles, a thirty-year-old 1.5 generation member who gained citizenship to the USA in tragic circumstances that involved his father being the victim of a serious crime, and "Lil' Tony," a former standout player at a top Division I institution who plays for a local professional indoor soccer team.

The level of the game is extremely high and the serious tension that the game produces is reflected in an additional referee being assigned to officiate. The game begins, and cheers from the crowd (VAMOS Deportivo!) can be heard throughout the facility. The match is a tight affair, and Julio plays relatively poorly throughout due to the extra effort La Bamba exerted in "keeping him quiet." Julio says, "They know about me man, they had two guys on me the whole time!" La Bamba eventually won 8-6, and the two sides take pictures with the "trophy girl," an attractive twenty-year-old first generation Mexican woman who arrived to the United States less than two years ago. She wears revealing clothing and was hired for the night for this specific purpose. "Trophy girls" are a distinctive feature of these finals or championship nights, and younger girls are even brought in for championship games in the youth leagues on Sundays.

The Deportivo coach leaves almost immediately after the game and seems seriously distraught. Once the coach leaves, Julio is able to rejoin his friends on La Bamba, and we all decide to stay at the facility until closing. The La Bamba players are all extremely happy, and conversations range during the night from discussions of the game to women and childhood memories of the neighborhood the majority of the guys grew up in. José Luis, who was working as a security guard during the game, is quick to start an impromptu karaoke session once the majority of the nonregulars had left the space. The consistent flow of Mexican songs was punctuated by my stirring a capella rendition of the Irish famine song "Fields of Athenry."

When everyone leaves for the night, Chicharito's as a space is transformed, reflecting the idea that it is the people and activities, not necessarily the spaces or physical areas, that matter in the production and contestation of Mexican Chicago. Indeed, I returned five hours later to the facility to coach the Tiny Strikers, a company that uses soccer as a tool for its "child development" programs. This organization is host to a more racially diverse, upper-middle-class group, and one cannot see any traces of the world that was present hours earlier during the La Bamba championship victory. The physical space is thus host to multiple worlds depending on the time of day and the activity and organizations involved. To better understand this space, I will now describe a bit more about its history.

Chicharito's Place

Background and History

Chicharito's Place is nestled in Nedved Town's industrial corridor. In 1998, the original owner Bill and his son, Richard hired a broker to assist him in locating a viable space that could be the home of a soccer facility within city limits.[1] After detailing what he was looking for, the

[1] During the course of my fieldwork, Bill and Richard sold all of their shares to Mr. C, sometime in late 2016.

broker alerted Bill to two possible problems: the first issue was with the dimensions of the space itself (low ceilings and narrow spaces where fields would be built) while the second was with the neighborhood it was found within. The first proved not to be a major deterrence for Bill as he believed the potential competition could not provide a better product as there were no such spaces in the area. Further, he believed that the playing style the space would demand would ultimately suit the community the space was found within—that is, the low ceilings and narrow fields would suit the "Mexican style of soccer," one that is known for being highly technical while keeping the ball "on the ground." Particular nations and national teams are thought by some to have a particular style of play: the stereotype of Mexican and Hispanic players active in such people's minds is one of shorter and more skilled players who like to pass and play the ball on the ground as opposed to playing "long balls" that would require higher ceilings.

The key point that Bill is attempting to make is that the type of games that would be played does not require high ceilings. The second "problem" the broker identified, however, actually served to be the driving force behind the decision to purchase the space. For Bill, this was an easy decision as his "market research reveal(ed) that the Mexican market was huge" and that since "these people" were "fanatical" they would "play year round." As is the case for many owners of indoor soccer facilities, finding ways to fill the space during non-peak hours and times was (and continues to be) a major concern for Bill: thus in taking into consideration what he saw as the "fanatical" devotion of Mexicans and the Hispanic community, Bill believed that he had found the "perfect location" where he could put the game "right in their backyard."

Moving now to a description of the building: When walking through the double-doors at street level, one is led up a long winding walkway where one can see murals of various Aztec, Mayan, Incan, and Mexican-inspired artwork. Bill noted during one of our interviews that this

design was intentional and that he had a desire to make the building represent and "feel like" the local community of Nedved Town. There are also Mexican jerseys, Mexican professional league teams, and Spanish language advertisements throughout the facility. Going through the double doors that lead into Chicharito's, one passes through a security checkpoint, which is only operational during the evening activities and the Mexican youth leagues on Sunday. Depending on the event and day, a security guard will be present along with a building manager to inspect bags for weapons and drugs or other illegal items. As will be discussed below, security is important as a symbolic presence that can ease tensions that might otherwise boil into fights or assaults. Mr. C notes: "The main thing is we don't want the cops called … then the alderman will be on our ass." It is five dollars to enter the building during league times and on Sundays, a policy that is shared across all soccer facilities in Mexican Chicago. While Chicharito's was the only soccer facility of its kind serving the Mexican population when it opened in 2000, there is now competition at a few other places (one in particular that is located less than two miles away) within city limits. After passing through this checkpoint, there is a large open space that serves as a banquet hall where various activities and events are held (such as quinceañeras, receptions, and baptism parties). At the far side of this space are the bathrooms (which also serve as changing areas for players and teams) and to one's right are the large seating areas. Behind these seating areas is a trophy cabinet and pictures of various *liga de campeones.*

How the Space is Used

The space itself is used in many ways. As I have explained in the above vignette about La Bamba's championship game, spaces can become part of Mexican Chicago at particular times depending on who is present and the activity taking place. In an attempt to bring more revenue to Chicharito's, Bill decided to purchase Tiny Strikers in 2008 and played an active role in the

facility until he sold the franchise in 2016. Tiny Strikers at Chicharito's generally attracted the children of middle- and upper-middle-class families who could be seen in Chicharito's during weekday mornings and early afternoons and Saturday.

Cascarita sessions happen during all times in the facility when the fields are not booked but are most popular after 11:00 p.m. nightly and are almost exclusively Mexican and male. These pickup groups are usually male between the ages of fourteen to forty years old, with a few older outliers. *Cascarita* players are a combination of people looking for extra games and individuals who work late/irregular hours and who cannot get on a league team. Leagues, which are the "bread and butter" of soccer facilities in terms of income, according to Mr. C, are a critical part of the Chicharito's space.

While the sport is played throughout the city, the leagues in this network lack racial diversity and are almost exclusively Hispanic and Mexican. To better understand this I interviewed and had conversations with the managers and organizers of both Chicharito's and the three other of the most significant leagues and organizations in Mexican Chicago. These organizations are significant in terms of how many people participate and how prestigious the league is viewed within the network. These owners and managers highlighted three factors that they believe led to these ethnically homogenous leagues. First, several of the managers noted the role that racism and discrimination played historically and that continues in more indirect forms today. Some of the older players mention that when they were younger, many teams in other leagues simply "didn't want Mexicans," and this discrimination in their minds led to what one team owner noted as the formation "of our own leagues."

This discrimination relates to the structural problems noted in the preface and in my last Chapter with the USSF and the significant financial investment often needed to provide one with

the “best” opportunities. Soccer is thus not a pure meritocracy where the most talented players succeed. For instance, if you are an aspiring college player in pursuit of scholarships, your chances of success are dramatically increased by playing on “elite” club teams. These teams have access to networks and attend “showcases” where the most important college coaches attend. The top ranked youth clubs in the Chicagoland area has an annual fee of between $3,000–$5,000 per child. The leagues like CLASA and those at Chicharito’s are not officially a part of the USSF, and this impacts the trajectory of the more talented soccer players.

Second, as reported by the owner of the most prestigious league in the city, CLASA, the lengthy migration of Mexicans in Chicago has led to a certain history and has generated traditions that are kept alive by both the arrival of new immigrants—-many teams in the network are comprised of individuals from particular areas in Mexico and these new arrivals will join those specific teams—as well as immigrant children. This is also seen in the Sunday youth leagues at Chicharito’s, where in the winter more than 1,800 children were registered in 2016. Once the bigger Mexican leagues formed, there was less incentive to look or become involved with other groups even as time progressed and racial restrictions lessened.

The final reason mentioned during these interviews is the most important for the arguments of this chapter: the space provided by Chicharito’s and these other leagues are ones where the undocumented can play and register themselves or their children to play without fear. The undocumented often experience “institutional” or “system avoidance,” but Chicharito’s provides an important ethnic safe space (Brayne, 2014). They can feel comfortable playing and hanging out within the confines of Chicharito’s. I have found this to be the case through directly asking undocumented informants as well as examining the policies that were intentionally instituted by the owner, Mr. C. As Ana, a former league organizer at Chicharito’s on Sunday

noted, parents know they can "come with any kinda birth certificate, we don't care—its just got to be real!" Though of course highly gendered at the adult level, the youth leagues show in particular how soccer can bring this diverse population that comprises the "Mexican" community together. Teams can consist of new undocumented arrivals to members of the third generation. In a context of fear and uncertainty of rights, it is especially noteworthy that some undocumented parents and coaches will attempt to provide fake birth certificates to "sneak" players into games when they are over the age limit. This speaks to the different levels of comfort with institutions the undocumented can have in Chicago. While Chicharito's is concerned about "ringers" and requires proof of age for these youth leagues, this is a form of proof that is different than those required by institutions outside Mexican Chicago.

The vast majority of those who organize, work, and play in the leagues at Chicharito's can be characterized as Mexican American. Leagues happen in the evenings and all day on Sundays, and while most participants are male, there are also female and co-ed leagues. There are also separate *veterano* leagues for men and women over thirty and forty years old. Apart from the youth leagues, which have a more even distribution of genders, the adult leagues are mainly male.

Bill notes that it is not simply the fact that the "Hispanic" population "plays year-round," which serves as one of the main reasons for such homogenous league structures at Chicharito's; two other possible reasons include "racism and bigotry" with the "Anglos not wanting to associate with the Mexicans," and second, the different playing styles of Mexicans and Anglos:

> The leagues provide hard … brutal games … fast … every night is World Cup night you know … Most Anglo teams think they want to come down … but they don't wanna bang, wanna play hard, that aggressive play that these leagues … like… are all about.

In interviews and conversations with people affiliated with the facility, I have indeed heard the Mexican/Hispanic soccer community frequently described in similar terms as "intense," "aggressive" and "passionate," and this is related to the style of play and the belief amongst many of my informants that there is a unique "Mexicanness" to soccer. It is a sport that was introduced to many by their fathers and one in which they play in leagues that are almost exclusively Mexican/Hispanic. Beyond playing, many follow particular professional teams, with many attached to the Mexican professional teams in the regions they or their families have come from. As recounted in the opening vignette, the attachment often extends to the national team, particularly during intense moments like at the World Cup.

There is a notable passion and desire to win at all age levels at Chicharito's. This passion, as one informant noted, is instilled at birth and is a mentality of "needing to win at all costs." This is something that is evident in *cascarita* sessions, the popular youth leagues on Sundays, and all the way to the over-40 adult men's league games. The following fieldnote speaks to this kind of competitiveness:

Fieldnote February 2014

Our team is tied 4-4 in a regular season game and there is about one minute left. We, the Sharks (I am known as White Shark on this particular team due to skin pigment),[2] are playing against an inferior opponent skill-wise and a general sense of frustration can be felt within the squad. I am playing "up top" and am essentially responsible in the unit for scoring goals. I am following the pace of the game, waiting for an opportunity to make a run. I do not think of much else. Just the game. Concentration is necessary, and I am trying with all the effort I have to assist my team in winning this game. Jorge gets the ball around the halfway line, and I know that if I

[2] I have tried on many instances to change this name to the Great White Shark due to the fact that it is a real shark and is funnier. Unfortunately this has not quite stuck.

make a quick run he will see me and give me the ball. The man who is marking me is “dirty” and had been doing illegal things to me in the course of the game in order to gain an advantage, including several attempts to slap me in my crotch area; before I make a run I tug this guy’s shirt to put him off balance. He curses at me in Spanish as I move away from him. Jorge plays a delicately weighted pass, and I let it run through my legs and immediately toe poke the ball under the onrushing keeper’s legs. But it hits the post. “Merde ... What the fuck Brian, score that shit!” Jorge yells. “You don’t think I tried motherfucker?” I quickly and angrily respond. He looks at me knowingly, and we move on, trying to grab a late winner.

We do not end up winning the game (it ends 4-4) and Jorge is noticeably upset with me after the game. “Brian, it’s a one-on-one, man, just put the ball into the fucking goal.” I have my head in my hands, and I repeat to him that I tried and know that I “fucked up.” He leaves me alone, and we all head home early that night.

There is unique cultural material that is apparent in a variety of ways to those who have been involved in different kinds of leagues throughout their lifetime. One of these is the kind of “talk” that occurs during the game. At Chicharito’s I have noticed the “negativity” involved, which was in stark contrast to other teams I have played for. If someone “fucks up” or “makes a mistake,” like I did in this example, teammates would be expected to say things like “that’s okay” or “good effort.” But on many of these teams, there is extreme negative talk where mistakes are met with derision, scorn, or mockery depending on the kind of mistake and the importance of the moment.

The fieldnote above also reflects the seriousness with which people take the sport. It is important to note here that what matters is not whether there “really” is a “Mexican way” of playing soccer. Rather, for our purposes, what matters is that the kind of soccer played and the

style more generally is part of the social world that colors the lives of my informants. It is a part of a world that they interact in regularly, one they were socialized into, and one where many will continue in for most of their lives.

One major difference with other leagues outside of Mexican Chicago is in the paying structure. Unlike the majority of soccer organizations in the United States, teams and players pay weekly as opposed to a lump sum at the beginning of the season. This is because, as Mr. C notes, "people here don't want or can't pay this all up front." This element causes organizational difficulties for the staff at Chicharito's because in order to get paid, they must contact team owners weekly to arrange game times that work for each team as opposed to setting game times whenever they desire.

The referee fee is $75.00 for adult games; referees are paid $25 per game, and this is done for the most part "off the books." Game times are approximately forty minutes (two 17- or 20-minute halves depending on the league). Referees (refs) will usually work five to six games a night, and there are four "full-time" refs at Chicharito's whose main source of income is officiating games. "It's good money, but you gotta fucking work for it and it isn't for everybody … it's a lot of pressure … remember when I got punched last week … most people don't want to deal with this shit," notes Miguel Angel, referencing the difficult nature of this job that I discussed in Chapter 2. Referees have to negotiate what often proves a difficult balancing act—making sure that tensions don't bubble to the surface and lead to fights and physical assaults.

Referees are very concerned about these issues and focus on establishing authority within the game itself. Miguel Angel warned me early on before I started "reffing" the Sunday youth leagues that "messing up decisions will get (you) in trouble." Referees need to be confident and assured when making a decision, and such assurance needs to be conveyed to the players through

presenting a perception of self that is decidedly confident. Showing weakness and wavering on decisions invites multiple problems that lead to a questioning of authority and a break in the order that Bill attempts to maintain through security guards, metal detectors, and confident referees. This questioning of authority can result in a form of chaos, or a break in the structure of the game/ritual where anything can happen, including fights.

In response to a question I posed very early on in my fieldwork about why there was a need for so many security guards, one of my informants raised the following point: "You know dude … the whole betting culture here, that plays a big role too … when you bet, the game becomes a 'real thing'… people (will) fight over that shit." Some games are of a higher quality than others and have more tension, including a game like the one recounted in the La Bamba championship vignette. "Tension" is almost always present and is a product of playing in a competitive game or sport; this certainly exists on a continuum that varies based on the perceived importance of the game, history of the rivalry between the particular teams, who is present, whether people know each other, closeness of the game in terms of score, and other related factors. It is not betting itself, nor the tension, nor the specific quality of games, although that is of key social significance. The sport is more than these things, and taken together, they are signals of how this activity matters and connects this diverse network together.

Such perceptions have resulted in real effects and can be seen in what Bill describes as an "increased need for security" at Chicharito's due to how the passion and intensity often leads to fights. During thousands of hours observing this space, it should be noted that I have only seen four actual fights take place where the police were called, the most serious of which was initiated between two mothers at a Sunday youth league game. There have, however, been countless skirmishes, which are usually solved on the field of play. I define the difference between

"actual" fights and "skirmishes" based on the degree to which social order has broken down and whether physical violence ensued. This is something that can be seen by a participant observer and depends on the intentions of those involved and the series of events or particular context that leads to an incident. Understanding why the owners or Mr. C does not call the police when problems or fights occur leads us to an important point about the meaning of Chicharito's Place and institutions like it in Mexican Chicago.

Chicharito's as an Ethnic Safe Space: Institutional Acceptance

Sarah Brayne, Alice Goffman, and others have rightly noted the kinds of "institutional" or "system avoidance" low-income and marginalized individuals experience in day-to-day life (Goffman, 2009; Brayne, 2014). I have found through other research (detailed in Chapter 6) how institutional avoidance is a powerful feature of an undocumented individual's life. For instance, experiences in healthcare include fear and distrust of particular medical facilities and hospitals that require paperwork or that have inadequate resources to deal with the specific needs of this population. In a context of institutional avoidance, undocumented immigrants and other vulnerable populations must continuously negotiate potentially precarious spaces.

As I have argued, the world of Mexican Chicago can be understood as a vibrant social milieu created in part due to replenishment. This has in turn led to a series of spaces that institutionally embrace the large undocumented population by providing a level of comfort and a measure of freedom to interact without consideration of their citizenship status. These kinds of spaces include particular restaurants, bars, health clinics, and sports facilities like Chicharito's Place. An institutional-based approach to immigrant incorporation allows one to uncover spaces that provide a sense of community and acceptance. There is thus a simultaneous inclusion and exclusion that immigrants (particularly the undocumented) feel when encountering different

types of institutions inside and outside of the world of Mexican Chicago. I will now describe two specific examples from my fieldwork to illustrate the significance of these spaces: policies surrounding how to register for leagues and how disciplinary matters within the space are handled.

Registration Policies

Specific registration policies have been intentionally instituted by the owner in a conscious effort to cater to an undocumented population who are often fearful of revealing their legal status through paperwork. Aware of the large percentage of the clientele who are undocumented, the individuals who work at Chicharito's make parents feel comfortable with providing whatever kind of proof and documentation they have, whether they be birth certificates from Mexico or the United States. Veronica, a thirty-one-year-old 1.5 generation undocumented immigrant with Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) status and who worked as an organizer for the popular Sunday youth leagues from 2010–16, explained that since it is "kind of a community," the parents "know that they can say that they don't have papers or their kids don't … They know that we don't care about that." The problem that Chicharito's has faced relates not to parents avoiding the facility due to fear but rather to some parents and coaches attempting to create "fake" papers for their children to get them onto teams that they are ineligible for due to their age.[3] This speaks to the different levels of comfort with institutions the undocumented can have in Chicago.

Julio further reflects on this idea and the importance of institutions like Chicharito's:

> There are different kinds of places man … last weekend I went out with this girl and she wanted to go to this bar in River North … but that was close to that other place you know where the

[3] The colloquial phrase for this is "ringers" whereby one attempts to put "better" players on one's team regardless of the rules to increase the likelihood of winning. This is mirrored in the adult leagues by teams who include players on their roster for the season but who only come to play in the playoffs to get paid and help them win.

> [bouncer] didn't take my [matrícula] ID[4] …. so I had to pretend, I had to like make up something to her … cause I was afraid of my ID getting taken and looking like some illegal idiot … so you ask me about Chicharito's? At [Chicharito's] I don't gotta worry about stuff like that obviously, I know everyone here, I've been coming here like all my life…. The cops aren't gonna bust in unless someone gets real drunk and tries to fight everyone … but even then they [Mr. C and the owners] rarely calls the police dog ... José Luis and those other dudes [security guards] will be on their ass quick.

Two points are worth noting here: first, Chicharito's is differentiated from other spaces like a bar in a wealthy neighborhood in Chicago that generates fear, anxiety, and uncertainty for Julio who does not want to be embarrassed (or worse) in front of his date. The second key point relates to the policies instituted by the owner of Chicharito's and the role of security guards in maintaining order.

Security and "Not Calling the Cops"

Security guards are present at strategically designated places throughout the facility, including when one enters the front door where customers pass through a metal detector and have their bags checked for weapons or alcohol; as "floaters" who walk around the facility and who serve as a symbolic and practical reminder of the need to maintain order; and at the scorer's table on the three fields in order to quickly "jump in" if problems arise during the course of a game including fighting or red cards.

Security guards often do enter the field to defuse a situation and play an important symbolic role in this sense, one that serves to localize authority while implicitly reminding players and customers of the dangers of lack of self-control. Depending on the nature of the infraction, individuals can be suspended for a certain number of games or for a particular period

[4] Julio is referring to an incident that happened about two weeks earlier when we tried to go to a different bar in River North. The bouncer, who had let in some of my Irish friends with foreign passports, told us that he wouldn't let Julio in with "*that* ID" referring to the *matrícula consular* that many of my undocumented informants have. The Matrícula Consular (often referred to simply as the matrícula) is a form of identification given by Mexican consulates to Mexican citizens living abroad. Many of my undocumented informants, like Julio, have this ID to help them access particular services including banks.

of time. This can go from a two-game suspension to a lifetime ban, the latter of which can happen for infractions including stealing, bringing weapons, or serious physical assault.

One of the policies at Chicharito's is that when a player gets a red card, at least one security guard will immediately enter the field to escort the player off. Red cards are for egregious fouls that get you ejected from the game—I have seen red cards given for excessive abuse of referees, punching/kicking, spitting on opponents or in their direction, three "blue" cards in a given contest (unlike outdoor soccer where two yellow cards lead to a red), and other extremely dangerous fouls. When a player gets a red card, it is a high-tension moment, which explains why a security guard immediately enters the field of play as the recipient of the card may react angrily to this development. Angry reactions to such cards are common and a product of the nature of this particular game and sport generally as interpretations of what occurred are often based on self-interest. During the "heat of the moment" people are also much more passionate, and many admit to irrational behavior after the fact.

One specific example from my fieldwork follows: Arturo, a thirty-seven-year-old undocumented first generation member originally from San Juan de los Lagos who arrived in the United States when he was twenty-two years old, is a passionate defender who plays multiple nights a week and who works a construction job during the day. He is one of my teammates on Monday nights and has been coming to Chicharito's for over a decade. During the course of one particularly intense playoff game, he received a red card for a late tackle on an opponent. Angered over what he believed to be an unjust dismissal, he broke away from the security guard who was walking him off the field and attempted to physically confront the referee and then tried to punch one of our opponents. This caused both of the team benches to clear and resulted in

multiple security guards coming onto the field to break up the skirmish and physically escort Arturo from the building.

Arturo's main infraction here was returning to the field after being escorted off and shown a straight red card. Doing so required another stoppage of the play and further intervention by security. This time they escorted him out of the facility entirely and to his car. While doing so he continued to try and break from the security guard and insulted one of the league managers who is present on most nights, referring to her as a "fat Guatemalan whore" in Spanish among other unsavory comments. Even though he had a personal connection to the owner, he received a one-year suspension because of the multiple ways he challenged the normal ordering of the space.

Arturo came back to Chicharito's the next day while I was hanging out with Mr. C in his office. He apologized for his behavior and said that he "wasn't thinking straight" and that he got caught up in the heat of the moment. While Mr. C had known Arturo "since he came [to the US]" and knew that he was "a good guy," he told him that there was "nothing" he could do and that he would have to uphold the one-year suspension. Arturo's name and picture were then posted in the office along with others who have received a ban from the facility (ranging from one month to a lifetime).

This avoidance of calling the police is a conscious policy instituted by the owner. As he notes: "I will only call the police man if it is absolutely necessary … Listen, we hire these [security] guys so that we won't have problems with the police or alderman … and if we were calling the police for every fight that happens a lot of the players would stop coming and the alderman would shut our ass down … so we have to balance stuff a bit." According to the law, Arturo's attempt to punch an opponent (he missed) could be seen as a criminal act. If the police

were called, he would be in danger of much more than jail due to his undocumented status. These policies of internally handling disorder work in important ways to lead to an ethnic safe space for undocumented immigrants and their family members.

Ethnic safe spaces that provide institutional acceptance are key in making this vulnerable population feel comfortable and encouraging various forms of involvement within the milieu. Participating in the cultural activity of soccer in specific spaces leads to interactions within this replenishing community. The popular Sunday youth leagues illustrate this while also pointing to the intergenerational nature of the network and socialization processes into the broader world of Mexican Chicago that are occurring.

Sunday Youth Leagues and Socialization

The extremely popular Sunday youth leagues that host an intergenerational network of Mexican Americans provides insight into different ways immigrant children are socialized into Mexican Chicago while also speaking to the specific ways the sport of soccer itself is played and seen. Depending on the season,[5] there are anywhere between 100–200 teams and 800–2,500 children brought by parents, grandparents, uncles, and cousins, playing in leagues that run from early morning to late afternoons. The teams start at the "under 4" (years old) level and end at "under 13," and there are about an equal amount of boys and girls teams, though the boys outnumber the girls in the two oldest age groups. These teams are diverse in composition and consist of the children of new arrivals as well as members of the third generation

We will take a step into this world through two fieldnotes that occurred while I was serving as a referee. When I began doing fieldwork, I thought of different ways that I could be involved on Sunday, which was a particularly difficult and awkward day for me to attend

[5] Indoor soccer facilities like Chicharito's are busier during the colder months—thus the space is most vibrant during the Winter seasons in Chicago when playing outside is not possible.

initially as I was a single adult—a tall, white male—and it was mainly a family atmosphere. In other words, I needed a "legitimate" reason to be there. As I had experience and a referee license (though this is not necessary for such leagues as they operate outside the structures of the United States Soccer Federation),[6] I settled on refereeing as a good way to experience these days, and after speaking with one of the league managers, I was assigned to work from 7:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. each week. He placed me with the youngest age groups, between four- and eight-year-olds, so that I could gain experience as older age groups are perceived to be more difficult to handle. I performed this role for one 16-week season.

Fieldnote September 2014

During one of my first games refereeing at the facility, two under 5 teams were playing each other. Mothers, fathers, and other relatives were in attendance—about 100 people watching in total. One team was Real Madrid, who were the best in the league, named after the famous Spanish professional team. Pointing to the importance that the sport and team played in these parents' lives, it was clear that they had invested in this team: the children had matching shirts, shorts, and socks—and all of the children were wearing relatively good shoes including Adidas, Nike, and other higher quality, branded soccer gear. The goalie even had a full Real Madrid jersey.

While the other team had also invested in its appearance—they all had matching red jerseys that displayed the name of a small town in Mexico that the coach came from—it was abundantly clear before the game even started that this team was wildly outmatched. Before kickoff, I suspected that Madrid would score a few goals in the beginning, after which their coach would employ tactics to keep the score "respectable." This, however, was not the case. Within five

[6] See Valeraino for a discussion on the implications of the separation of immigrant communities and leagues with the formal structure of the United States Soccer Federation (Valeraino, 2014:297–303).

minutes the score was 6-0 and the goals kept coming as the parents screamed equally as loudly for the sixth as for the first. Shortly after the seventh goal, the goalie of the inferior team, who I could tell didn't fully understand the rules of his position, stepped outside of his goal mouth with the ball. According to the rules, this would result in a direct free kick from the spot he stepped out. Rather than call a foul, I stopped the game by whistling and walked over to the goalkeeper and whispered in the child's ear that he was not allowed to take the ball out of the area. His eyes followed my hand as I manually sketched out the "box" for him. As I was doing this, I could hear parents beginning to get angry—the word *arbitro* was being used in a way that was not positive. When I backed away to allow the goalie to redo his effort, there were loud screams of incredulity that I had not followed the rules and called a foul on the child. I was gently reprimanded after the game by one of the league organizers who told me that I needed to just "let the game go the way it will go."

It should be kept in mind that this was an under 5 game, the score was 7-0, and the weaker team had no chance of coming back into the contest. This is a particular kind of environment that focuses on the importance of winning and emphasizes the final result rather than the process involved, which is something that is evident across the various age groups and that people described in interviews as a particularly "Mexican way" of thinking about and playing soccer. This form of extrinsic motivation was formed as children and can be seen in the way many of my adult teammates approach the sport during the past five years of fieldwork. This was also evident in the problem of parents attempting to register children for younger age groups where they are ineligible. As Veronica noted: "It doesn't matter what age group—I can't tell you how many times parents tried to sneak older kids onto teams … especially in the playoffs … we have to be super on the lookout for it … and the other teams are all aware of it

and they are always questioning each other … it's kind of ridiculous, but it's the way it is." As seen in the vignette describing La Bamba's championship victory, this kind of logic is mirrored in the adult leagues where there are no such age restrictions. Teams will include players on their roster who do not participate during the regular season but only come to the playoffs or final "to get paid" and help the coach to victory.

"You Should Learn Spanish if You Are the Referee": October 5, 2014

Before an under 8 game that I was refereeing, I stood in the middle of the field consciously attempting to look authoritative and professional for the parents who were looking at me from the stands. There were approximately seventy-five people, presumably family members, surrounding the field getting ready to watch the game. A sprightly boy who I assumed to be seven or eight years old approached me to ask a question. He began asking in Spanish but during the interaction he caught my eye and astutely picked up on my nonverbal reaction that indicated I may not be understanding him and switched languages towards the end of the sentence, indicating that he would like me to tie his shoes. I obliged the request and when I got down to do this he inquired why I didn't speak better Spanish. Before I had time to respond, he answered his own question and declared in a definitive voice, "You should learn Spanish if you are the referee."

This kind of interaction happened multiple times on Sundays and speaks to the kind of socialization that is happening in the world of Mexican Chicago. When considering the contexts of school and Chicharito's, it becomes clear that the process of incorporation for these children is one that involves experience in multiple worlds or social contexts with distinct kinds of rules. These children are developing high levels of bicultural competence, which I use here to mean the ability, existing on a continuum, to move between multiple worlds in a given society (Suárez-

Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2002:7). These children often help their parents navigate more "mainstream" institutions later in life. Two examples from my fieldwork include children attending medical appointments with their parents to serve as informal translators and children helping to solve problems and issues with landlords who might not speak Spanish.

Due to factors like residential segregation as well as the long history of immigration to Chicago, individuals in my network grew up with several distinct worlds in mind: Mexico, that of larger American society, and that of Mexican Chicago. The 1.5 and second generation and beyond are distinguishable in the network by how fluent they are in both or multiple worlds—those who are high in bicultural competence, for instance, are ones that flow in and out easily. While my 1.5 and second generation teammates in the adult leagues have varied experiences in education and employment, they almost all participated in these leagues, and many of them have, and will, put their own children in these leagues. Bibi, a twenty-four-year-old undocumented 1.5 generation member that I have played with for the past five years and who had a child with his girlfriend about three years ago, noted that "I grew up in this, all these guys did … It's kind of a community I guess but its more just a bunch of Mexicans or whatever playing soccer with each other. My kid is gonna play here. It's just the way it is." Importantly, Bibi's citizenship status plays a major role in this decision: "Listen, you know I don't got papers … I know the people here [at Chicharito's], in all these leagues … those leagues on the north side, those white boy leagues, I don't know anyone there … why would I want to go play there then?" Eduardo, a twenty-six-year-old member of the second generation and one of my main informants, has a different feeling for his own son, a feeling that relates both to the freedom afforded by his citizenship and the ability to choose between different cultural orientations to the sport of soccer: "Nah, bro, Aiden my boy ain't playing with these people dude! They take it too seriously. I don't

want him to be all scared and stuff like I was when I was a kid … like if I didn't win it was the end of the world … my dad was fucking crazy when it came to me playing … [Aiden] don't need that shit." Eduardo's comment speaks to the tension that some describe as "needing to win at all costs" in these leagues and is an illustration of the different ways soccer can be experienced and understood. To better understand this point, it is now helpful to compare the approach to soccer in Tiny Strikers and the Sunday youth leagues.

Comparing Tiny Strikers and Sunday Youth Leagues

I served as a coach for Tiny Strikers for three years (January 2012 to January 2015) working approximately eight to fifteen hours a week at Chicharito's. While a distinctive marker of the space of Chicharito's at night time is race and ethnicity, during Tiny Strikers programming, social class is the more evident marker. This program primarily caters to the children, aged eighteen months to twelve years old of white, middle- and upper-middle-class parents and has several other locations in the Chicago area, mainly in more affluent neighborhoods on the North Side. The most popular day for Tiny Striker's at Chicharito's was on Saturday when, at its peak in winter 2014, more than 1,200 children and their parents would come to the space between 7:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.

When considering people in attendance, languages being spoken, activities occurring, and distinctive visions of the way soccer is understood and experienced as a cultural activity, the shift that could be seen between Saturday at 2:30 p.m. and 3:30 p.m. (when Tiny Strikers ended and leagues catering to the Mexican population began) serves as a striking illustration of the demographic change that occurs in the facility. During both time periods there are more than 100 people in the building. The social makeup of the 2:30 p.m. clientele during Tiny Strikers sessions was evident to the naked eye—the types of cars in the parking lot, the clothes and general

demeanor of parents, Macbooks, iPhones, iPads and other status symbols, and the conversations one hears and the predominance of the English language. At 3:30 p.m. the clientele is almost entirely Mexican (over 95 percent according to the owner) and during the transition from Tiny Strikers to leagues one also notices a change in the staff that run the facility. Spanish-speaking staff move to key points, including a manager at the security checkpoint that one must pass through after the winding walkway. The metal detector is turned on around 3:30 p.m., and a security guard moves to this position to check bags for weapons and alcohol. Depending on whether the league games are playoffs, there can be anywhere between three and eight security guards in the building during the evening and night time activities. These security guards are stationed at each field and others walk around monitoring events. Televisions are tuned onto ESPN Deportes or to those channels that play Mexican league games and events. Latino music becomes louder as the night progresses and as the shift is completed in order to cater to the new interests and tastes of the different clientele that are serviced at night time.

There is a difference with the approach of the staff as well as how the sport of soccer is used and understood. This can be seen, for instance, by comparing the emphasis on winning in the Sunday youth leagues with Tiny Strikers' policy of not keeping score in the scrimmages that end sessions. As mentioned above, Eduardo favors the approach of Tiny Strikers and wants a different "experience" for his son than he had growing up. As a member of the second generation with a college degree, he is moving on a path akin to canonical assimilation theory. His life is now more firmly outside of the confines of Chicharito's and Mexican Chicago, though he still comes and plays at Chicharito's one night a week so that he "can see all [his] buddies." Again, his experience as a child with the sport is one that he does not want for his own children:

> From working at Tiny Strikers … it is so different than what I grew up with, dude. I mean these people [at Tiny Strikers] don't really understand soccer, but that's okay … you can have a bit of fun man you know what I mean? My dad took [soccer] so seriously. It was everything to him and

> made me start to not love the game. I remember this one time when I missed a penalty in a game and he didn't talk to me for like a week. A week! I was like twelve … he just ignored me, I felt so terrible and there was nothing I could do about it … I never want [my son] to feel like that.

This quote serves to illustrate two key points: first, the awareness of the different kinds of worlds that he was socialized in and exists within; second, his ability to choose for his son is related to his citizenship status and the path he has taken in his life, one that is different to Bibi and others "without papers." Eduardo has the ability to straddle these different worlds more easily then the undocumented friends he grew up going to school and playing with. He has been able to capitalize on his bicultural competence through his citizenship status, which allowed him to take out loans to attend a local university and helped him acquire his current position as a manager for a national paint supply company. I served as a reference on his application and the hiring manager noted to me that he was particularly excited about Eduardo's "Spanish" and how he "could get more customers from the Mexican market." His friends in the undocumented 1.5 generation live a different kind of life, particularly as they transition to adulthood. I explore this idea in more detail in the next chapter.

Conclusion and Discussion

Soccer represents an important cultural activity that people can participate in that exists both in Mexico and the United States. Attending a World Cup game like the one described at the outset is an example of people connecting to this sport and their ethnic identity. Soccer can serve as a powerful vehicle that allows one to activate a sense of nationalism and pride in one's country—watching a game in the United States as a member of the Mexican American community connects one to others who identify similarly and generates a particular kind of cultural experience.

In this chapter I use the space of Chicharito's and the network that interacts there as a lens into the larger Mexican American community in Chicago. It is a world of Mexican

American immigrants and their descendants, a diverse group of people of different generations and backgrounds who share a country of origin, however distant. It is a product of replenishment and a lengthy history of migration to Chicago that has led to the creation of vibrant networks and institutions. It is an important and essential part of where many Mexican immigrants and their children make their lives.

While theoretical and interview-based work on the importance of replenishment has been successfully done through the innovative work of Jiménez, this chapter builds on this approach by analyzing the impact of this process in particular spaces. I described a slice of this milieu, one that revolves around organizing, watching, and playing soccer, which occurs at Chicharito's Place. A sense of community is formed among different cohorts of Mexican Americans of different generations and citizenship statuses through participation in this cultural activity.

Undocumented life encourages seclusion, and many institutions outside of this milieu are avoided because they either are unclear in their acceptance of the undocumented or adopt policies that outright oppose their existence or presence. I show how Chicharito's is an example of an ethnic safe space—these are spaces where undocumented and documented members of the community interact and that provide the undocumented a measure of freedom and comfort even in a context of heightened institutional avoidance and fear. Further, my institutional-based approach highlights important aspects of the incorporation process including how replenishment contributes to the simultaneous sharpening of both intergroup boundaries and intragroup differentiation, which is particularly evident when we compare the experiences of 1.5 and second generation peers. Members of the undocumented 1.5 generation who are high in bicultural competence are constrained in multiple ways (particularly after reaching adulthood) by their

citizenship status. Many may be forced to mainly live within the confines of Mexican Chicago like their undocumented parents because of restrictions and barriers associated with their status.

This chapter has highlighted a slice of Mexican Chicago by focusing on the world that exists at Chicharito's Place. I have built upon the work on replenishment by Jiménez by showing how it exists within spaces and put forward De Genova's notion of Mexican Chicago as a world that immigrants also incorporate into. Examining this space, especially the popular Sunday youth leagues, provides insight into replenishment, intergenerational networks, and the process of socialization that is occurring for children and highlights the utility of an institutional-based approach to incorporation this paper advances.

CHAPTER 5

"If Only I Had Those 9 Digits": ON THE POWER OF UNDOCUMENTED STATUS

Julio remembers leaving his high school guidance counselor's office as "a different person." Like millions of other Americans in the country, he was a senior in high school with an aspiration to go to college. A day earlier he had asked his mother to give him his social security number so he could fill out an application for school—it was at that point when she broke the news to him. "She pretty much told me that I didn't have one … that I was illegal, man." Not only this, she also confessed to him that the birthday that he celebrated "wasn't my actual birthday … like the real day I was born." When his parents came to the United States a decade earlier, they had acquired "fake papers" with a different birth date, and they had used that day from then on "to make things easier," which they believed was ultimately in the best interest of their young son.

With a "crazy" recognition that he was actually born on a different day (about three months later than he had thought) and the knowledge that he was "illegal," he went in to school the next day and set up a meeting with his guidance counselor. While he knew that his situation was problematic, he didn't really fully understand the tremendous implications this documentation status would have on the rest of his life. Fearing the worst, he told the counselor his "secret" and asked him if he would still be able to go to college. Shockingly, the guidance counselor (a "white man in his forties"), told him that he could not go to school, and there was "nothing he could do." At the end of the meeting, the counselor warned ominously that Julio would need to "be careful," and that he shouldn't go around telling people what he had divulged.

It turns out that according to Illinois state law, his guidance counselor was actually incorrect about his particular situation, and it wasn't clear to Julio if the counselor simply did not

know the relevant law and policy in Illinois. Regardless, it is critical to seriously consider how Julio felt at this time: two days before this meeting, he had a completely different understanding of his life, his place in the world, and his future. This was an admittedly vague vision for him of "going to school, playing soccer" and eventually "getting a better job than my parents have." What was going through his mind when he left the guidance counselor's office that day? How was he going to live? What was he going to do when school was over? What was he going to do for money?

When I asked Julio how he didn't know earlier, or why he thought his mom didn't tell him, he said that she thought she was protecting him. "She didn't want people at my school to find out … she didn't want anyone to find out." He had to quickly come to grips with an entirely different set of circumstances and a far more precarious existence than he had envisioned for his entire life up until that realization. His school had prepared him for a life that he essentially wasn't allowed to live, and figuring out how to make it from that point on has been a continuous struggle and source of worry, tension, and frustration.

Julio has come a long way since that day he met with his counselor, but the next few years would prove extraordinarily difficult for him as he attempted to make his way in a world without legal status. His story questions many of our basic assumptions about integration and assimilation, including the idea that there is progression across generations and that there cannot be such radical systematic shifts during one's own individual life course. Julio is part of an ever-increasing group whose lives are being constantly negotiated and renegotiated due to changes in federal and local policy and the need to make a life when considered a nonperson by the state.

Julio's story, coupled with my data on other undocumented first and 1.5 generation members, reveals how the increasing significance of citizenship status is working to create

distinct status groups. Due to the power that citizenship status has as a "master status" on an individual's life, I argue that it needs to be considered a separate category altogether when theorizing the incorporation experiences of this group. In many ways, legal status matters more for immigrants today than at any other point in US history. When we compare the experiences of documented and undocumented immigrants, we see how those without citizenship face barriers, including diminished access to health care, social services, and higher education and employment opportunities (Capps et al., 2007). Research in multiple fields, including sociology and race and ethnic studies, have demonstrated the power this "master status" can play in immigrant lives and communities (Gleeson and Gonzales, 2012; Abrego, 2006). Indeed this precarious status has led some scholars to warn of a potential immigrant underclass forming within cities (Massey and Pren, 2012).

Introduction

Beginning with the story of Julio opens up an opportunity to talk about the research that I laid out in Chapter 2 by illustrating problems with theoretical approaches to the incorporation process that do not account for significant alterations that can occur during one's life course due to factors like citizenship status. Recent scholarship has highlighted the large population of undocumented youth who have legal access to public education through high school because of the 1982 Supreme Court ruling of *Plyler v Doe* but who after that face significant legal and economic barriers (Hernández, 2012). Although it is an extremely difficult group to study at the national level, there is some consensus that there are about 11–12 million undocumented immigrants in the USA today (Gonzales, 2011; Passel et al., 2013, 2016).

The Importance of the 1.5 Generation

Depending on where and when such individuals grew up, they may be blocked from important "rites of passage" that their peers go through, such as getting a driver's license. Their understandings of the world and the different routes they may be envisioning for their lives can suddenly change when they become aware of their status (Gonzalez, 2011; Rojas-García, 2013). Various literature cite some 65,000 high school students graduating each year who are undocumented, and a study in 2010 approximated that there are at least 2.1 million people currently living in the United States who migrated as children (Batalova and McHugh, 2010; Abrego and Gonzales, 2010). Of these, about 1.8 million are undocumented youth under age eighteen (Passel et al., 2013). Undocumented students graduate at a far lower rate—fifty-four percent compared to eighty-two percent of their US-born peers, with only five to ten percent of that group going on to college (Passel, 2009).

This group is similar in many respects to their second generation peers: they go to the same schools, have the same friends, play on similar teams, and live similar lives. This is often the case until they reach eighteen when they have to "learn how to be illegal" (Gonzales, 2011). Socialized in the US, this group is often radically unprepared for a harsh informal labor market that awaits them after high school. While they have similar socialization experiences to their documented counterparts in the second generation, their incorporation post-high school is entirely different due to how many doors are closed for them, often including college. Unlike earlier generations of immigrants who could secure relatively well-paying jobs in the industrial sector, the market for positions that provide financial security has significantly narrowed. The fact that a college education has become even more important in this particular economic climate

further highlights this alarming public policy issue and points to policy and shifting economic climates as essentially trapping this large and growing population.

Thus the undocumented 1.5 generation are in a particularly problematic situation as they come of age in a precarious legal world. My fieldwork shows how this group often moves from feelings of rejection and challenges, such as having to learn English in school or being teased by their classmates, to one of acceptance as they become acculturated and learn the language, and again to feeling rejected when they realize the significance of their lack of citizenship. Their experiences should be understood not simply with reference to their citizen peers and friends but also their parents and those in the undocumented first generation. Since they cannot translate their bicultural competence into the same kind of capital that those in the second generation can, they are often forced to work in the same unauthorized labor market and make a life in the same ways as their parents and others in the undocumented first generation. In this chapter, we highlight these comparisons to shed some insight into the different incorporation experiences of this population.

Genealogy and Background

In thinking through the undocumented as a social category, it is necessary to look at its genealogy. This is masterfully done by the authoritative work on the subject, Mae Ngai's *Impossible Subjects* (Ngai, 2004). Ngai traces this category beginning with the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and highlights important legal changes that occurred throughout US history. These include numerical restrictions on immigration and the establishment of a Border Control in 1924 along with a law that made "entry without inspection a legal ground for deportation" (Ngai, 2004). This "illegal" category was further solidified with the termination of the Bracero program and the concomitant imposition of immigration limits on countries like Mexico from the

Western hemisphere (Ngai, 2004, Massey, 2002; Aleinkoff, 2001; Bosniak, 2006). The important point to note for our purposes is that these changes in policy did not alter the fundamental reasons and causes of migratory flows—thus these changes worked to mark new arrivals from Mexico who entered the country as "illegal" immigrants. As we will note in detail, this mark is one that has an effect at the psychological, community, and ethnic group level.

Undocumented status has gained in importance in the past several decades. There are less employment opportunities that offer upward mobility and fewer social programs to assist immigrant integration. While prior to 1996, simple presence in the country was often enough to guarantee access to public benefits, legislation in the form of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA), the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, (PRWORA), and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (ATEDPA) put an end to this (Fox, 2012). Enforcement has also increased, including more extensive strategies that heighten the risk of deportation. In some areas of the country, public spaces are now potential sites of immigration enforcement (Menjivar and Abrego, 2012; Armenta 2012; Kanstroom, 2007). State and local municipalities have come to matter more in a context of a lack of comprehensive federal immigration reform. Where one lives equates to having more or less freedom and more or less ability to pursue higher education or receive healthcare.

While it is a difficult group to study, the research of Passel and Douglas Massey in particular have shed light on important characteristics of this population. Undocumented immigrants tend to be employed in low-paying jobs such as farming, groundskeeping, construction, manufacturing, food preparation, serving, housecleaning, and other domestic services jobs (Menjívar, 2006; Massey, Durand, and Malone, 2002; Menjívar and Lakhani,

2016). These positions have high turnover, offer few benefits such as vacations, pensions, and medical insurance, and also offer limited room for upward mobility (Massey and Sánchez, 2010; Passel and Cohn, 2014). Massey and his colleagues also find that this group is less educated than US-born residents and have median incomes significantly lower than US-born residents. The majority do not have health insurance and are essentially barred from most government supported nonemergency medical services. These barriers vary at the state level and are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 (Chavez, 2008). Undocumented status has been found to create a variety of barriers to social mobility generally and can have a significantly negative impact on educational attainment (Hill and Torres, 2010; Beat et al., 2015).

As shown in the opening vignette, local context and awareness of one's rights matters. Why wasn't Julio's guidance counselor aware of the state law for undocumented immigrants and college access? Why didn't Julio himself know these laws?

The Undocumented, Local Context, and Awareness of One's Rights

As seen in the reaction of the guidance counselor in Julio's vignette, people who *should* know that undocumented individuals in Illinois could attend college at in-state rates may not have been informed. While Illinois is actually one of the most liberal states in the country when it comes to how the undocumented are treated, it is not a given that any programs that are available (from healthcare to driver's licenses to information about higher education) will be known by those who need it the most. This is made even more problematic in that the undocumented in my study often do not want to interact with any kind of state institution due to the fear and uncertainty associated with them. I learned this in several ways during fieldwork, both through helping a few individuals apply for the driver's licenses mentioned above as well as witnessing the ways citizenship status impacted individuals' decisions on postsecondary

education. Veronica, one of the league managers at Chicharito's, is a thirty-year-old undocumented member of the 1.5 generation. Her experience is reflects many of these points:

> I found out (that I was undocumented) when I was like 17 … I wanted to get a car and had to get a license … and then my mom told me … it was a nightmare dude … I thought that I was going to be going this one way (in life), and then I like … wasn't … you know? I had to figure out a lot of things then and I was, you know … like depressed, because a lot of my friends were just living like everything was normal … even now (the TVDL),[1] I don't really understand it, and it's … expensive … Like how long does it last? Do I have to renew it? Do they know I don't have papers if I apply? Do I like have to put my address in?

Veronica's experience is emblematic of those in this category who "find out" that they are undocumented—they have to reorient their lives and understandings of their place in the world once they come to recognize the significance that this status has in multiple domains of their lives. She also speaks to the particular difficulty that arises from witnessing one's friends and peers live without such obstacles. It creates a form of tension and psychological unease that is unique to this group. Finally, Veronica did not have all of the relevant information in which to make decisions—in this example, she does not know everything she needs to about whether it is worth applying for the TVDL. The uncertainty and fear inherent in her lack of citizenship status coupled with a lack of complete information creates a situation where making such a choice is uniquely difficult.

This fear and lack of complete knowledge is something that does not simply impact the undocumented themselves, but also can have a significant impact on family members in mixed-status families. As Ricardo (a member of the second generation whose parents are both undocumented) notes:

> Yeah … I mean, I didn't like go to the dentist or go to doctors a lot … there was one clinic that my mom trusted and she would take me there whenever me or (my brothers) were sick … but she never wanted to like go to parent-teacher conferences … I didn't really understand why then but I understand now ….

[1] Temporary Visitor Driver's License for Undocumented (non-Visa status) Individuals

Ricardo is expressing the uncertainty that surrounds life in an undocumented family. Although he would have been eligible for more care through initiatives like All Kids of Medicaid, his parents' status translated down to him as a child in the form of irregular access to healthcare and lower levels of involvement in his education.

In my interviews and conversations with undocumented individuals and their family members, it becomes clear how they and their parents are less likely to deal with public authorities, whether it be talking to teachers about their children or going to health clinics. While formal constraints, such as an inability to participate in the formal labor market, are extremely significant, I have found that these informal barriers around a lack of knowledge, fear of resources, and the intergenerational transmission of citizenship status play an underemphasized but nevertheless key role in the larger process of immigrant incorporation. Let us now examine in more detail differences between these three generational categories in my study.

"One for the Fake Me, One for the Real Me": The First And 1.5 Generation

Comparing the experiences of the undocumented first and 1.5 generation is useful in helping us to see the variation that exists within the category of "undocumented." We will begin with a discussion of the undocumented first generation by highlighting two cases. I find that the difficult journey crossing the border, awareness of what their life would be like upon arrival, and how they compare themselves to friends and relatives in Mexico all work to create a particular understanding that shapes the existence of the undocumented first generation in the United States.

Undocumented First Generation: José Luis, Jesús, and Miguel Angel

José Luis

José Luis was "aware" of what his life would be like when he crossed: he chose when to leave and he was responsible for himself in a group of five people who crossed with a coyote. He saved enough money to do so and knew that this would be an opportunity to make "a lot more money." His major regret while he was in Chicago was that he could not be with his parents. He comforts himself in the knowledge that he sends at least "half" of what he makes to them and other family members and maintains a savings account in his own name that he plans to use to eventually build a house in his hometown. This has allowed them to live more comfortably and has served as a form of social security for his father who was no longer able to work due to an injury he suffered in his late fifties. The life that he is living is one that he knew about and planned. He came to the US with what he believed was a realistic understanding of the risks he was undergoing and what that world would be like. "I was planning on coming for a while … I knew that life is better (here) … I knew that friends (and family) were there (in the US) … I had to try (to cross the border) twice … I had to save for it too (to pay coyotes) …." Crossing the border and coming to live in Chicago was a conscious decision that José Luis planned and saved for. He had an understanding of the life that was waiting for him (through his connections with family that were already in Chicago) and was convinced that his life would be "much better" here. While there are a host of challenges that he deals with daily, he nevertheless often speaks of how much he likes the United States and how he is "way better off" here. He believes that he is not only increasing his standard of living by coming here, but also that of the relatives he "left behind" since he sends them money regularly. "I have been sending my mother and father money ever since I came here," José Luis notes. "That's important for me … I want them to live better

… it makes me happy." While his life in the United States is far from ideal, he does not feel the sort of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion that is more characteristic of the lives of the undocumented 1.5 generation.

Jesús

Jesús is an undocumented first generation immigrant from Mexico City who came to the United States when he was twenty-two years old. He initially began work as a landscaper, but once "it got cold," realized that he needed something that was more "permanent." He has played soccer throughout his life and believes he could have turned professional in Mexico had he stayed. He used his soccer ability to make money in his first winter season in Chicago and, through this experience, realized that he could make a living as a referee. He now referees seven days a week at different facilities and locations in Mexican Chicago. He makes "good money," and while he has to be constantly "careful" as a ref, he knows he can do it for a "long time." "Look at *conejo* (a referee whose nickname in the facility is rabbit for reasons that are unclear to me), he's like sixty! He refs every day. Have you seen his car? He's got two kids … it's not a bad life man." Jesús also speaks often of how difficult it was to get to the United States and how it is something that has gotten even more treacherous (both with regards to cost and danger). "I saved up to get here … and I don't want to go back … maybe when I'm older … but I want to find a wife here, I want to live here … bro, you can die (crossing)! I'm staying unless they kick me out!"

Miguel Angel

Miguel Angel's story is more atypical of those in the undocumented first generation due to his particular time of arrival. He is a thirty-two-year-old undocumented, first generation immigrant who came to America from Oaxaca with his mother when he was fifteen. This is an

age when the choice to migrate was not entirely his own, but he had a clearly formed understanding of the world and his life in Mexico. Raised as a devout Christian, Miguel Angel soon abandoned the religious way of life (though he still "pretends" for his mother) when he moved out of his house. He has worked various jobs within the soccer network in Mexican Chicago including as a player, coach, and (most significantly) a referee. His mother made him take English classes in addition to regular schooling when he arrived, and he learned the language relatively quickly. He was a talented player when he was younger and attracted the interest of some of the bigger teams within the Mexican network. He was also able to attend some college (at a NAIA school) through a scholarship, though he did not graduate after a serious ACL injury ended his playing career. He does not miss Mexico "at all," but sends money to uncles and other extended family that he left behind because of his love for his mother.

He is dark skinned and people in the network report him as having "Mexican … like actually Mexican" facial features with one informant noting that he is one of those … peasant Mexicans." While not a member of the so-called 1.5 generation, he represents a sort of category in between as he spent some of his teenage years in Chicago. His strong command of English is also partly a product of this earlier arrival. "I had to go to high school and had to learn quickly … I couldn't understand anybody … school and those classes were the only way really to make it." Miguel Angel has used this language ability in many ways, even working for a bank where he was able to put his bilingual abilities to good use. He lost this job after less than a year because of how a change in ownership, and his undocumented status led him to think he wasn't able to work: "I knew the manager before … and when he left I didn't think I was gonna be able to stay … so I left." Getting employment in positions outside of Mexican Chicago is often difficult due

to laws around hiring undocumented workers—this has to be done "off the books," and this helps to explain why fear and uncertainty are such a significant part of Miguel Angel's life.

Like José Luis, Miguel Angel is now almost exclusively involved in the world of Mexican Chicago (where he lives, works, and socializes) as it is a space that allows him to make an income and be with others in a space that is safer than other spaces. "I always kinda had to worry (about not having papers) at the bank … they could find out and then I would be really (in trouble)." While refereeing at Chicharito's and at other locations presents its own sorts of problems (he has been physically assaulted on at least two occasions), it is a steady form of income and is one that has relative security. (There are full time referees in the network that are in their fifties and sixties.) He is content with how he sees his life now and often compares what he is doing with his cousins and family members back in Mexico: "I've got money (he reaches into his wallet to show three 100 dollar bills) … do you know how long it would take to make that in Mexico? I've got my own apartment, I've got a car … I've got a girl … what else could I want?" Both Miguel Angel and José Luis have been able to "make it" in Mexican Chicago by finding constant and consistent employment. While Miguel Angel is aware of the problems with undocumented status (which were brought to the fore in his steady job at a bank), he doesn't blame anyone for what happened: "I am illegal … I know that … I knew that they could fire me at any time … or worse, man."

The Undocumented 1.5 Generation: Julio, Joshua and Francisco

Julio

We met Julio at the opening of the dissertation and in the vignette that began this chapter. For him, the decision to migrate was different than Jose Luis's or Jesús's, and this decision (or lack thereof) colors one's experience within the United States. While Julio remembers the

experience, he came when he was five years old, and it was his parents' decision. "My mom took me and my sister outside one day and told us we were going to take a long trip … and she told me that it was really important that we behaved and were quiet the entire time … she took us to this lady and they both, like, tested us for an hour on what our name should be … me and my sister were supposed to pretend that we were this woman's kids.… So when we got to the border there was a cop, and I remember how ready I was to tell them I was this kid's name … but they just looked in really quick and let us go through. And that was it really. I still have that kids info … I thought that was my birthday for a while actually … that's the one I used for a while … I guess there is one for the fake me and one for the real me." Julio did not have the same level of choice as José Luis or Jesús. Growing up from the age of five in the United State, this world began to become the only one he knew and understood.

While Julio received a significant (seventy-five percent) scholarship to attend a local community college, he dropped out after his second soccer season (community college allows for two years of eligibility) because he had suffered an injury and had "no way to pay the (remaining) tuition." After two years at community college, he was not prepared for the informal labor market that awaited him—one that exists for his undocumented mother, Miguel Angel, José Luis, and others in a similar status in my study. "I don't want to be doing the shit that my mom is doing … that my girlfriend is doing (his girlfriend works in a factory "putting things in boxes") … I know I can't play forever, but I dunno … I just don't know … I don't want that life." He looks down on these kinds of jobs and does not have a fully formed plan of what he will do when he is too old to make money playing soccer or if he gets seriously injured. This points to the reasons behind the employment prospects of those in the 1.5 generation—while certain jobs are often available, they may avoid them due to what another individual noted as reasons of

"dignity and respect." There may be different cultural understanding of particular kinds of work that relate to the socialization and acculturation process in the United States.

The upward trajectory that he and others in my study are experiencing in high school (upward in how he understood his life and one that is akin to that put forth by the canonical model of assimilation) is severely cut off after graduation due to citizenship status. He understood his own life as moving upward and then having a trajectory that completely shifted due to his realization about not "having papers." "I did okay in high school, I got in to college … and then BAM (he slams his beer bottle on the table) … what the fuck am I going to do now?" Instead he has to make it in a clandestine labor market, one riddled with problems that he is all too aware of. "I know I am going to get old and I won't be able to play—but what the fuck else should I do?"

Since learning of his undocumented status, Julio has faced a variety of obstacles and problems ranging from social anxiety, depression and suicidal thoughts, to a lack of adequate health care. The citizenship status has had an impact on almost every aspect of his life, including how he approaches his day-to-day existence and what he thinks his future will be like. He does not know if he wants to have children because he is not sure he can make enough money to support them. For these reasons, he believes that if he had papers "everything would be easier" and that he could get a much better job. As this is not the case, he "schemes" and relies on the uncertain generosity of team owners who need his skills to win games.

When an individual "finds out" they are undocumented, it can have a significant impact on identity; many of the individuals in my study didn't even learn they were undocumented until high school, some when trying to get a license and others when applying for colleges. This is often a shocking revelation, one that not only alters the course of their lives but their very

understanding of themselves and their place in the world. They often feel powerless in the face of these larger forces. Julio's uncertainty can be seen in the following fieldnote:

> Julio often feels this sense of powerlessness that others in a similar status described so many times. For instance, yesterday Antonio (his documented second generation cousin), him and I got together to watch a Champions League game at my house. Antonio brings up the fact that he will be voting in the 2016 election for the first time because of how much he hates Donald Trump—at that point Julio stopped talking. While much of the rhetoric in this election is geared at him (with respect to "illegals" being "rapists"), he believes that he cannot respond since he does not have any power. After sitting quietly for a while, Julio comments: "Will you guys come visit me (in Mexico) if Trump wins?" This elicits laughter, but later that day when I am driving him home we have a more serious conversation about the likelihood of a Trump presidency, and he asks me seriously whether I think Trump has any actual chance of accomplishing his stated goal of deporting him and the other 11 million people in a similar situation. I try to assure him that it is extraordinarily unlikely that it (deportation even if Trump wins) will happen.

The uncertainty of daily existence that can be seen in all domains, including for instance not being able to get medical treatment when hurt and not being able to apply for jobs that he desires, is compounded by an even greater fear that his life and world as he knows it could be taken away from him at any time. One of the greatest fears he has consistently repeated over the years is being forced to return to Mexico. Having left at such a young age, he barely remembers what it was like—just that life is "worse" there.

Joshua

Joshua is a twenty-eight-year-old undocumented member of the 1.5 generation whom I played with on Los Sucios for several seasons. He dropped out of high school his junior year because he didn't "see the point … I can't really go to college, I can't get a job, I can't do a lot things so I … just started working." While he credits soccer and his manual labor job at a food distribution company with keeping him from doing "bad things" like getting involved in gangs or other "bad stuff," he believes that his citizenship status has provided obstacles that are impossible to overcome. "There isn't anything I can do … I just need to make money and who knows … I dunno." He has nevertheless tried to figure out ways to make more money and took

the opportunity to learn how to receive informal certification to drive certain machinery at his job to make more income. He reports mixed feelings about this though, as he believes he could be doing "something more.… Maybe if I had papers things would be different."

His documentation status impacts his motivation and planning for the future in ways that we do not see in Jose Luis or Miguel Angel that I argue are related to his socialization experiences. Although Joshua is fluent in English and has a high level of bicultural competence, he cannot translate this into the world outside of Mexican Chicago. While he is doing what he can to "make it" in the world of Mexican Chicago, he believes that this is a forced choice due to not having papers.

Francisco

Francisco is a thirty-two-year-old undocumented member of the 1.5 generation who arrived to the US when he was seven years old. Although he and his parents are undocumented, he reports that his father owns multiple businesses, and he represents an "atypical" case of this group mainly due to his socioeconomic status. He applied for DACA soon after it was announced, went to college and received his BA in Business Administration at a local state school, and landed a job at a real estate company that specializes in properties in Mexican Chicago. He is now a realtor and has been successful in carving out a career in Mexican Chicago.

DACA and the 1.5 Generation

Though Julio and Joshua are both eligible, they did not apply for DACA. As I will detail in the next chapter, Julio ultimately decided against it due to two factors: the first was fear that a medical bill and an outstanding tuition bill might alert him to authorities and lead to deportation if he came forward to apply. The second factor, which is similar to Joshua's rationale, was that

he thought it wasn't really "worth" applying for. As Joshua noted, "that was like $500 right? What is the point? As long as I don't get arrested I mean it is all the same right?" Both Julio and Joshua do not have a college degree and the cost/benefit of pursuing DACA were not the same as they were for Francisco. Getting the status was something that ultimately helped him acquire a job in the formal labor market (though he reports straddling both worlds).

Much has been written recently about DACA, and my fieldwork points to it being a helpful category when certain conditions were present for an individual, including the ability to receive higher education and find employment in the formal labor market (Gonzales et al., 2014). Those who opted against applying usually cited three general factors: cost, uncertainty about whether it might be potentially dangerous to fill out paperwork on where they lived, and a general lack of information about what it was and how it could benefit them.

Comparing the First and 1.5 Undocumented

Important in these comparisons is the cost-benefit analysis of migrating, the main institutions of socialization they experience upon arrival, and the comparison groups that each uses when thinking about their lives. The constant anxiety and fear that is a marker of Julio and Joshua's lives are different from what we see in Jose Luis, Jesus, and Miguel Angel. While the undocumented 1.5 generation must deal with simultaneous feelings of inclusion and exclusion, the undocumented first generation like Jose Luis seems to accept their position in US society in a way that makes sense for them. While I am not arguing that such a group is advantaged, the way they understand their world is important in thinking about their incorporation experiences.

Migration Experiences

The cost-benefit analysis of migrating causes them to think differently about their citizenship status and lives in the United States. Miguel Angel noted that "I knew what I was

(getting into) … (many) of my cousins are here … they told me … they told me about the money and it wasn't really a decision … it is much better here than there." While all share a fear of deportation, the undocumented 1.5 generation can be more pessimistic and unhappy about their status in the US because of the peer groups they were raised with who enjoy the rights and privileges that come with citizenship.

Those in the first generation are more likely to take ownership of the fact they are in the United States in that they understood the risks and what awaited them (and are also more consciously aware of what they believe is a "better life" than what they came from). The 1.5, however, did not willingly choose to come to the United States. They are socialized in this country and have an understanding of the world and their own lives that is qualitatively different than the first generation. Social incorporation of the undocumented 1.5 generation is ironic because it creates the conscious awareness for them that despite any success they may have or desires in life to integrate, they are (legally) barred from doing so at multiple points. They may internalize US values, but that internalization is at odds with their legal realities. This has had a tremendous effect on the motivation of these individuals. Because of these legal barriers, they find it difficult to remain motivated. The values they have internalized are ones that show how to achieve upward mobility, but they cannot do those things because of their legal status.

Identity

The undocumented first generation have a different identity and are conscious of what it means to be Mexican in Mexico and Mexican in the United States. The undocumented 1.5 generation, though, internalize a different value system through their schooling. As Julio notes, "I am more American … than I am Mexican … I'm Mexican but I mean … I don't want to be in … Mexico … you know what I'm saying?" Mr. C, another member of the 1.5 generation (though

arriving at a time in US history where he was able to more easily get citizenship), reports a similar experience, though he has lived in the United States for more than fifty years. “I’m Mexican … but I don’t know Mexico.” This all relates to the label that society gives them, which in turn is internalized.

Socialization

I find that an important mechanism in immigration incorporation is age of arrival and the type of socialization experiences individuals have. We see in the stories above that differences in trajectory and self-perception are due to a multitude of factors and relate powerfully to the types of institutions in society that they have been involved in along with their socialization experiences. Like most children in the United States, the main institution of socialization for Julio and others in the 1.5 generation is schooling. José Luis, though, arrived when he was twenty-one, and the main institution he has been involved in has been that of work. Over the past seventeen years he has been a cook, a security guard (where we met), and he now does the stocking (and other odd jobs) at a liquor store run by Albanians near his house. These jobs have all been “under the table”: his understanding of American society and the way he has been socialized are vastly different to Julio and Joshua. At eighteen, Julio and Joshua moved into a similar world as the world of José Luis as an undocumented Mexican American adult male. However, Jose Luis did so with a different set of experiences and understandings of the world that had an impact on his “trajectory.” In terms of acculturation, socialization, and life experiences, the undocumented 1.5 generation are much more similar to those in the second generation. The major connecting force for the undocumented first and 1.5 generation is being “without papers.”

The employment institutions that José Luis and Miguel Angel have experienced are ones that they were prepared for and understand. While they have significantly fewer rights and privileges than the native born, they are happy to be working, particularly because they compare their lives now with what it could have been had they never left Mexico. The schooling socialization of individuals like Julio and Joshua is entirely different: they were being prepared for a life that all others in their social network who "had papers" were being prepared for only to have that taken away. The nation that they desire and aspire to belong to is one that sees them as a nonperson and as "illegal." The nation that their parents brought them from sees them as a citizen: it is a world, though, that they are completely unfamiliar with, that they have never been able to travel to, and which ultimately represents a nightmare scenario.

Comparison Group

The importance of the comparison group relates to the idea of "homeland dissimilation." Due to the uniqueness of the Mexican population, Fitzgerald and other scholars using this concept examine the trajectory of Mexicans in America with Mexicans who remain in Mexico (Jiménez and Fitzgerald, 2007). This is in contrast to the general model in the literature that compares immigrant groups with other immigrant groups (often across generations) in the United States. Indeed, I find that homeland dissimilation is a very useful concept as it helps us explain and understand the trajectory of immigrants in my study in such a way that is closer to how these individuals actually see their lives.

This comparison has shown how the meaning of undocumented status internalized differently depending on factors like time of arrival, main socializing institutions, and comparison groups. This section on the undocumented points to the need for a major change in policy that can impact this growing generation of undocumented young adults. Otherwise, they

may become a "legally disenfranchised underclass without the legal means of lifting themselves out of poverty" (Abrego and Gonzales, 2010:151).

The 1.5 generation, having been schooled in the US and socialized alongside documented cousins and friends, have developed a different kind of belonging than that held by first generation members like José Luis. It is like they feel that they were closer to being members of US society only to have it taken away. This relates to Julio's (as well as many others within the networks) racist understanding of African-Americans:

> It isn't fair, you know … why does (Antonio) get to do whatever he wants because he was born (here) … that's why I hate (black people) you know … they have everything and yet they still fail … I would do anything to have what they have … and they just don't care…. (I unconsciously cringe at his usage of the "n" word and he notices) … man, fuck you Brian …. you didn't have to live around them growing up …. your kind of people want to "help" but you'd never live around them, I mean … you never had them around, you are all scared of them and I lived next to all them in (Back of the Yards) … you know … the ones who are on welfare, get free shit, and don't work … why do they get to live for free and I can't get papers?

While Julio's comments can be easily and correctly dismissed as racism, it is important to consider why he thinks this way. He often feels hopeless, and this is due to the comparison group he most often uses. Unlike José Luis and Miguel Angel who understood what their life would be like and who constantly compare their experiences with those left behind, Julio compares his situation most often with his cousins and friends who "have papers." His racist stereotype of African Americans can be understood with reference to his own bitterness at not having citizenship or the life that he envisioned for himself as an adult when he was a child (and before he "found out" that he was "illegal").

Friendships Separated by Papers: The 1.5 and Second Generation

The undocumented 1.5 generation and second generation are similar in my network in many respects except for whether or not they have "papers." Comparing these groups points to the increasing significance of citizenship status in altering incorporation trajectories: they both

exist within similar social networks, have similar socialization and acculturation experiences, but have radically different opportunities in life when they reach adulthood.

The Second Generation

Through the Fourteenth Amendment, birth in United States territory entitles one to citizenship. I have found in my research how citizenship gives this group a wealth of advantages over the 1.5 and first generation Mexicans who are in their social networks. It is especially illustrative to compare the second and the 1.5 generation to see the powerful role that citizenship status plays in the incorporation process: they both exist within the same/similar social networks, have similar socialization and acculturation experiences, but have radically different opportunities as they move forward.

While this is the case, many in the second generation in my network follow vastly different paths. Some are moving along lines similar to canonical assimilation whereas others could be characterized as moving "downwards." The effort to understand why and how there can be such divergent trajectories in this category is an important part of this section. While I certainly leave room for human agency in my conceptualization, I will argue that the extreme variation in trajectories we see in the second generation is due to factors associated mainly with class status, the impact of undocumented family members, peer networks, skin color, and residential location.

Antonio

Antonio is a thirty-two-year-old member of the second generation. He reports that his mother "snuck across the border" when she was pregnant in order to ensure that her child "had papers." He is Julio's cousin and has worked a variety of jobs in and outside of Mexican Chicago

throughout the years. He currently works as a driver for a ride-sharing company at night, an organizer for the "veterans" league at Chicharito's, and a part-time paralegal during the day.

Antonio graduated college "slowly, but I did it" and is a particularly good example of someone who is able to translate his bicultural competence into multiple worlds (unlike his cousin). The legal office he works for has him do "translation" work a lot and recently gave him a raise because of his contributions. While it is only part time, he is hopeful that it will lead to a full time, salaried position with benefits in the future. He also works within Mexican Chicago for "extra money"—he helped organize and set up the *veteranos* league at Chicharito's (over 30s) and gets a certain percentage of the profits from Mr. C for his efforts.

Those in the second generation, like Antonio, can also move back and forth in the understanding of their Mexican identity. He spends effort distinguishing himself from what he once referred to as "no-good Mexicans" through the way he dresses and speaks. A fieldnote recounts this idea:

> A group of six of us were sitting at a table after the game. Antonio wasn't drinking and David asked him why (while also attempting to apply peer pressure):
> "Work in the morning man!"
> "Where do you work?" David asked.
> "At a securities firm."
> "Oh, you work in security, where at?"
> "No, not security, in securities! Come on man, you know I wouldn't be working in security!"

When Antonio said this he was noticeably upset—this lower status position was something that he actively tries hard to avoid. He wants those in the network to see that he is "doing well" and he wants to distinguish himself. I asked him about this later, and he told me: "I don't want to be seen as doing one of those shitty kinds of jobs … I went to college man, I'm better than that." The key point is that Antonio has the option to move between these two worlds whereas Lalo and Julio must navigate more "mainstream" institutions furtively and often in fear.

Miguel

Miguel is a thirty-year-old member of the second generation. He and his brothers (Jorge and Chava) are the children of undocumented parents from Oaxaca. Miguel attended college, though he didn't graduate, and has worked a variety of jobs in and out of Mexican Chicago (including as a referee, bartender at Chicharito's, and waiter at restaurants on the North Side). Recently he acquired a job as a teaching assistant at Chicago Public Schools.

Miguel often goes back to Mexico for both family visits and medical reasons, including a recent trip to get nose surgery to fix a deviated septum that occurred as a result of a flying elbow in a soccer game. His experience and ability to develop a transnational identity is something that his friends, like Julio and Joshua, cannot do. This speaks to the distinct advantages that come with citizenship in the US.

Jorge

Jorge's life over the past four years has seemed to move in different directions. He is a second generation twenty-one year-old extremely talented at soccer. When I met him in 2012, he was a senior in high school who played every night. He didn't drink alcohol ("I'm trying to get good [at soccer]"), and Mr. C had helped him to get a scholarship to college (playing at Robert Morris). He was one of the better players at Chicharito's, and he looked poised to have a good college career where he would be able to use his ability in the sport to get a free education and an eventual bachelor's degree.

However, he "hated school" and "didn't want to learn." He didn't like the fact that he had people "telling him what to do" at school, and about a month in, decide to quit because (as he put it): "fuck school … I need to make money now." He is now working at a job with his father, something that disturbs his older brother, Alejandro. "I mean, he could do so much better … I'm

not sure what to do. He is working in a fucking fridge all day." Jorge began drinking more during this period and is now adopting the lifestyle of his middle brother, Chava. Indeed Jorge's shift to a more downward trajectory and decision to remain in Mexican Chicago was significantly intensified when Chava was shot and paralyzed during a gang related altercation (in October of 2015).

His life seemed to take a turn for the better recently when he met his girlfriend. She got pregnant within a year of them dating, and they decided to get married in a small civil ceremony. He is taking the relationship seriously and looking forward to the birth of his son; in anticipation of this he has been training to get a professional driver's license, a career that "pays good and seems okay." He wants to be responsible for this child and has stopped smoking and drinking "for the most part."

Eduardo

Eduardo is twenty-six years old, graduated from a local college in 2014, and currently works as a manager at a national paint supply company. He believes fully in the idea that "you get out what you put in." He is also very white skinned, something that "white people don't notice—they don't even know I'm not white" and that "makes (him) different than other Mexicans." Eduardo's mother and father moved to the United States from Guadalajara in 1989, and he met Melanie (his wife) when he was a sophomore in high school. It was "love at first sight." While he had a promising playing career ahead of him, even to the extent of being offered a contract with a Mexican professional side (Puebla) at the age of sixteen, he "missed Melanie too much" and declined. Shortly after turning seventeen she got pregnant: "There wasn't anything to do other than to have Aiden (his child).… When Melanie told me I decided then that I would work even harder, get a college education, and get a good job so that I could take care of

them." He attended college part time and graduated in six years and now has a job with some potential for upward movement. "I don't like it, no … but it pays the bills … and I can always move up in the company."

Eduardo's older brother and parents are undocumented, and this is something that scares him. "I always have to worry about them … my brother sometimes is dumb and if he gets arrested or something then what? Back to Mexico? I try to help him but what can I do … and my dad is getting old and can't work forever … I think they (his mother and father) will return to Mexico then … but I don't think they want that … it would just be easier." Living within a mixed-status family is difficult and something that colors Eduardo's experience, even as he follows the path laid out in "canonical" assimilation theory.

Similarities and Differences in the 1.5 and Second Generation

Before delving into the comparisons, there are important similarities that should be mentioned. First, many live within mixed-status families and being a citizen does not necessarily protect you from worrying about parents or siblings (Landale et al., 2015). Second, many are raised in similar neighborhoods and went to similar schools. These neighborhoods are poorer, have lower-resource schools, and the problems (including violence and racism) they face are not dissimilar from others growing up in high poverty neighborhoods. While an overarching belief in what I would characterize as the "American Dream" is still prevalent for many in my study, the disadvantaged background they are coming from should also be taken into account, in addition to citizenship status when considering reasons behind divergent incorporation trajectories.

Mixed-Status Families

While there is increased opportunity for the second generation due to their citizenship, undocumented status of others in their immediate networks can have a significant impact on their

lives and mental world. Miguel's parents both "don't have papers," and he worries about them constantly. "They don't have health insurance … they don't go to the doctor … my dad works manual labor, man … you know (in a food preparation factory) … it's hard work, and he is getting older … I don't know what he is going to do … I worry about him getting hurt." Being a part of an undocumented family is something that has impacted his life and has affected his psychology. Parents who live "under the radar" and "in the shadows" can impact their children in a variety of ways including through stress and not being as involved in their education (Yoshikawa, 2011; Suarez-Orosco, Bang, and Kim, 2010). They worked longer hours and are constantly afraid of deportation—this fear is often transmitted to their children in the form of stress and anxiety. Miguel goes on to note that "my uncle, my dad's brother, was deported when I was like, I dunno … seven … I just remember him being there and then not being there … and I didn't understand why … but I could see my dad crying … I think that was the first time I ever did (see my dad cry)." Those in the second generation are not, as Julio argues, "completely set." They are significantly impacted by family members who are in more precarious statuses. As Maira notes (herself in the second generation): "I always had to worry about my parents …. my uncle got deported when I was ten and was never able to (come back) … There was always something like … hanging over (our heads) … my dad works at (restaurant in a neighborhood that borders Nedved Town) … I still worry about him every day … he can get deported, yeah, but he also doesn't have any rights … no healthcare."

Differences in these two groups can be seen in the impact that citizenship status has once they reach adulthood. Those in the second generation are able to more easily access the mechanisms associated with upward mobility, like higher education and work in the formal and

authorized labor market. They are also able to develop a transnational identity with Mexico due to the ability to travel, something that is blocked from the undocumented.

Transnational Citizenship

The 1.5 undocumented are actually the least familiar with the social world and society of Mexico (and the particular places where their parents came from) because their citizenship makes it impossible for them to travel. The majority of the second generation in the network, however, have been to Mexico at least once—whether it be for a funeral, vacation to visit family, or to get medical treatment. The undocumented 1.5 generation cannot travel because, as Julio notes, "I wouldn't be able to get back in (to the US)!" The ability to get back in has become more difficult as a direct result of increased border protection from the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986. This has led once circular migratory flows to become more permanent and has unintentionally created a situation where this 1.5 generation group grow up feeling like they belong to nowhere.

As part of the second generation, Miguel is able to develop a sense of belonging in both the United States and the country of his parents and ancestors. The world is literally open for him in comparison: he loves traveling and recently went to visit Spain and Portugal to "open his horizons." Joshua, on the other hand, cannot fly and even fears trains. "Do they accept the (matricula consular)? How am I supposed to know? I haven't really left Chicago since I was a child … one time for a school trip they took us to Milwaukee, but Chicago is the only place I know and have been really." The implications of this extend beyond practical benefits like the ability to receive cheaper health care—the sense of who one is and where one came from is able to be expanded and developed based on whether one has papers. I develop this idea more fully in Chapter 6.

Translating Bicultural Competence

Miguel and Julio are close friends and similar in many respects: they went to the same elementary and high schools, graduated in the same year and hang out in the same social networks. They even report having similar grades and exhibited similar levels of potential "on the field." They also exist within the main two worlds that Herbert Gans speaks of (the "old culture" or "Mexican Chicago" and that of the larger city it is a part of) and have high levels of "bicultural competency" (Bacallao and Smokowski, 2009). This bicultural competency is something that cannot be translated in the mainstream into capital as easily for those without "papers." But Miguel was born in the USA and Julio was born in San Juan de los Lagos, a reality that has led to a whole host of options for Miguel that Julio simply does not have. Miguel never had to come to terms with the kind of realization that Julio faced as recounted at the opening of this chapter; that is, he never had to completely rethink the trajectory of his life and doesn't continually negotiate his presence in the world with an ultimate fear that he may be forced to leave.

Miguel and Antonio are able to translate the skills they have and work in both institutions firmly embedded in Mexican Chicago and those more traditionally associated with "mainstream society" like a law firm and a preschool. Their Spanish language skills are valued at both institutions, and they have been able to capitalize off the networks they developed growing up either through getting an extra job or forming a league at Chicharito's.

Initial Socialization

While the 1.5 generation is similar in most respects to their documented counterparts, their initial years in the United States are often extremely difficult as they navigate a new world, new people, and a new language. Ochoa, a twenty-eight-year-old member of the undocumented

1.5 generation, recalls the difficulty with the language and "not knowing what anyone was saying … getting picked on by the other Mexicans (kids) cause I didn't speak English … I wasn't allowed to speak Spanish, so I just didn't really speak." Multiple people in my fieldwork in this category have mentioned the necessity of learning English to show you belong. Joshua notes that "I have these like early memories of being made fun of because of my accent … kids can be mean as fuck man … and they would call me all these names and I didn't know what was going on … so I had to learn real quick … you know it helped that other new kids that were even worse than me (in English) came, because then the kids would pick on them!" Joshua thus recalls the difficulty initially fitting in and the need to "learn quick." Once he learned the language and began to make friends, he never "really thought about" those early years—until the moment he found out the significance of his lack of citizenship status.

The 1.5 generation almost universally reported this stress and desire associated with the need to "fit in," acculturate, and learn the language. As this group ages, though, they move back and forth in their Mexican identity. Lalo, an undocumented 1.5 generation twenty-five year old mentioned that when he came to the US at eight he used to "dress like a cowboy … you know … a *ranchero* … people laughed at me … so I changed the way I dressed … but now, man, fuck it … those are my roots … *ranchero* to the death." Lalo re-adopted this identity at least in part due to the reality of adult life without papers. After high school, he had to figure out how to make money and that was when one of his cousins got him a job in the summer months working on a farm in Illinois outside of Chicago. In the winter he works for a Mexican music promotion company called *Los Barrachos Promotions* that holds events at different places in Mexican Chicago. He has thus adapted to a life without papers by fully immersing himself in the world of Mexican Chicago, and while embracing Mexican identity is something that can be a sign of

one's agency, it can also be a reflection of the need to live and work in the world of his parents and other undocumented immigrants. Due to the structural constraints that bar entry into institutions and lines of work in the "mainstream," individuals like Lalo navigate the world of the undocumented first generation that is primarily experienced in Mexican Chicago.

Fear and Uncertainty

Perhaps one of the main differences and findings of my work is the impact that fear and uncertainty associated with documentation status play in the undocumented 1.5 generation members' lives compared with the second generation. This can translate into a fear of doing things that others in the second generation often take for granted, including routine activities such as buying cell phones, establishing credit, or cashing checks. Julio, for instance, has had to rely on a friend, "Big Manny" (a second generation Mexican American who went to elementary and high school with him and who runs the team La Bamba) to cash all his checks from the job we both worked at (I have also done this for him on a few occasions). This is because he is afraid to open a bank account. While Julio can technically do this, the important point to remember is that there is both a lack of knowledge of what is okay for him to do as well as a general fear and pessimism associated with this uncertainty. "No one is there to help me, and if I don't know … I just (assume) I can't do things like that." Julio often couldn't join his teammates when they went out to particular bars (outside of Mexican Chicago, in "white neighborhoods") for the first two years of our friendship because he didn't know how to get an ID. (He did not want to get the TVDL because he doesn't know how to drive and felt that it was prohibitively expensive.) He eventually did get an ID at the Mexican consulate (a *matrícula consular)* and also purchased a fake ID for bars (even though he was twenty-eight at the time). There are "spots" in Mexican Chicago that accept the *matrícula consular* and where he feels comfortable—outside of these

spaces though, he is always worried that "something bad will happen" when he shows the bouncer one of his IDs. This occurred, as mentioned earlier, at a bar in River North that I brought him and a few other friends to for a birthday. A few weeks prior to this date, one of my cousins used her Irish passport to enter, and I had assumed that foreign IDs would be acceptable. However, when we got to the door the bouncer let us all in and told Julio he would not be able to enter because "(they) didn't accept *that* ID." I tried to quickly smooth the situation over by telling the bouncer he was a "dick" and threatening to go elsewhere. This story again points to the fear and uncertainty of life with this status, especially around entering locations outside of the confines of Mexican Chicago.

Chapter 3 and 4 pointed to the particular benefits of viewing immigrant incorporation within institutions and particular spaces. This kind of analysis shows the meaning that constant interaction between groups of the undocumented 1.5 generation and second generation can have, particularly with respect to a negative psychological impact for the former. Let us explore this idea in more detail now.

"I'd Suck a Dick for Papers": Internal Differentiation in 1.5 and Second Generation Interaction

Fieldnote June 29, 2015

Our team ("Lecheros City") were sitting around Mr. C's office after a victory over a decent opponent. The conversation began as usual with an analysis of the game, and the group focused specifically on a moment towards the end of the game when I was "megged." Megging, which refers to a play where a ball goes through one's legs, has a special meaning in soccer and is understood in particular ways at Chicharito's. This is often thought of as a humiliating moment with the level of humiliation depending on a variety of factors including intention and outcome. In this case, the opponent both meant to meg me and was able to complete it by successfully

maintaining possession of the ball. Both of these factors contributed to its significance. Everyone found this hilarious, and I laughed along with them though I was upset and embarrassed about the situation.

The conversation then moved to the Supreme Court marriage equality decision that happened a few days earlier. Of the nine players present, about half "have papers" (five in this case) while the other half (four) do not. One of my teammates, Angel, who had fallen to the floor laughing while recalling the meg incident, perked up when he heard the topic of conversation change. Angel, who is undocumented and in the 1.5 generation having arrived to the United States when he was five years old from Mexico City, called out to Joshua, a twenty-two-year-old member of the second generation. "Yo, you got papers, right … want to marry me? ... man, I'm telling you, I'd suck a dick for papers!" This made the rest of the group laugh, and the conversation quickly shifted to whether it was possible to marry a friend to get papers, which the team looked to me (my nickname on this particular team is "the Professor") and Mr. C (the coach and senior figure) to decide upon. Mr. C shrugged as Angel, continuing his line of thought, "I mean how can they prove I'm not gay right?" While this group is relatively homophobic, which relates to a sporting masculinity that has its own flavor at Chicharito's that is colored by aspects of machismo culture, jokes such as this add a form of humor to the complex and difficult scenario of living without papers in a world where one's friends and peers often do. While half his teammates like Joshua are his friends and people he went to school with and who live near him, Angel and the others are differentiated by citizenship status.

Unauthorized status matters particularly when we look at differences between these groups as they transition to adulthood (Gonzales, 2011). The advantages for the second generation extend beyond formal inclusion in the United States and the ability to get college

student loans, travel on airplanes, and participate in the formal labor market. The second generation can also build a transnational identity by traveling to Mexico to see their relatives or, as Joshua had done the month prior to the above fieldnote, receive healthcare. In this case Joshua had first gone to an American dentist who told him he needed braces, then planned a trip to Mexico to get the procedure done because it was cheaper. The 1.5 generation like Angel use their second generation peers and friends as a comparison group when considering their lives, and this helps us to see why many become disillusioned after reaching adulthood. They are forced to live in the far more precarious world of their undocumented parents, though their experiences in school and childhood taught them that another life was possible.

Looking at the 1.5 and second generation is useful in that we see how interactions and socialization between them at a place like Chicharito's impacts their views of the world and, I argue, ultimately their incorporation experiences. This can be seen, for instance, in how people in this group viewed major changes under the Affordable Care Act that afforded many of their friends the opportunity to get health insurance while explicitly excluding them (Tuohy and Talen, 2017). As Julio pointedly noted: "Yeah of course it makes me feel like shit … like I am not worthy or something … I see Miguel being able to get something like health insurance and they [the government] just ignore me … and they just want to deport me. How do you think that makes me feel you know?" Even though Julio and others in this group have high levels of bicultural competence from schooling, he cannot as easily translate this into the formal labor market when compared with his second generation peers.

One's level of bicultural competence speaks to the ability to exist in both worlds—in the spaces where Mexican Chicago can be seen and that of the larger society it is a part of. Those in the 1.5 and second generation are often very similar in this regard, but citizenship status impacts

the ways they can use such competence. As this group enters adulthood and encounters additional obstacles associated with their citizenship status, many are pushed into the informal economy of Mexican Chicago to make an income.

One example of this is Julio's experience and his increasing reliance on the soccer economy. While the amount he can make varies based on the prestige of a game and the resources of a team owner or manager, it is common practice in this world to pay particular players to help win games. Many of my more skilled informants like Julio use their ability to make extra money. During the course of my fieldwork, he has made anywhere between $20 and $150 per game while also receiving things like bikes, soccer apparel, or drugs in exchange for his services.

The main point that is worth emphasizing again here is that replenishment and the creation of multi-status communities and interactions that result in a unique kind of problem for people like Julio, Bibi, Joshua, and others who use the second generation as their comparison group. The constant interactions that occur can work to reinforce feelings of worthlessness, anxiety, and despair. At the same time, Julio's ability to earn an income playing soccer and his comfort in moving within spaces in Mexican Chicago speaks to the institutional acceptance of the undocumented population. It is a form of acceptance that is experienced in different ways within the undocumented population, a point that I illustrate in Chapter 3 through the case of Jesús and the cost/benefit analysis associated with language learning**.**

Similarities across the Different Generations: The American Dream

This takes us to a brief discussion of shared beliefs and similarities across the different groups in my study. One example is the seemingly strong belief in the "American Dream." There is a qualified exception to this, though, with respect the undocumented 1.5 generation. For

instance, Julio, Joshua, and Lalo still believe, as the former once noted, that the United States is "the greatest country" on earth—but they are more pessimistic about the American Dream because of the different roadblocks they are faced with due to their status.

It is important to remember how these people feel about their own lives and not strip them of the agency they believe they have. It would be easy (and mainly correct) for me to write about how a racist society is constraining these individuals, but these individuals do not see the process as being so simple; that is, even though there are significant structural barriers that are constraining their lives, many people believe that they are lucky and can "make it" through "hard work." This is again related to the lives they believe they might have been leading had they stayed in Mexico (or if they were deported). Many interviewees or people whom I interacted with expressed in a variety of ways their belief that all that is needed is hard work to be successful. Not succeeding is often seen as a failure on the part of the individual and not the product of an unjust society.

The Education Domain: Comparing Experiences across Generations

Many of the individuals in my study experienced poverty growing up, and ample literature has pointed to how childhood poverty leads to higher dropout rates, higher unemployment rates, and higher imprisonment rates. With regards to poor schooling, Edward Telles observes something indicative of the population in my network: "The schools that Mexican Americans go to are among the country's worst. Integrated schools often have them tracked to lower level curricula. They have the lowest level of education in the country" due in part to the low-resource schools they attend (Telles, 2006:18–19; Greenman and Hall, 2013; Rojas-García, 2013).

Those in the undocumented first generation often have a relatively comfortable world in which to live in Chicago. While they face a variety of barriers and discrimination, they can meet the essential needs of life within this world. The situation is different for the 1.5 generation in that they have a different understanding of their lives and higher bicultural competence as a result of schooling and "Americanization." They are met, though, with barriers that can force them back into the world of their undocumented first generation parents once they reach adulthood. One way to see this is by looking at experiences in the education domain through a vignette of one of my main informants, Angel.

Angel is an undocumented 1.5 generation immigrant who came to the US when he was two years old. His parents are both from Ciudad Hidalgo in Michoacán. He is an extremely talented player, and through connections that Mr. C had, he was offered a place on a local college team at the beginning of his senior year, with a partial scholarship. However, he turned this down and dropped out of high school altogether during his senior year. He is known in the network as someone who is good at cutting hair—he reports making up to "200 in a weekend." This is good money for Angel, and he decided not to go to college or finish school because he wanted to continue to make money. He also knows that he doesn't "have papers" and reports being disillusioned with his career prospects. These factors, coupled with a reported dislike of school and a desire to make money, led to his leaving education altogether. His mother continues to live in Hidalgo as she is "too sick" to "get here." His father, though, is very involved in his life and comes to almost every game that Angel and his younger brother, Juanito, play. Angel reported that his father doesn't "really care" about pursuing education; he just wanted Angel to make money and be happy.

When I asked Angel to tell me a bit more about cutting hair, asking specifically if he wanted to work in a barbershop or have his own place, he told me that "people knew him" and essentially that his reputation would both keep clients and deliver new ones. He is active on social media and offers discounts on certain days of the week and charges less to "regular" customers. With his father's approval, he set up an informal shop in the basement at his house and purchased online a "good kit" for cutting hair. He has his own room in the basement, which affords a level of privacy, and he told me that he doesn't have any intention or plan to leave anytime soon. He also provides "in-home cuts" for customers who are willing to pay extra for his time and travel expenses.

He often talks about his love for particular kinds of cars, and he has stated on many occasions that his main desire is to buy a nice one for himself, "something like Leo has." Leo, one of Julio's cousins "with papers," is a twenty-eight-year-old second generation Mexican American who was involved in gang life during most of his youth. Leo was able to get out of the gang around eighteen (which he reported as being extremely difficult), and eventually got a GED in his early twenties. Leo works two jobs: one in a sandwich shop in Evanston and the other a night shift gig loading packages at a warehouse for a delivery service. I first met him on a night out with Julio, and I immediately noticed both how nice his car was and how much pride he took in it. While other aspects of his life were sometimes in disarray during the course of my fieldwork (he is currently in jail for attempting to take off an ankle bracelet while on parole for having sexual relations with a minor), his car was always spotless and meticulously well kept. It is a black Dodge Charger that is central to Leo's identity. When people refer to him, the car is often mentioned and is something that he is deeply associated with. It is also his third Dodge Charger—two of these he "smashed up" while drunk driving (including one particularly

harrowing incident involving a tree on his street). He has avoided legal trouble for this, but when I asked him how much it was for the car, he went on a long rant about how it was something that was "almost my whole paycheck." He doesn't particularly care about the outrageous interest rates the dealer is charging him for the car—the most important thing is that he has it and it is clean.

It is important to always keep in mind the motivations and passions that individuals have—what it is that motivates them to work and to live. Mentioning all of these details about Leo's car is important because this is also one of Angel's main goals—he does not view education as a means through which to achieve that goal but rather as one that would actually hinder it. "You asking me about college right … I gotta pay for college, at least some of it … I gotta wait four years maybe longer … why the fuck would I do that when I am making money now Brian? Why would I sit in a class for four years (he emphasizes four years) when I could just do the same thing now … I am good at what I do, I make that money, why would I go to school?" Angel is excited about saving to get a car like Leo's and believes school is a "waste of time."

For Angel, the cost-benefit analysis of finishing school and going to college in a precarious world without citizenship is something that is qualitatively different than many others in the network and people of a similar age across the United States. These cost-benefit analyses impacted by structural barriers must be taken into account when viewing the "outcomes" of this population as is done in many quantitatively-oriented studies.

Angel, though, does not seem to have long-term plans to make money other than through playing for competitive teams (like Julio) and his new career as a barber, but this does not worry him: "Life is good man, I play every night, I got money in my pocket, what else could I need?"

He is content with his prospects and did not see a need to apply for DACA. Indeed he was "happy" that he didn't apply once Trump was elected because "then they would know where I live!"

This kind of story, specifically that of foregoing college in pursuit of short term gains, is something that Mr. C reports "seeing all the time" in the network. It is also a feature of his players' lives that causes him continual stress: "They just don't seem to get it … there is a longer term thing going on with school, you can really set yourself up. But these guys just want to make a few dollars right now. It is really sad." I then asked Mr. C why he thought so many people in the community weren't graduating high school or going to college. He thought for a moment and responded: "The problem with education … with a lot of these guys …. is that you gotta educate the parents too … I always say that … you gotta talk to the parents first … because they often don't know (about the importance of a college education) … they just see it as really expensive … and they don't understand the point … a lot of the times they just want their kid to make money … or sometimes they are working so hard themselves that they don't have time to do what I did with my kids ... you know, invest in them." When scholars report a lack of success amongst the second generation in college graduation rates, it is necessary to consider the lives, constraints, opportunities, and contexts that individuals live in and are faced with.

The view and role of education is something that is not uniform in the network. An important factor that conditions views on pursuing higher education that is corroborated by other literature relates to citizenship and class status (Abrego, 2006). Many undocumented parents are unfamiliar with the educational system in the United States and are unwilling or afraid to interact with it. Julio recounted a story that he found amusing that speaks to this idea. After his freshman year in high school, he was forced to do summer school for failing two courses. When he told his

mom she gave him a "big hug"—she thought that summer school "was a good thing … like because I was doing good in school." Mr. C's comments speak to one potential mechanism behind findings in the literature that speak to poor educational outcomes among second generation Mexicans (Telles, 2006, 2010; Roche, Ghazarian, and Fernandez-Esquer., 2012). I spoke mainly to the children of such parents, and they report that the reasons for this lack of involvement is related to several features of their lives including language barriers, working irregular or long hours, low levels of education, and a lack of information/understanding of the educational system in the United States and general fear of interacting with such institutions. As we will see in Chapter 6, these findings in many ways mimic parental experiences in the health domain. Undocumented students may also not see the potential benefits of spending a significant amount of money and time on an education that might not "pay off" at the end. They are faced with two particularly striking barriers: first, they cannot receive federal student loans to cover the cost of education; and second, even if they do receive a degree, their undocumented status might make it likely that they won't be able to enter the formal labor market as many companies require proof of citizenship.

I thus find that one especially poignant barrier to "traditional" integration for the undocumented relates to educational experiences. While many in my dissertation have a desire to attend college, I find that a combination of several factors, including fear of institutions, a lack of information or misunderstanding of what rights they have, and actual legal obstacles (such as the inability to acquire federal loans), causes these individuals to "give up." They are then forced to enter the world of their undocumented first generation parents. Unlike their parents though, they often enter unwillingly and wholly unprepared for the kind of sacrifices and decisions necessary to make it in the undocumented workforce.

Conclusion

In considering the trajectories of traditional assimilation theory, the shock to the system that was described in the opening vignette that Julio experienced when he "found out" that he was undocumented is something that cannot be fully accounted for. In this literature, assimilation is supposed to "work" because of the process of socialization that occurs through schools and mainstream institutions, but these schools and institutions were teaching Julio about a life that was going to be much different and one that he was going to be unprepared for. The type of socialization that happens as a child to prepare one for life in America is one that works in a completely different way for people in Julio's situation.

This discussion of the undocumented first and 1.5 generation points to the category of citizenship status being more complicated and diverse than might be previously understood. The Mexican American population indeed calls into question all of these categories that are traditionally used in models of assimilation, and two potential explanations that I put forth for these differences are related to age of arrival and institutions of socialization that members are associated with upon arrival. There are also distinctions in the 1.5 and second generation, mainly due to what I argue is the impact of the realization of undocumented status for individuals who envisioned a different life. Further, I discuss how the second generation is also impacted by the status of their parents.

In this chapter, I also discussed the importance of thinking through the comparison groups we use and advocated for the use of "homeland dissimilation." Following Jiménez and others, I made the argument that comparing Mexicans with other immigrant groups is problematic due to replenishment and the unique nature of this population. When we use homeland dissimilation in place of these cross-group comparisons, we see a much more

distinctive upward mobility. Doing so contributes to a more realistic conclusion about the fate of Mexican American integration that is passionately debated in the literature (Haller et al., 2011a, 2011b). More importantly, it is also a way of comparison that is more "real" to the community of Mexicans that I am studying in the US.

While this is not to say that the undocumented first generation is an advantaged group generally, they often consider their lives to be good when comparing them with those who were "left behind." Thus, we should take into account not simply the increasing significance of citizenship status in blocking pathways and how the changing economic structure of the United States does not allow for upward mobility in more blue-collar jobs as in previous generations of immigrant integration, but also how these immigrants view their own lives.

The evidence provided in this chapter points to a need to look at the undocumented as a separate category in questions of Mexican American integration entirely, while also being sensitive to the variation within the category itself (particularly between the first and 1.5 generation). Any analysis of the Mexican American group that analyzes this population without adequately accounting for the undocumented is at great risk of providing incomplete and ultimately inaccurate conclusions about their "fate."

I also provide evidence for the utility of examining integration through specific "domains" with my analysis of views and experiences with education. My next chapter applies this approach specifically to the domain of health, highlighting in the process the role that federal reforms can play in institutionalizing status differences between groups.

CHAPTER 6

HEALTH WITHOUT PAPERS: IMMIGRANTS, CITIZENSHIP, AND HEALTH IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Introduction

As detailed in Chapter 2 and at the conclusion of Chapter 5, scholars have begun to recognize the importance of viewing immigrant integration in multiple domains, and recent research has demonstrated the significance of doing so, for instance, in education and employment (Gonzales, 2015; Abrego, 2006; Abrego and Gonzales, 2010; Bachmeir and Bean, 2011). In this chapter, I will highlight the implications of a multidimensional analysis by looking specifically at the healthcare experiences of my informants. Building upon the work of Chapters 3 and 4, I address how citizenship status and embeddedness within multi-status communities like Mexican Chicago and at Chicharito's Place impacts immigrant experiences in the healthcare domain. In particular, I show the process behind how the Affordable Care Act (ACA) has contributed to an institutionalization of the status differences between these groups while also leading to a distinct advantage for the second generation. I show how the precarious nature of undocumented status and the explicit exclusion of this group from receiving healthcare benefits has led many to feel like they have no access to healthcare whereas those in the second generation can often access care in both countries. The implications of this extend beyond healthcare, and I discuss its impact on issues including ethnic identity and psychological well-being. This chapter makes a contribution to both our understanding of the importance of intergroup dynamics in immigrant integration as well as our understanding of the health implications of immigration policies more generally.

The immigration and healthcare systems consist of two large institutional arrangements that impact the lives of millions in the United States every day. Understanding the connections

between these two systems is necessary if we are to both improve lives and reduce our demand on an increasingly burdened social safety net. The "true crisis point in the encounter between these two systems" is seen when examining how the undocumented attempt to access the healthcare system (Portes et al., 2012:2). In this paper I focus on this crisis point and pay particular attention to the experiences of children of immigrants in the second generation and undocumented 1.5 generation. Through the lens of their health care experiences, I demonstrate the ways policies can further institutionalize differences between these two sociologically similar groups who differ in whether or not they "have papers."

The children of immigrants are a vital group to study in health for two main reasons. First, scholars can better understand the role of citizenship in the health domain with respect to both the undocumented themselves and those living within mixed-status families. Second, it is a group that will continue to test the social safety net and whose significance will increase as the population ages. My analysis builds on the work of the last chapter and centers on a comparison between the undocumented 1.5 generation and the second generation. As I demonstrated in this chapter, these two groups are often almost identical sociologically: they go to similar schools, have similar levels of English language ability, are raised in similar neighborhoods, have similar peer groups, and come from mixed-status families that have similar levels of social and human capital. When these two groups enter adulthood, though, the undocumented 1.5 generation must navigate a different and more precarious world, but their experiences in schools and in peer groups taught them how another life was possible. They are made dissimilar from their citizen-born peers due to particular laws; this includes, for instance, the inability to acquire federal loans for college and the difficulty in accessing employment in the formal labor market. In this chapter I show how this divide was further sharpened and cemented through federal healthcare reform.

The Affordable Care Act, which had a positive impact lowering the uninsured rate amongst the very poor, explicitly excluded noncitizens and nonlegal residents. This has worked to create distinctions between immigrant groups and placed undocumented adults, in particular, at the very bottom of the health hierarchy (Ortega, 2015; Chavez, 2012; Marrow, 2012a, 2012b; Marrow and Joseph, 2015; Gonzales, 2015). My fieldwork, which occurred during the implementation of the ACA, provides insight into undocumented experiences with the healthcare system in addition to the impact policies play in sharpening distinctions between immigrant groups. This work extends research on the ACA's role contributing to the institutionalization of differences by focusing specifically on the undocumented 1.5 generation and the comparison group they use when evaluating their lives.

The present chapter and method I employ is unique in the health literature in that my five years of fieldwork provides access to a group that we know little about but who are of growing demographic interest and concern—a mixture of young healthy immigrant men with and without citizenship. My interests in the health experiences of this group emerged through fieldwork and through seeing directly how these men dealt with injuries during a game and indirectly in the stories they told about their interactions or their family members' interactions with the healthcare system.

One instance in particular altered my research trajectory and intensified my interest in exploring the healthcare experiences of these men. Early on in my fieldwork (and prior to the major provision of the ACA that would eventually lead more people to have access to insurance), I was playing in an adult league game when one of my teammates suffered a serious leg break. The sound of the break emanated throughout the field in such a way as to almost immediately alert everyone playing that the situation was quite severe. When the EMTs arrived to transport

him (David, a thirty-three-year-old member of the second generation and child of two undocumented immigrants from Mexico City) to the hospital, they asked him whether he had insurance. He was still in a state of shock and couldn't really answer or talk clearly. There was a moment of confusion and uncertainty, which was ended by the owner of the facility, Mr. C, who claimed that he knew him and was sure that he had insurance. When the ambulance left, I asked Mr. C about this, and he informed me that "of course he doesn't have insurance … but if they thought he didn't have insurance or that he was illegal or whatever they would have brought him to that shitty (public hospital) … now they will bring him to (a nearby private hospital)." While there is a burgeoning literature recognizing the importance of multiple domains of immigrant incorporation in institutions and employment, I realized that experiences in health both mattered and were underexplored.

Background

While our health and ability to access care are of vital importance to our quality of life, immigrant experiences in this domain are not often considered as direct measures within sociological theories of immigrant integration. Sociologists nevertheless should consider this key domain—health—an important indicator of quality of life and a prerequisite for one to participate in aspects of both leisure and employment. The majority of research on immigrant health has been conducted by scholars in the fields of public health and health policy, and this scholarship has attempted to understand the link between immigrant groups and key issues like health literacy, inequality in disease outcomes, and access to care (Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2015; Lara et al., 2005). This literature tells a stark tale about the relationship between health, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status (SES) in which the poor and ethnic minorities face higher levels of stress, have higher rates of diseases, live shorter lives, and have worse access to

insurance (Williams and Sternthal, 2012; Terriquez and Joseph, 2016; Viruell-Fuentes, 2007). Those with higher levels of SES live longer and are healthier in part because they have more regular access to insurance and receive more preventive care (Smedley et al., 2003).

The relationships between immigrants, the healthcare system, and governmental reform are important to consider for several reasons, including the increasing size of the immigrant population, high levels of inequality, and its significance for the social safety net (Castañeda et al., 2015). Changes to contemporary patterns of immigration, particularly with respect to the increasing significance of citizenship status, require our renewed attention as it is altering the dynamic between immigration and health. The present wave of immigration is one that can be characterized by a stark bifurcation between high and low human capital migrants (Donato and Massey, 2016). While high human capital immigrants have more quickly achieved social and economic parity with the native born, the rising population of immigrants located at the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy have generated concern about the creation of a potential "underclass" (Donato and Massey, 2016; Chavez, 2012). These immigrants face particular barriers in healthcare, especially when they or their family members are undocumented

Limited healthcare access is a major issue among immigrant groups, and citizenship status is playing an increasingly important role in this problem. This is compounded by the fact that even when immigrants are eligible for health benefits, they have been found to take such eligibility up at far lower rates than the native-born population. This is due to issues including fear and low levels of health literacy (Chavez 2012). Policies that restrict access to care for the undocumented have a significant impact on the more than four million citizen-born children of undocumented immigrants (Hainmueller et al., 2017).

Main Argument

Marginalized individuals' healthcare choices—and in many respects, their lives—are intimately tied to local, state, and federal policy decisions. The type of care one can have access to as an undocumented immigrant varies significantly at the state and more local levels throughout the United States. While many states provide some access to care for undocumented children, the variation for adults is significant. There is not a clear federal set of guidelines that mandates how state and local institutions should treat their undocumented populations, and as such, there is extreme variation at the local level (White, et al. 2014; Edward and Hines-Martin, 2015; Karoly and Perez-Arce, 2016; Tuohy and Talen, 2017).

Although there are significant variations at the state level, certain entry points to the healthcare system are available for undocumented immigrants in my study and across the United States. These include the Emergency Medical Treatment and Labor Act (EMTALA), a law passed in 1986 that requires hospitals to stabilize patients regardless of their citizenship status or ability to pay (Zuber, 2012; Bustamente, 2012:146–48). Two other examples are private charities and Federally Qualified Health Centers; undocumented immigrant access to care is a patchwork and combination of these. With regards to quality of care and the experiences of immigrants, researchers have found that such sources of care can have long waiting times and are understaffed relative to demand; that immigrants are afraid to access them or don't know they are allowed to; lead to less preventive care, which is worse for both patients and the social safety net; and offer inadequate cultural resources, including translation services (Castañeda et al., 2015).

The undocumented also experience inequality in insurance coverage generally, with the vast majority uninsured (Chavez, 2012). Indeed, Sanchez and colleagues find that they are "five

times more likely than naturalized citizens to be uninsured and less likely to visit a primary care provider or clinic, even after controlling for other factors including language, income, and education" (Sanchez et al., 2017:2037–39). The undocumented cannot use their own money to buy private insurance on the exchanges set up through the ACA, leaving them with either no insurance, costly private insurance, or employer-based insurance, which is rare in the kinds of employment sectors common with these individuals. Though much of this will depend on the new presidential administration's plans for healthcare, the ACA as originally mandated will continue to work to make the undocumented a much larger percentage of the uninsured when it is fully implemented (Frazier, 2016).

The undocumented in general are often unaccounted for in population studies. The difficulty in studying this group is related to access and measurement issues, the former because the population is highly vulnerable and the latter because of the difficulty of properly capturing within-group variation (Jiménez and Fitzgerald, 2007). The Mexican American population is much more heterogeneous than often accounted for, and literature that relies on categories of Hispanic or Latino health often miss important nuances in these groups (Egede, 2006). While there have been several qualitative studies over the past decade that have begun to shed light on the experiences of the undocumented in health, we have a limited understanding of the processes and mechanisms involved in immigrant incorporation in this domain.

This is particularly the case in the dearth of literature on two specific areas that my research seeks to contribute to: the undocumented 1.5 generation's experience with health and the importance of comparing the 1.5 with the second generation. This is particularly surprising given the world these children of immigrants live within: living in similar neighborhoods, going to similar schools, having similar social networks, having parents with similar socioeconomic

status. This research is critical for two main reasons. First, the undocumented 1.5 generation is a growing population that often out of necessity must interact with the healthcare system. Understanding their experiences is important from a patient and healthcare system perspective. As this group ages they will potentially put further strain on the safety net, which could lead to more costly and dangerous healthcare conditions and treatment. Analyzing their beliefs, views, attitudes, and experiences with the healthcare system now will be helpful in improving lives and will have important financial implications for the healthcare system. Second, comparing these two generational groups shows us how their socialization experiences, the interactions between them, and the comparison groups they are using matter in how they see the world and deal with healthcare institutions.

Through simultaneous inclusion and exclusion of children of immigrants based on citizenship status, the ACA has significant and unintended consequences. Specifically, I show how these reforms have further institutionalized the divide between 1.5 and second generation Mexican American men who are socially similar but differ on whether or not they "have papers." Upon the implementation of the ACA, the second generation had access to health insurance, and those who enrolled were given an additional series of options that is unavailable to those in the undocumented 1.5 generation. I argue that these options have both a material and psychological impact—these men are less likely to access care unless it is "absolutely necessary" and are made to feel, as in the words of one my informants, like they "are not worthy." While the ACA has been successful in lowering the uninsured rate, its tangible effect within the network has been to further cement the difference between these two groups who are sociologically similar yet experience health so differently. This points to the potential source of inequalities in health as

being rooted not in traditional sociological variables of race, class, gender, or neighborhood context but within and as a result of the law itself.

The second generation reported improved healthcare access along with heightened comfort and ease navigating healthcare spaces as a consequence of the rollout of the ACA and their subsequent eligibility. This sense of ease that came with the ACA is one that stands in stark contrast to the undocumented 1.5 generation. I find that the feelings of the undocumented 1.5 generation is associated with three factors in particular that were all intensified after the rollout of the ACA. First, there is a fear associated with their undocumented status, which contributes to low levels of health literacy and avoidance of programs they might be eligible for. This intensified after the ACA for those in my network, specifically with respect to a rising suspicion that accessing healthcare might be associated with being labeled a "public charge," and hence, deportable. As one of my informants, a twenty-six-year-old undocumented member of the 1.5 generation who came to the US as an infant, noted: "Obamacare isn't for us illegals—so why would I want to go get something looked at man? Are you crazy? Why are you asking me about that? They'll probably deport me if I show up." Second, the undocumented 1.5 generation is consciously aware of moving backwards in the health domain across the life course. While many reported some access to healthcare as a child, they enter a much more precarious and difficult world after reaching adulthood. I argue that this backwards movement was sharpened and crystalized through the explicit exclusion the ACA places on undocumented immigrants participating. Finally, I argue that the nature of particular communities where there is embeddeness of individuals in mixed-status networks with peer groups of multiple citizenship statuses has a significant impact on their comparison group. This comparison group matters when considering how the undocumented 1.5 generation evaluates their situation with reference

to their second generation peers and family members. In other words, it is important to consider the lives of the undocumented 1.5 generation in terms that they understand—these men do not compare their experiences in education or in health with that of earlier European waves but most often do so with respect to their friends and peer groups. This work calls for a more sufficient theorization of the legal differentiation that exists between sociologically similar children of immigrants.

When compared with other cities, Chicago and the state of Illinois more generally happen to be among the more advantageous places to live as an undocumented adult immigrant—at least at the time of writing (May, 2018). One can get a driver's license, attend local colleges at "in-state" tuition rates, and potentially access low-cost or free healthcare at clinics. Although this is a potentially more positive context, my fieldwork demonstrates that even in cities and states that provide relatively more access to care, such access is nevertheless significantly impacted by fear of particular kinds of institutions as well as a lack of relevant knowledge about one's rights in the healthcare domain.

While recognizing the significance of context, this chapter is most concerned with processes associated with citizenship, healthcare institutions in immigrant integration, and the impact of living within mixed-status communities. I will use three comparative cases below developed from this fieldwork to demonstrate the increasingly important role that citizenship status is playing in the daily lives of these immigrants in the domain of health. These cases will serve to highlight the impact of the ACA in further institutionalizing status differences in the undocumented 1.5 generation and in contributing to the cementing of categories of deserving and undeserving immigrants. The fieldwork involved also points to a clearer understanding of the mechanisms involved in these processes, and I will discuss more general findings from my

research after the discussion of these cases. We will begin with a comparison of two close friends whose lives have been shaped in distinct ways because of their citizenship status and who experienced different outcomes with the rollout of the ACA.

Case 1. A Friendship Separated by Papers: Julio and Miguel

Julio knows that "one mistake" can change everything when it comes to his health. "I don't have healthcare bro … I always gotta be careful. I always have to be watching myself. Always man." Miguel, one of his best friends, was also keenly aware of the need to be careful. This situation changed in 2014 with the rollout of the ACA, which Miguel enrolled in: "You need insurance cause if something bad happens what are you going to do? You know how much shit is, right?"

Julio and Miguel have been friends "since before (they) could remember." They went to elementary and high school together and have played on the same soccer teams since they were five years old. They received similar grades in elementary and high school, hung out in the same crowds, and although Julio was the "better [soccer] player," they both planned to go to college and play while there. That all changed for Julio the day he "found out" he was undocumented. Julio is part of an ever-increasing group whose lives are being constantly negotiated and renegotiated due to changes in federal and local policy and the need to make a life when considered a nonperson by the state (Gonzales, 2011).

"I just got up and hobbled out of there": Julio's Ankle

Shortly after dropping out of college due to an inability to pay for tuition, Julio was back to playing in leagues for money. While access to higher education varies at the state level, undocumented individuals are excluded from federal student loans. Due to the increasing costs of education and Julio's low socioeconomic status, going "back to school" simply became

financially impossible. Regardless, he was able to use his talents in the informal economy playing for various teams in the Mexican soccer network. How much money he and others in the network are paid depends on a variety of factors including the quality of the player, the perceived prestige of the game (playoffs pay more than regular season for instance), the quality of the opposition, the rivalries involved, and the wealth of team owners. These payments are negotiated by player and coach prior to game.

"I was better then," he comments wistfully. He had just finished a season training at the college level, a level that is generally above the summer leagues he grew up playing in. Thus he was in excellent shape and knew that he could make "good money" helping teams to win games. The summer started off well for him, and he was making upwards of $100 per game.

Although it had rained much the night and morning of the game, by the time he arrived to the field at Fifty-Seventh and Shields, the sun had come out and Julio was excited to play. Although the field is in the Chicago neighborhood of Englewood, which is over ninety percent African-American, in the words of one of my informants, it "turns Mexican" during league games. Julio reminisces, partly blaming himself for what was an unfortunate accident: "I should have stretched more … and probably worn metals [shoes that are worn on more wet surfaces to avoid slipping and to increase performance]." He remembers trying to cut the ball back and then slipping slightly on the ground and hearing a loud snap. His friends confirmed they also heard it, and he knew that it was broken and that he should head to a local public emergency room:

> I had to wait for like fucking six hours man …. and when I got in the doctor immediately gave me an X-ray, and I was like … shit … how am I going to pay for that? ... I stayed around and I was getting more nervous, you know … like, fuck, how much is this going to cost? Then the doctor came back and was like, yeah, you broke this bone and pointed to it and was like … yeah we are going to need to put you in a splint … and when he left the room to go get it I just fucking left … all limping and shit, and just walked right out.

He went home to his mother who recommended going to a local Mexican trainer who worked with many of the amateur Mexican soccer teams in the area. While not a trained medical doctor, he was trusted in the community and put a makeshift cast on his foot and told him to rest. When I asked him if he was worried it was the "right" cure for his foot, he noted: "doesn't really matter, does it? What could I do? I don't got money, I don't got insurance, and I didn't really have any other options, did I?"

Julio still fears the hospital bill that came from the x-ray and leaving prematurely—so much so that he even reported fear in applying for DACA associated with that potential bill:

> "I dunno man, maybe they [the government] have this bill, and if I like … you know … give my information they are going to find out and deport my ass!" He laughs when he says this, but then he suddenly grows serious: "You know it's funny but it isn't … I don't have options … I can't just be like Miguel and go to Mexico and get it fixed there … I wouldn't be able to get back in bro."

This level of uncertainty and fear in interacting with the health domain is a theme that has been repeated by many of my undocumented informants and is related to feelings of fear, anxiety, confusion, shame, and depression. It also speaks to the particular level of health literacy in this population.

Before turning eighteen and discovering his undocumented status, Julio felt comfortable going to clinics and nurses at his school. Now, he is unsure of what rights he has, and when he is uncertain about such issues, he often automatically assumes that his documentation status makes him ineligible. This is a protective mechanism and helps explain why he and many other undocumented immigrants receive less care than they are otherwise eligible for (Bustamente, 2012; Chavez, 2012). It also demonstrates how he could be moving forward in one domain or area only to have a radical shift during his life course due to legal status.

Julio and others in the network and across the country face limited healthcare options. The threshold for going to the doctor for him and others in this population, I argue, is considerably higher than that of the general population. This is not simply because of the financial cost, and I have argued above that two other factors are playing a significant role: a lack of information and understanding of the healthcare system and a fear of interacting with any kind of state or public institution due to concerns about citizenship and deportation. The third important factor is the psychological and institutional impact of exclusion that came with changes instituted by the ACA. To better understand this final factor, let us now move to an ethnographic vignette centered on Miguel.

"Just go back home and get it done there!": Miguel's Options

In the summer of 2015, Miguel was playing in a game on Julio's team that was against a particularly intense rival. Towards the end of the contest, the goalie punted the ball high in the direction of Miguel and an opposing defender. He remembers jumping in the air to try and "win [the ball] … I jumped to flick it on you know, and I just saw his [opponent's] elbow and then it was lights out man." When he awoke from what would prove to be a relatively minor concussion, he knew that his nose was broken. "This was like right after I signed up for Obamacare bro, so I wanted to use that shit!" He ended up going to a local community clinic and was eventually seen by a doctor. The doctor told him that it was a "bad break" and that he was going to need nose surgery to fix his septum. He asked the doctor how much it was going to cost and "he just shrugged … and said 'probably pretty expensive.'" He then talked to the administrative staff at the clinic, and they told him that he was going to have to go to a specialist and that this specialist might "take a long time." He again asked how much it would cost, and the receptionist noted that it might be "expensive" and that she wasn't sure that it would be

"covered" by his benefits. She "had to look into it, but it didn't look great." He headed home with his broken nose and felt admittedly distraught. His father was waiting for him, and after Miguel told him what happened at the clinic, his father immediately told him "just go to Mexico … you can go to the best … hospital in Mexico for cheaper." Miguel ended up making another appointment with the clinic to add a temporary splint and, when he saved enough money, flew back to Mexico and got the operation done for what he believes was "like a quarter of the price." When I asked whether he went back to Mexico often for health-related issues, he noted that "I guess when I have to, like with this … but when I go see my grandmother and cousins and all that I go to a dentist … I … did that as a kid … you have no idea how much cheaper it is bro." Certain kinds of treatment, like oral healthcare and even nose surgery, are so much cheaper that Miguel and many others in the network will plan family vacations around receiving different kinds of treatment.

Miguel's story illustrates several key ideas and highlights particular advantages in the health domain for the second generation—that is, birth in the United States and hence citizenship can lead one to have access to *two* countries' healthcare systems, whereas arriving as a child born elsewhere and without papers can lead to none or severely limited healthcare access in one country. While Miguel's access to insurance through the ACA did not lead to an easy fix for his medical issue, he was able to get the problem assessed relatively quickly and received vital information related to his health and well-being. This kind of information and these different options were notably absent for Julio.

Comparing Julio and Miguel

While the ACA has provided access to care for some within the community, it has worked to further sharpen the distinction between these two close friends in a critical way. While

Miguel ended up getting treatment in Mexico (something he could have done regardless of his enrollment in the ACA), his ability to get quick and vital information about the nature of his break points to the increased level of comfort he now feels navigating healthcare spaces. When I asked Miguel why having insurance mattered if he got the operation done in Mexico anyway he noted:

> I guess it is just different now … I don't know … like before I got Obamacare I would never go to a doctor or the hospital or whatever unless I had to you know … but now I can get something taken care of easier ... like that time I had that skin thing (he is referring to an incident in which a "turf burn" [exposed skin sliding on rough indoor facility fields] got infected and he needed a certain antibiotic to help control it) I just made an appointment and got it taken care of … like before all that we (his family) would go to that flea market you know on Ashland (a popular outdoor flea market in Chicago) or something and get some ointment … but this makes it easier I guess.

Miguel now operates in a space that is somewhat similar to the broader group of low-income citizens who gained access to the healthcare system through the ACA. In some ways, he has an advantage over these groups through what Portes and colleagues refer to as "medical transnationalism" (Portes et al., 2012). His large social network in Mexico and familiarity with the country's healthcare system through his parents and other family members makes receiving certain kinds of care easier for him. This is specifically the case for him and many others in the network, in oral health treatment. In other ways, he is disadvantaged as he reported that when he was a child his parents' undocumented status often impeded him going for "regular checkups."

This experience stands in sharp contrast to that of Julio. Julio is left to feel further differentiated from his best friend and others in his peer group who now have this access. The effects are material in that he will continue to only access formal healthcare if it is absolutely necessary, as well as existential and psychological. When Julio and I talked about Miguel's injury and his trip to Mexico, Julio summed this up powerfully by noting that "of course it makes me feel bad … like shit … like I am not worthy or something." This quote also points to the fact

that the advantage of those in the second generation is one that has an impact on issues that extend beyond the health domain: Miguel and others in his situation—US citizens by birth who have enough income and social capital to travel—have the ability to build a kind of transnational identity that is impossible for Julio. Julio continued: "Yeah I can't go back to Mexico—so don't even think like that—how am I going to get back in? Do you know what that is like? I don't want to be in Mexico man, it scares me." Julio is left instead with only technically belonging to a country (Mexico) that he has no memories of or desire to be a part of, or a severely strained connection to the only place he has ever really known (the United States). This is why in many ways he feels like he belongs to "nowhere."

The changes in the ACA were not the sole cause of Julio's feelings of being less "worthy" and belonging "nowhere"—they add to the configuration experienced in other domains, like education and employment. The ACA does further institutionalize the differences between him, the approximately 1.7 million others in the category of the undocumented 1.5 generation, and Miguel and other citizen born children.

Case 2. Mixed Status Families: Alejandro and Ricardo

Alejandro and Ricardo are brothers, the former a thirty-year-old undocumented member of the 1.5 generation who came to the United States when he was two years old and the latter a twenty-five-year-old member of the second generation. Comparing their experiences is illustrative of the unique challenges living within a mixed-status family. When I first met these two as teammates, I thought they were twins due to their height, body build, and the particularly strong bond they seemed to share. In their teenage years, they worked after school at a food storage company their father worked at and then full time when they both graduated high school. They have played on the same teams since Ricardo was "good enough" to join Alejandro, but

since high school, Ricardo has taken a part-time job as a teller at a local bank that he reported getting, in part, because of his high-level bilingual proficiency.

Ricardo

Ricardo received health insurance through the ACA shortly after it was announced: "I was really excited about it … my boss told me about it, said it was easy [to get] … we've never had health insurance, so I thought, 'why not?'" A few months earlier one of our teammates, David, sustained a rather horrific leg break. I personally was about five yards away when this happened and immediately knew how serious this situation was simply by the sound. Thus an additional motivation for applying for the ACA was in response to hearing David's health struggles, both with respect to hospital and physical therapy bills as well as his attempt to get back "on the field." Ricardo applied because his boss said it was easy and "just in case" something "bad happened."

One of the most significant concerns for Ricardo and the vast majority of those in my network that continually appears in my data is indeed concern with cost and financial matters. When I asked Ricardo about whether anything has changed since enrolling, he noted: "The biggest thing I guess is that I can worry less if something bad happens … like if I get in a car crash or something crazy … someone will pay for it right? Or pay some of it now you know? I mean it is still not easy to understand I guess … but I just feel like it won't be the end of the world or whatever if something bad happens." While he does not report significant changes in his approach to preventive care, he reported getting "tested" after "getting insurance" with the ACA. "So what have I done since? There is an office that is like a regular office for me now but I haven't went… Well, if you honestly want to know … like listen … my girlfriend was going to go on the pill you know … so she said she wouldn't do it (have unprotected sex) unless I got

tested to make sure I was clean … so you know that made me want to go do it and it was pretty easy. Got it done in like a week!" While such services are available for people like his undocumented brother at certain clinics, Ricardo's enrollment gave him access to a network and a regular doctor's office, simplified the appointment-making process, and (perhaps most critically) made him feel more comfortable operating in health spaces. He further elaborates upon this latter point: "You probably don't know this stuff … but when you go into some of these free clinics or whatever they make you feel like you don't really belong … well like you are poor … I mean it is like this … it is crowded as hell, everyone there is poor as fuck, and we all have to wait for hours to get some normal ass shit done." He reports a more improved outlook on his health situation in terms of less fear in the event of a major accident and more confidence navigating healthcare spaces generally.

There are two significant changes that happened for those in the second generation like Ricardo and Miguel after enrolling in the ACA—practical and psychological. Getting tested for STDs and getting an antibiotic from a dermatologist are two examples of practical changes. The second consequence of enrollment is psychological—it is marked by both a deeper comfort navigating health spaces as well as in reduced fear of financial issues that can result when serious problems emerge.

Alejandro

When the conversation turned to his thoughts on his brother's situation, Ricardo noted "you know Alejandro doesn't ... have papers … I feel bad … but it has been like that for a while." He went on to explain that they went to different doctors as a kid: Ricardo would go to a "regular doctor" whereas his mother would take Alejandro to "free clinics" and mentioned one in particular near Chicharito's: "I remember wondering why … and my parents just said it was

because we were different … but I didn't understand." They also have a younger sister born in the US and Ricardo notes sometimes feeling guilty that he has more privileges due to the fact that he was "born here (in the United States)."

Alejandro's life trajectory has been similar to that of Julio in that he "found out" he was undocumented when he was thinking about applying to college. Since then he has come to realize the consequences of this status that has led to a precarious existence with daily stresses. Alejandro notes that unlike Ricardo, he is less "aggressive" on the field because he doesn't want to "get hurt."

> I don't go in for those 50/50 tackles man [this refers to an event in a game when a ball is between two players where there is an equal possibility that one of them will come away with the ball], if one of these bitches [a derogatory word he is using for a hypothetical aggressive opponent] wants to fight me, I back off. It's not worth it, you know? I can't get hurt, I can't get arrested. You see these guys fighting after games … what would happen to me if I fought? What would happen to me if I break my leg like David?

While his situation is difficult, he was able to successfully apply for DACA in early 2014, and this has had a positive impact on his life. DACA has allowed him to seek new employment opportunities, and he was eventually able to get his "dream job" working as a veterinary assistant for a local animal shelter. Nevertheless, recent changes under the new presidential administration have threatened the future of this program, and Alejandro is unsure whether he will be able to keep his job once his DACA status expires. Further, the ACA excluded DACA recipients from coverage, placing them in the same category as Julio and other undocumented immigrants. As he notes:

> Not having papers is hard. Yeah [DACA] has made stuff better…. You know I feel better that I don't have to worry what will happen if I get pulled over or whatever… At least I got [DACA] … Before [DACA] I kinda always had to be worrying… But you know it isn't all that great even now. You know, with [Donald] Trump, who knows what is going to happen, and you know my parents don't have papers and they can't get them… I am always worried about them too. I don't know what my future is [going to be] like, don't know what their future is [going to be] like.

With regards to his brother and sister, he has understandably mixed feelings:

> You know I am happy for them, you know … but it's kind of sad too … I get so mad at [Ricardo] sometimes because he does things where I am like "Man you don't know how lucky you are!" His life is easier bro … it is sad that like I can't just do normal things like him … everything is harder [for me].

These quotes illustrate several key points. Even with DACA, Alejandro still faces a host of difficulties, particularly in the health domain. DACA-eligible immigrants were also excluded from care, and it is clear how the precarity of his existence and fear that pervades his life extends into the health domain. Contrasting Alejandro and Ricardo also speaks to experiences of living within a mixed-status family. Alejandro feels his undocumented status powerfully when comparing his experiences to Ricardo, his sister, and others in his network that "have papers." Even though he has temporary relief from deportation with DACA, he still nevertheless worries about the fate and health of himself and his parents.

Individuals exist within family units, and these mixed-status families are an important unit of analysis. Even when one is born, like Ricardo, in the United States, enters adulthood, and acquires health insurance, they are not immune from caring about and being connected to their family members. It is necessary to think about the power of undocumented status not simply as existing within the individual level but also as significant within mixed-status families and networks. By providing Ricardo with access and excluding Alejandro, the ACA can be seen as working to institutionalize status differences not simply between individuals with and without citizenship, but also within family units in potentially significant ways.

Case 3. Joshua and Francisco: An Atypical Case

The experience of the 1.5 generation that I have recounted thus far has been more noticeably negative as they navigate the institutionalization of these status differences that came with the ACA. The story is not this simple, however, and I have found that socioeconomic status

and higher levels of social capital in this group can play an important role. Comparing the experiences of Francisco and Joshua is illustrative of this point. Friends since childhood, they are both in the undocumented 1.5 generation but lead distinct kinds of lives. They grew up playing on the same elementary and high school teams but drifted apart in their mid-twenties mainly due to what Joshua reports as a "fight over a girl."

Joshua, the younger of the two, is twenty-eight years old and has known he was undocumented since he was "about twelve. My uncle got deported and some of my dad's friends, and I remember asking him what that meant and that is when he told me … that I could be deported too. Well he didn't say that but he like told me we were like them…. I think … he was trying to protect me but it scared me." He dropped out of high school when he was a junior because he didn't like school and "didn't see the point. I can't really go to college, I can't get a job, I can't do a lot of things so I … just started working." He credits soccer and his manual labor job at a food distribution company with keeping him from doing "bad things" like getting involved in "gangs" or other "bad stuff."

A recent concussion injury caused him to reflect on the "better options" in health he had when he was a child: "We used to have a nurse at school … so when I got hurt playing or I didn't feel good I could go to her and she could just tell me whether something was wrong … even if I got hurt like not in school … it's important just to know, even if something isn't serious that it is okay, you know? … So now, I really don't got any options." Like Julio and Alejandro, the world that Joshua thought he knew drastically changed as he transitioned to adulthood and came to realize the significance of living "without papers." His story, though, is dissimilar from that of Francisco.

Francisco is twenty-nine and arrived to the United States when he was seven years old. He lived with his mother in Mexico until his father had done well enough to send for the family to come join them in Chicago. Though his parents are undocumented, they own a restaurant and Laundromat, which Francisco reports as being "very profitable." He applied for DACA soon after it was announced, went to college and received his BA in Business Administration at a local state school, and acquired a job at a real estate company that specializes in selling properties to immigrants in the city of Chicago.

Francisco pays for private health insurance. "I don't think anything bad is going to happen to me, but you know how much that shit [hospital bills] can be, so I found a pretty good deal and do it … you know … just in case." Like Alejandro, Francisco often talks about avoiding fights and confrontations on the field because he wants to protect his health. "When I was a young guy I got into all sorts of stuff … but now we are getting older man … I don't want to have to risk going to the hospital … man mixing it up with these *paisas* and gangbangers or people that just want to fight … it isn't worth it."

Francisco complicates the story I present here and the way that the undocumented 1.5 generation are often reported in scholarship and the media generally. He reports that his dad had a "third grade education when he came here," and he believes that he and his parents are doing so well because the United States provides the context and opportunities that can be taken if you "want it bad enough." He is able to find "ways around" the law to acquire properties for his clients, some of whom are undocumented. He believes that you should pay employees what they "will accept" and that he is "happy with" paying people at his father's Laundromat less than minimum wage because it is "way more than they woulda got in Mexico." He believes that these people could all "make it" if they simply tried hard enough.

> Listen, I never ask for nothing … I am lucky to be here … that's the problem with some people you know, they don't believe they are lucky to be here … they are just lazy … Joshua … he's so lazy … People that aren't successful are lazy and just don't care … I don't got papers, but I drive a fucking Cadillac … a Cadillac man … why? Cause I worked for it … people told me I couldn't get in to college [because of his status] so I called people and figured out how to get [enrolled] … I graduated and paid it all myself …. [I then ask him if DACA was helpful]… I got DACA when it came out, yeah, but I don't even need that. if you work hard you can get [health] insurance, people don't [understand] that … you just gotta pay for it … so it's worth it now I pay for it … if something crazy happens you need health insurance … so I just pay for it … why don't people just work harder and pay for it?

With that said, the recent election of President Trump caused him to move apartments because he was "afraid" that "the government now knows where I live 'cause I put it on that [DACA] form." The difference between Francisco and others in the 1.5 generation in my study mainly relates to parental income, health literacy, and levels of social capital. While both of Francisco's parents are undocumented, they own two businesses and have been financially successful despite their status. Francisco has had a relatively more comfortable life as a result and was able to get a college education, take advantage of DACA, and eventually secure work as a real estate agent. He has found a niche selling properties to other people who are undocumented and attributes his success to hard work. This atypical case also shows the heterogeneity in the undocumented population generally and demonstrates the importance that health literacy, access to networks, and access to social and financial capital all play when considering these questions and processes. The monthly premiums on the private health insurance that Francisco pays for are well beyond the financial means of Julio, Alejandro, Joshua, and hundreds of thousands of others in a similar position.

Other Findings

I will now move to a discussion of other findings from my ethnographic work in this network. I will highlight health literacy, intergenerational transmission of knowledge, mixed-status families, and second generation advantage.

Health Literacy

Health literacy, which refers to the ability to understand and navigate the extraordinarily complex healthcare system, is particularly low among the undocumented in my study. Understanding how to utilize the health system is complex—it is not simply knowing whether or not one is eligible for a particular kind of care. One needs to know where to access such care, what kind of services are offered at particular locations, what different kinds of plans providers offer, and to comprehend the nature of co-pays, sliding scales, and different means of financial assistance. I have found that even when one knows where one can go, fear and uncertainty—particularly related to the need to present identification or fill out paperwork—is still pervasive and can lead one to avoid care unless, as one informant notes, it is "absolutely necessary."

The complicated equation of an increasingly complex healthcare system coupled with undocumented status and low levels of social and human capital help explain the experience of Julio, Joshua, Alejandro, and millions of others and provides one reason for the growing level of health inequality in this population. I have found that low levels of health literacy is not the sole reason for low levels of insurance in the network: costs and the perceived benefits of whether it is worth getting is also important, as is working in occupations that do not provide employer-sponsored insurance. As these immigrants age, the issue of whether they have insurance and regular access to a primary caregiver will become even more important in terms of their health and the social safety net. One main finding here is that scholarship on health literacy needs to recognize the unique case of the undocumented—it is not simply dealing with an increasingly complex medical system but doing so in a context filled with fear and uncertainty and often within family units that have differing levels of coverage and access.

Intergenerational Transmission of Knowledge

One mechanism for how health inequality is reproduced in this community is related to a lack of intergenerational knowledge of the healthcare system. Many of the parents of those in my study came to the United States not only from a different medical system, but often with very low levels of human and social capital. As I have noted, there is a certain level of capital that is needed to interact with the system in the United States; examples include making appointments, knowing when and how to ask for financial assistance including charity care, understanding what a doctor or receptionist tells you about next steps, figuring out which specialist would be "in network" or what doctors would take Medicaid, to name a few. This system is entirely different than the one in Mexico, a system that has important variations across small villages, towns, and cities. Many parents, who are often afraid to interact with such healthcare institutions, cannot help their children to better understand the healthcare system in the United States. As Julio notes: "My mom doesn't understand the … healthcare system here or there [in Mexico] … she uses traditional Mexican stuff man … so you are asking me about Medicaid and stuff … but you've met her! She doesn't even speak English! So how am I supposed to know about it?" These factors, coupled with the pervasive nature of fear amongst this community, help us to better understand my findings of low health literacy, irregular and poor access to care, and lower levels of preventive care generally for those in my study.

Second Generation Advantage

Through the Fourteenth Amendment, birth in United States territory entitles one to citizenship. After the passage of the ACA, this birthright has translated into benefits that those in the undocumented 1.5 generation cannot take advantage of. Those in the second generation were able to acquire health insurance through health reform *and* have been able to travel back to

Mexico for care when it was cheaper. This advantage translates beyond health to ethnic identity in that many of those in my study who have citizenship have traveled to Mexico not simply for care but to visit family members. This allows for the building of a transnational identity that is impossible for people like Julio, Alejandro, and Joshua. For the undocumented 1.5 generation, they mainly do not have health insurance in the United States, are fearful of the healthcare system generally, and often have low levels of health literacy and, as such, are unaware of what rights—if any—they have to access treatment. Healthcare access for the undocumented is thus severely limited, and they do not have the transnational option in Mexico due to increased border control and the awareness of the difficulties of "getting back in" (Ortega et al., 2015; Torres and Waldinger, 2015).

Mixed -Status Families

Mixed-status families generally are an important group to study as there are approximately 2.3 million such families currently residing in the United States (Rodriguez, 2016; Massey et al., 2002; Taylor, Lopez, Passel, and Motel, 2011; Camacho, 2010; Romero 2011). Almost everyone in my network lives within a mixed-status family like we see in the case of Alejandro and Ricardo—that is, they either themselves are undocumented or have a parent, sibling, aunt, or cousin with that status.

As found in other studies, my data corroborates the idea that undocumented status impacts more than simply the individuals themselves but also can have a distinctly negative impact on family members (Castañeda and Melo, 2014). While relatively understudied in the literature, I have found this to be an important group to study in the health domain for at least two reasons. First, and as reported in other studies, citizen children may not be receiving the kind of care they are eligible for due to fear and low levels of fear associated with their parents'

undocumented status. Second, individuals exist within family units, and these mixed-status families are an important unit of analysis—that is, even when one is born in the United States, enters adulthood and acquires health insurance, they are not immune from caring about and being connected to their family members. Indeed one of the most common themes from the second generation in my study is worry about what will happen to their undocumented parents or siblings when they get older or sick.

Living within mixed-status families also contributes to the complexity of dealing with the healthcare system and healthcare literacy in this group. I have found that particular difficulties in mixed-status families include a general confusion about eligibility due to the fact that different family members have access to different kinds of services. Thus, this added level of complexity of multiple statuses within a family network can further hinder access to care.

Discussion and Conclusion

"You lie!" shouted Representative Joe Wilson during a September, 2009 Joint Session of Congress speech in which President Obama was outlining his proposal for health care that would eventually lead to the ACA. This shocking breach of decorum was indicative of the fears held by many that the ACA would provide healthcare access for undocumented immigrants. After a brief silence President Obama continued on: "There are also those who claim that our reform effort will insure illegal immigrants. This, too, is false—the reforms I'm proposing would not apply to those who are here illegally" (Castañeda, 2017:42). Healthcare and immigration are amongst the most divisive political issues of our time, and President Obama's proposed plan, in fact, did what Representative Wilson wanted: such immigrants, over 11 million of them, were explicitly excluded from the ACA.

A major aim of this chapter is to highlight the mechanisms involved in federal comprehensive healthcare reform leading to a sharpening of the boundaries between two sociologically similar groups. It is a powerful element that adds to the complex configuration that is causing a further sharpening of boundaries between these children of immigrants. By providing access to insurance for those in the second generation but explicitly excluding those in the 1.5 generation, the ACA has worked to intensify the distinctions between these groups of immigrants. One reason why the undocumented 1.5 generation are impacted so negatively relates to socialization experiences and how they see themselves as more similar to their second generation peers in the networks—those they went to school with, played and fought with as children. Looking at the interactions within my network helps us to see this process in action. The divide between these groups that came from this reform is not one that occurs naturally or through individual choice. Rather, we see how it can emerge through a process linked to embeddedness in mixed-status networks and through interactions with institutions in society that can simultaneously include and exclude people based on "having papers."

Witnessing one's peers, friends, family members, and network contacts moving forward in the health domain has negative consequences on healthcare access and experiences for many in healthcare. Not only this, it also has significant impact on a sense of belonging, deservingness, and self-worth for those in the undocumented 1.5 generation who often use citizen children as their comparison group. Other important factors in the inequality we see in this domain relate to the uniquely low levels of healthcare literacy in this population associated with both a lack of knowledge and fear of interacting with particular kinds of institutions. These factors, coupled with a lack of intergenerational transmission of knowledge in this domain, point to reasons behind the reproduction of inequality in this domain.

The analysis also makes several distinct contributions: the differential experiences recounted here are an illustration of the need to include health as a domain when considering multidimensional theories of immigrant integration. The analysis here helps us to see one way that inequality (specifically related to health disparities) can be generated and found outside of traditional sociological variables medical sociologists most often use like race, class, gender, or neighborhood context. Such inequality is rooted in the law itself—in this case it is related to living in a specific context where there hasn't been comprehensive federal immigration reform since 1986 leading to distinct status groups of children of immigrants that either have or do not have "papers." By stressing difficulties the undocumented 1.5 generation face in the healthcare domain related to their citizenship, my argument contributes to the literature that calls for scholars to use a "legal status analytical framework" that better theorizes legal differentiation among the children of immigrants. I argue that this is a significant issue now and will become even more critical as this population ages and increasingly utilizes and tests the social safety net.

Examining immigrant experiences in the health domain helps us to better understand forces hindering integration and reproducing inequality. Health is an area that is not often dealt with directly in literature on immigrant integration, but it is important to consider that it can have a tremendous impact on quality of life, and changes in immigration policy can have significant health implications. If undocumented immigrants have limited or no access to health care facilities, they are forced to either rely on emergency rooms for costly primary care, attend overcrowded and underfunded clinics that often have significant waiting periods, or receive no health treatment at all (Karoly and Perez-Arce, 2016). Millions of individuals living in the United States that do not have regular and appropriate access to care also constitute a potentially major public health crisis.

Access to healthcare and health insurance for the undocumented is a politically contentious issue and is one where many have preferred to ignore the existence of this group rather than face this challenge directly (Massey et al., 2016). Even when "progressive" changes are made at the state and local level, there is not a guarantee that this knowledge will filter down to those who most need it. My fieldwork has revealed an alarming inconsistency between federal and state laws and what immigrants actually know about such laws. We must unpack the distinction that exists between the law and making policy and what actual people in a context of fear and lack of information understand about their rights and what is available.

These issues are tied to inherent contradictions that the undocumented and their family members face in their day-to-day lives: they exist and have built a life in this country, but it is an existence that is often lived in the shadows and amidst constant uncertainty and fear. Apart from a federal reform that will provide a pathway to citizenship, one major policy recommendation moving forward is that more effort should be made into alerting the undocumented and their children of their rights—that is, to ensure that people get access to relevant information and feel comfortable and safe acting upon such knowledge. This is a major challenge, and it will be important to work together with community members and institutions that are firmly established and thus have the trust of those who use them, in Chicago and other immigrant communities and networks.

While this is a major political battle and immigration reform looks less likely than ever in the current historical moment, there are nevertheless clear signals that change must occur to avoid the creation of a healthcare underclass (Marrow, 2012a, 2012b; Zuber, 2012). Due to limited entry points into the formal healthcare system and an inability to figure out how, in fact, to enter, undocumented individuals will continually end up avoiding care or in emergency rooms

to treat things that otherwise could have been prevented or done elsewhere. These individuals will rarely receive preventive care: this means that when they do seek care, it will be worse for the individual in terms of quality and cost and more expensive for hospitals and the safety net. We must ask ourselves whether the ACA's exclusion of this group is financially sound as it may lead to more costly treatment in the future, poorer health outcomes, and can ultimately serve as a danger to public health.

This chapter contributes to the burgeoning literature that recognizes the multidimensional nature of immigrant integration by stressing the significance of the healthcare domain. I demonstrate that health is a significant institution that should be included alongside important work being done in education, employment, and other institutions. Further, this chapter argues that legislation like the ACA can work to further institutionalize status differences between immigrant groups, in effect working to widen the gap between the 1.5 and second generation. This situation has intensified as citizenship status has become more important in immigrant lives and communities without major comprehensive immigration reform since 1986. While Julio, Miguel, Ricardo, Alejandro, and millions of others like them are similar in so many respects, having "papers" proves to have a striking effect on their health, quality of life, and experiences. Literature has begun to consider this important distinction and the role that it is playing in the lives of immigrant communities, but more needs to be done if we are to understand the barriers and consequences of life as a noncitizen in the health domain and beyond.

CONCLUSION

"In their hearts and in their minds."

José Luis

It was at the tail end of José Luis's time working at Chicharito's that we met, and we almost immediately became friends. Despite his slightly imposing appearance, his wide smile, kind eyes, and pleasant demeanor made him easily approachable, and we quickly bonded over our mutual love for soccer. He was the first person to ask me to play on a league team run by his friend Jesús, "the Sharks." We played together on Monday and Thursday nights for about a year, and after the games we would often go to bars or spend time in his neighborhood or on my front porch. He has always been interested in my work and eager to help me "write a book about us Mexicans." We would discuss a range of issues from soccer to love to philosophy and meaning of our lives.

José Luis enjoyed life and believed that he was "lucky" to be in Chicago. When he talked about this, he would almost always refer to family members and friends who haven't been able to come here. "Life is better in America," he would say. Over the years it became clear to me through these conversations that his main regret in his life was that he could not regularly see his parents and siblings who all still lived in San Luis Postosí (SLP). There was a tension there that simply could not be resolved: he was in the United States to "help them," but he could never be "with them."

His whole world changed on May 1, 2016. His mother called with the news that she had cancer. She had been sick for quite some time but it was getting worse. He had to make the decision about whether to go and see his mother before she died, a decision that would change the course of his entire life because of the extreme difficulty involved in "coming back" to the

United States. Like millions of others, he has been faced over the years with essentially three options: to go "home" to Mexico (either voluntarily or involuntarily), to stay in Chicago, or to delay making a decision. He had continuously chosen this third option due to the reality of how difficult, costly, and dangerous it would be to return to the United States "illegally."

It just so happened that we had a game on the Friday before he left. It was a celebratory scene and most of his friends showed up. The fact that our team was badly beaten by a younger and more talented opposition did not spoil the mood. We stayed until 4:00 a.m. drinking Modelos—beginning with the *Especials* and switching to the higher in alcohol content *Negras* as the night progressed and karaoke began.

Towards the end of the night he sat down next to me with both worry and resolution in his now slightly intoxicated eyes. "My mother asked me to go…what else could I do?" He went on: "I haven't seen my mother and father for twenty years … when I talk to my mother she always at the end (of the conversation) tells me she wants to touch my face … every time … she wants to touch my face … do you know how that makes me feel?" I had no response other than to put my hand on his shoulder and tell him: "It's okay, shark."

We were both silent for a while. Not knowing what else to say, I asked him whether or not he would be coming back. "It is expensive, bro … $8,000." I told him that I heard from other people that it was much less. "It is $8,000 if you want to know that you are going to make it and will be okay." He doesn't have the money to come back, but that wasn't the only concern. He added: "You know … I don't know if you know … but even this better (coyote) is not (a guarantee).… It is a big decision … it is dangerous, man." José Luis was aware of the potentially dangerous and deadly nature of the crossing, as indeed approximately "five hundred migrants die every year by drowning, exposure to heat, or other causes" (Garip, 2017:2). By attempting one of

these options, he was afraid that he would end up like others he knew who were repeatedly unsuccessful or even died making the journey. But this was not the main concern for now—getting back to SLP so that he could be with his mother was. The night soon came to a close, and we hugged each other goodbye. "Let's talk on Facebook," he said. He boarded a bus the next day at 10:00 a.m. and was "home" in SLP about two days later.

The difficulty of the decision he made is a direct result of increased border control that happened as a result of federal immigration reform in 1986 (Donato and Massey, 2016). This was the same reform that granted blanket amnesty for my parents and millions of other undocumented immigrants at the time. These reforms did not alter the "push" and "pull" factors that cause migration, and millions arrived after 1986 without documentation. José Luis was one such person. Due to his citizenship status, his migratory experience could not be the circular flow it might have been—it was now a forced decision with two extremes: stay and potentially miss one final connection with his mother or potentially leave forever. Faced with this difficult choice, he opted to leave the life he had built in the United States and return to his mother and family.

Julio

Shortly after Donald Trump's presidential election victory, Julio asked me if I could help him see what "(legal) options" he had moving forward. He was particularly worried about the implications of this shift in power and wanted to see if he could regularize his status before "Trump makes things worse." His situation is somewhat unique in that he had a grandfather who was born in the United States but who late in his life returned to Mexico. His father, although born in Mexico, was eligible for US citizenship through his own father, but unfortunately, he had passed away due to complications with alcoholism earlier in the year. Through this grandfather, Julio also had multiple uncles and aunts with citizenship and legal permanent resident status, so

he was hopeful that some of these family connections might lead to a regularization of his status. I wanted to help, and after consulting colleagues and researching relevant US immigration law, I told him that the only way to know "for sure" would be to discuss it with a lawyer.

We headed to a local legal aid society and paid a $50 consultation fee. The office was in the basement of an apartment building, and we waited patiently for Julio's name to be called. When we were called we made our way through a makeshift kitchen to a small office in the back of the unit. Upon seeing us, the lawyer immediately asked, "Have you gotten married (to each other) or will you be getting married?" This made us both laugh and worked to ease the tension slightly—apparently the lawyer's main job over the past decade was helping immigrants acquire citizenship through marriage. Julio confirmed that we were just friends and proceeded to tell the lawyer of his situation including how he had arrived through a coyote with his sister when he was just four years old (driven across the border by a "woman who pretended that me and my sister were her kids"), and that he had lived ever since in the United States. The lawyer nodded along and asked questions, but looked decisively pessimistic when Julio finished telling his story. "Listen, there is nothing you can do. You just have to be careful, you have to avoid the police and keep low as long as you can. Maybe there will be some changes in the future and if there is, you'll need to be ready."

Julio put his head in his hands, and I tried to look for some positive sign. "What about DACA? Would you recommend that we apply for that?" The lawyer shook her head vigorously. "No, I would avoid that … you never know with this (Trump) administration … it doesn't seem like a good idea to me to put your name and your family's name and addresses in to some central database where they can just look you up … we are telling people to avoid that." This advice to avoid DACA struck me powerfully in that moment and reminded me of what one of my other

informants (Francisco, who has DACA) had told me a day earlier about how he is moving addresses now to "avoid any problems." This informant was wary of paperwork he had filed in acquiring his DACA status that had personal information including his current address.

We left the law office quietly and when we got in the car he reflected on his experience. "You know I hear all these people say 'Oh, send those illegals back home.' But Chicago is my home, you know? Where would I go anyway? I don't know anyone in Mexico! What am I gonna do now? What should I do now?" He then placed his head in his hands and started crying.

After talking for a while, we realized there are four options for him: He could voluntarily leave the only country he has ever known (which is unimaginable to him); he could be deported (which represents the "nightmare" scenario); he could try and get married to a US citizen (which he has no desire to do); or he can simply "wait and see." This final option is one that he and hundreds of thousands of others will continue to "choose," even as their worlds become more precarious and uncertain under the current administration.

Julio can be deported at any time, yet he is thoroughly embedded within institutions and the culture of this society. In key ways, he is even protected by the constitution before turning eighteen. There is a great paradox here that young immigrants in this situation must contend with related to experiences of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion in the United States. Governmental reform that provides a pathway to citizenship is extremely unlikely in the present historical and political moment; this means his incorporation experience, along with millions of others like him, will remain fraught and incomplete.

The backlash against such immigrants that can be seen in the rise of Trump leads people like Julio to deeply question their identity and self-worth. "You see what I look like, you hear my accent, you see (the clothes) what I wear … so I should be kicked out? How does that make

sense to you? I don't know Mexico, Brian, I seriously don't … I don't understand, what do people want me to do?" Just as the soccer fields, games, and network in Mexican Chicago have become embedded in his identity, schooling and socialization in the United States—the values, beliefs, and ideals of this country—are intricately woven into the fabric of his being. The rhetoric of Trump and the potential for deportation tear at these two features that are intimately tied to his identity.

The options for Julio are the same as for José Luis with one critical exception: Julio does not have memories or strong connections with anyone in Mexico. Political rhetoric about immigrants like José Luis and Julio often exists in the abstract by focusing on how these individuals and their families broke the law by coming to the United States without authorization. But this neglects the diversity within this group and the lived reality of the millions of immigrants who have lived much of their lives in this country. These are human beings with deep connections to their communities, who often go to college, work, raise families, and have "assimilated" along a variety of dimensions that are similar in almost every respect to their native-born peers. The only difference is often whether or not they "have papers."

These vignettes illustrate the significant hardships that are faced by those living without papers. José Luis was forced to leave permanently while Julio is faced daily with barriers and restrictions to belonging in the only country he has ever known. While they were both able to make lives in Chicago, they consistently had to do so by navigating multiple barriers to full integration associated with their documentation status.

Summary of Dissertation

The incorporation experience of Mexican Americans in this network is not easy to generalize or characterize in simple ways, and the individuals I highlight here demonstrate a

range of outcomes, experiences, and trajectories. Some Mexican Americans are assimilating along the lines of traditional theories whereas others assimilate only on certain dimensions or domains, and in others, there is extremely limited or no integration. Qualitative and ethnographic-based work on a specific slice of this population has helped us to see the process at work behind divergent incorporation pathways. I highlight the life stories of individuals in Chicago, located at different stages of incorporation, in order to examine and unpack processes and mechanisms associated with divergent life trajectories while speaking to the rising significance of citizenship in creating distinct status groups of those with and without papers.

After an introduction to the topic, I moved to a discussion of the methods I used. Completing over five years of ethnographic work mainly at a soccer facility in a predominantly Mexican American community allowed me the opportunity to gain access to young men, mainly the undocumented 1.5 and citizen-born second generation who are central to questions surrounding the issue of Mexican integration. During this time I learned about and participated in the lives of dozens of Mexican American male youth through playing on various teams as well as coaching and refereeing. These experiences led to one argument in Chapter 4 that Mexican American male immigrants to this city incorporate into more than Chicago or the theoretically problematic "mainstream." They become a part of a world that has existed for decades due to the continual replenishment of this population and the highly segregated locations where they exist and make their lives. My fieldsite is one space where Mexican Chicago comes to life and where the differentiated intergenerational networks that characterize this group can be seen and analyzed. People become aware of multiple cultural systems and not simply traditional culture and the mainstream. In these schools, they learn English, learn more about "American" cultural

attitudes, and during this period often work to help their parents and older family members cross cultural barriers themselves.

I find that replenishment has led to the creation of a vibrant social milieu in Chicago. I use the concept of Mexican Chicago to identify this social milieu and see it as a space that is not bounded geographically as in the immigrant or ethnic enclave but rather as a social world that comes alive in and through interaction in particular spaces (De Genova, 1998, 2002, 2005). It is a part of the mental world that immigrants and children socialize and incorporate into outside of and in addition to "mainstream" institutions and is a world where a new immigrant can arrive, find friends, housing, and employment.

One cannot walk around a neighborhood like Nedved Town without seeing numerous examples of the world of Mexican Chicago daily: from an eight-year-old child who translates prescription information at a Walgreens for his grandfather to a ten-year-old child who translates why their soccer coach needs a signature on a participation form, the bicultural competence in the 1.5 and second generation is similar and grows with time. I discussed the positive and negative implications of the existence of Mexican Chicago, including specifically the ability for new arrivals to find work and housing and the inability for the 1.5 generation to translate into capital their bicultural competence. Replenishment can thus act as a counterforce to the process of assimilation while simultaneously causing heightened anxiety for those in the 1.5 generation.

I showed how replenishment leads to spaces that can be understood as "ethnic safe spaces" where a sense of community among different cohorts of Mexican Americans can be formed. This social milieu can be traced by examining the role of language, culture, and the underground economy that provides employment and particular modes of being. I also demonstrated the ways these spaces matter when considering the sharpening of intragroup

variation, specifically for the undocumented 1.5 generation who are pushed further into the more precarious world of their undocumented parents upon reaching adulthood. This is a particularly difficult transition for this group as their experiences and interactions in school and these spaces with citizen-born peers taught them how another life was possible.

Apart from being a space where the undocumented feel comfortable interacting, I also show how this community comes together and is made similar by an activity like soccer even in a time where federal reforms and political rhetoric is driving them apart. In a space where the undocumented first and 1.5 generation play alongside the citizen-born second and third generations, we saw that inside the walls of Chicharitos, the barriers that emerge to separate this community are temporarily brought down. I then move to chapter 5,"'If only I had those 9 digits': On the Power of Undocumented Status," which digs deeper into the undocumented category, showing clearly how socialization and peer groups matter in the creation of identity and one's outlook on the world while also highlighting the variation that exists in the category of undocumented. The final empirical chapter, "Health Without Papers: Immigration, Citizenship and Health in the Twenty-First Century," demonstrates how undocumented status can be institutionalized socially and through governmental policies like the ACA. This chapter also serves to illustrate the benefits of viewing immigrant integration as existing within specific domains as opposed to broader theories about the process as a whole.

Towards an Institutional-Based Approach to Immigrant Incorporation

My dissertation advances the literature on immigrant incorporation in several key ways. First, I provide the beginning of an agenda for a more institutional-based approach to immigrant incorporation. This highlights the ways in which informants can experience simultaneous feelings of inclusion and exclusion across different institutions. Rather than consider this process

as existing within an atheoretical space, I have examined the meaning of one physical place in leading to the creation of a particular social milieu that matters in distinct ways for immigrant incorporation. I build upon one of the more critical insights in sociology into the Mexican American population specifically by demonstrating the meaning of replenishment at this more institutional level. This provides insight into the importance of intergroup interactions in such spaces and sheds light on the significance of ethnic safe spaces where undocumented immigrants can feel comfortable interacting.

I also build upon literature that emphasizes looking at immigrant integration in multiple domains. Previous scholarship has emphasized the importance of undocumented status in employment and access to higher education, but has neglected the significance of health as an institutional domain. I show the health domain as significant in at least two ways: first, through detailing the different experiences that my informants have in healthcare access based on their citizenship status, and second through showing how federal reforms can work to sharpen differences between immigrant groups. Much social science research on inequality operates with the implicit assumption that societies are comprised of individuals equal under law and as such, look for the source of inequality in traditional sociological variables including race, language, class, ethnicity, or neighborhood context. In a context of the continual arrival of noncitizens without recourse to a path to citizenship, I point to a root cause of inequality in health found within the law itself. I have looked at this issue specifically comparing 1.5 and second generation children of immigrants.

The third intervention in the literature is one that I hope to continue to build upon in my future work. In a context of a lack of comprehensive federal immigration reform, there has been an emergence of distinct status groups of people "with" and "without papers." My fieldwork

provided a unique level of access to two groups that are almost identical sociologically but who experience life with such dramatic difference due to the meaning of citizenship. Those in the undocumented 1.5 generation are more deeply woven into the fabric of American society and its institutions than their undocumented parents or undocumented adult arrivals. They develop attachments to places like Chicharito's through continual interactions over years and decades. My fieldwork reveals a more nuanced understanding of undocumented life. With an institutional-based approach to the incorporation process, I see the ways particular senses of community and attachment can be formed alongside forms of isolation and exclusion.

One might ask: why a soccer facility and soccer community as an ethnographic site? This work provided an access point that shows the kind of membership and belonging that undocumented people can have in communities and institutions. The novelty of the approach in this dissertation is delving deeply into one specific world and institution that is part of the milieu of Mexican Chicago that people incorporate into. My approach has allowed me to highlight the significance of particular institutions in the incorporation process that can protect certain categories of immigrants (like those in the undocumented first generation) but that have a more complicated effect on undocumented youth. Chicharito's Place makes this population feel comfortable through its registration policies and by maintaining order internally. Regardless of citizenship status, people are able to form attachments within its walls.

Moving Forward

Richard Alba notes that there is "no doubt that Mexican-US migration is the most analyzed international migration in the world" (Alba, 2017:645). Fierce debate rages in academic and political circles alike as to the fate of this population. One extreme argues that group-level characteristics mean that full integration of this group is not possible (Huntington, 2004;

Buchanan, 2007) or that due to structural factors such as racism and context of reception, this group will experience "downward assimilation" into a "rainbow underclass" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). The other extreme sees Mexicans as progressing across generations and moving or remaining in a solid working class (Alba et al., 2011; Waldinger, 2007). This dissertation contributes to the burgeoning literature on Mexican immigrant integration, and through my ethnographic work, I have argued that any discussion about the "fate" of the Mexican American population in terms of integration must take into account the role that citizenship status is playing.

Alba notes that this particular case of Mexican American integration indeed "requires that we move beyond our conventional approach to research … (as) this approach leads to contradiction across multiple researchers, who vary in the support they find for different theories … and the competing adherents frequently butt heads as each side in the dispute attempts to marshal the preponderance of the evidence for its ideas" (Alba, 2017:646–47). Chapter 3 reviews many of the major theories that are put forth to explain these experiences and competing arguments. Rather than see these theories as pitted against one another, the approach in the dissertation has been to see them as complementary. Herbert Gans recognized this in his earlier writing, and Feliz Garip's most recent work argues for this more pragmatic approach to theory. Circumstances and context matter deeply, and rather than focus on the centrality of a particular theory, we must "identify specific conditions that affect specific groups of individuals" (Garip, 2017:18). I do this by looking at a specific Mexican American soccer network and the experiences individuals have within it, integrating within this domains including health and education. I contribute to this literature specifically by showing how citizenship status is leading

to the creation of specific status groups and by clearly demonstrating the multidimensional nature of the process through my analysis of the healthcare domain.

I argue ultimately that the communities and institutions that these men grew up in and hang out in matter to their socialization, health, education, and ultimately in their incorporation experiences more broadly. Different spaces like Chicharito's and others in Mexican Chicago exist throughout the country and will thrive into the future when certain conditions exist. It is important to identify these conditions, including the nature of replenishment and the meaning of citizenship status. Studying other institutions will allow us to further complicate existing theories of undocumented life and ultimately help scholars better account for simultaneous feelings and experiences of inclusion and exclusion that occur across different institutions.

Policy Recommendations and Conclusions:

"They are Americans in their hearts, in their minds, in every single way but one: on paper." (Barack Obama)

The most obvious solution to many of the problems we see in the integration experiences of the undocumented in my study would be a pathway to citizenship much like my parents received with the passing of IRCA. Since such a possibility is politically difficult in the present historical moment, other options must be considered. One key policy recommendation that emerges from this study is the need to recognize how the climate of fear and misinformation is playing a role in creating additional barriers for immigrants even in more progressive contexts like Chicago. I have found a clear and pressing need to raise awareness of the law and what rights people have, particularly with regards to their educational opportunities and health. This can be done through targeting community stakeholders within select institutions in Mexican Chicago where immigrants feel comfortable, including locations like Chicharito's, schools, and

churches. Since education is such a critical variable in upward mobility, we must also seriously consider extending the *Plyler v Doe* reasoning beyond secondary education. Failing to do so will contribute to the prospect of a growing underclass in American society.

I began conducting fieldwork in December, 2012. It was a time that, at least compared with the present historical moment, could be characterized by a higher degree of optimism amongst the immigrant population. On the thirtieth anniversary of the *Plyler v Doe* Supreme Court decision that allowed undocumented children to attend public elementary and high schools, Barack Obama announced his intention (through a memorandum from the Secretary of Homeland Security) to initiate the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. Undocumented immigrants like Joshua, Julio, Alejandro, and hundreds of thousands of others could step briefly out of the shadows and receive a temporary stay of deportation for a period of two years with an opportunity for renewal. While some opted against enrolling due to financial difficulties or uncertainty about its benefits, others were able to experience positive effects including formal inclusion in the labor market.

These experiences of fear in this community have become more pronounced over the past year, and any feelings of optimism that came with DACA have quickly dissipated during the Trump administration. Indeed, the social, political, and individual implications of many of the ideas I discuss in this dissertation—including how there are distinct status groups based on whether one does or does not have papers—have become even more pressing in this historical moment.

There are dominant narratives linked to the idea of the United States as a nation of immigrants that is proud of its history of accepting the poor and huddled masses to its shores. My parents are a part of that narrative that I understood growing up, a narrative that is important to

many of the people we have met in my study. These are immigrants who arrive with little but the clothes on their back but, through hard work and dedication, are able to achieve the American Dream. While many in my study believe in this narrative, factors like citizenship status and institutional barriers can turn this potential dream into a nightmare.

My dissertation has shown that if we are to better understand the integration experiences of Mexican Americans, it is necessary to more fully conceptualize the power that undocumented status plays in obstructing integration experiences. We did this through delving deep into a world where people are made similar because of a sport, but when they step outside of the relatively safe confines of it, they are made different by our laws, our hospitals, and our society.

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