

**AN EVOLVING GEOGRAPHY OF SPORT: THE RECRUITMENT AND
MOBILITY OF SAMOAN COLLEGE FOOTBALL PLAYERS 1998-2006**

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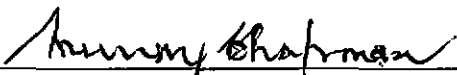
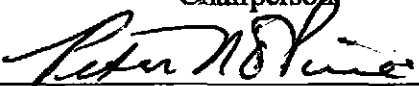

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We certify that we have read this thesis and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late grandfather, Richard Fern Markham, who instilled in me an undying love of sports and an interest in other peoples and cultures. Without you nurturing my interest in sports, I would not be the person that I am today.

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Fa'afetai tele lava to those *usos*, and you know who you are, that helped me out as a brother because I called, asked for your assistance, then sat down many times to talk story. GP, thank you for friendship and bringing me into the brotherhood. Without your help and network of people, I would have had an uphill battle completing my thesis. I would like to say *fa'afetai tele lava, malo 'aupito, mahalo a nui loa*, and thank you to the many Samoans, Polynesians, and others who have befriended me along the way, taken me into their homes, invited me to their social and sporting events, and helped me in many ways to complete this research project.

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ABSTRACT

In the last decade, the national media discovered the rise of Samoans and Polynesians in collegiate and professional football, which had gone virtually unnoticed in the scholarly world. Samoans have played in collegiate and professional ranks since the 1940s. Over a nine year period, from 1998 to 2006, my compilation shows that 1,191 student-athletes attended colleges in every conference of Division I football (player states) and came from 26 different home states, including American Samoa. A sustained increase of Samoans student-athletes in the game of football began in the 1970s.

The purpose of this thesis was to explore the meanings and dynamics in the flows of Samoan football players and how, in the process, their identities are constructed, conveyed, and understood. The broad goal was to take a cultural geographic approach to Samoan athletic performance and experience and, in this way, expand the geographical study of sport. Culture and identity, two tropes or themes common within cultural geography, were used as frames to better understand the many issues in the recruitment and mobility of college football players of Samoan ancestry. Indispensable to this inquiry was indepth field interviews and talking story with fifteen current and former college football players, the context for which was the 'ethnography of the particular'.

Foundational work in sports geography forty years ago by John Rooney, which located and mapped the origin and diffusion of football players in the United States, has been criticized as being long on description and short on interpretation. In this study, numbers, charts, and maps are a starting point to explore the notion that Samoan identity and football are inextricably linked and what this means to the individual player, the Samoan community, and the broader population. The identities of players change depending on time, place, and

context both in and outside of football, especially since current student-athletes represent a second- or third-generation in the game. Variations in what it means to be a Samoan football player reflects the fact that fewer now live in the inner cities just as much as the differences in the vernacular regions from which they were originally drawn, throughout rural and urban America as well as Tutuila in American Samoa.

The immediate and extended family was of first importance to the fifteen collegiate players in their transformation from youth to adulthood. Families grounded them and gave unquestioning support to excel at school and in sport. Spiritual faith is a strong aspect of players' lives and the church forms the social space that allows them to practice it and their culture of *fa'a Samoa* (Samoan way). As the Polynesian diaspora spreads, *fa'a Samoa* continues to evolve and be contested, as reflected in enhanced cultural interpretations summarized in *fa'a Hawai'i* and *fa'a Kalifonia*.

The physical communities in which players were raised serve a dual purpose: as a place they represented on the field and a witness to the much larger Samoan community found nationally and worldwide. A second community is an imagined one: the fraternity of football players found and the subcommunity of Samoan and Polynesian athletes within it. The multilevel approach of compiling data, using visual and textual displays of Samoan football players, and constructing fifteen case histories to explore questions stemming from culture and identity expands the geography of sport beyond numbers and locations to a more cultural and holistic understanding of movement processes in the college recruitment of Samoan student-athletes.

Keywords: Samoan American Football Players, Sports Geography, NCAA College Football, Culture, Identity, Movement, Recruitment

CONTENTS

Dedication	iv
Acknowledgments.....	v
Abstract	vii
Tables.....	xi
Figures	xii
Abbreviations.....	xiii
 CHAPTER ONE: THE RISE OF SAMOANS IN COLLEGIATE FOOTBALL.....	1
Movement and the Samoan Student Athlete.....	2
Home States.....	7
Players States.....	10
Brief History of the Samoas.....	12
Thesis Statement and Guiding Tropes.....	14
Research Questions.....	19
Organization of the Thesis.....	24
 CHAPTER TWO: THE GEOGRAPHY OF SPORT	27
Sports Geography: Approaches and Issues.....	30
Collaborative Scholarship in Sport.....	44
 CHAPTER THREE: CASES AND SEARCHES FOR MEANING.....	49
Samoan Football Players: Chronicle of Early Pioneers.....	54
1940s.....	54
1950s.....	57
1960s.....	59
1970s.....	61
1980s.....	65
1990s.....	71
2000s.....	77
A Methodological Strategy.....	82
 CHAPTER FOUR: THE WORLD OF THE SAMOAN FOOTBALL PLAYER.....	86
Samoan Culture.....	87
Samoan Community of Sport	91
Samoan Identity	96
 CHAPTER FIVE: THINKING BACKWARDS AND FORWARDS.....	102
Geography and Sport.....	103
Samoan Culture.....	107
Samoan Identity.....	109
<i>Tautua</i> and the AIGA Foundation.....	111
Future Research in the Geography of Sport.....	115

APPENDIX I	Player and Home States of Samoans by Region.....	120
APPENDIX II	US High Schools Producing Most Samoan Players	122
APPENDIX III	American Samoa High School Graduates.....	127
APPENDIX IV	Samoans Playing in the NFL, 1946-2006.....	129
APPENDIX V	Talking Points for Interviews with Athletes	136
APPENDIX VI	Tuiasosopo <i>'Aiga</i>	138
REFERENCES	139

TABLES

	Page
I Division I College Football Conferences and Teams	4
II Major League Baseball Relocation and Team Expansion, 1953-1977.....	33
III The Haves and Have Nots in College Football Programs, 2006.....	37
IV Chronology of Samoan Football Players, 1945-2007.....	55

FIGURES

	Page
I Distribution of Samoan Population in the US, 2000	5
II America Samoa High Schools	6
III Home States of Samoan Football Players, 1998-2006.....	8
IV Player States of Samoan Football Players, 1998-2006.....	11
V Samoa Islands	13
VI The Locational Dynamics of American Baseball, 1953-1985.....	32
VII Migratory Behavior of College-bound Football players, 1971-1972.....	38
VIII Pattern of the Spatial Diffusion of Track and Field Athletics, Europe.....	39
IX Sources of Information about Sport-place Images.....	42
X Vernacular Regions of Six British Sports.....	43
XI Samoans in the NFL, by Decade, 1940s to 2000s.....	49
XII Home States of Samoans in the NFL, 1946-2006.....	50
XIII Number of Samoans in NFL by College Conference, 1946-2006.....	52
XIV Lolotai 'Aiga: Genealogy of Samoan Football Players	54
XV Anae 'Aiga: Genealogy of Samoan Football Players	59
XVI Samoan Football Players in NFL by State of College, 1946-2006.....	62
XVII Tuiasosopo 'Aiga: Genealogy of Samoan Football Players	64
XVIII Samoan Football Players in the NFL by College Attended, 1946-2006.....	80

ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	American Broadcasting Corporation
ABs	All Blacks
ACC	Atlantic Coast Conference
AFCA	American Football Coaches Association
AFL	Arena Football League
AFL2	Arena Football League 2
AIGA	All Islands Getting Along
AL	American League
ASHSAA	American Samoa High School Athletic Association
BCS	Bowl Championship Series
BYU	Brigham Young University
CFL	Canadian Football League
HBO	Home Box Office
ILH	Interscholastic League of Honolulu
LDS	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
LOI	Letter of Intent
LSU	Louisiana State University
MLB	Major League Baseball
MWC	Mountain West Conference
NCAA	National Collegiate Athletic Association
NFL	National Football League
NJCA	National Junior College Association
NL	National League
NZRFU	New Zealand Rugby Football Union
PAC-10	Pacific Athletic Conference
PIC	Pacific Islanders in Communication

SEC	Southeastern Conference
SMU	Southern Methodist University
TCU	Texas Christian University
UAB	University of Alabama at Birmingham
UCLA	University of California at Los Angeles
UH	University of Hawai'i at Manoa
UNLV	University of Nevada at Las Vegas
US	United States of America
USC	University of Southern California
USFL	United States Football League
WAC	Western Athletic Conference

CHAPTER ONE: THE RISE OF SAMOANS IN COLLEGIATE FOOTBALL

In February 2006, the national press descended on Detroit, Michigan, the site of Super Bowl XL, the most viewed sporting event in the United States. In the week leading up to the game, print, radio, television, and internet media buzzes with predictions of which team will win and/or cover the “spread,” with off-season speculation of the movement of players and coaches, and often with heartfelt stories that delve into the lives of players and coaches in the football game. In the year 2006, the press particularly focused on the story of the large number of Polynesians of Samoan, Tongan, and Hawaiian ancestry playing for the Pittsburgh Steelers and Seattle Seahawks, most notably two Samoan professionals, Troy Polamalu and Lofa Tatupu.

In doing background research, the press scratched the surface about the increasing number of Samoan and Tongan football players excelling at the collegiate and professional level. Media sources, such as *HBO Real Sports*, told the story of Polamalu who was born and raised in Southern California, attended high school in rural Oregon, became an All American at the University of Southern California (USC), and today is arguably one of the best defensive football players in the game. Tatupu likewise is the son of former National Football League (NFL) player, Mosi, was raised in Massachusetts away from much larger Samoan communities in the western United States, attended college at Maine before transferring to USC, his father’s alma mater, and from being unknown became an all star football player in his rookie year.

For me personally to read, listen, and watch the national press focusing on Samoans and Tongans in football was a signal that, in a sense, Polynesians have arrived on the national landscape. Over the last 15 years I have evolved from being a high school teammate of

Polynesian football players to a casual observer and eventual follower of the subject, an academic researcher, and today an insider as a participant in the subculture of Samoans in the game of collegiate football.

This study is an outcome of that experience. Its purpose is to explore the meanings and dynamics in the flows of Samoan football players and how, in the process, their identities are constructed, conveyed, and understood. In other words, what are the life stories behind the names on the backs of the jerseys of collegiate football players we see each fall on the local and national telecasts of ABC and ESPN?

Movement and the Samoan student athlete

Over the last nine years, the college football landscape has changed through the increased number of Samoans playing throughout the United States. During this period 1191 players were enumerated; at an average of 132 a year (Appendix I), with the largest number 157 in the 2005 season. From 1998 to 2006, Samoans attended colleges in every conference and in 36 of the 41 states (also known as Player States) that have Division I programs. These athletes played their high school football in 26 different states, or home states, as well as in the Territory of American Samoa. The two Samoas, the unincorporated territory and to a lesser extent neighboring Independent Samoa (formerly Western Samoa), are the primary birthplace of the parents, grandparents, and great grandparents of those Samoans who play collegiate football today in the United States. Conversely, most current players of Samoan ancestry are the second-and third-generation children of immigrants from American and western Samoa who emigrated to Hawai'i and the mainland United States during the past 50 years. Mitchell (2000a: 263) observes that "neither territory nor space simply dematerialize, and so neither do identities come untethered from the spaces that give them shape." Samoans

and part Samoans, whether from American Samoa, Hawai'i, or the mainland United States, share a common ancestry that bonds them on and off the playing field.

Player States represent the location of colleges at which Samoans are playing football and home states are those states, including American Samoa, where the athletes played high school football. Originally, players were primarily from the western part of the United States and American Samoa, but since the 1990s increasing numbers of Samoans came from east of the Mississippi, partly because large, medium, and small Samoan communities are found today in all 50 states. Division I athletes were chosen for this study because they compete at the highest level of collegiate football, universities provide the most detailed information about this level of program, and national sports media devote most of their publicity to Division I football.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) is the national organization through which American colleges and universities speak and act on athletic matters. It is a voluntary association of approximately 1200 institutions, conferences, organizations, and individuals devoted to the sound administration of intercollegiate athletics. The NCAA is divided into four divisions for football: I, I-AA, II, and III. The primary difference between Divisions I and I-AA is in the number of scholarships allowed per team. Division I football programs exist in 119 universities and colleges (Table I), have larger athletic departments and budgets, offer more football scholarships, and can meet higher coaches salaries. Through season ticket sales and seat licensing, these football programs can potentially finance entire athletic programs and even portions of a university's overall budget, augmented by television and radio contracts, bowl appearance fees, sales of licensed merchandise, as well as alumni and athletic donations. The huge demand and cost is an increased pressure on teams and

players to win immediately and consistently while competing for conference titles, bowl games, and the national championship game of the Bowl Championship Series (BCS).

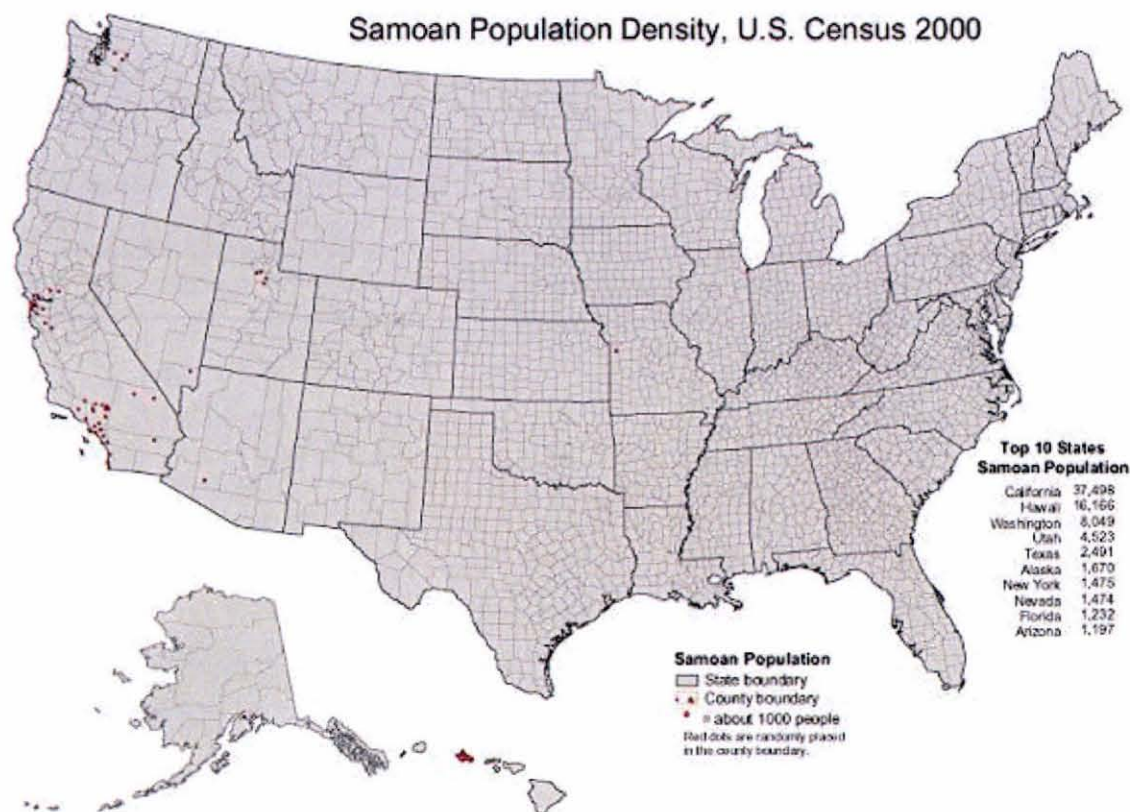
Table I: Division I College Football Conferences and Teams

ACC	Big East	Big 10	Big 12	PAC-10	SEC
Boston College	Cincinnati	Illinois	Baylor	Arizona	Alabama
Clemson	Connecticut	Indiana	Colorado	Arizona State	Arkansas
Duke	Louisville	Iowa	Iowa State	Cal	Auburn
Florida State	Pittsburgh	Michigan	Kansas	Oregon	Florida
Georgia Tech	Rutgers	Michigan State	Kansas State	Oregon State	Georgia
Maryland	South Florida	Minnesota	Missouri	Southern California	Kentucky
Miami (FL)	Syracuse	Northwestern	Nebraska	Stanford	Louisiana State
North Carolina	West Virginia	Ohio State	Oklahoma	UCLA	Mississippi
North Carolina State		Penn State	Oklahoma State	Washington	Mississippi State
Virginia		Purdue	Texas	Washington State	South Carolina
Virginia Tech		Wisconsin	Texas A&M		Tennessee
Wake Forest			Texas Tech		Vanderbilt
Conference USA	Independents	Mid-American	Mountain West	Sun Belt	WAC
Alabama Birmingham	Army	Akron	Air Force	Arkansas State	Boise State
Central Florida	Navy	Ball St.	Brigham Young	Florida Atlantic	Fresno State
East Carolina	Notre Dame	Bowling Green	Colorado State	Florida International	Hawai'i
Houston	Temple	Buffalo	Nevada Las Vegas	Louisiana-Lafayette	Idaho
Marshall		Central Michigan	New Mexico	Louisiana-Monroe	Louisiana Tech
Memphis		Eastern Michigan	San Diego State	Middle Tennessee St.	Nevada
Rice		Kent St.	Texas Christian	North Texas	New Mexico State
Southern Methodist		Miami (OH)	Utah	Troy State	San Jose State
Southern Miss		Northern Illinois	Wyoming		Utah State
Texas-El Paso		Ohio			
Tulane		Toledo			
Tulsa		Western Michigan			

The 2000 US Census enumerated 91,029 Samoans, of which 76 per cent live in five states: California, Hawai'i, Washington, Utah, and Texas (Figure I), and these correspond to the five states that between 1998 and 2006 produced the most Samoan college football players. The highest percentages of Samoans in a state's total population are found in Hawai'i, Alaska, and Utah, so they are more visible to other people in urban places like Honolulu, Anchorage, and Salt Lake City. California has the highest number of Samoans, but they are spread over a much larger area from northern to southern California than in an island

state like Hawai'i. On the United States mainland, the greatest concentrations are in and around Long Beach and Carson within Los Angeles County, San Francisco, San Diego, San Jose, Oceanside, and Orange County; with a growing population in the East Bay area of San Francisco and the Inland Empire, east of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area that encompasses Riverside and San Bernardino counties.

Figure I: Distribution of Samoan Population in the US, 2000



Prepared by the Research Center, Church of the Nazarene 11/04/04

Courtesy of Church of the Nazarene

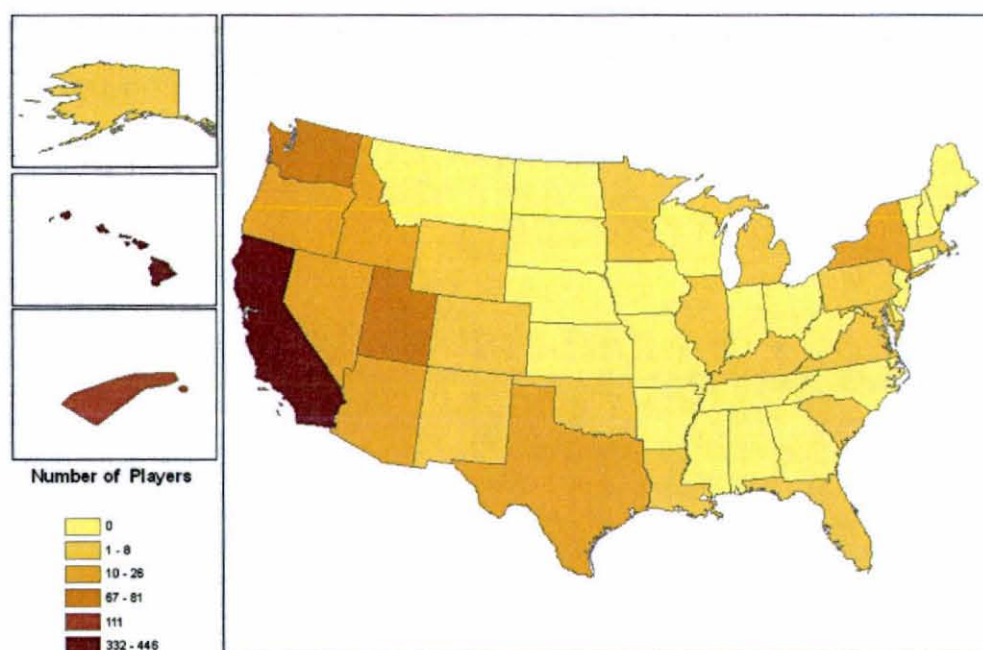
The Territory of American Samoa had 57,291 people enumerated in the 2000 decennial census, of which 92 per cent are Samoan or part Samoan. Despite the small population, American Samoa has six high schools (Faga'itua, Leone, Nu'uuli Poly Tech, Pac

Home States

The majority of Samoan collegiate players came from home states located in the western United States. For the purpose of this study five recruiting regions are identified: the Atlantic East, the South, the Midwest, the Plains, and the West (Appendix I). It should be noted that these regions, designated by college recruiters and recruiting websites such as *Rivals.com* and *Scout.com* to categorize recruits by area, are not the same regions typically used by geographers to distinguish different parts of the country. Most Samoan athletes came from the West, which includes Utah, the West Coast states, Alaska, and Hawai'i as well as American Samoa. Both California and Hawai'i produced the greatest number of Samoans in college football (Figure III) and are able not only to supply athletes to universities within state, but also to provide a surplus to play at colleges out of state.

For the last nine years 10 high schools, including St Louis (Honolulu) and Kahuku in Hawai'i and Polytechnic (Long Beach) and Oceanside in California, produced the largest number of Samoan football players in Division I. In addition, for over 30 years, they have sent Samoan athletes to college programs (Appendix II). From 1998 to 2006 large numbers of Samoans from California, in particular, have attended Arizona, Arizona State, Boise State, Brigham Young University (BYU), Hawai'i (UH), Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, University of Nevada at Las Vegas (UNLV), Utah, Utah State, and Washington State. Numerically, during the same period, Utah, UNLV, Washington, UC-Berkeley, BYU, Nebraska, and Oregon State were the top college destinations of Samoan athletes from Hawai'i. In both states, Hawai'i and California, football players attend high schools with large Samoan student bodies (except for Kamehameha Schools) and most often have strong programs.

Figure III: Home States of Samoan Football Players, 1998-2006



Source: Jesse Markham

From 1998-2006, American Samoa was the third most important home state, ranked behind California and Hawai'i. Remarkably, two American Samoan high schools — Leone and Samoana — were tied at fourth overall in the number of players produced, after St Louis (Honolulu), Kahuku (HI), and Long Beach Poly (Appendix II). Hawai'i, Arizona, Utah, BYU, Oregon, and Utah State had the most recruits from American Samoa during this period. Between 1987 and 2000 the coaching staff at Arizona was able successfully to recruit in American Samoa because, while at the University of Hawai'i in the 1970s and 1980s, they first made appearances in the territory. BYU, like Hawai'i, has successfully recruited players from American Samoa for more than 20 years since many Samoans are members of the

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which owns and operates the university. Many high school players from American Samoa are attracted to the University of Hawai'i because of, first, the school's long standing recruitment from them and, second, being the most Polynesian football program in the country, where nearly three quarters of the team are Hawaiian, Samoan, or Tongan.

Washington and Utah are the fourth and fifth most important home states which, on the surface, appear to supply most instate athletes for their five programs in Division I (Table I). Samoans in college football from Washington tend to live in the Seattle and Tacoma area which, in the 2000 Census, had more than 7000 Samoans. Jack Thompson, the 'Throwin Samoan,' was one of the first Samoan players from the Pacific Northwest (Evergreen High School in Seattle), starring at Washington State and later in the NFL with the Cincinnati Bengals. Likewise, Samoans recruited from within Utah are primarily from the large Polynesian communities of West Valley City, Salt Lake City, Orem, and Provo. In addition, five Division I schools in Utah and Washington (BYU, Utah, Utah State, Washington, Washington State) annually recruit a surplus of Samoans from other states and increasingly from American Samoa. Due to the large number of church members throughout the country, BYU is able to attract Samoan football players from such states as Colorado, Florida, and Illinois as well as American Samoa, Hawai'i, and California.

Texas, the sixth home state overall, was the only one from outside the West or American Samoa, with most Samoans coming from El Paso (Fort Bliss) and Killeen/Copperas Cove (Fort Hood), both areas with a large number of military dependents (Appendix I). In declining order, other home states producing smaller numbers of players

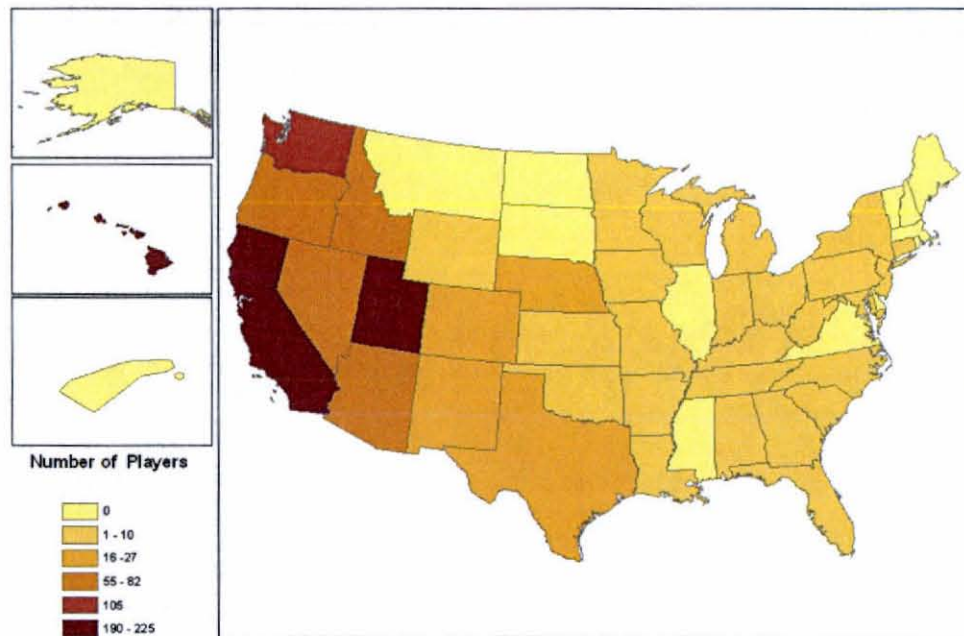
include Alaska, Nevada, Arizona, Oregon, and Colorado which have growing communities in and around Anchorage, Las Vegas, Phoenix, Portland, Colorado Springs, and Denver.

Player States

During the nine years, 1998 to 2006, Samoans played college football in 36 of the 41 states with Division I programs. The player states of Samoan collegiate athletes stretch from the west to the east coast and include colleges in the Plains, Midwest, and the South (Figure IV). These schools are a mix of public and private universities and run the gamut of success and visibility from BCS powerhouses to mid-majors to perennially losing programs.

Most Samoans (84.2%) played football in the West at universities in Hawai'i, California, Utah, Washington, Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, and Oregon (Appendix I). The University of Hawai'i had the most Samoan athletes followed by Utah, BYU, and Washington. Arizona and UNLV were tied for fifth. Common to all six schools are staff with Polynesian coaches and/or coaches who recruit from Samoan communities throughout the West. Surprisingly, the state of California did not have a university in the top five, but all its universities with a Division I program rank in the top 20 that produce Samoan football players. California (Berkeley), San Diego State, San Jose State, UCLA, and USC recruit locally from nearby high schools as well as throughout the rest of the state and beyond. Stanford University, the outstanding anomaly, recruits nationwide based on strict entrance requirements and as such attracts the best student-athletes. From 1998 to 2006, five Samoans attended the Palo Alto campus.

Figure IV: Player States of Samoan Football Players, 1998-2006



Source: Jesse Markham

In the Pacific Northwest, Oregon and Oregon State have recently surpassed Washington and Washington State in number of Samoan players, partly due to the two former schools being more successful in recruiting athletes from California, Hawai'i, American Samoa, Utah, and even from Washington itself. Likewise, the addition of Boise State and Idaho into the Western Athletic Conference (WAC) has helped these schools recruit Samoan athletes, despite Idaho having less than 1300 Samoan residents according to the 2000 Census. Not only can the Idaho colleges recruit Samoan players from such states as California, Hawai'i, and Utah but also promise athletes of being part of the road games in their own home states. Both schools have Samoan and Tongan football coaches active in the

Polynesian Football Coaches Association and therefore more able to recruit Samoan and other Polynesian athletes.

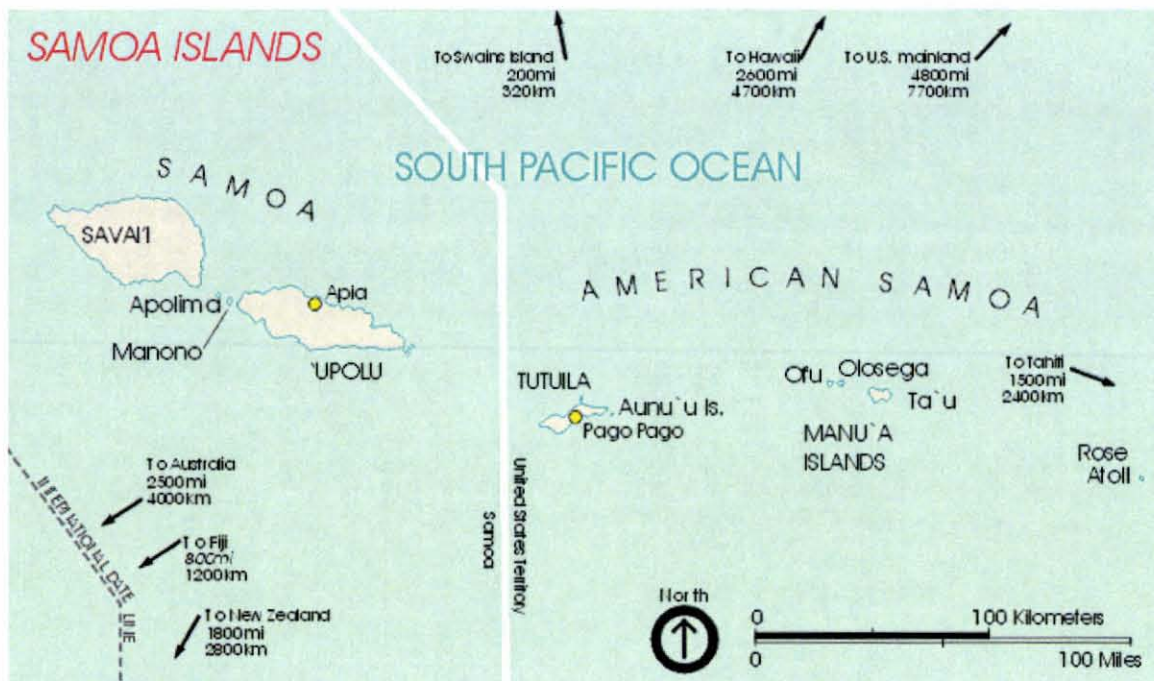
Texas is unique among player states because it ranked in the top ten but has no noticeable recruiting pattern, with athletes dispersed among eight of the state's 10 Division I programs. The state of Nebraska, where only 101 Samoans were enumerated in the 2000 census, is conspicuous amongst other player states. From 1998 to 2006, six Samoans who played a total of 20 years attended the University of Nebraska, one of the premier collegiate programs in the nation and often chosen by high school athletes among those most highly sought. Unlike Nebraska, other football powerhouses in states with small Samoan populations — Florida, Notre Dame, Ohio State, Oklahoma, Penn State, Tennessee — each recruited a single individual to be the sole Samoan or Polynesian on their rosters. This evolution in recruiting athletes by universities outside of the West can be seen as writing a new chapter in the movement of Samoan football players. They are initiating new destinations, expanding the space over which Samoans are involved in collegiate football, and helping to bring them into the mainstream of national sport by playing at highly ranked schools whose teams appear week after week on national television.

Brief History of the Samoas

Samoa, the place which Samoan football players call their homeland and motherland, is divided into two political areas: the Independent State of Samoa (formerly Western Samoa) and the Territory of American Samoa, an unincorporated territory of the United States (Figure V). Since 1900 these two entities, historically linked in both ethnicity and language, have been politically divided. In that year the Department of Navy began to

administer American Samoa until 1951. Concurrently, in 1900, Western Samoa became a colony of Germany. Subsequently it was administered by New Zealand from World War I until 1962, when it regained its independence and became the first territory in the Pacific Islands to do so.

Figure V: Samoa Islands



Courtesy of University of Texas at Austin: Perry-Castaneda Library Map Collection

The year the Navy ended the administration of American Samoa, 1951, is seen as a watershed event which initiated the first large wave of Samoans to leave for the United States. Most were family members of the *Fita'fita* guard, the Navy reserve in American Samoa, and they settled in existing military communities in Honolulu, San Diego, Oceanside, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. Since that initial movement of military personnel and their families in the early 1950s, family ties, educational opportunities, military

enlistment, and religious belief have seen Samoans continue to migrate to Hawai'i , the West Coast, and elsewhere in the United States. As part of this overall process of movement, increasing numbers of American Samoans have come to Hawai'i and the mainland United States to further their formal education under the auspices of receiving an athletic scholarship in football.

Thesis Statement and Guiding Tropes

The broad goal of this study is to take a cultural geographic approach to Samoan athletic performance and experience and, in this way, expand the geographical study of sport. Culture and identity, two tropes or themes common within cultural geography, will be used as frames to better understand the many issues in the recruitment and mobility of Samoan college football players. Key ideas within each of these tropes will be explored to elucidate how far they are applicable to the life experiences of several players on whom this study will focus.

My primary goal is, first, to accept the challenge of British sports geographer, John Bale (1996), and help move this genre beyond simply enumerating and mapping the origins and diffusions of college players. Second, it is to delve more deep into understanding how and why Samoan identity has been and is being shaped by participation in the game of football. What it means to be identified as a Samoan student-athlete is influenced by traditions such as *fa'a Samoa* (the Samoan way), which in and of themselves are continually in transition and being contested, redefined, and renamed. Emergent notions are seen in *fa'a Amerika* (America), *fa'a Hawai'i*, and *fa'a Kalifonia* (California) to express what is common and different amongst Samoans throughout the new Polynesian Triangle. The three points of

this ‘new Polynesian Triangle’ are North America, Australia, and New Zealand and it encompasses a particular field through which ongoing Polynesian migration continues to occur (Barcham 2005).

The relationship between Samoans and the game of football is a double-edged sword, in that it helps perpetuate how appropriate is the “noble savage” stereotype for becoming a football player. Conversely, professional football has enabled Samoans to be increasingly accepted into mainstream American society, as others learn more about Polynesian people and their cultures. More importantly, the game has afforded student-athletes the opportunity of a formal education beyond high school and, for a select few, a career in professional football as the pinnacle of many childhood dreams.

A cultural approach will be used in this study to further explore Samoan identity and how selected players maintain multiple identities dependant on time, space, place, and context. Samoan football players, like Samoans in general, are redefining what it means to be Samoan in a diasporic context (Franklin 2003). A specific aim of this thesis is to explore the meanings and dynamics in flows of former student-athletes and how, in this process, their Samoan identities are constructed, conveyed, and understood (Jackson 1989). On the surface, culture and identity seem to be easily definable, but a reading of the literature of geographers, especially cultural geographers, and other social scientists quickly reveals that this is not the case. Following the turn in the “new cultural geography,” these two concepts have been challenged and made problematic. Nash (2002: 324) notes these debates are “contests over meaning — the normal, the national, the moral — meanings are also made and contested in much more mundane, insidious, subtle, and cumulative ways.”

Cultural geographers, when speaking of identity, refer to individual and collective identity. This concept is discussed in terms of characteristics (place, language, religion, ethnicity, nationality, community, class, gender), with different characteristics being important in different places and at different times. Cultural geographers generally agree that identities are socially constructed, made or acquired, not inherited, and have no unequivocal meanings. A commonly raised question is how is it possible to comprehend identity through using group labels, but at the same time avoiding essentialism (Norton 2000: 18). Since identities are not given to people but created by them, so they can change and have meanings open to dispute. For example, Samoan football players in the 1980s were viewed differently from today's athletes. Likewise, those in the game this century have different experiences than many first-and second-generation players who came before them. Today, geographers and other social scientists studying human identities portray them as understood by the people involved, no longer or less often assumed or imposed by scholars. Franklin (2003) explored the nature of Tongan and/or Samoan identity at both the individual and the community level in a recent paper entitled: "I define my own identity: Pacific articulations of 'race' and 'culture' on the internet."

Sarup (1994: 95) argues that the notion of identity is best expressed as "the story we tell of ourselves and which is also the story others tell of us." Identity has both personal and collective dimensions tied to characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, and class. Hall (1990) describes "hybridity Diaspora identities" as those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves through transformation and difference. Anthias (2001: 637) notes that at the level of the construction of new forms of collective identity, the term hybridity merely denotes another, possibly more "open and in between cultural configuration."

Mitchell (1995) asserts that cultural geography would be better served by following the new cultural geography to its logical conclusion, namely the recognition that there is no such ontological thing as culture. He further asserts that the goal of cultural geographers should be “figuring out how the idea of culture becomes socially solidified as a thing, realm, attribute, or domain” (Mitchell 1995: 113). What has resulted, claims Barnett (1998: 390), is that culture has helped to “construct a culturally inflected geography that continues to differentiate and identify itself by reference to its standard thematic concern with landscape, place, and space.” Mitchell argues that the “end of culture” does not mean the end of identity or ideology nor of culture’s role in ideology. Nor does it mean the end of cultural power — “the power to define and determine ‘ways of life,’ ‘structures of feeling,’ or ‘spheres of meaning’” (Mitchell 2000b: 7). He calls for “culturalism” in geography to be replaced by a fuller and richer dialectical argument about culture as a social product and a social practice, one that is fully implicated in systems of domination, oppression, and exploitation (2000b: 13). In another related paper, Mitchell (2000a: 77) proposes that

Cultural geographies should be engaged in the task of determining not what culture is — since it is nothing — but rather how the *idea* of culture works in society. To call culture a level or domain makes little sense. Culture is instead a powerful name—powerful because it obscures what it is meant to identify. If ‘culture’ is politics by another name (as it is), then it is so by dint of its function as *ideology*.

Defining the meaning of culture became increasingly problematic through the linguistic turn in social theory. The result, prior to Mitchell’s work, was the idea of culture being read as text, which outsiders could interpret ethnographically through processes of representation, in themselves textual. Geertz (1973) interprets culture as a text to be read by an ethnographer as one might read written material. Duncan and Duncan (1988) suggest that the concepts of textuality, intertextuality, and reader reception may be of importance to those

interested in the notion that landscapes are read in much the same way as literary texts. Cultures were seen as maps of meaning having codes within which meaning is constructed, conveyed, and understood (Jackson, P: 1987).

The concepts of place and space are closely associated with culture. Place is the portion of geographical space occupied by a person or thing and locale is the setting in which social relations are constituted. Location is the geographic area encompassing the setting for social interactions, as defined by social and economic pressures operating at a wider scale, while sense of place is the local structure of feeling (Johnston et al., 1994: 442). The notion of a sense of place is the character intrinsic to a place itself, as well as the attachments that people have to it (Johnston et al., 1994: 548). The North Shore of O‘ahu between the towns of Hau‘ula, La‘ie, and Kahuku is known as ‘football country’ and seen by college programs as prime recruiting ground. Primarily, this reflects Kahuku High School being high school champions of the state of Hawai‘i in four of the past six years and having the highest national percentage of football players in the NFL — seven in the 2006 season.

Identity is also bound up with geography and place: as homeland (nation) and home place (community), as well as in relational terms as one’s ‘place’ in the world (Tuan: 1996). Bonnemaïson (1985: 30) notes that “cultural identity in Melanesia is a geographical identity that flows from the memories and values attached to places.” Closely related to place is the concept of territory, a portion of space occupied by a person, group, or state. For the purpose of this research, the space of significance is that social space perceived or used by social groups. McHugh (2000: 85) declares that geographers steeped in thinking of space, place, and connection are poised to elucidate peoples, places, and societal implications of systems of movement and circulation.

Culture and identity are the tropes that, within the context of the above literature, help shape the three basic questions guiding this research on the recruitment and mobility of Samoan college football players. In addition, the overall goal is a more holistic understanding of both the movement processes involved in college recruitment and a deeper look into the multiple identities that shape Samoans involved in the game.

Research Questions

The two goals of this thesis project are first, to understand why players of Samoan ancestry choose particular universities over another and how this player-movement fits within the process of Samoan mobility. Second, to explore the notion that Samoans and football are inextricably linked and what this means to both the Samoan community and the broader population. It will be guided by three basic questions and approached primarily through the detailed life stories of several players. What role did parents play in the decision-making process of what college to attend? As a child, did you want to be a football player? Was your plan a career in professional football and, if not, what is your goal after graduation? As a football player of Samoan ethnicity, what do you see as your role (if any) in the Samoan community? Does being a collegiate athlete bring a different sense of obligation to the immediate family, extended family, home community, and Samoan communities throughout the United States? Why do you think Samoans seem to be such good football players? For what reasons do observers often identify Samoans with the sport of football?

How and in what ways do Samoan football players negotiate their identity depending on place and context?

It is generally agreed that individuals have multiple identities defined by both themselves and by others. Personal identities are strategic, negotiable, and contested, depending on the context of place and time. Over the last nine years, 1998-2006, almost 1200 Samoans have played in 69 different college football programs in Division I.¹ These players came from 27 different home states, as well as the Territory of American Samoa, and attended colleges in 37 different player states. The space and places that these players are spread over is reflective of the diversity among Samoans in the United States. The largest Samoan concentrations are in Hawai'i, the West Coast, and Utah. There are smaller communities in places such as Alaska, Missouri, and Nevada, as well as even fewer Samoans grouped in and around military bases throughout the country. Samoan identity in general is shaped where one resides or has lived, by marriage (including intermarriage), education, and employment, and by changes over time and space based on how long one's family has lived in the United States.

In the Samoan world of football there are schools that are considered 'Poly' or 'Islander' friendly. Many of these colleges are located in areas where there are large Samoan populations, such as Hawai'i and Utah, or have Polynesians on their coaching staff and on the team, as in Arizona and Oregon State. These situations greatly help Samoan football players make the transition from high school to college. Universities such as USC and Texas fall into another tier. They are the elite programs in college football and recruit only the most promising players regardless of race, so that Samoans offered a scholarship are drawn from

¹ There were 1184 Samoans enumerated in Division I College Football from 1998-2006. However this number is skewed due to the fact the some players may be counted in multiple years.

among the top-ranked candidates at high schools or junior colleges in the country. BYU is the anomaly of this football landscape, for most of its Samoan and Polynesian players are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. This college makes it a point to identify student-athletes who are church members and also offers the opportunity of two-year missions without penalty of losing an athletic scholarship. Most other universities will not do this if a player chooses to be part of a mission, since scholarships are renewed on a year-to-year basis. The true anomalies are schools in remote areas with a lone Samoan on the team. These athletes are pioneers since, like their forefathers, they are forging a new path and location that future Samoan and Polynesian players may follow.

Has the culture of football come to include Samoans and/or have Samoans, in practicing fa'a Samoa, strategically adopted football as a device for practicing their culture and customs?

Although Mitchell (1995) argues that culture does not exist, a culture of football is spoken of as being present within the locker rooms and playing fields of collegiate and professional football. The many people from various origins and backgrounds who have played and contributed to the game have shaped the culture of football. Likewise, Samoans share and teach their customs and culture to other people with whom they compete and interact, thus helping to challenge Polynesian stereotypes like the noble savage and expand the understanding of Samoans by others. Throughout their history, Samoans have strategically adopted, incorporated, and modified aspects of other cultures, so that football may be viewed as one such custom being molded to their perceptions and sensibilities. Three aspects of Samoan culture have in particular been conducive to football: faith, family, and respect. A football team is considered a family and Samoan culture places an emphasis on the

family or group more than on the individual. In the “me, me” culture of sports today, coaches prefer selfless individuals who show respect for authority, which most Samoans are thought to display. In addition, one finds many signs of religion and prayer on the football field and in the locker rooms of collegiate and professional teams. Since most Samoans are raised in the church, usually there is little discussion that faith has no role in group identity and culture.

Collegiate football is played and utilized by Samoans not only for recognition of both the person and their families, but also to secure a cost-free education and perhaps a professional career. From the outset, Samoan communities came to view the game as a positive activity. As the experience of a generation or two passed, and stories of failures at professional football became better known, Samoans have come to view the collegiate experience more as a means to a baccalaureate education. They are much more realistic that the chances of a professional career, let alone a long and successful one, is confined to very few players regardless of ethnicity.

Hip hop culture is said to permeate the game of football, which is code for how common nowadays is many aspects of African American culture — in particular music, manners of speaking, dressing, and acting. This is understandable, when African Americans account for two-thirds to three quarters of all players in collegiate and professional football. Samoans from urban communities are particularly influenced by many of these styles of behavior and adopt their mannerisms, partly out of friendship and interaction with other African-American players and partly due to urban residence. Thus it is not uncommon to find Samoan football players dressing the part of the urbanite in the NFL. Likewise many, who, for example, are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, dress more

conservatively — in part reflecting different value structures and codes of conduct for living. Yet another pattern — ‘island style’ of dressing, speaking, and acting — is more common on college campuses like Hawai‘i-Manoa and Utah-Salt Lake City, where younger players have come directly from American Samoa or are first-generation residents.

How has Samoan identity been shaped by sport and football in particular?

For many who are not Samoan, the football field is perhaps the most common venue to see and begin to know a person of Polynesian ancestry. Through media outlets such as television, sports talk radio, newspapers, and the Internet, opinions and perceptions of Samoans are adopted that may or may not be accurate, but at the same time depend heavily on what is portrayed by the media or posted by individuals on sports message boards. For many, Samoans have come to be viewed as people who make good football players, but little else is known about either specific athletes or their culture. Coaches and fans consider them the kind of player they want to recruit for their team; even more specifically, it is not uncommon to hear coaches say: “We need to get our football team some Samoans and Polynesians.” Some have been able to take advantage of the hype associated with the large size and/or last names of Samoan players, even when they themselves may lack the physical attributes to excel on the football field.

In recent years, Samoans and other Polynesians in the game have brought attention to themselves, most notably by growing out their hair, as many before them had done in the 1970s and 1980s. The result is that long hair often partially covers the names on their jerseys, but at the same time draws the attention of announcers and spectators. The minimal result is usually the sound bite of an announcer awkwardly attempting to pronounce their last name or

surprise at how long and thick is the player's hair. The most controversial of outward signs of Samoan and/or 'Poly' identity has been the appropriation of the Maori All Blacks *haka* and its performance by teams such as Hawai'i, BYU, and Utah. Fans and media in particular have been attracted to this dance, as they view it, whereas Polynesians including Samoans see it as a device to form team unity and show others their warrior roots and traditions. Despite the fact that the *haka* is not Samoan, Tongan, or Hawaiian custom.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter two opens with the greater emphasis on Samoan football players in the mainstream press (television, radio, newspapers, film) and increasingly on the internet (sports websites, blogs, messageboards) contrasted with the absence of scholarly research outside of Markham's (2003) study. Little scholarly writing on Samoan participation in sport, beyond illustrative coffee-table books, stands in marked contrast to countless studies of Samoan movement over the past 35 years. The primary focus of this chapter is on the geography of sport, the different approaches and issues in the subdiscipline from its origins in the early 1970s, notably with John Rooney in the United States. I further explore the study of sport from a geographical viewpoint in the United Kingdom and other countries and how geographers, such as John Bale, have been influenced by authors publishing on sport from different perspectives in the social sciences and the humanities. Since the 1990s, sports geographers have been greatly influenced by concepts such as space, place, culture, and identity, so that sports geography has become less descriptive and more theoretical or analytical. In addition, I review collaborative work in both geography and other disciplines, where authors address geographical concepts from different philosophical perspectives.

In the next chapter (three), I look at fifteen case studies of Samoan football players past and present to search for broader meanings imbedded in each case. As context, detailed information about Samoan football players from 1945 is chronicled to illustrate shifts in participation, specifically in the locations of home and player states. The methodological strategy is the ethnography of the particular, which stresses that individuals should define themselves and their actions. Case histories were constructed personally with athletes to allow for a free flow of conversation more likely to be revealing. In field interviews with fifteen former and current players, the range in age, location, class, and personal idiosyncrasies lead to greater insight into the process of Samoan movement and the significance of football to the Samoan community

Chapter four charts the detailed the world of the Samoan football player based on fifteen collegiate athletes from three different generations born in American Samoa, Hawai'i, and the mainland US. They reflect the time frame during which Samoans having been playing the collegiate game and the space over which the Samoan diaspora has spread. Each athlete was a top high school recruit and chose a particular college, based on both family and personal decisions related to the football program and its coaches, the location and academic reputation of the university. A Samoan brotherhood exists amongst all players that acknowledges as preeminent both the group and the community. The lives of each football player are chronicled to reveal the good and the bad, both inside and outside the sport.

In the concluding chapter, I discuss my motivation for wanting to employ the tropes of culture and identity to bring a different perspective to the geographical study of sport. The result is a rounded presentation, through the player's words, and less reliance on formal devices such as maps and graphs to convey the story of movement and the Samoan football

player. Today, colleges view football players as a commodity but many athletes, including Samoans, are deploying the system to advance themselves academically in a career and outside of football. In the near future, I do not anticipate Samoan families turning away from the sport, but over time the huge emphasis on football should diminish as the primary means by which young males receive a college education and material wealth. Future research in the geography of sport might focus on Polynesians such as Tongans, whose culture, mobility, and success in the game has similarities to that of Samoans. In addition, I anticipate other scholars exploring the football experiences of first-and second-generation players of African ancestry, which are becoming increasingly visible.

CHAPTER TWO: THE GEOGRAPHY OF SPORT

In recent years, as the presence of Samoans and other Pacific Islanders in collegiate and professional football has increased, so the media has begun to focus on their rising visibility. Conversely, in the academic world, this process has gone virtually unnoticed. In *The Samoans: A Global Family*, Sutter (1991) briefly profiles the biographies of National Football League (NFL) players of the 1970s and 1980s, like Frank Manumaleuga, Terry Tautolo, Jack Thompson, and Manu Tuiasosopo. These athletes are more than 20 years removed from professional football and two of them now have children in the NFL. Samoan football players and athletes from other sports are similarly portrayed by Pouesi (1991) in *An Illustrated History of Samoans in California*. Both works are primarily illustrative, big books designed for the coffee table, and do not delve deeply into the significance of increasing numbers of Samoans active in collegiate and professional football. Both studies are more than fifteen years old while the most extensive treatment of the rise of Samoans, specifically in American football, is Markham's (2003) unpublished study: *The Recruitment and Mobility of Samoan College Football Players*. This year (2008), it will be joined by a special issue of the *International Journal of the History of Sport (IJHS)* devoted to the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, with two articles on Polynesians in football, one general and one focused on Hawai'i.

In recent years, by contrast, nationally circulated publications such as *Sports Illustrated*, *ESPN the Magazine*, and *GQ Magazine* have sent writers to American Samoa to try and better understand who are these "new" or "other" football players, where are they coming from, and what factors lead to their successes on the football field. Likewise newspapers in cities with large Samoan communities, such as the *San Diego Union-Tribune*

and the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, have chronicled the rise of Samoans in football to the reading public in areas reached by these newspapers (McGrath 2002). Moreover, newspapers in cities such as Atlanta, Cleveland, East Lansing (MI), Knoxville (TN), and State College (PA), with relatively few Polynesian people, often profile Samoan athletes and coaches who are at local colleges and on professional football teams.

Coverage also has greatly expanded on film and television. “Polynesian Power,” which first aired nationwide on ESPN in February 2005, is a full length documentary chronicling both the ascent of Polynesians in American Football and the cultural history that defines this journey. Profiling two Samoan athletes, Isa’ako Sopoaga and Pisa Tinoisamoa — “one from the islands and one from the hood” — this documentary explores America’s diversity and the challenge of chasing dreams. At the time, this documentary was the most extensive treatment on film or television of Samoan and Polynesian football players and its producers hope that, through a national audience, sports fans and others would become far more aware of their achievements before and now. The film was subsequently purchased by Pacific Islanders in Communication (PIC) and reedited, and has been rebroadcast regionally in various PBS markets since fall 2006. As noted in chapter one, HBO’s *Real Sports* profiled Samoan football players Lofa Tatupu and Troy Polamalu before the 2006 Super Bowl. On Thanksgiving weekend 2003, ABC Sports broadcast nationally a five-minute, halftime segment it had produced on football in American Samoa.

For many young Samoans, football has become the vehicle to move throughout the United States, a means to receive a free baccalaureate education at the same time as playing in the collegiate game. Coaches consider Samoan high school and junior college football players from the United States and American Samoa to be a commodity in great demand. The

high point is the first Wednesday of February in each year, when high school and junior college football players sign binding “letters of intent” (LOI) to play in the fall at their preferred colleges. In February 2007, fifty four Samoan high school and junior college players signed LOI’s for the next season.

Issues of spatial movement and regional differences in producing college players are central themes in the pioneering work of John Rooney (1969, 1974, 1987). Simply put, some states or regions of the country produce more football players than others. In attempting to move beyond the “cartographic fetishism” that often stigmatizes sports geography, this thesis project will focus on testimonies and life narratives of Samoan athletes for a more holistic understanding of the linked meanings of football, movement, and identity. For those Samoan football players who excel at the collegiate level, a professional career in the NFL, NFL Europa, the Canadian Football League (CFL), or the Arena Football Leagues (AFL and AFL2) may follow. On average, the career of any NFL player lasts about three years.

An *ESPN.com* article (Garber 2002) noted that a Samoan boy is estimated to be 40 times more likely to reach the NFL than one from the mainland United States. In 2006, American Samoan high schools produced four players in the NFL and for the second year in a row had a high school graduate from American Samoa reach the Super Bowl. Overall, there were 24 Samoans on 17 of the 32 teams in the league, numbers of considerable significance when a total of only 150,000 Samoans live in the United States and American Samoa combined (US Census Bureau 2000). In addition, there were 22 Hawaiians, Tongans and a Fijian on NFL teams in the 2006 season. Yet, the reality is that most Samoans will never play professional football once their collegiate eligibility ends.

Sports Geography: Approaches and Issues

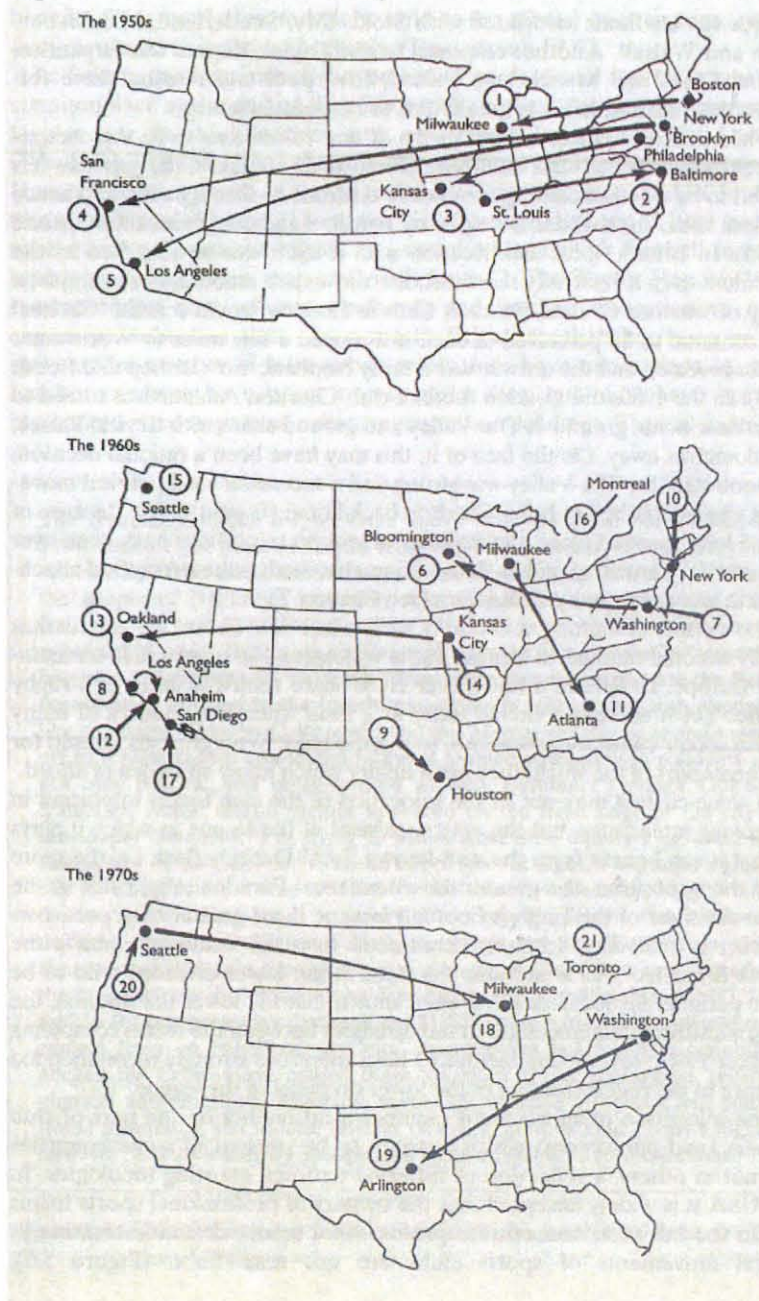
In neither the field of geography nor other disciplines has there been any focus on the recruitment and mobility of Samoan college football players. Throughout the academic literature there are numerous articles, theses, dissertations, and books on Samoan movement and migration, yet none broach the subject of sport as a factor or consideration in the mobility of Samoan people. Common themes include assimilation and acculturation, ethnographic case studies of Samoan immigrant communities, the effect of mobility on American and independent Samoa, and the linkages between people throughout the Samoan diaspora (Franco 1985, Lyons 1980, Lilomaiava-Niko 1993, McGrath 2002, Pirie 1963, Shankman 1976). Yet only faint threads in all this scholarship hint at the role of sport or football in Samoan society, let alone as a component of movement to and within the United States. Samoan athletes are relegated to the pages of newspapers, magazines, television, and the Internet (message boards and blogs in particular), which have a much wider circulation and viewership than academic books or scholarly journals. As a result, Samoan players are widely known in the football fraternity and by fans in general. The themes and issues in this thesis project are influenced more by previous work in sports geography and sports studies than by research on Samoan movement.

Thirty-eight years ago, in the *Geographical Review*, John Rooney (1969) first introduced the geographic community to the study of sport with a focus on college football in his journal article "Up From the Mines and Out From the Prairies: Some Geographical Implications of Football." In this seminal paper, Rooney explores the history and diffusion of football in the United States, then graphically displays the origins and diffusions of the college players themselves. Based on this paper, Rooney pioneered the geographic study of

sport and subsequently published the influential book *A Geography of American Sport: From Cabin Creek to Anaheim* (1974). This work covers many sports like baseball, basketball, and football, as well as their innovation and diffusion throughout the course of American history.

Of particular interest to my thesis project is Rooney's ideas of mapping and graphing player recruitment, which visually help to illustrate the movement scenarios of Samoan college football players. Maps of home and player states in chapter one (Figures III, IV) show the scope of the Samoan diaspora in collegiate football between 1998 and 2006. Rooney (1975: 113) further notes "the geographic analysis of sport offers great potential for the fuller understanding of society at the local, national, and world scales" and that there is much to be done to "attain the vast potential inherent in the geographic study of sport." Figure VI, from the *Miami Herald* (24 March 1985), illustrates the relocation of Major League Baseball (MLB) teams from the 1950s to the 1970s, yet does not delve further into the issues of why teams move from one city to another. It serves only to gloss the surface of the dynamics of baseball relocation.

Figure VI: The locational dynamics of American baseball, 1953-1985



Source: *Miami Herald*, 24 March 1985

Table II summarizes the detailed calendar between 1953 and 1977 of the transcontinental movement of baseball teams and the addition of teams in professional baseball. One of the major underlying premises of both the *Miami Herald* map and this table is that professional teams are in the business of maximizing profits for their owners and

shareholders. As a result, teams have been relocated to seek new markets and additional revenues as cities and regional populations have shifted from decade to decade since the Second World War.

Table II: Major League Baseball Relocation and Team Expansion, 1953-1977

The 1950s

- 1953 Boston Braves (NL) move to Milwaukee
- 1954 St Louis Browns (AL) move to Baltimore as the Orioles
- 1955 Philadelphia (AL) move to Kansas City
- 1958 New York Giants (NL) move to San Francisco
- 1958 Brooklyn Dodgers (NL) move to Los Angeles

The 1960s

- 1961 Washington Senators (AL) move to Bloomington, Minn., as the Minnesota Twins
- 1961 Washington awarded AL expansion franchise, the Senators
- 1961 Los Angeles awarded AL expansion franchise, the Angels
- 1962 Houston awarded NL expansion franchise, the Colt .45s
- 1962 New York awarded NL expansion franchise, the Mets
- 1966 Milwaukee Braves (NL) move to Atlanta
- 1966 Los Angeles Angels (AL) move to Anaheim, become the California Angels
- 1968 Kansas City A's (AL) move to Oakland
- 1969 Kansas City awarded AL franchise, the Royals
- 1969 Seattle awarded AL franchise, the Pilots
- 1969 Montreal awarded NL franchise, the Expos
- 1969 San Diego awarded NL franchise, the Padres

The 1970s

- 1970 Seattle Pilots (AL) move to Milwaukee, become the Brewers
- 1972 Washington Senators (AL) move to Arlington, Texas, become the Texas Rangers
- 1977 Seattle awarded AL franchise, the Mariners
- 1977 Toronto awarded AL franchise, the Blue Jays

Source: Miami Herald, 24 March 1985

Richard Pillsbury (1974) is one of the few American geographers to publish alongside Rooney in the early years, the 1970s and 1980s, within the fledgling sub-field of sport geography. He was the first to explore the origin and distribution of stock car racing to assess whether, as commonly believed, the sport indeed had a southern orientation. He argued persuasively that, in order to understand the modern cultural geography of the United States, one must study not only the past but also the popular present. Cosgrove and Jackson (1987:

99) argue that culture should be understood as “the medium through which people transform the mundane phenomena of the material world into a world of significant symbols to which they give meaning and value,” and hence culture “is the very medium through which change is experienced, contested and constituted” (Ibid: 95).

The children of the first significant wave of Samoan migrants, who left in 1951 for the United States with the termination of the US Naval Administration of American Samoa, began taking up the game of American football in their new homes in places such as Honolulu, Carson (CA), San Francisco, and Oceanside (CA). These areas or spaces are no longer the primary signifying markers of where football is identified to be intrinsically Samoan. From the 1960s until today, Samoan players come from cities and towns throughout the United States, including from younger Samoan communities in Anchorage (AK); Santa Ana (CA); Waipahu (HI); West Valley City (UT); and Tacoma (WA), not to mention from states such as Florida, New York, Oklahoma, and Virginia as well as the villages of Faga‘itua and Leone in American Samoa.

The identity of Samoan football players is no longer tied to a specific location and perhaps has evolved to be formed and defined more in their own personal terms. However, at the same time, they constitute a group in the context of having a shared or common background that differentiates them from other athletes inside and outside of football. Many college teams with Samoans also have Tongan and Hawaiian players, whom often gravitate towards each other because of shared Polynesian roots. Football coaches like to recruit generic “Islanders” or “Polynesians” and, from their initial review of players, often do not distinguish between island groupings. For them, athletic ability and the character of football players generally supersede ethnicity.

Nearly three decades after Pillsbury chronicled the erosion of stock car racing as a unique southern tradition, American geographers Alderman, Mitchell, Webb, and Hanak (2003) reconsidered Pillsbury's earlier work in "Carolina Thunder Revisited: Toward a Transcultural View of Winston Cup Racing." They argued that the sport of stock car racing is actually "transcultural in nature" and influenced simultaneously by tradition and transition, as well as by regional and national forces. In advancing the geography of sport and popular culture, they encouraged a critical thinking about regional cultures and their relationship to the forces of nationalization (Alderman et al. 2003: 238). Similarly, what it means to be identified as a Samoan football player is influenced by traditions such as *fa'a Samoa* (the Samoan way), which in and of themselves are continually in transition and being contested, redefined, and renamed. Emergent notions are seen in *fa'a Amerika* (America), *fa'a Hawai'i*, and *fa'a Kalifonia* (California) to indicate commonalities and differences amongst Samoans throughout the 'new Polynesian triangle' (Barcham 2005).

Rooney continued to study college football into the 1980s with the publication of the second edition of *The Recruiting Game: Toward a New System of Intercollegiate Sports* (1987). As a professor of sports geography at a major football university, Oklahoma State, he was able to explore first hand the origin, development, and support of intercollegiate sport. His goal, which was shaped by being both a geography professor and a sports fan, was to either purify or make more professional big-time college athletics, in turn a reflection of recruiting scandals in college football and the poor academic achievements of student-athletes (Rooney, 1987: xv).

Today, twenty years later, universities, administrators, coaches, players, alumni, fans, the general public, and the media continue to debate and discuss many of these same issues

raised by Rooney. They include proposals to pay collegiate football players, attempts to improve the graduation rates of the student athlete, and creating a tiered, playoff system to separate the elite programs (Auburn, Georgia, Notre Dame, Ohio State, Texas) from those schools which either place less emphasis on football and/or do not have large athletic budgets to compete at the highest levels (Akron, SUNY-Buffalo, Kent State, San Jose State, Utah State).

The disparity between the rich and the poor in college athletic programs during 2006 is captured in Table III (*Sports Illustrated*: March 5, 2007). The five schools ending the year with a profit were notably all from BCS conferences, along with independent BCS member Notre Dame. On the other hand, the five schools operating in the red were from mid-major conferences where athletic programs have substantially lower budgets. However, the lure of the big payoff from appearing in a BCS bowl game continues to influence smaller institutions to spend millions of scarce dollars to compete with the “Joneses” of college football. To put people in stadium seats, universities must attract the best talent and consequently must spend large sums of money on athletic facilities. The primary factors why student-athletes choose to play at a particular school are successes defined in terms of wins and losses, the number of players sent to the NFL, the style of coaching and, increasingly, the facilities associated with the football program. Unfortunately, for many, academic reputation is often far less a factor in decision making.

Table III: The Haves and Have Nots in College Football Programs, 2006

THE RICH	REVENUE	PROFIT (LOSS)*
Notre Dame	\$61.40	\$43.50
Texas	\$60.90	\$42.50
Ohio State	\$60.80	\$28.50
Georgia	\$58.70	\$44.10
Auburn	\$51.60	\$31.50

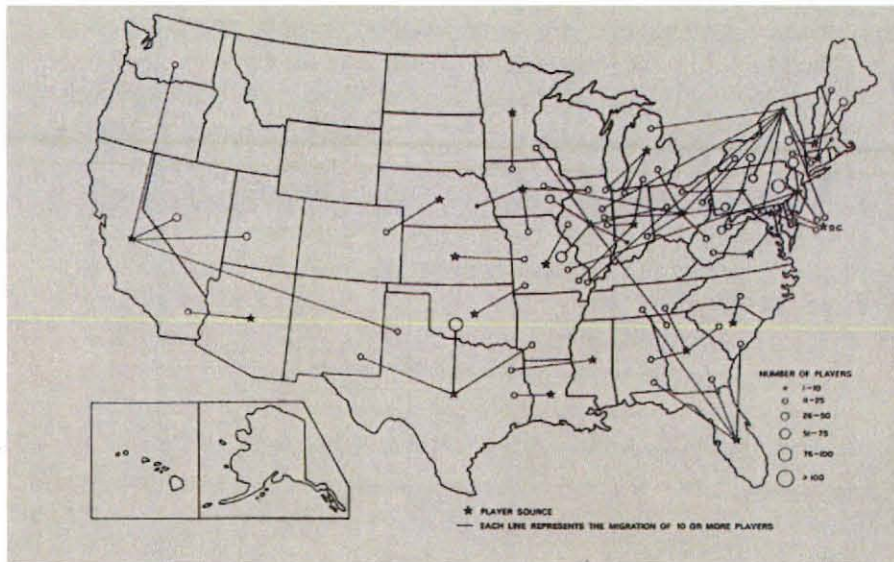
THE POOR	REVENUE	PROFIT (LOSS)*
SUNY-Buffalo	\$0.67	(\$3.40)
Akron	\$0.74	(\$3.30)
Kent State	\$0.82	(\$2.60)
San Jose State	\$0.95	(\$3.60)
Utah State	\$1.15	(\$1.70)

*Figures in Millions

Source: *Sports Illustrated*, 5 March 2007

In 1992, Rooney and Pillsbury jointly published the *Atlas of American Sport*, for which Rooney wrote an entry for football. It chronicles the origins and spread of the collegiate game from amateurism to professionalism and the differences between college football and the NFL, with numerous updated maps on the origins of players and the locations of NCAA university programs. Rooney (1992: 62) notes historically that, in the quest of universities to increase football attendance, the competition for athletic talent is “driven by more than school spirit, and the modern phenomena of high pressure recruiting began.” An example of Rooney’s (1987: 108) earlier work depicts the migratory behavior of college-bound football players from

Figure VII: Migratory behavior of college-bound football players, 1971-72

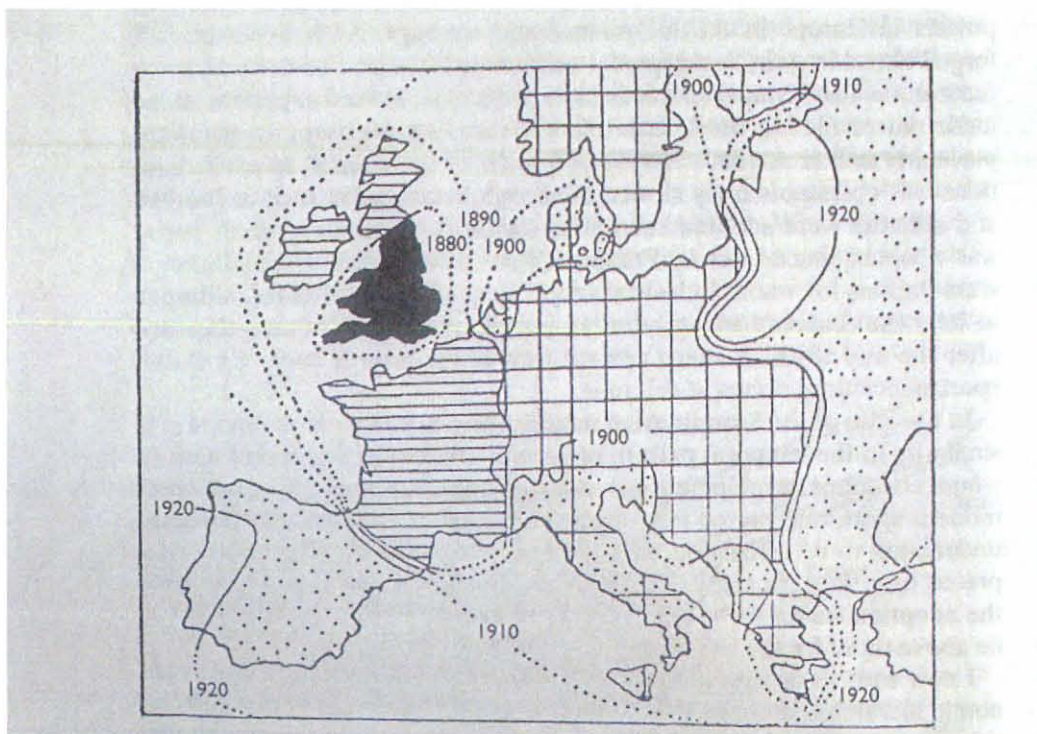


Source: Rooney 1987: 108

1971-72 (Figure VII). It illustrates that universities recruit or pull players to their campuses from certain areas and locations where high school football is strong. In the quest to obtain superior talent year after year, since talent is distributed unequally across the country, “many high school stalwarts cross state and regional boundaries to play college football (Rooney 1992: 71).”

Similarly, but in greater historical depth, Bale (1980) illustrates the diffusion of track and field athletics throughout Europe from the 1880s to the 1920s (Figure VIII). England organized the sport with a national governing body, in large part due to being the first industrialized country of the continent. As other countries in Scandinavia and the Mediterranean gained the status of nation state and became industrialized, so the codification of such events ensued. Interestingly, this synthetic map appears to show England as the epicenter of organized athletics, despite the roots of these sports being part of the Olympics in Ancient Greece.

Figure VIII: Pattern of the spatial diffusion of track and field athletics, Europe



Source: Bale: 2003: 48 (From Bale: 1980)

Although brief, Rooney (1992: 70) explores the cultural significance for many people of college football in the South, which may be very real but also could be interpreted differently. Indirectly, the significance of football may be best expressed in the athletic budgets of the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC) and Southeastern Conference (SEC), which are among the highest in the country. Duncan and Duncan (1988), for example, see culture to be open and fluid, a text, which is always susceptible to multiple readings and interpretations. Thus the perceived significance of football in the South will vary, based on gender, age, education, ethnicity, class, and location. Rooney's books *A Geography of American Sport* (1974), *The Recruiting Game* (1987), and *Atlas of American Sport* (1992), as well as sports geography courses taught at Oklahoma State, helped lay the foundation for future generations of often-marginalized geographers with an academic interest in sport. In

addition, between 1987 and 1994 Rooney edited and the Department of Geography of Oklahoma State published *Sport Place*, the only professional journal ever devoted to sports geography. Critiques of the works of Rooney and some of his former students (Goudge 1984, Mullins 1982, Pearson 1972, Sutton 1982) assert they were often long on description and short on interpretation (eg: Bale 1996).

The third edition of *The Dictionary of Human Geography* makes brief note of the geography of sport as “the study of spatial variations in the pursuit of various sports and of the impact of sporting activities on the landscape” (Johnston et al., 1994: 585-586). However the subject remains marginal within the discipline. John Bale of Keele University, England, is the author of *Sports Geography* (1989), the first general text on the subject, and in 2003 a second edition was published. Bale remarks in the first edition that the primary discipline is concerned with three themes: the location and spatial order of terrestrial phenomena, human-environment relationships, and regional variation. Therefore two recurring concepts in geography are space and place.

Sports geography is concerned with the exploration of (a) sports activity on the earth's surface and how the spatial distribution of sports has changed over time; (b) the changing character of the sports landscape and the symbiosis between the sports environment and those who participate in it; and (c) the making of prescriptions for spatial and environmental change in the sports environment (Bale: 1989, 2).

Overall this work is an introductory text for geographers and other scholars interested in geographic perspectives on sport.

Bale, as heir to the crown of Rooney, has throughout his career called for the inclusion of the study of sport by geographers. Despite Bale's critique of Rooney and his former students, Bale's writings have also been reflective of disciplinary paradigms at time

of writing. He notes that while there is no “particular paradigm or methodology for sports geography” (Bale 1981: 114), the geographical interest in place, regions, movement, location, landscape, and spatial injustice can all be applied in the context of sporting events. Bale further observes that previous work in sports geography has tended to follow mainly empiricist and positivist approaches, failing to explore the “structural and ideological significance of sport in society and a central problem in sports geography is that it lacks a conceptual base different from that of any other kind of ‘adjectival geography’” (Bale 1988: 518).

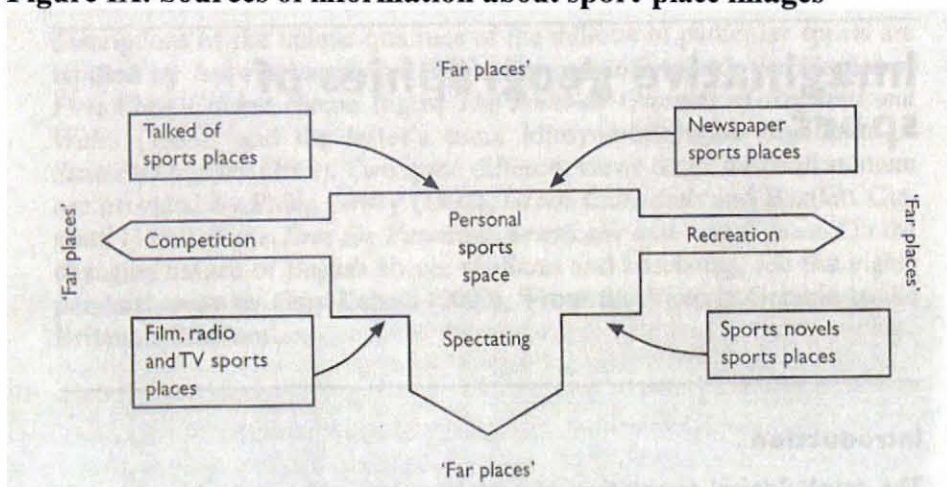
Beginning in the 1980s, authors in the multidisciplinary field of sports studies were influenced by writings in cultural studies, another multidisciplinary field. Bale (1996), in an effort to position sports geography in the mainstream of recent trends in the discipline, borrows ideas about humanism made popular by Yi-Fu Tuan. His publication in *Geografiska Annaler*, surely a mainstream journal, is admirable, but the attempt to draw connections between Tuan’s ideas on space and place and their application to sports geography seem rather mundane.

Increasingly, sports geographical writings are influenced by themes of globalization and postmodernity, with Bale (1998: 21) noting that sport is an important signifier of culture and may be used to explore other contemporary concerns. As authors and scholars concerned with the study of sport have moved more into the mainstream, so the popular press such as the *Wall Street Journal* and *Sports Illustrated* has begun to address subjects previously relegated to the pages of sports magazines. The result, Bale (2002) shows, is that environmentally deterministic perspectives on sport have crept back into academic and journalistic writing. Newspaper columnists in particular, due to time constraints, budget

restrictions, and lack of general knowledge of particular ethnic groups, are often the most egregious in perpetuating stereotypes. In many publications Samoans, for example, are noted to be naturally gifted and as having a propensity towards being elite football players because of size and agility. This, in turn, has been anecdotally attributed to the *talo* (taro) and *'ulu* (breadfruit) they eat, the traditional dances they perform, and their history of being warriors in battle. With the ever expanding growth of Internet, excerpts from these articles on Samoans are often paraphrased, have come to be thought of as scientifically established, and are widely spread throughout internet posts on message boards.

In the second edition of *Sport Geography*, Bale's (2003) text reinforces the goals of the first as well as being an introduction for those unfamiliar with the study of sports geography. Intellectually, it moves from a focus on models and generalizations, supported by maps, graphs and figures, to a more cultural approach. In recent years there has been increased focus on mental maps and imaginary geographies, which draw on literary studies rather than the social sciences, as illustrated in Bale's (2003) conceptual diagram on sport-place images (Figure IX). This construct shows how sports-place images are communicated

Figure IX: Sources of information about sport-place images

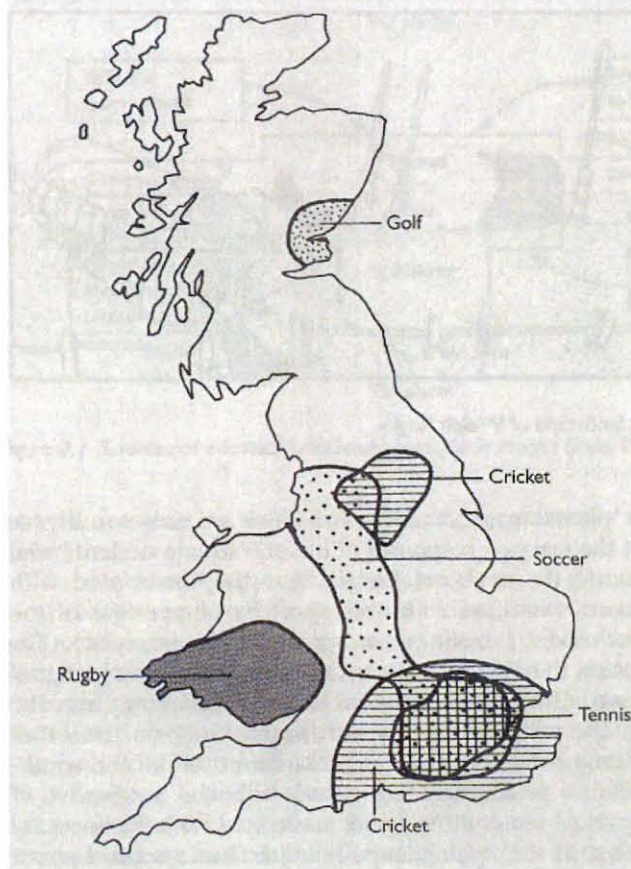


Source: Bale 2003: 162

through various forms of media such as the press, television, radio, novels, even poetry. Today's conception would most likely include various aspects of the internet. How we view particular sports places is reflected directly and indirectly by these sources and, as such, both our cognitive geographies and imaginative worlds of sport are written and reproduced by their representations (Bale 2003: 161).

The result is an infusion of the concept of culture into sports geographical writing, as well as an injection of ideas from the new cultural geography and cultural studies. Cultural ideas, such as vernacular regions, can be used to show how sports within Great Britain are associated with certain parts of the country (Figure X). The mental maps of both

Figure X: Vernacular Regions of six British sports



Source: Bale 2003: 164

participants and spectators lead to sports such as golf and rugby each being viewed as intrinsically linked to certain areas of Scotland and Wales. Likewise, the hearth of soccer stretches from metropolitan London through industrialized working-class cities such as Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester. In contrast, southeastern England has an overlap of the sports of cricket, football, and tennis, yet within the region their popularity often varies along class lines.

Collaborative Scholarship in Sport

In 1994, Bale and sociologist Joseph Maguire co-edited *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World*, which included authors from an array of academic fields including history, geography, sociology, and the sports sciences (physical education and kinesiology). In their introduction, Maguire and Bale call for a more behavioral approach that sees the movement of athletes between two places as an outcome of decision-making processes:

The model is based on the needs and expectations of migrants (internal stressors) and the characteristics of their existing (sports) environment (external stressors) leads to an evaluation of the existing level of place utility (Maguire and Bale, 1994: 10).

Almost a decade later, Magee and Sugden (2002) reviewed the global migration of soccer players within the context of the English premier league, in a paper titled “The world at their feet: professional football and international labor migration.” Their study provides a model for understanding the globalization of football (soccer) and the movement of labor (players), in addition to having conducted indepth interviews with foreign professional players based in England. The material from these interviews elucidates some of the key

experiential links between sports and labor migration. In a response to Magee and Sugden's (2002) critique of his earlier work, Maguire (2004: 480) argues that "sport labor migration research certainly needs further conceptual and empirical development and could benefit from dialogue with the wider migration literature.

In "Common ground? links between sports history, sports geography and the sociology of sport," Maguire calls for the attention of historians and sociologists who possess the techniques of both disciplines. He further argues: "given that structured processes occur across time and space, it would be useful for geographers to be involved in this common pursuit" (Maguire 1995: 23). Latin Americanist Joseph Arbena, who teaches both history and geography at Clemson University, considers the international migration of sports talent into, out of, and within Latin America. In "Dimensions of international talent migration in Latin American sports," he argues that push-pull factors should be explored from both cultural and historical perspectives, not just economic and political ones (Arbena 1994: 107). When examining "Meaning and joy in Latin American sports," Arbena (2000: 83) focuses upon the reasons why particular sports are adopted within a culture and assume importance to people within specific areas. Recently also edited, with David LaFrance, *Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Arbena and LaFrance 2002), an overview of the development of modern sport that examines its role in the political, economic, and social life of the region.

In a project in Aotearoa/New Zealand closer to my thesis research, Te'evale (2001) explores the role and importance of sports in national society and how games such as rugby football, in particular, have created a Pacific identity. She notes this as being partly due to the increased and visible presence of Samoans, Tongans, and other Pacific Islanders on the New Zealand *All Blacks* (ABs), the national rugby team. As a result, this game has become a

signifier of New Zealand identity both within the country and from abroad. Te'evale observes that sport is the one domain where Pacific Islanders are highly visible in New Zealand society, generating pride and identity especially among Samoans, Tongans, and Cook Islanders. Through sport, Pacific Islanders in New Zealand are able to show and share their culture with other groups, just as in the American context football and Samoans are often seen to be inextricably linked.

In the United States, most benign or closer social contact with Samoan football players comes primarily through athletics and college education, while any familiarity of Americans with Samoans and their culture is primarily limited to television, print media, and what is read on the Internet. The *All Blacks* are also examined by Grainger (2006: 57), who argues that the team “exemplifies, and contributes to, a thinly veiled, veneer of multiculturalism that obfuscates the cultural politics of race and nation embodied in, and played out through, the game of rugby.” He further asserts that the growing number of Samoans on the *All Blacks* in particular and within New Zealand rugby generally “does not necessarily indicate the incorporation of Samoanness or ‘Polynesianness’ within the meaning of New Zealand’s national identity (Ibid).”

In another study based in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Jackson and Hokowhitu (2002: 138) argue that “within the context of global capitalism, the struggle to maintain and protect cultural spaces where identities can be constructed and affirmed will become increasingly difficult.” They illustrate this point by discussing the marketing agreement that the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) has with Adidas and the consequent appropriation for commercial gain of the *haka*, a cultural symbol and practice of the indigenous Maori. Mitchell (2000a: 294) notes that culture is both a source of power and a source of

domination, so that culture is “both flux and stability, both a set of constantly changing relationships and a socially produced thing.” Without discounting the huge significance of the *haka* to the Maori, its performance and marketing may also be viewed in a less pessimistic light and as an assertion of volition and power.

In a companion paper, Hokowhitu (2003: 21) argues that the notion of minority players rising economically and socially through their athletic ability “shackles people of color to the physical realm and prevents them from being self-determining.” He asserts that the adoption of imperial sports — rugby in New Zealand and football in American Samoa, for example — is a form of acculturation and a further example of colonialization. In the Samoan context, football in the territory of American Samoa likely originated with youngsters watching US Navy personnel, but gradually has been adopted by Samoans as something of their own. The meaning of the game within Samoan culture is being continually redefined and has become a vehicle of opportunity for young people to leave Tutuila to see a larger world, making possible advanced formal education through skills on the football field.

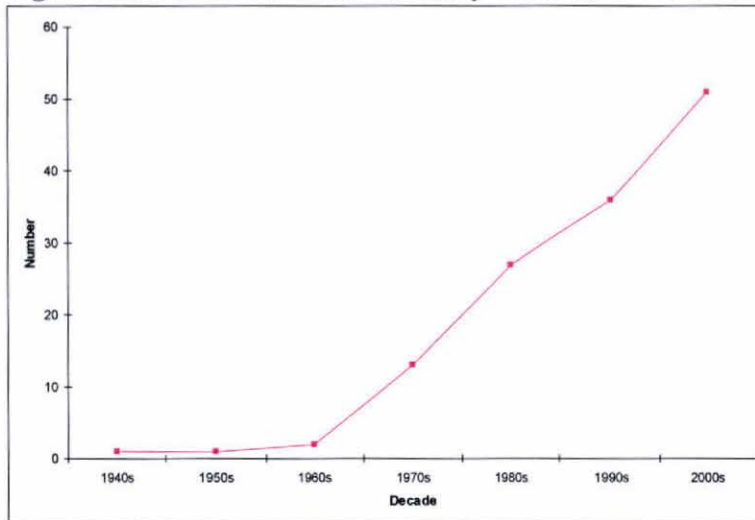
The issue of Maori masculinity is also a concern for Hokowhitu (2004: 272), since “Polynesian males are seen as raw materials to be captured, brought under *Pakeha* (white) control, and molded into commodity.” It goes without saying that Polynesian athletes, like rugby and football players, are a commodity sought by sports teams through the skills they possess. But at the professional level all athletes, regardless of race, are commodities. Hokowhitu ignores the fact that every athlete has a personal choice to play or not, both on the field and in the arena of sport. Athletes in general do not view themselves as victims of an underlying colonial process, for sometimes academics can read too much into the meanings of sport.

In the next chapter we will shift beyond the maps, charts, and other generalizations of sports geography to situate myself in the subculture of Polynesian football. This will be done by exploring the case and ethnographies of the particular before delving into narratives from 15 life histories of players past and present. The history of Samoans in collegiate and professional football over the last 60 years will be described to draw out commonalities over time, as well as to reveal the uniqueness of individual players. The chapter will then end by discussing how field interviews were undertaken to gain greater perspective and insight into the process of Samoan movement and the significance of football in the Samoan community.

CHAPTER THREE: CASES AND SEARCHES FOR MEANING

Over the last six decades, the National Football League (NFL) has seen a steady increase in the number of Samoans playing, beginning with Al Lolotai in 1945, to 51 for this decade through the 2006 season (Figure XI). Very few played in the league from the 1940s to the 1960s, because the number of Samoans living in Hawai'i and the mainland United States was small before their first, large-scale movement in 1951 from American Samoa. Not until the late 1960s and early 1970s did the children from that initial movement begin to make their presence felt in the college game, primarily at universities located in the western United States. Thirteen of those college athletes matriculated to the NFL in the 1970s and they represented the first visible emergence of Samoans. In the 2000s, at the present pace, the

Figure XI: Samoans in the NFL, by decade, 1940s to 2000s

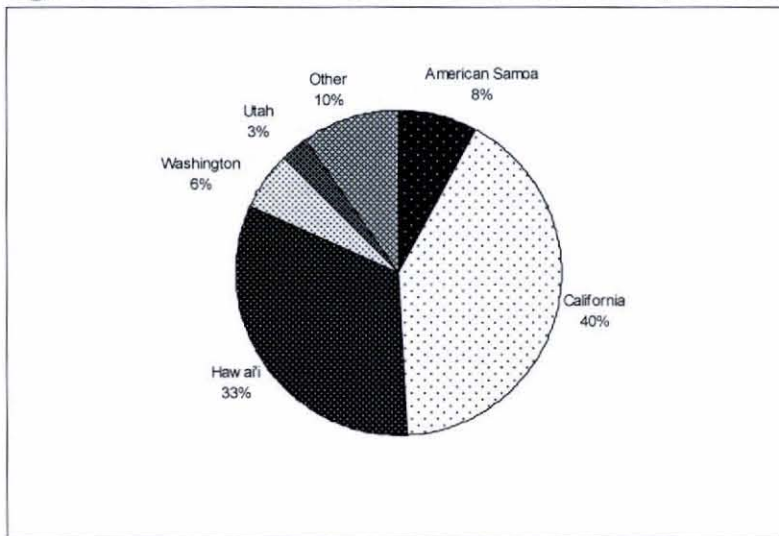


Source: Appendix IV

number of them playing in the NFL will double from that of the previous decade, a dramatic shift which last occurred between the 1970s and the 1980s (Appendix IV).

In the past six decades, nearly three quarters of Samoans in the NFL have come from the home states of California and Hawai'i (Figure XII), many of whom attended high schools in their communities of Honolulu, Carson, Long Beach, and Oceanside. American Samoa stands out with eight percent of those who have played in the NFL, despite football not being introduced into the territory before the 1960s and only six high schools on the main island of Tutuila fielding teams. It is likely the number of players from the territory playing

Figure XII: Home States of Samoans in the NFL, 1946-2006



Source: Appendix IV

collegiate and professional football will continue to increase, because recruiters now regard the area as fertile ground. Likewise other states with smaller numbers, such as Utah and Washington, have growing Samoan populations that can produce collegiate football players and potentially more who graduate to the NFL.

During the past six decades, 16 different player states sent Samoans to the NFL, with almost nine out of ten attending colleges in western states: California, Utah, Hawai'i, Washington, Arizona. The remainder went to schools in the midwest and plains states, but remarkably none were from player states in the south or atlantic east, home to many of the

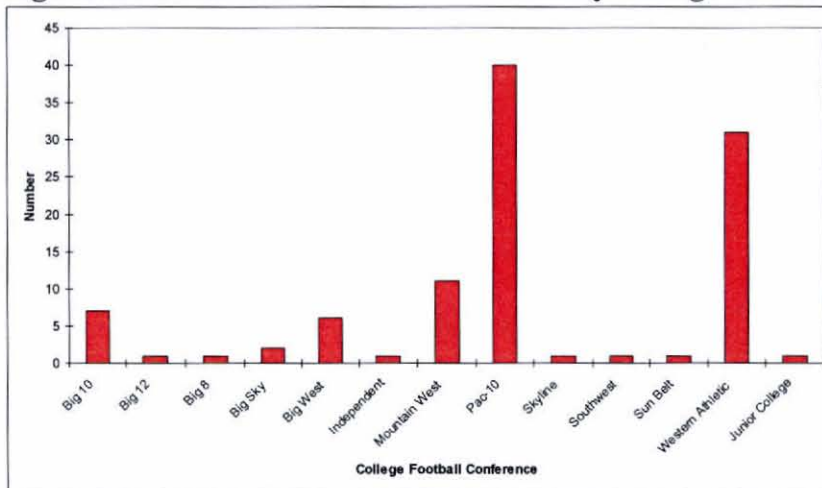
nation's great football programs. California and Hawai'i, as player states at the professional level, are both the source and the destination of collegiate players. Colleges in Utah and Washington supplement local Samoan talent with others from out of state, primarily California, Hawai'i and, to a lesser extent, American Samoa. Arizona and Arizona State, without the luxury of a large, local Samoan population, are forced to compete with programs throughout the west, as in Utah and Washington, even increasingly other areas of the country.

Over the last 60 years, BYU, Hawai'i, and USC led the way in sending the most Samoans to the NFL. The storied football history of USC has seen it recruit some of the top Samoan players out of high school, many of whom became All-Americans in college and later Pro Bowl selections. The University of Hawai'i has been similarly successful because, traditionally, numerous Samoans have been recruited from local high schools, while ownership of BYU by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) means that athletes have been drawn from both Utah and out-of-state. The location of Salt Lake City in Utah, home of the LDS church, and a growing Polynesian population, also makes attractive other schools such as the University of Utah. With its current coaching staff, it is likely the University of Hawai'i will continue to have the largest number of Samoans in college football. This reflects not only its location but also the program's emphasis on being Polynesia's team, which is a positive call to local Samoans, Hawaiians, and Tongans as well as many from out-of-state.

Schools in the Pac-10 conference such as Arizona, Arizona State, UCLA, and Washington, which have recruited Samoans since the 1970s, continue to be competitive throughout the western United States, Hawai'i, and American Samoa (Figure XIII). In the

coming years, this conference will continue to send even more Samoans to the NFL given the large number of top-level players. The Western Athletic Conference (WAC), buoyed by the University of Hawai'i, continues to produce professional football players by virtue of the great number of Samoans in its program and of the strength of that team. An ancillary effect of Hawai'i is that other schools in the league (San Jose State, Boise State) have begun to emphasize recruiting from both the State of Hawai'i and those Polynesian communities primarily in the west. Likewise, BYU and Utah lead the way in recruiting Samoans for the Mountain West Conference (MWC), but constantly compete with San Diego State and UNLV for many of the same players.

Figure XIII: Number of Samoans in NFL by College Conference, 1946-2006



Source: Appendix IV

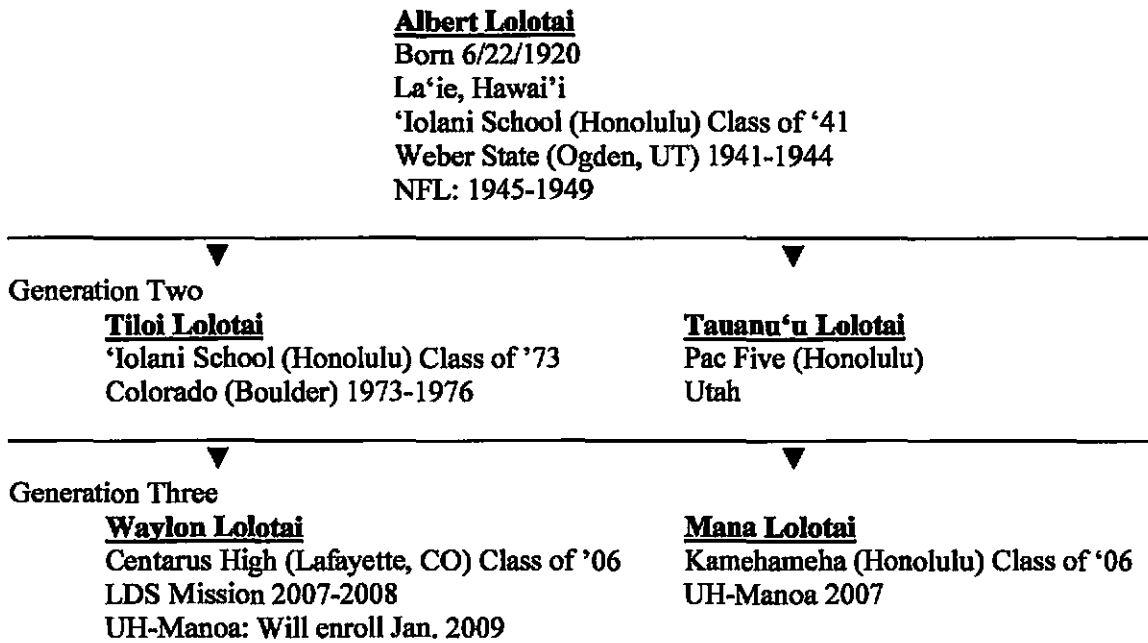
These three conferences (Pac-10, WAC, MWC), with the greatest numbers of Samoans, are facing increased competition from top-level schools throughout the country that view Polynesian athletes as a desirable commodity for their programs. In particular Florida, 2006 NCAA champion, aims to recruit Samoans to Gainesville, since its head coach Urban Meyer was formerly at Utah and coached numerous Polynesians. Reinforcing this

pattern are conferences such as the Big 8 (which became the Big 12), Big West, Skyline, and Southwest that no longer exist and over the decades were absorbed by other conferences. Every year in the fall more and more Samoans are in college programs than the previous season and each season, as a result, more will play in the NFL.

The Lolotai *'aiga* is the first family of Samoan football players to span three generations (Figure XIV). Albert Lolotai, the first Samoan to play in the NFL, was raised in the LDS community of La'ie but attended high school in Honolulu and later college in the state of Utah. Following his five-year career in professional football and later professional wrestling, Lolotai would return home to the north shore of O'ahu to raise a family. Albert's sons Tiloi and Tauanu'u, like their father, did not attend the local high school at Kahuku but instead commuted from "country" to "town," otherwise known as Honolulu, to attend private high schools. The excellence of Tiloi and Tauanu'u on the football field lead them in the 1970s to attend college in Colorado and Utah for both an advanced education and to play football. Tauanu'u's son, Mana, is currently with the University of Hawai'i and will be joined by cousin Waylon in January 2009 when he returns from an LDS mission.

The Anae *'aiga*, also of La'ie, is the only other family to have produced three generations of players in college (Figure XV). Famika Anae is particularly noteworthy, because he is believed to be the first in a long line of Samoans to play at BYU. Three of Anae's sons and two of his grandchildren have also gone on to receive football scholarships from the Provo campus. His son, Robert, is presently the offensive coordinator at BYU and in 2009 will be joined by grandson Famika II, following his LDS mission.

Figure XIV: Lolotai 'Aiga: Genealogy of Samoan Football Players



Samoan Football Players: Chronicle of Early Pioneers

1940s

In recent years, much has been written on the rise of Samoans in collegiate and professional football but most Samoans, in addition to the general public, have scant knowledge that Polynesians have been a part of the game for more than six decades. When a chronology is compiled of key moments for Samoan football players between 1945 and 2007, it reveals an impressive level of commitment and accomplishments for student athletes of any ancestry (Table IV).

In 1945, Al Lolotai became the first professional Samoan in the NFL with the Washington Redskins and ironically, despite his “brown skin,” played at a time (1934-1946) when African Americans were excluded from the game. Lolotai was first recruited from “the country” of north shore O’ahu (Appendix IV). After high school, Lolotai attended Weber State in Ogden, Utah since World War II meant the University of Hawai‘i did not field a

Table IV: Chronology of Samoan Football Players, 1945-2007

1945	Al Lolotal first Samoan to play National Football League (NFL) for Washington Redskins
1950	Charley Ane selected Junior College All-American at Compton Community College (CA)
1953	Charley Ane wins first of two NFL championships with Detroit Lions
1954	Famika Anae believed to be first Samoan to play at Brigham Young University (BYU)
1955	Gilbert Ane and Compton Community College (CA), a mixed team, play against Ellenville Junior College (Miss) in Junior Rose Bowl
1961	Leo Reed of Denver Broncos becomes first Kahuku high school graduate to play in NFL
1963	Ray Schoenke of Dallas Cowboys becomes first Samoan to play in NFL after graduation from high school in mainland United States
1965	Bob Apisa is first Samoan to be named All-American at Michigan State
1966	First live television broadcast of college football game in Hawai'i includes Bob Apisa of Michigan State
1972	Junior Ah You starts 10-year career with Montreal in Canadian Football League (CFL)
1974	Mosi Tatupu wins collegiate National Championship at USC
1975	Kale Ane of Kansas City Chiefs and son of Charley Ane becomes first father-son tandem in NFL
1977	Wilson Faumuina from San Jose State selected in first round by Atlanta Falcons
1978	Joe Paopao begins eleven-year career in CFL with British Columbia
1978	Mosi Tatupu begins fourteen-year career in NFL with New England Patriots
1979	Matt Elisara of Washington State first American Samoa high school graduate (Leone) to play Division I football
1979	Jack "The Throwin' Samoan" Thompson from Washington State selected third overall by Cincinnati Bengals
1982	Bob Edwards and Moamoa Vaeao of Samoa are first American Samoa high school graduates to play at University of Hawai'i

- 1984 Jesse Sapolu wins first of four Super Bowl rings with San Francisco 49ers
- 1988 Carson's Arnold Ale named high school All-American and is first Samoan to play at Notre Dame
- 1989 Junior Seau named All-American at USC
- 1991 San Diego Charger's Junior Seau named to first of 12 consecutive Pro Bowl games
- 1997 St Louis' Tony Tata named high school All-American and later plays at Nebraska
- 2000 Junior Ioane is first high school graduate of Samoan descent from Utah to play in NFL
- 2003 Gabe Reid and Spencer Reid become first brothers from American Samoa high schools to play in NFL
- 2003 Lofa Tatupu named All-American and wins first of two of National Championships at USC
- 2004 Pittsburgh Steelers' Troy Polamalu named to first of four consecutive Pro Bowl games
- 2004 Cleveland Browns' Kennedy Pola is first Samoan coach in NFL
- 2005 Robert Anae named offensive coordinator at BYU
- 2007 Ken Niumatalolo of US Naval Academy is first head Samoan football coach in NCAA Division

team from 1942 to 1945. When his career ended in 1949, Lolotai began wrestling professionally, an occupation embarked on by other Samoan collegiate football players like Matt Anoa'i (Hawai'i), Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson (Miami-Fla), and Afa Anoa'i Jr (Connecticut). In the 1950s, Lolotai is credited with being one the forerunners for Samoans in wrestling, even before Peter Maivia (grandfather of Dwayne Johnson) gained recognition in the 1960s. Lolotai was also physical education teacher at Church College of Hawai'i, BYU- Hawai'i and in the early 1970s worked a few years for the Department of Education in American Samoa after the introduction of football to the territory.

1950s

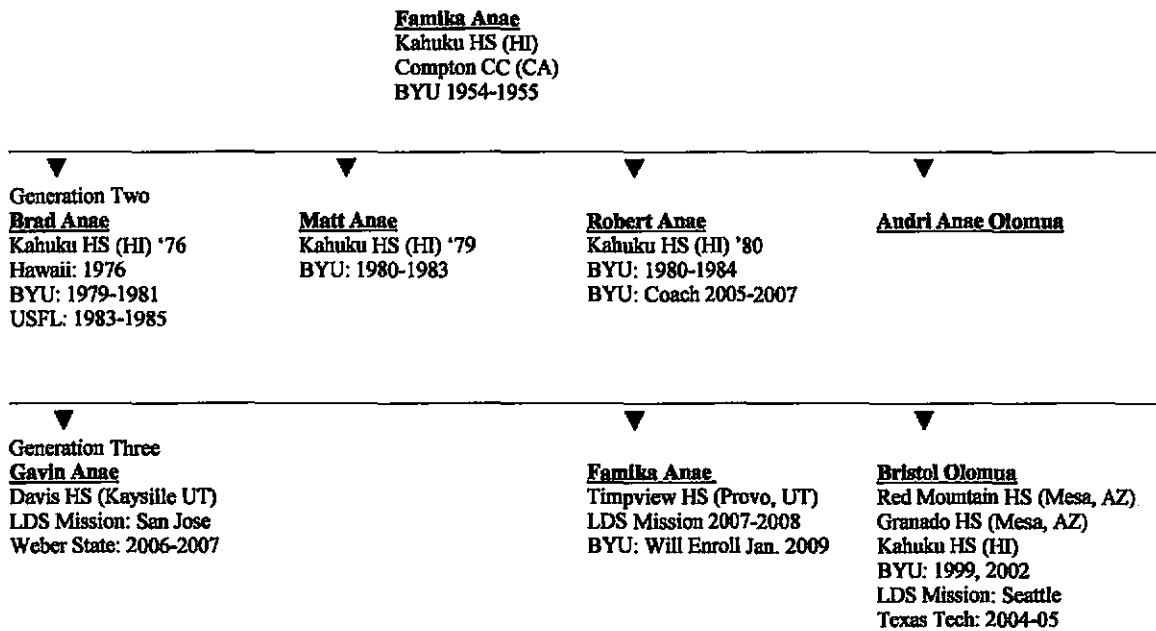
Despite the official integration of African-Americans back into the game in 1946, as late as the 1960s most universities south of the “Mason-Dixon Line” and not historically black colleges continued to exclude non-Whites from attending and playing. Perhaps indirectly as a result, every Samoan collegiate player from the 1940s through to the 1970s attended schools west of the Mississippi and/or located in the midwest.

Charley Ane of Honolulu was the only Samoan to play professionally in the 1950s. Ane, part Samoan, Hawaiian, and Chinese like many after him, took a circuitous route to the NFL. A three-sport star in football, basketball, and baseball at prestigious Punahou School in Honolulu, Ane went to Compton Community College (CA), where he was later selected a Junior College All-American offensive lineman before transferring to nearby USC. In 1953, he would be drafted by the Detroit Lions, where he had a seven-year playing career, was twice named an All Pro, and in 1953 and 1957 helped lead the Lions to the NFL championship. Ane’s brother, Gilbert, followed Charley from Punahou to Compton. He helped break the color barrier in 1955, when his team competed in the Junior Rose Bowl against Ellisville Junior College, the first football team in Mississippi to be drawn against a team with minority players (Table IV).

Following an NFL career, Charley Ane became an educator and football coach at Punahou, his alma mater, where he had the opportunity to coach sons Kale and Neal, both of whom played collegiately at Michigan State and BYU. In the 1970s, eldest son Kale followed his father to the NFL for seven years to become the first father and son of Samoan ancestry in the league. Today, Kale Ane is athletic director of Punahou and also the head football coach, while brother Neal is an assistant coach in Honolulu at a public high school.

Famika Anae, from Kahuku High School on north shore O'ahu, would follow the Ane family to Compton Community College and from 1954-1955 became the first Samoan to play football at BYU (Figure XV). In 1913, Anae's family had moved from Samoa to La'ie, Hawai'i to help build the Mormon Temple, unlike many Samoan families who emigrated to the United States from American Samoa after 1951. The significance of Anae's collegiate career at BYU-Provo is that, since that time and excluding Hawai'i, BYU became the most aggressive recruiter of Samoans, Hawaiians, Tongans, and other Pacific Islanders from Hawai'i, the mainland United States, and American Samoa. Following college, Anae went on to coach at Kahuku from 1967 to 1972, including his sons Brad, Robert, and Matt — all three of whom would play at BYU. For three seasons, Brad was with the United States Football League (USFL), a rival of the NFL that operated from 1983 to 1985. After helping win a national championship at BYU in 1984, Robert decided against professional football. Instead he embarked on a twenty-year coaching journey throughout the western United States, including a stint at Texas Tech, where he coached his nephew Bristol Olomua (2004). Today Robert, as offensive coordinator at BYU, is an active recruiter of Polynesians including his son, Famika Anae II, who accepted an athletic scholarship in spring 2007.

Figure XV: Anae 'Aiga: Genealogy of Samoan Football Players



1960s

Leo Reed and Ray Schoenke were the only Samoans to play professional football in the 1960s. Reed was the first Samoan from Kahuku to graduate to the NFL, a significant event when that school is now recognized as having one of the top programs in the country. In 2006, there were six Kahuku graduates in the NFL, including Samoans Tonia Fonoti and Itula Mili (Appendix IV). Following a collegiate career at Colorado State, Reed had one season in the NFL and another two years in the Canadian Football League (CFL). Over the past forty years, a smaller number of Samoans unable to penetrate the NFL opted to play north of the border in Canada. The most notable, Junior Ah You, played for ten years (1972-1981) and is a member of the CFL Hall of Fame.

Schoenke was the first Samoan in the NFL to graduate from a high school in the mainland United States. Son of a Caucasian military man and a part-Samoan mother

(*afakasi*), he attended Punahou before completing a senior season at Weatherford High School in Texas, where his father was relocated by the Air Force. Schoenke went to nearby Southern Methodist University (SMU) in suburban Dallas, then was professionally with the Dallas Cowboys in 1963-64 and for another ten years with the Washington Redskins. After football, both Schoenke and Reed had successful careers: Schoenke as an insurance broker and politician; Reed as a Honolulu police officer, later a Hollywood Teamsters leader. Reed's sons, Dewey and Leo Jr, both held scholarships at the University of Hawai'i but Leo Jr later transferred and completed his athletic career at UNLV.

It was in the decade of the sixties that Bob Apisa of Michigan State, a fullback from Farrington High in Honolulu, became the first Samoan twice named as an All-American (1965, 1966). Apisa was drafted by the Green Bay Packers in 1969 but never reached the field, due to a chronic knee injury that today modern medicine probably would have fixed. He had come from American Samoa to Hawai'i as a young boy, was a star at Farrington in four sports (football, basketball, baseball, track), and the first Samoan recruited at Michigan State. Apisa was noticed by Duffy Daugherty who, during his nineteen-year career at East Lansing, made his name as a national recruiter. That included 10 players from the Interscholastic League of Honolulu (ILH), among them Samoans Jim Nicholson (Saint Louis) and Kale Ane (Punahou). Nicholson and Ane would become teammates for five seasons with the Kansas City Chiefs, later to be joined in 1979 by a third Samoan, Frank Manumaleuna. During his career, Apisa would help lead the Spartans of Michigan State to a national championship in 1966 and in that same year played in what came to be dubbed the "Game of the Century," when Notre Dame ranked number one was defeated. That game

would be the first televised live to the State of Hawai'i, largely because of huge interest in local football players at Michigan State (Table IV).

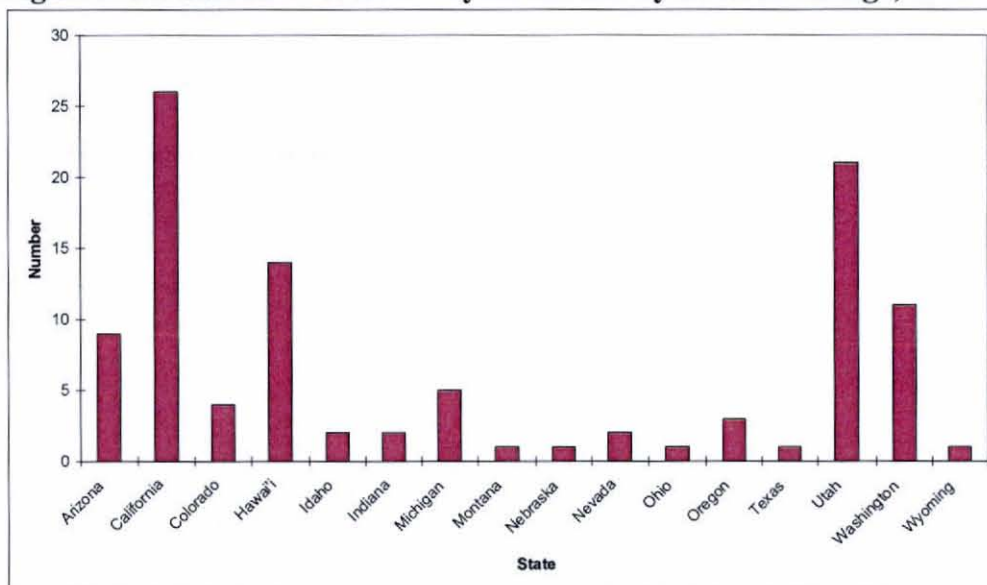
1970s

This decade sees the first large-scale movement of Samoans into college and professional football, with most players either born in American Samoa or the children of first-generation immigrants. In the 1970s, except for Jack Thompson from Seattle and Mekeli Ieremia from Sleepy Hollow, New York, every Samoan who played in NFL games came from Hawai'i or California. This reflected where the population had settled and where visible communities had emerged, primarily in and around Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco. High schools such as Banning (Wilmington, CA), Carson (CA), Farrington (Honolulu), Oceanside (CA), and Punahou (Honolulu) produced many of these early Samoan stars.

Not including Michigan State's Ane and Nicholson, 10 of the 12 universities at which Samoans held collegiate scholarships were located in the western United States. This trend continued over the next forty years, with only three player states (Indiana, Michigan, Ohio) not in the west or on the plains (Figure XVI). The Pac-10 led all conferences in the decade, with Terry Tautolo (UCLA), Mosi Tatupu (USC), Jack Thompson (Washington State), and Manu Tuiasosopo (UCLA) playing professionally. In addition, Mekeli Ieremia and Keith Uperesa were the first Samoans to attend BYU and make NFL rosters.

The family connections first seen among Samoan athletes in the 1960s became more evident during this decade. Apart from the Ane brothers, the Ah You brothers (Junior, Charlie) played at Arizona State and BYU; the Paopao brothers (Anthony, Joe, Junior) at

Figure XVI: Samoan Football Players in NFL by State of College, 1946-2006



Source: Appendix IV

UCLA, Long Beach State, and San Diego State; the Tautolo brothers (John, Ray, Terry) at UCLA; and the Uperesa brothers (Keith, Kevin) at BYU and the University of California. Tu'ufuli "Duke" Uperesa, a cousin of Keith and Kevin, took a less traveled path in football from 'Aiea high school (HI) to the University of Montana, which plays in Division I-AA. The Philadelphia Eagles drafted him in 1970, where he remained on their roster for three seasons, with a further six years in the CFL. The career of Joe "The Throwin' Samoan" Paopao, who attended Oceanside High School and Long Beach State, focused on the CFL for a successful 11 years through to the 1980s, followed by coaching for a further 17 years. Duke Uperesa's son, Derek, from Samoana High in Pago Pago, transferred from St Francis University, in Loretto, Pennsylvania to currently be with Hawai'i. Dane Uperesa, son of Kevin, attended Punahou like his father, recently finished college years at Hawai'i, and is a member of the practice squad for the Cincinnati Bengals. Dane's uncle, Keith, currently coaches at UNLV, having 20 years of experience that spans high school to junior college to four-year colleges. Like their father, Charlie Ah You's sons CJ and Matt attended BYU after

graduating from Lone Peak High School in Utah (Highland). CJ would transfer from BYU to Snow College (Ephraim, Utah). There, he was named a Junior College All-American and later, at Oklahoma, selected to the All Big 12 Conference, the first Samoan to play in such a storied football program. CJ was drafted by the Buffalo Bills in 2007, but was released before the start of the regular season.

During the seventies, Mosi Tatupu (USC), Manu Tuiasosopo (UCLA), and Frank Manumaleuna (San Jose State), fathers of current NFL players Lofa Tatupu, Marques Tuiasosopo, Zach Tuiasosopo, and Brandon Manumaleuna, all had successful college and professional careers (Appendix IV). In 1974, Mosi Tatupu won a national championship at USC and went on to a fourteen-year career, primarily as a special team's player. His son, Lofa, also helped win two national championships at USC (2003, 2004), became an All-American for the USC Trojans, and in his first two professional seasons was a Pro Bowl player with the Seattle Seahawks. Between 1975 and 1978 Manu Tuiasosopo, who joined cousins John and Terry Tautolo at UCLA, was selected for the first team of the All Pac-10. He played professional football for eight years, helping to win a Super Bowl in 1984 with the San Francisco 49ers. With Terry Tautolo, Frank Manumaleuna played one season at UCLA, before transferring to De Anza College (Cupertino, CA) and then to San Jose State, where he was an all-conference linebacker. He would go on to three NFL seasons, then in the mid 1980s another three seasons with the USFL. Manumaleuna's former coach, Dick Tomey, was at UCLA from 1971 to 1976 and later recruited Frank's son, Brandon, to play for him at Arizona. In 2007, Brandon Manumaleuna is with the San Diego Chargers and beginning his seventh year in the league.

The Tuiasosopo family spans only two generations, but is remarkable for the number of first and second cousins who have played college and professional football. Five sets of first cousins from the south bay area of Los Angeles have gone on to be part of the collegiate game (Figure XVII). Manu Tuiasosopo had a strong, seven-year career in the NFL and raised three boys and one daughter, all of whom went on to play professionally in three sports:

Figure XVII: Tuiasosopo 'Aiga: Genealogy of Samoan Football Players

First Cousins

Manu Tuiasosopo
St Anthony (Long Beach)
UCLA: 1975-1978
NFL: 1979-1986
*Sons Marques and Zach

Ra'samala Tagaloa
Bishop Montgomery (CA)
Orange Coast CC (CA)
Cal: 1988-1989

Mike Tuiasosopo
Banning High (Wilmington, CA)
Pacific Lutheran (CA)
Coach: Arizona
*Nephew Conan Amituana'i

Pete Tuiasosopo
Banning High (Wilmington, CA)
Sacramento State: 1993

Peter Tuiasosopo
Banning High
Cal Poly-San Luis Obispo

Sina Tuiasosopo
*Sons Trenton, Tyler

Navy Tuiasosopo
Banning High (Wilmington, CA)
Utah State: 1983-1986
NFL: 1987
*Nephew Conan Amituana'i

Titus Tuiasosopo
Banning High (Wilmington, CA)
USC: 1990-1992
*Son Romalah
*Nephew Conan Amituana'i

Aima Tuiasosopo Amituana'i
*Brothers Mike, Navy, Titus
*Son Conan Amituana'i

Second Cousins

Leslie Tuiasosopo
Woodinville HS (WA)
Washington (VB): 1995-1998
US National VB Team 1999-2000
Professional VB: Spain 2000-2001
Coach Washington (VB)
*Father Manu

Conan Amituana'i
Long Beach Poly
Arizona: 2006-2007
*Uncles Mike, Navy, Titus Tuiasosopo

Marques Tuiasosopo
Woodinville HS (WA)
Washington: 1997-2000
NFL: 2001-2007
*Father Manu

Romalah Tuiasosopo
Antelope Valley HS (CA)
Franklin HS (Stockton, CA)
Paradeiro HS (CA)
2008 Recruit
*Father Titus

Zach Tuiasosopo
Woodinville HS (WA)
Washington: 2000-2004
NFL: 2005-2006
*Father Manu

Matt Tuiasosopo
Woodinville HS (WA)
Washington FB Recruit
Seattle Organization (MLB): 2004-2007
*Father Manu

Trenton Tuiasosopo
Mariner High (Everett, WA)
Washington: 2004-2007
*Father Sina

Tyler Tuiasosopo
Mariner High (Everett, WA)
2008 College Recruit
*Father Sina

football (Marques, Zach), baseball (Matt), and volleyball (Leslie). Trenton, the son of Manu's brother Sina, holds a scholarship at the University of Washington where he played a season with cousin Zach. The older sister of Zach, Leslie, is a former volleyball player also for Washington and currently an assistant coach on the Seattle campus. For the Tuiasosopos of California, the potential for football players in the next generation is greater since they are younger than their cousins in the state of Washington. In 2006 Mike Tuiasosopo, an assistant coach at Arizona, recruited the son of his sister Aima, Conan Amituana'i, from Long Beach Polytechnic to Tucson (Figure XVII).

Of all 13 Samoans who played NFL football in the 1970s, 10 were drafted and continued in the league through the 1990s. Wilson Faumuina, Jack Thompson, and Manu Tuiasosopo were all selected in the first round. In 1977, Wilson Faumuina was chosen twentieth overall by the Atlanta Falcons and played professionally for five years before dying prematurely in 1986, at the age of thirty two. To the present day, Jack "The Throwin' Samoan" Thompson is the Samoan selected highest in the NFL draft. In 1979, he was the third overall pick by the Cincinnati Bengals, following his All-American selection the previous year at Washington State. The same year, Manu Tuiasosopo was chosen later in the first round by the Seattle Seahawks. Another five players (Kale Ane, Mekeli Ieremia, Jerry Scanlan, Terry Tautolo, Keith Uperesa) would be placed on NFL rosters as free agents.

1980s

Between the 1970s and 1980s, the number of Samoans playing in the National Football League increased dramatically from 12 to 27, partly as a result of the players strike in 1987. David Aupiu, David Fonoti, Chris Matau, Peter Noga, Casey Tiumalu, and Navy

Tuiasosopo were signed by NFL teams as replacement players during those three weeks. The formation of a rival league, the USFL, which existed from 1983 to 1985, gave them more professional opportunities. During those three years, 11 actually played and another seven were drafted but did not. High schools Kahuku (HI) and Carson (CA) continued to produce future talent by sending a total of five graduates to the USFL.

Throughout the 1980s, Samoan communities in Hawai'i and California continued to grow in size and to produce the vast majority of collegiate and professional football players. Honolulu high schools Farrington, Punahou, and 'Iolani had 10 former students graduate to the NFL, including Jesse Sapolu (Farrington) and Mark Tuinei (Punahou), both teammates at the University of Hawai'i. These two offensive linemen excelled in the league from 1983 to 1997, were each selected for two Pro Bowls, and together won seven Super Bowl rings. Four of these were awarded to Sapolu while he was with the San Francisco 49ers (Table IV). Both public and private schools in urban Honolulu continued to play an influential role in collegiate football. Farrington, unlike Punahou and 'Iolani, is a public school. Historically, its enrollments are working class and include many immigrant and minority pupils, many of whom live in the public housing complexes of the Kalihi area. For decades, private schools such as Punahou, 'Iolani, and Saint Louis have awarded scholarships to students of lesser means, some of whom were also good athletes.

During the 1980s, Los Angeles County high schools Banning (Wilmington), Carson, Millikan (Long Beach), and St Anthony (Long Beach) produced eight NFL players. Banning and Carson, arch rivals on Friday nights, are located within less than three miles of each other, field teams where relatives and friends play one another, then on Sundays go to the same Samoan churches. Rivalry peaked during this decade, when the two schools combined

for seven LA City championships (Carson with four) and provided numerous Samoan athletes to the Pac-10 and WAC conferences. These included future professional players Arnold Ale (Carson), Carlson Leomiti (Banning), Chris Matau (Carson), Morris Unutoa (Carson), and Navy Tuiasosopo (Banning). During the 1980s, one third of the 27 Samoans in the NFL were from either San Diego county or the San Francisco Bay area, including *afakasi* brothers Mike and Glenn Kozlowski who attended high schools in Encinitas and Carlsbad. Following Terry and John Tautolo in 1981, the Kozlowskis were the second set of Samoan brothers to play professionally.

The 1980s also marked the arrival of Samoan athletes whose collegiate experience followed matriculation from high schools in American Samoa and New Zealand. Matt Elisara, who played at Washington State from 1979 to 1981, came from Leone High School on Tutuila and was perhaps the first graduate of a school in American Samoa to be associated with Division I college football. In 1981, Elisara was selected to the All Pac-10 team and in 1983 went on to play one USFL season for the Denver Gold. He returned to Washington and subsequently went into education as a principal and assistant coach. His son, Cameron, plays football for the University of Washington, arch rival of his father's alma mater. Cameron's older brother, Travis, also briefly played football at New Mexico and Washington State.

The University of Hawai'i also had its first recruits from American Samoa this decade: brothers Bob and Tala Edwards, and Moamoa Vaeao, from Samoana in Pago Pago (Figure II). After graduating from Hawai'i, Vaeao returned to Tutuila to become a successful high school coach at Samoana, including coaching former students and professional football players: Isa'ako Sopoaga (San Francisco 49ers), Domata Peko (Cincinnati Bengals), and Matt Toeaina (Cincinnati Bengals). One of Vaeao's teammates with the Rainbows (today

known as the Warriors) was Mark Nua, a former rugby player, shot put and discus thrower from Auckland, New Zealand. Nua later spent time on the training camp rosters of the Detroit Lions and the San Diego Chargers, then shifted to the World Football League, the predecessor to NFL Europe. This league, which existed from 1991 to 2007, was essentially an off-season developmental league and gave athletes the opportunity to secure more playing time and to improve fundamental skills.

A number of brothers played collegiately in the 1980s. In California, these included Arnold (Notre Dame/UCLA) and Leroy Ale (Oregon), Kennedy Pola (USC) and Aoatoa Polamalu (Penn State), Dan (Arizona State), Granville (Hawai'i), and Wes Saleaumua (Utah); at the University of Hawai'i, Benson and Nick Ma'afala, Al, Niko, and Peter Noga, Mark and Tom Tuinei; as well as Alan and Thor Salanoa at BYU. Today, some of them have children involved with football at the high school, collegiate, and professional levels and acknowledge their good fortune by coaching youth, high school, college, even professional teams. Kennedy Pola, assistant running backs coach, with the Jacksonville Jaguars, is the first and only Samoan to coach in the NFL. This follows a collegiate career that took him from Mater Dei in Santa Ana, California to USC, where he played for four years and would later coach his nephew, Troy Polamalu.

College football coaches of Samoan ancestry include: Ken Niumatalolo (Navy), Ricky Logo (Vanderbilt), Mike Fanoga (New Mexico State), and Joe Seumalo (Oregon State). The high academic standards of the Naval Academy make it one of the hardest schools to recruit student athletes, compounded by the military commitment required of cadets. Nonetheless, Niumatalolo has successfully attracted a handful of Samoans and Hawaiians from California, Maryland, Hawai'i, and American Samoa. Conversely Joe

Seumalo, who coaches in the Pac-10 Conference and draws players primarily from California, has an ample supply of Polynesians but faces ever increasing competition from colleges that identify the same athletes. Seumalo and the Oregon State staff have been extremely successful in securing Polynesians, having the most in the conference. Mike Fanoga, a journeyman coach throughout his 20 years in the game, has been remarkable at attracting Samoans to schools off-the-beaten-path schools like Iowa Wesleyan, Western Kentucky, and New Mexico State. He was also one of the first coaches to recruit players directly from American Samoa. Ricky Logo followed a different path and earned his reputation without primary reference to Samoan or Polynesian athletes. After attending high school in Columbus, Georgia and being a college player at North Carolina State, his entire coaching career has been in the south at Tennessee-Chattanooga and Troy State (Alabama).

Throughout the 1980s the western United States, and especially the Pac-10 and WAC conferences, were host to the most Samoans involved with football. Apart from Kale Ane from Michigan State, in the league through to the 1981 season, every Samoan player in the NFL came from the west. The WAC would lead all conferences in producing 13 of the 27 Samoans who entered professional football (Hawai'i 8, BYU 4). Of the eight UH players, five were brothers: Al, Niko, and Pete Noga; Mark and Tom Tuinei. In 1986, Al Noga became the first Samoan All-American to come from UH, during a decade in which George Achica and Junior Seau would also be selected from the University of Southern California. Achica chose to play for the LA Express (USFL) from 1983 to 1985 and later had one NFL season for the Indianapolis Colts. In 1989, Seau from Oceanside high became Pac-10 defensive player of the year and was selected an All-American. He left USC before his senior year, was chosen in the first round by the San Diego Chargers, and this year begins his

eighteenth NFL season with the New England Patriots. Throughout the 1990s, Junior Seau was the game's premier linebacker and from 1991 to 2002 was selected to 12 consecutive, all star teams. Once he retires from the game and waits five years to gain eligibility, he is widely expected to be the first Samoan inducted into the hall of fame for professional football.

Despite the dominance of the western United States during the 1980s, colleges in other states began recruiting Samoans in greater numbers. Aoatua Polamalu of Mater Dei (Santa Ana) and Arnold Ale of Carson were the first from California to play for nationally-ranked Penn State and Notre Dame (Table IV). Polamalu and Tongan teammate, Tim Manoa, would help win a national championship while at college in rural western Pennsylvania. Notre Dame is unique among universities with a legacy of being able to select "Blue Chip" athletes among top-rated football players out of high school. In 1988 Ale, a high school All-American, had one season at Notre Dame before transferring home to UCLA in southern California. After a short career in the NFL and NFL Europe, today he is an educator and coaches' football at Bishop Montgomery high school in Torrance, California.

Ricky Logo living in Columbus, Georgia, and Lonnie Palelei from Blue Springs, Missouri, both attended college in nearby states. Logo, whose military family was stationed at Ft Benning (GA), was recruited to North Carolina State and subsequently pursued a coaching career in the southeast. Palelei was raised in Blue Springs, adjacent to Independence, Missouri, where Samoan Mormons first began settling in the 1970s. To LDS members, Independence is an important "gathering spot" because Joseph Smith Jr, the first president, declared it the place for a prophesied temple of New Jerusalem for the second coming of Christ. Born in American Samoa, Palelei moved to Los Angeles at the age of 13 and then on to Blue Springs high school, where he became an All-American and was

recruited by Purdue in Lafayette, Indiana (1988-89) before transferring to UNLV. Following a seven year career in the NFL as a journeyman lineman, Palelei played one season in the new XFL, founded by World Wrestling Entertainment owner Vince McMahon. Today, Palelei coaches high school football at Bishop Gorman in Las Vegas, Nevada, where he mentored his nephew Po'u Palelei, who this year signed with Arizona State.

1990s

This decade saw continued growth in the number of Samoans involved in college and professional football, as summarized in the expanded number of home and player states. Most in the NFL continued to come from Hawai'i and California, but others were recruited from different cities and towns across the country. In 1998, Spencer Reid was the first graduate from an American Samoa high school (Leone) to play professionally, but since then there have been nine others. Another subtle change was the presence of Samoan African Americans without Polynesian surnames, such as Tony Banks and Mike Sellers, whom Samoans often claimed as one of their own. This was different from earlier years, when *afakasi* tended to be part *Palagi* (Caucasian), like Jim Nicholson, Mike Kozlowski, Glenn Kozlowski, Mark Tuinei, or Tom Tuinei. In addition, players with roots in Western Samoa carried names that were typically local "Samoan," even if they did not appear so to outsiders: like Leo Reed, Jerry Scanlan, George Achica, Richard Brown, and Ricky Andrews.

Throughout California, the continued expansion and movement of Samoans was increasingly apparent in the number and range of high schools at which potential college and professional athletes were excelling. Orange County became home to many families, where high schools such as Westminster and Mater Dei (Santa Ana) produced NFL players in

Richard Brown, Van Tuinei, and Nicky Sualua. Brown is one of three born in Independent Samoa to follow a professional career, the other two being Jesse Sapolu and Ricky Andrews. Today Brown, who had 10 seasons in the league, resides in Apia, is a *matai* (chief), and works with the national rugby side, Manu Samoa. High schools such as Mater Dei and Long Beach Poly, continually among the top-ranked football programs in the country, have become competitive recruiting grounds every year for college coaches. In NFL history, Long Beach Poly has produced the greatest number of players, mostly African Americans, but over the last 20 years also has sent numerous Samoans to the Pac-10, WAC, and Mountain West conferences.

Samoans first began settling in Oceanside, California after the 1951 migration because of its proximity to the Marine Corps Base at Camp Pendleton. This city has one of the earliest Samoan communities in the United States and is the sister to Pago Pago, capital of American Samoa. Before Junior Seau made Oceanside famous, the Paopao brothers from its high school helped lay the foundations for future Samoan professionals: Sale Isaia, Pulu Poumele, and Joe Salave'a, as well as Pisa Tinoisamoa from nearby Vista and Chris Pino from El Camino (Appendix IV). The Paopaos are known as the first family of football in Oceanside. They span three generations, with many members coaching at the youth and high-school levels, apart from Joe Paopao in the CFL. Joe Salave'a moved to Oceanside during his first year at Leone, American Samoa, in the hope of receiving a better education and perhaps a college scholarship. Salave'a's older brother, Okland, attended Oceanside and joined Vista's Sal Aunese at Colorado on scholarship. After graduating from college, Okland Salave'a returned to American Samoa and is now a coach at Leone High. Aunese, the uncle

of Pisa Tinoisamoa who died prematurely in 1989 from stomach cancer, has a son TC McCartney who is a first-year quarterback at Louisiana State (LSU).

The 1990s was the first decade to witness larger numbers of coaches traveling to American Samoa to recruit students from its high schools. Increasingly, athletes who were academically unqualified and who were not recruited chose to leave Tutuila and attend junior colleges in California, Utah, and Arizona, before transferring later to four-year colleges. Since Okland Salave'a had played at Colorado, Leone High would also send Donnell Leomiti and Sulu Petaia to the Boulder campus. In addition, brothers and Leone graduates Spencer and Gabe Reid of BYU and George and Loo Heather of San Diego State won college scholarships. The Reids became the first brothers from American Samoa to play in the NFL and in 2007 Gabe Reid, with the Chicago Bears, was the first Samoan athlete to be on a Super Bowl team.

Similarly, in this decade, the state of Utah had its first graduates in Junior Ioane and Setema Gali reach the league, following careers at Arizona State and BYU (Table IV). This was surprising since, despite BYU and Utah for decades having Samoans on their teams, none from high schools in Utah had graduated to the NFL. The Samoan population in Utah continued to increase through the 1990s, partly due to their religious affiliation with the LDS church, many of whom settled in the Salt Lake basin. Today, Utah has the fourth largest Samoan population in the country (US Census 2000) and, increasingly, produces top-quality football players. In Washington, by contrast, the Samoan population is concentrated primarily in King and Pierce counties, with Seattle and Tacoma the dominant centers. Justin Ena from Shelton High, Washington, attended BYU and played four seasons in the league, while his three brothers Eti (Eastern Washington), Packy (Oregon State), and Tali Jr (New

Mexico/Washington State) all received college scholarships. After a playing career with the Seattle Seahawks, Manu Tuiasosopo resided in the Seattle suburb of Woodinville, where sons Marques and Zach excelled at multiple sports (football and baseball). Other second-generation players to hold scholarships were brothers: from Kahuku High, Harland and Kingsley Ah You (sons of Junior) who went to BYU, while Malosi and Matt Leonard from Palmdale (CA: sons of Pisa Finai from Kahuku and BYU) attended Arizona and Stanford respectively. Matt Leonard had one professional season.

Mike Sellers, born in Frankfurt, Germany, is the son of an African American serviceman and a Samoan mother. North Thurston high school is located in Lacey, Washington adjacent to Fort Lewis, one of the nation's largest Army bases. As a student, Sellers was a three-sport athlete and state player of the year. Interestingly, he only played junior college football, then as a free agent tried out first for the CFL and subsequently the NFL. The fact that the home states of Fa'amoemoe "Junior" Soli and Anthony Weaver were Georgia and New York respectively, also reflects where their families were stationed or later settled in civilian life. Soli, from Fort Benning, Georgia, played football at Arkansas and was named an All-American, the first Samoan west of the Mississippi. After being drafted by the San Diego Chargers, his only professional involvement was with the AFL. At Saratoga Springs high, Weaver was the second Samoan to play at Notre Dame and the first to be named an All-American. Since his first season in 2002, Weaver has been on the first team for the Baltimore Ravens and Houston Texans.

During the 1990s, states with small Samoan populations like Alaska, Colorado, and Missouri each produced their first NFL player. Luther Ellis from Mancos, Colorado, was an All-American defensive end at Utah and in 1995 was a first round selection by the Detroit

Lions. He was in the league for 10 years and twice selected an all-star. The Magalei brothers, Issiah and Shane, from Wheatridge high school in Denver, both played at BYU while another brother, Zach, signed with the Cougars but did not attend the Provo campus. In Anchorage Mao Tosi and Patrick Augafa, from East and West high schools respectively, both had short stints in the league. Tosi had two seasons with the Arizona Cardinals, after attending Idaho and Butler County community college (El Dorado, Kansas). Augafa participated in two training camps and was allocated by the Washington Redskins to Frankfurt in NFL Europe. The absence of football playing colleges in Alaska forced Augafa and Tosi to attend junior colleges in Kansas (Butler Community College) and Idaho (Ricks College) before accepting scholarships to Iowa State and Idaho (Appendix IV).

For the first time, in this decade, Saint Louis High in Honolulu was ranked nationally and the state of Hawai'i visibly entered the map of national recruiting. Many raised in public housing throughout urban Honolulu received the opportunity of a private education and high school football from Saint Louis, a working class Catholic institution. Chris Fuamatu-Ma'afala, younger brother of Benson and Nick, followed brother Roy to both Saint Louis and the University of Utah, becoming the first Samoan from Saint Louis since Jim Nicholson to play professionally. The Malepeai brothers (Silila, Tasi, Pulou) went on to attend Oregon and help lead the Ducks to the 1994 Rose Bowl, its first appearance in 37 years in this prestigious event. In 1997, Saint Louis' Tony Tata was named a high school All-American and recruited by Nebraska, the defending national champion. Tony Tata is the younger brother of the Malepeais and has another brother, Vae, who similarly attended Saint Louis and later UCLA. During the 1990s, Saint Louis won 10 consecutive state championships and defeated Kahuku high school five times. One marked effect of such athletic prominence and visible excellence

was that more and more college coaches came to Hawai'i to recruit players, not only from Saint Louis and Kahuku on O'ahu but also from other high schools throughout the state. Kahuku sent Itula Mili, Fa'aesea Ma'ilo, and Tonia Fonoti to the league. Mili and Fonoti became All-Americans at BYU and Nebraska and subsequently played professionally for nine and six years.

Although the number of player states increased throughout the 1990s, most professional football players were still drawn from the Pac-10 and the WAC. Arizona and UH both sent five to the NFL, followed by San Diego State with four, and BYU, Utah, and Washington three each. Quality athletic programs and a general emphasis on recruiting Polynesians meant that Arizona, BYU, Utah, and Washington were successful in attracting Samoan athletes from beyond their states. Ink Aleaga played for Pac-Five, a collection of five private schools on O'ahu, while attending Maryknoll in Honolulu and before joining the Huskies at Washington. A team captain, Aleaga was chosen an All-American before having three seasons in the league. Since then, he has returned to his alma mater, where he is an academic coordinator for its football program.

Smaller numbers were recruited by midwest schools in the Big 10 and Big 12 (Appendix IV). At Michigan State, Tony Banks and Si'itupe Peko were the third and fourth Samoans to graduate to the NFL. Before his collegiate experience, Banks played professional baseball out of Hoover high in San Diego, then chose to attend Mesa community college in San Diego and resurrect his football career. Peko's younger brother, Domata, followed Si'itupe to Michigan State and has begun a second season in the league with the Cincinnati Bengals. Nationally-ranked Nebraska and Ohio State sent Tonia Fonoti and Nicky Sualua into professional football while Fonoti's two younger brothers, Tauala'i (Stanford) and

La'auli (New Mexico State), both had collegiate experience. Sualua who had been mentored by Mark Tuinei, a veteran of the Dallas Cowboys, was present in 1999 when Tuinei overdosed from drugs. Sualua was so deeply affected by this incident and so ostracized by league teams that he never again played professionally. Pita Elisara, from Tafuna High School in American Samoa, first attended Palomar junior college in San Marcos, California, before transferring to Indiana. There he was selected to the All Big-10 conference and later briefly for the NFL and NFL Europe. With the creation of NFL Europe, more Samoans gained the opportunity to be in a professional league. After a college career, in addition, many Polynesians athletes have continued in Arena Football, which is a different form and pays less, but enables committed athletes to continue professionally for modest returns. The emergence of Arena football has perhaps seen fewer Samoans pursue careers in the CFL.

2000s

The number of Samoans entering professional ranks continued to rise in the present decade. Of the 32 teams in the NFL, 27 had them on their rosters between 2000 and 2006. Compared with previous decades, however, the life span of these players is very short, many are not always on the team's active rosters, and many spend time on the practice squad or as injured reserve (Appendix IV). Jerry Glanville, former head coach of the Atlanta Falcons and UH defensive coordinator, has joked that NFL stands for "not for long," reflective of the increasingly short careers of professional football players. Of many factors influencing length of employment, the most obvious is the distinct rise in levels of required skills, the increase in the speed of the game when graduating from college to the league, the high risk of debilitating injuries that can end a career, professional contracts being renewable annually

and essentially non-binding, and the overall reduction of team rosters to no more than 53 athletes.

While many former college players pursue their dream of being in the NFL, others have accepted the opportunity provided by newer leagues such as Arena (AFL). The growth in popularity of AFL and AFL2 largely reflects a spring and summer season, when NFL and college games are not scheduled. Fans crave year-round football, as American Sport, and have begun financially to support the arena leagues through both attendance and viewership. National television contracts and increased advertisement revenue has followed, which means more money for both these leagues and their players. Yet Arena football is not usually a transition into the NFL; for most, it allows football players the chance to play the game they love. Another emerging practice this decade was for Samoan and other athletes to be assigned to NFL Europe by professional teams that held their rights, or for athletes to try and enter the European-based league in the hope of being invited into the summer camps of the primary league. The number of Samoans involved with the CFL continued to dwindle during the 2000s, despite it being a strong league that offered second-tier athletes an opportunity to continue professionally north of the border.

Of the 51 Samoans who played in the NFL in this decade, 40 were from either American Samoa (7) or western states (California 20, Hawai'i 8, Washington 5). What is most revealing about American Samoa is not only the number of athletes who played professionally, but also the manner in which this has been accomplished. Gabe Reid from Leone High was alone in going directly to a four-year college (BYU), whereas the other six first attended junior colleges in Arizona, California, and Utah before making a transfer. Tafuna high school (Appendix IV) alone produced four professional players in Pita Elisara,

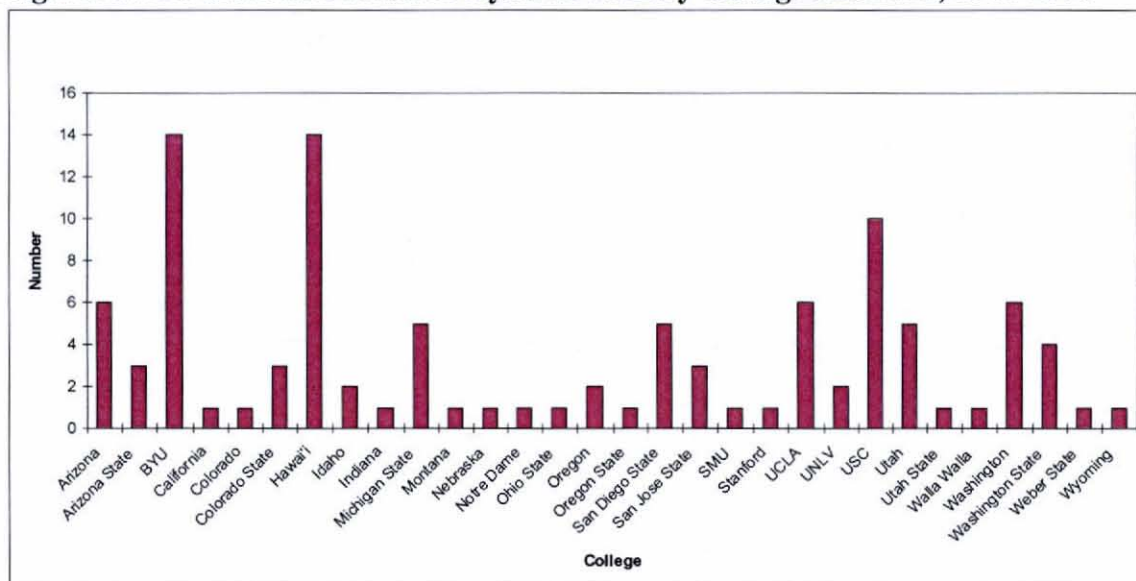
Junior Siavi'i, Jonathan Fanene, and Shaun Nu'a. After leaving American Samoa, Isa'ako Sopoaga, Jonathan Fanene, and Domata Peko each attended the College of the Canyons in Santa Clarita, California (Appendix IV). Sopoaga's older brother, Lance, went to Snow College in Utah before holding a scholarship at Utah State in 1998-1999. Of the eight league players who came from the state of Hawai'i, seven attended public schools on O'ahu, with the exception of Chris Fuamatu-Ma'afala who graduated from Saint Louis.

As a home state, California leads with 20 players entering the league. Athletes not only come from the same cities as in earlier times, but also include those that have not historically produced players. Ed Mulitalo is from Daly City in the San Francisco Bay area, Blaine Saipaia comes from Oxnard in Ventura County, Joseph Tuipala attended high school in the central California town of Ridgecrest, Ula Tuitele is from the Inland Empire (San Bernardino), Malaefou Mackenzie from Mission Viejo in Orange County, and Fred Matua comes from the south bay of Los Angeles (Wilmington). Of all high schools, Oceanside led with five in the league, the most notable player being Junior Seau.

Oregon and Massachusetts are not often thought likely as states to produce Samoan college athletes yet Troy Polamalu and Lofa Tatupu, the top two currently in the game, come from them. Polamalu was born and raised in Santa Ana, California, and as a child moved to Oregon to live with his uncle. Recruited back to California to attend USC by his other uncle, Kennedy Pola, he became team captain, was twice named All-American, and went on to be the first-round choice of the Pittsburgh Steelers. Tatupu, son of Mosi, a fourteen-year league veteran, was not recruited from high school in Massachusetts and transferred to USC after attending Maine a Division I-AA college. For USC Lofa Tatupu, like Polamalu, was team captain and an All-American (Table IV).

Professional league players came from thirteen team states in the 2000s, more than ever before and led by California (11 players), Utah (11), Hawai'i (6), Arizona (5), and Washington (4). Seven were from USC, followed by BYU and UH six each, and Utah five. During the past 60 years, Samoans in the NFL have attended 30 different colleges (Figure XVIII), a number likely to rise as numerous schools throughout the nation continually seek

Figure XVIII: Samoan Football Players in NFL by College Attended, 1946-2006



Source: Appendix IV

out Samoans. Recruitment in the Southeastern Conference (SEC) and the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC) occurred both for the first time and in greater numbers to expand the range of player states. Joseph Anoa'i, an *afakasi* and son of a professional wrestler, was raised in Pensacola, Florida, and later played at Georgia Tech in the same conference with another *afakasi*, Michael Brown Tau'ili'ili, who attended Duke and was drawn from Houston, Texas. Both players come from areas with very few Samoan families and in their colleges are the only Polynesians on the team. The SEC is widely recognized as the premier conference and during this decade four of its schools, Florida, Kentucky, South Carolina, and

Tennessee, recruited six Samoans into their programs. These athletes came from American Samoa, California, Florida, Hawai'i, Nevada, and South Carolina, which reveals how far coaches now travel to identify top players, reinforced by greater spread of the Samoan diaspora across the American landscape.

Brothers playing at the same college continued to rise during the 2000s. There were 15 sets and they included Daniel and Nate Agaiava (Nevada), CJ and Matt Ah You (BYU), Tui Jr and Houston Ala (UH), Cameron and CJ Allen-Jones (UH), Tony and Mike Altieri (Boise State), Andrew, Fa'auao, and Omega Faga (UNLV), Howie and Starr Fuimaono (UNLV), Daniel and Michael Marquardt (BYU), Jason, Jerome, and Josh Pulu (San Jose State), Amani and Melila Purcell (UH), Daniel and Darrell Tautofi (UH), Shannon and Sonny Tevaga (UCLA), Matt and Simi Toeaina (Oregon), Fa'afetai and Seula Tupa'i (Washington State), and Elliot and Ronald Tupea (Utah State). Some younger siblings have benefited from coaches who previously recruited their brothers, being as a result encouraged to attend prestigious colleges. Brandon Ala (brothers attended UH) played at Washington, Thomas Altieri (brothers were at Boise State) is at Arizona State, Tauala'i Fonoti (brother attended Nebraska) played for Stanford, Salo Faraimo (brother at UH) went to USC, Ed Ieremia-Stansbury whose brothers attended SMU and UTEP held a scholarship at UCLA, and JT Mapu is at Tennessee (older brother attended Idaho).

During this decade, sons of former University of Hawai'i football players Tui Ala (Tui and Houston at UH, Brandon at Washington), Saipale Manutai (Beau at Arizona State), Simi Mapu (JT Mapu at Tennessee), Alvis Satele (Brashton at UH), and Nofo Tipoti's (Francisco at Washington) have all gone on to win scholarships. Floyd Scanlan and Vae Mafuli both attended high school in American Samoa and came to Missouri with support

from two small Division II colleges, Northwest Missouri State and Truman State. Scanlon's son, Bryce, attended high school in Wyoming, collegiately at Utah, and today is at Weber State. Mafuli's son went to Saint Louis University High in Missouri and in fall 2007 is attending Northwestern, the first Samoan to hold a scholarship at this prestigious academy.

In the past two decades, the flow in the number of Samoans entering college and professional football has increased dramatically from the initial ebb begun over sixty years ago by Al Lolotai. Beyond the total numbers of athletes, the localities from which players originate and subsequently attend college has continued to spread throughout the United States. At the same time, the places which they call home is ever growing and transforming over space and time. Samoan and Polynesians athletes are no longer a novelty, but rather an attractive commodity desired by college football programs. Likewise, the definition of what it means to be a Samoan football player continues to evolve and be contested, as more athletes are born of mixed parentage and often have varying levels of proficiency in the Samoan language. The communities from which they come continue to struggle with the definition of what it means to practice *fa'a Samoa* in places such as Hawai'i, California, Utah, and Washington.

A Methodological Strategy

This study builds upon my earlier work for a graduate certificate in the interdisciplinary field of population studies (Markham 2003). From this experience, I learned that individual case histories are the most effective means to inquire into issues like the recruitment and mobility of Samoan athletes who play Division I football. The use of case histories attempts to shift beyond generalization or abstraction by "talking story" with a variety or range of individuals or groups. In this research the focus is on Samoan athletes who, from as early as

the 1960s, once played or are currently involved with collegiate football. As Stake (1994: 236) observes, focusing on the single case places attention on what specifically can be learned both in detail and in context about a particular situation. My goal, in following this methodological strategy, is not to engage in theory building but rather to reach an improved understanding of the process by which individual Samoans are being recruited, relocating, and moving throughout the United States for one reason — to play collegiate football.

Culture and identity are the tropes that, for this project, guide the consideration of three basic questions. How and in what ways do Samoan football players negotiate their identity depending on place and context? Has the culture of football come to include Samoans and/or have Samoans, in practicing *fa'a Samoa*, strategically adopted football as a device for practicing their culture and customs? How has Samoan identity been shaped by sport, and by football in particular? Two exploratory approaches are used: the ethnography of the particular and the study of the case. Abu-Lughod's (1991) "ethnographies of the particular" calls for writing against culture and stresses that individuals should define themselves. Culture is not bounded and static; it can change, depending on time, place, and context. In *Seattle Fa'a Samoa*, McGrath (2002: 309) uses this device "to move beyond generalizations that construct and reify cultural differences by emphasizing homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness." These wider social forces are embodied and experienced through individual lives. As Abu-Lughod (1991) argues, by working and writing about the world in the present, scholars can decrease the distance between the self and the other. As advocated by Abu-Lughod and McGrath, I strive to write in the language of everyday life so that a wider audience, inside and outside the academy, is better able to comprehend the research. Most

important, this approach will make the work more readily accessible to both the public and those Polynesians people who are the concern of this study.

“Talking points” (Appendix V), that focus on key issues, allow for indepth and free-flowing conversations with a small number of Samoan amateurs and professionals and tie interviews back to the original research questions. “Talking points” facilitate some degree of predetermined order, but still ensure flexibility in the way issues are introduced (Dunn 2000: 52). My goal was a relaxed atmosphere, with individuals knowing that conversation was “off the record” and personal identities would be concealed, since Samoan biblical names have been chosen as aliases. Indepth interviews took up to three hours, but there was no tape or video recording, no formal or printed forms attached to a clipboard. These “talking points” considered family history, cultural values, movement experience, choices of football programs, and career goals. In short, they were “content focused and deal with issues or areas judged by the researcher to be relevant to the research questions” (Dunn 2000: 61). By keeping handy the list of “talking points,” conversations could be steered, bounded, and checked for issues that were overlooked or covered lightly. From this free flow of conversation with football players, I hoped to gain greater insight about interests and preferences. When some interviews had to be conducted by phone, it was easier to check the list of questions discretely, but the cost was a loss of personal connection when “talking story” face-to-face.

Case histories of 15 Samoans involved with collegiate football players were conducted on a one-on-one basis. They were secured primarily through what Magee and Sugden (2002) call a “friend of a friend strategy,” where friends and acquaintances referred me to other Samoan athletes willing to “talk story.” A few I already knew and one or two players were

contacted with no prior introduction. As Dowling (2000: 33) notes, “people are more likely to talk to you freely, and you are more likely to understand what they are saying because you share their outlook of the world.”

The narratives of 15 Samoan athletes, the focus of chapter four, revealed differences of age, location, class, and personal idiosyncrasies. They addressed much of what was imbedded in the three research questions, but in addition revealed what Bradshaw and Stratford (2000: 43) call disconfirming cases: “individuals or observations that challenge a researcher’s interpretation or do not confirm ways in which others portray an issue.” Disconfirming cases are important because they encourage institutions and practices to be seen from other points of view.

My “talking story” with athletes was helped by some level of cultural understanding about *fa’a Samoa*, along with other Polynesian customs and practices. This comes from having traveled to American and Independent Samoa and having spent considerable time in Samoan communities in Hawai‘i and California. Some of my conversations with Samoan professionals have been ongoing for three or four years. In short, these case histories closely represent Eckstein’s (1970: 94-123) category of “configurative-idiographic studies”

in which the material is largely descriptive and reflects the particular concatenation of circumstances surrounding the events in a way, which, while they may provide insights into the relationships among the component elements in the case, do not easily lead to direct general theoretical interpretations (cited Mitchell 1983: 195).

Yet knowledge is also socially constructed and, as such, careful case studies can assist in the construction of knowledge, particularly when commonalities and generalities are distilled from the experiences of several individuals.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE WORLD OF THE SAMOAN FOOTBALL PLAYER

The 15 former student-athletes who provide the flesh on the skeleton for this study span three generations, from the 1960s to the 2000s, attended high schools in California and Hawai'i , and later played Division I college football. Some were high school all-stars in great demand, some freshman "walk-ons," and yet others junior college transfers. The level of success at the collegiate level varied from being role players to starters and team captains. Post season, the most talented received All-Conference and All-American selections. If success is defined by playing Division I football, then two of these Samoan athletes transferred from their respective colleges to play at lower-division college programs.

Two-thirds, or eleven of these Samoans had varying opportunities and experiences at the next level, professional football. Some were drafted by NFL teams and never actually played on the field while others were drafted or were signed as free agents and attended NFL training camps. Mosese was the most successful professionally and played in the NFL for 10 seasons, while others such as Niko had a short stint, even for less than one season. Some players who were not attractive to an NFL franchise went on to play in NFL Europe and the Arena League.

Today these Samoan men have varying levels of involvement in the game of football, from high school to collegiate to professional. Two of them are still actively playing, one in the NFL and the other in college. Others continue to coach at collegiate, junior college, and high school levels. Some, who are unable to make the commitment of time to coaching a team, remain active in the off-season through helping conduct football camps and clinics for both Samoans and nonSamoans. Others remain active in the Samoan community or in the lives of Samoans as educators, social workers, even also as a *faiife'au* (priest).

Samoa Culture

The fifteen former student-athletes range from being first to third generation Samoans in the United States. Three were born in American Samoa or Independent Samoa and the remainder in Hawai'i and California. All were raised in cities with large Samoan populations or in areas on the island of O'ahu and in southern California that are viewed to be Samoan communities. Later, not all players grew up within these more insulated confines. Most athletes are pure Samoan, *afakasi* Samoan families from American Samoa, or of part Samoan ancestry from the United States. Levels of fluency in Samoan vary from reading and speaking the language to having little or no understanding of it, perhaps a reflection of the generation of players in the United States or of mixed parentage.

All were raised in the church or *lotu*, including the Congregational Christian Church (CCC), also known as *Lotu Kahiki* (Tahiti Church) and the largest in the Samoas. Tahitian converts from the London Missionary Society were instrumental in bringing Christianity to Samoa in the early 1800s and the CCC was the first church established. Ropati, who was raised in the largest Samoan community in southern California, is the grandson of former *Fitafita* members who arrived in Hawai'i and later California in the 1950s. Both his maternal and paternal grandfathers were *fai'fe'au* and as a result he says he was always going to church. Ropati and Tevita were raised in the same *Lotu Kahiki* church presided over by Ropati's grandfather. However, on the football field, the two would attend rival high schools and later be conference foes in college. Ropati notes that he and Tevita participated in group events and sports within the church before ever playing football and to this day remain good friends, despite high school and college rivalries. In southern California, perhaps surprisingly, Tevita is *fai'fe'au* of a church whose congregation is of mixed ethnicity.

Tolu, who moved to Honolulu from American Samoa in the 1950s, was raised in the first Samoan CCC church to be established in Hawai'i, which was located adjacent to Pearl Harbor. In the 1950s and 1960s, Tolu noted that the daily lives of his and most Samoan families were centered around the church. When he attended college in the midwest, there were no CCC churches nearby, so he went to a Catholic church. Eventually, Tolu converted to Catholicism because his coach was a Catholic. Like many American Catholics of varying ethnicities, Iosefa grew up in American Samoa and later Hawai'i with the dream of playing for Notre Dame. To date, however, this school has had only two Samoans play for its storied football program and Iosefa was not to be one of them.

Sione is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and grew up in Honolulu attending a nonSamoan speaking church whose congregation was mixed. This is the experience of a large number of Samoans and Polynesians who have converted to the church in both the Samoas and the United States. As a child Sione would ask his father, raised in the CCC church, how it was that their immediate family attend a *palagi* (white) church and not a Samoan one like his cousins. This reflected the decision of Sione's father to convert to the religion of his part Samoan mother.

As adults, most of these Samoan men and their families attend church on Sundays. Their faith is personal and not always shown through frequent participation in the numerous Samoan functions centered on the church. None now attend a Samoan-speaking church, partly because of marriage to a nonSamoan or having spouses and children who do not speak Samoan. In addition to language barriers, many as adults no longer live in communities with Samoan churches, which reflects the overall movement of Samoans out of and away from early residence in Honolulu and southern California.

These fifteen individuals varied in their Samoanness, based on both ethnicity and the communities where they grew up. Most of the first- and second-generation Samoans speak the language and, as such, have a much better understanding of the customs and practices of Samoan culture. Tolu, having lived in California for more than twenty years and a frequent visitor to Hawai'i, observed that present-day athletes are ethnically the same but also different. They vary in their knowledge of things Samoan because of the different places they were raised, the generation of their parents, and whether or not both parents are Samoan.

Niko, of the second generation and raised in one of the largest Samoan communities in Los Angeles county, grew up speaking the language at home and at the Samoan-language church he attended, as well as at the many social events where Samoans gathered. Alema, raised in a multi-generational family of Samoan speakers, does not understand the language with any fluency. Alema's inability to speak was made strikingly apparent when, following college, he visited Samoa to be honored in the Samoan language at a ceremony recognizing his skills on the football field. Of the third generation and raised in the largest Samoan community in San Diego county, Alema grew up attending Samoan functions, but now lives in a city beyond the state of California. Nowadays, he has limited interaction with other Samoans both because of a career in professional football and being married to a nonSamoan.

Overall, those who have lived in the United States longer or are of mixed parentage tend to have less knowledge of traditional Samoan customs. Semisi was raised in Los Angeles by his Samoan father and *Palagi* (Caucasian) mother in an area where there were no Samoans. As a result he did not grow up speaking Samoan and attended parochial schools, primarily with African-Americans, Caucasians, and Latinos. His only interaction as a youth with things

Samoan was when his father would have him spend the weekend with his Samoan aunt and her family. In Long Beach, in the 1970s and 1980s, it was on his father's side of the family that Semisi for the first time was exposed to the experience of living and growing up Samoan.

At the same time, Samoan athletes are an integral part of the ever evolving *fa'a Samoa* that varies in places such as California, Hawai'i, and American Samoa. Tolu went from American Samoa to Honolulu in the early 1950s, his family part of the first large wave of Samoan movement from the territory to the United States. Raised with many other Samoans in public housing in Kalihi, Tolu was immersed in a tight-knit immigrant community which continued to live very traditionally, while slowly starting to adapt to new lives on O'ahu. At the same time, Tolu became exposed to another world, which allowed him greater freedom and liberties outside the confines of home and church. With the blessing of his mother, Tolu immersed himself in sports, and in the process interacted with and learned about the cultures of Hawaiians, *Haoles* (Caucasians), Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, and Filipinos. Through his excellence in sports at high school and later college in the 1960s, Tolu brought pride and respect to his family as well as to the small Samoan population of O'ahu. Football was the vehicle that allowed Tolu to receive an athletic scholarship to a midwestern college, where he would excel on the field and even more important receive a bachelor's degree.

Niko emphasizes that "*fa'a Samoa* is much bigger and important to the Samoan culture and nuclear family" than football can ever be.

The *fa'a Samoa* is the unique identifying cultural 'marker' that differentiates Samoans from even other Polynesians. From the paramount chief, high talking chief to the *to'oto'o* (chiefly staff) and *ali'i* (chiefs) to the village elders, mothers (*tina*) and the *aumaga* (assembly of young men and untitled males), these various layers of support for the *fa'a Samoa* runs through all of the communities outside of the islands via the family/*aiga*/church structure. This is therefore very conducive to what is required to

be successful in the team sport of football: discipline, loyalty, commitment, and leadership.

As already noted, Most of the student-athletes were raised in Samoan communities, where often the church was the gathering point for Samoan people and where their customs are practiced and displayed. For others, not brought up in large Samoan communities or attending Samoan churches, football became a medium by which they learned more about Samoan ways. Mika lived most of his life in a large Samoan community in San Diego county. But as a child, his father's employment meant he also spent time in two cities in central California and Missouri where there was only a handful of Samoans. Ironically, despite attending a high school with many Samoans, Mika did not start to pay attention to his ancestry or to other Polynesians until he left for college on the west coast. It was only after playing college football with a few Polynesians that he took an interest in Samoan culture, even though now far away from his family and a large Samoan community. Mika continued to explore his own identity through membership in a Polynesian dance group and, returning home to San Diego county after college, married a Pacific Islander who is not Samoan.

Samoan Community of Sport

As present and former student-athletes, these fifteen men are part of a fraternity of football players and, at the same time, of a community identified as Samoan football players. They have loyalty to their alma mater, both the high school as well as the colleges attended. Many continue to coach at high school or collegiate levels, both at their alma mater and elsewhere. Others attend or routinely support their former schools. Between Samoans of varying age, the overall result is an intergenerational exchange of football and cultural knowledge.

As a former NFL football player in the 1970s, Tasi has great knowledge and appreciation of the game and is an important mentor to young men, some of whom include Samoans and other Polynesians. Today, he coaches at his alma mater, a private high school, and is one of the few athletes to come from the third-generation of Samoans playing in the United States. In this role, Tasi has the ability to provide Samoans the chance to attend a school far richer in resources and facilities than most public schools. These resources also allow Tasi to donate used equipment to high schools in American Samoa and he noted that in the documentary, "Polynesian Power," he saw some of that same old equipment still being used by students. Coaching, he says, can be extremely fruitful but at the same highly frustrating. Its reward is to make a positive impact on a young child's life, because unfortunately sport's coaches often mean more to many of the young than their teachers. For Tasi, formal education and passing the SAT to be accepted into college is the most important aspect of the high school experience.

Tasi relates that his teammates, even while playing professionally, knew their football days would be short lived. He saw this first hand with his father, the only Samoan to play in the NFL in the 1950s, and also in his own physical condition twenty years removed from his last professional game. Tasi remembers his regular roommate on the road who, in the offseason, would study for law school. Today, this former teammate is one of the leading sports agents in the National Football League. Tolu expresses similar sentiments to Tasi, noting that what the younger generations do with their athletic ability and education will determine how far they go professionally. He further notes that, if possible, he wants Samoan players to be able financially to take care of themselves and their families through playing professional football.

Despite the short careers of professional athletes, the Samoan community of sport has spread nationwide. It is linked by the Internet and message boards, where players and spectators identify young Samoans and other Polynesian athletes who excel at high school and college. In cities and towns, Samoans are found at many levels of collegiate football, from small to large colleges to football powerhouses. The community of present and former NFL players is at the top of the football ladder and, although Samoans are small in number, they represent a unique subgroup.

As has been found in recruitment studies, location, coaching staff, and the presence of age mates (Samoans and other Polynesians) were all important in choice of college. However, most critical for these Samoan athletes was for parents and family be involved in the decision-making process. Ropati and Semisi took different paths to playing collegiate football and being future opponents. After only one year of high school football and not being recruited, Semisi went to a junior college to play baseball. He eventually transferred to another junior college in California, tried out for football, and became acknowledged nationally as the top wide receiver in junior college. In less than a few years, Semisi could have chosen any college in the country and seriously considered the University of Hawai'i, with its many Polynesians players. In the end, he felt that would be distracting to a formal education and chose a school in the western United States well known first for its academic reputation and secondly for its football program. That decision was his alone, observes Semisi, because the educational background of his parents meant they had little knowledge about college environments.

Ropati attended one of the top high school programs in the country. Recruiters visited routinely and he was sought by many colleges. He wanted to attend school outside California

but, guided through the process by his family, compromised by choosing one that was close to his home base and that each year played in California. For many years, when working in several states, the coach of his chosen college had recruited Samoans and other Polynesians. Ropati noted that during the early 1990s, as a result, he had played with and against many of the nationally-ranked Samoans and Polynesians, including Semisi.

Concerning the ups and downs of collegiate football, the older these men the more perspective and reflections they had about the recruitment of Samoan players. In their identification as Samoan student-athletes, their immediate family, extended family, and the Samoan community in general were extremely important. The responsibility of being respectful of the game and of one's family was thought to be about equal, yet family was always considered. In this, Samoan players differed from many present-day athletes, who emphasize the person or the individual over the group or the family.

Having grown up in mixed communities of Samoans, African-Americans, Latinos, Caucasians, and Asians, Ropati became well versed in interacting with all groups. He felt that, on all football teams, Samoans and Polynesians are the "mediators between the blacks and the whites." According to Niko, "you can ask any coach or program in the country and they will tell you that they would love to have 'some' Samoan players on their roster, because they will be 'impact players' for the most part." In the same breath, Ropati observes that Samoans are a minority on any team, so that on many they and other Polynesians form a small group or clique. Unlike many teammates, these players understand that the names on the back of their jerseys represent the Samoan people. Coaches know, says Ropati, that if a player acts out of line, a telephone call home is all that is needed to resolve the issue. Players know that bringing shame to the family or the group is even worse than any experienced

personally. Ropati understood how important it was for him to play hard for his family and his people.

Most of the former student-athletes continue to be involved with the game of football, primarily as coaches at high school and youth levels, depending on available time. Others of the younger generation participate in Samoan organizations that serve the youth in much the same manner as players of the first- and second-generations gave back to their communities. Outside of football, many hold degrees in higher education and now have successful careers in the private sector. They often view the game as the vehicle that helped them receive a tertiary education and as a result advocate both football and the role of the student-athlete as a combination for younger Samoans to help themselves and their families.

Injuries meant that Iosefa spent six years in college and was able to complete both an undergraduate and a graduate degree. One of the older members of his team, Iosefa became a leader, but notes that leaders are made, not born. It took much time, struggle, and striving to become an acknowledged leader and he was most proud to be the first person in his immediate family to graduate from college. Prior to completing his studies, Iosefa knew formal education was important, because the chances of reaching the NFL were slim. There were players in the league who were trying to complete an undergraduate degree fifteen years later. Following college, Iosefa was able to try out for the NFL and today works in the private sector.

Former college football players like Ropati continue to give back to their community by coaching and involvement in education. He sees his role as that of a big brother to the younger generations, able to be played because these young athletes will go through many of the same experiences. Since many of their parents did not play collegiate or professional

football, he hopes what he learned will help the youth to avoid mistakes that he and others made through inexperience. When discussing Samoan and Polynesian football players, many of the former student-athletes noted the continued emergence of Tongans in the sport. They felt that today Tongans as a group are where Samoans were 15 or 20 years ago. However, because of the greater exposure nowadays of high school and collegiate athletes, young players will have the opportunity to make up this distance much more quickly. Ropati noted that Tongans have the physical size and weight, especially since they have been in the United States for a shorter time and there is less intermarriage. Unlike many Samoans, who have lost some of their *fa'a Samoa*, Tongans appeared far more rooted in their culture, and in general, to practice their equivalent of *faka Tonga*.

Samoan Identity

On a group level, all fifteen identify as Samoans and acknowledge themselves as members of a minority group in the United States. Within the Samoan community, immediate and extended family are of far greater importance for identifying who they are. Many former players of the second and third generation said how important was the support of their immediate family, especially when petty jealousies within the Samoan community found them talked about or maligned. As a child Alema, raised by a single Samoan mother, wanted to change his last name to her maiden name. Now, he says, his last name tells people “who I am, I represent the Samoan community where I grew up” and also Samoans in general. More importantly, the kids coming up “look up to me.”

Iosefa noted that before moving from American Samoa to Hawai'i in the ninth grade, he mostly spoke English but in Hawai'i he tended to speak Samoan more, as a way of

showing his identity. Interestingly Iosefa and Alema, former teammates, both note common differences between Samoans from Hawai'i and California. Iosefa felt many Samoans from the mainland United States act like *mea 'ulis* (blacks) and think they are gangbangers. Alema likewise emphasized that Samoans in Hawai'i felt themselves more "local" and tend to speak pidgin, known by linguists as Hawaiian Creole English (HCE). They were viewed as not being as street smart and as knowing of the hustle and bustle of cities in California and elsewhere. Both Iosefa and Alema saw these perceived differences as subtle and 'in-house.' In essence, Samoan football players from Hawai'i could mock teammates from California as being *fia mea'uli* (to try or want to be black); likewise the Californian Samoans could tease Hawai'i teammates for their speaking style and local mannerisms acquired from growing up in the islands.

Filipe, an only child, was raised in Honolulu, southern California, and later rural O'ahu. While living in California he saw many older cousins proficient at football not succeed due to failing course grades, gang membership, and other environmental problems. As an only child, Filipe realized how much more important it was to his family for him to do well at both school and athletics. Alipate, a former all-star college player who served time in prison, acknowledged the many influences in life and that choices made during and after a playing career can have lasting effects. Its hard to have turned your back on family, friends, culture, and community but when a bad choice is made, often it has to be lived with and sometimes within the confines of a prison environment.

A secondary identity held by many Samoans in the United States or American Samoa is to be a football player. All fifteen know and understand that, to most outsiders, Samoans are most often thought of or identified as being good at football. From a young age Mika,

while growing up in a large Samoan community in San Diego county, played football because he liked sports. He did not notice this was what many other Samoans did until Junior Seau, from his hometown, became famous first at USC and later in the NFL. Mika notes that people identify Samoans with football, assuming that they all do this because in physical build they tend to be larger than the general population. If a Samoan does not want to be a football player, then both Samoans and others wonder what is the problem. Iosefa was particularly incensed by this stereotype. Despite a successful college career in football, he did not want people to think that this is all that Samoans can do, or alternatively fill other jobs that are primarily labor intensive, like being bouncers and home movers.

On the other hand, their participation and the successes of these former student-athletes in the sport of football is part of what has given it importance and prominence for the Samoan community. For many, football is seen as a way of expressing a personal and collective identity. Visual markers or cues such as the long hair of many Samoan players reinforce this image, as well as last names that sports announcers often find hard to pronounce. Ropati, nearly 15 years removed from collegiate football, reflects: "I'm not going to lie, football for me and my family was a way out." Football was the vehicle by which he received a university education worth \$20,000 to \$30,000 a year, money that his parents did not have. Nowadays, with the proliferation of Samoans and other Polynesians in collegiate and professional football, along with more than fifty years of accumulated experience, players have many more choices. Ropati notes shrewdly that they can "choose to use the system or be used by the system." That is, take advantage of a college scholarship, declare a baccalaureate major of genuine interest rather than a 'football major' like sociology or general studies, and successfully complete a university education.

As noted in chapter three, the Tuiasosopo *'aiga* is widely identified as the first family of Samoan football (Appendix VI). Remarkably, in one generation of second cousins, 13 played college football, five continued their careers in the NFL, and two others were drafted or attended NFL training camps. With the West Coast as a point of reference, this football family extends from Los Angeles to San Francisco to Seattle then west to Honolulu and beyond as far as American Samoa. Collectively, the careers of these fifteen cousins span a twenty-year period and they are much more than simply former players. Today, they are educators, coaches, businessmen, pastors, and movie actors who represent what football can help one achieve in life. Moreover, some of their children have continued to be players like their fathers, while others have turned to sports like baseball, women's basketball, and volleyball.

Most college coaches want to recruit Samoan and Polynesian athletes because of the stereotypes that they are proficient football players and, more importantly, helpful additions to a team. Semisi observes that although the search is always for the next good player, everyone is "disposable, like toilet paper." If a player does not work out or gets hurt, immediately a replacement must be found. Niko thinks that today "these kids are living and thriving off of the reputation and legacy left by those that came before them, as I and the players from my generation did with those that came before us." As football continues to be preeminent for the Samoan community, the younger generation has several responsibilities: make the most of their physical abilities, be respectful of the game by doing the best they can and, above all, receive a university education which brings pride to themselves and enriches their families and the community as a whole.

Mosese was among the most interesting of the fifteen Samoan athletes with whom I spoke and interacted. Born in Independent Samoa, he moved to southern California and grew up in one of the toughest sections of Los Angeles county. A star football athlete in high school and college, Mosese played in the NFL for ten years—considerably long by professional standards. From his physical stature, there is no mistaking that he might have been a former football player but being retired from the game for about a decade, he has attempted to shed that identity. He no longer lives in the United States and notes that on moving back home to Samoa, he had to learn how to be humble. He had made a good living from playing professional football, but none of that mattered in a Samoan village. He had to relearn and expand his knowledge of *fa'a Samoa* by sitting back and listening to the elders and chiefs, all the time not saying anything. A personal transformation from a former professional football player to a *matai* (chief) became a long process. Mosese noted that this involved changing his thinking from a western to the Samoan way of seeing the world. Only over time has he become able to explain the many cultural markers of being Samoan, as he continues to learn who he is and where he fits within the village system of Samoa.

This chapter focused on 15 former student-athletes of Samoan ethnicity, whose backgrounds were both similar and unique. Common to all was the fact of being Samoan, but their knowledge and practice of Samoan culture and customs varied greatly, as reflecting primarily generation and family background. As former football players, these men shared a unique bond as a small but visible minority within the sport, while at the same time having varying levels of collegiate and professional success. In addition, personal and group identities ebbed and flowed depending on place, position, and context. They were former athletes in football circles, but equally identified by outsiders as Samoan football players,

which among spectators has become a popular subject of huge interest. Heading into chapter five, I will explore the motivations for taking a different and cultural perspective to the geographical study of sport. Case histories and the ethnography of the particular were used to examine more deeply issues of identity and culture as they relate to the recruitment and mobility of Samoan college football players.

CHAPTER FIVE: THINKING BACKWARDS AND FORWARDS

Over the past ten years, during the process of this project, I have transformed from being a football fan wondering why so many Samoans are in the game of football to someone studying what scholars term the 'other,' until today I am a friend and colleague of many Samoan players, past and present. Insiders and outsiders of this subculture might say that I am an authority on the subject of Samoans and Polynesians involved in the game. During this personal and academic transformation, my thesis research evolved from its origin as a certificate paper in population studies concerned with the flow of Samoan student athletes to and within the United States as a component of Samoan movement in general (Markham: 2003). That research focused more on statistics, maps, and charts as a way to examine the recruitment and mobility process of the Samoan football player.

Five years after this original research, the more fortunate of Samoan high school students continue to receive football scholarships to Division I-A and Division I-AA colleges while others, determined to play, attend other colleges and junior colleges on partial scholarship or none at all. Today, the involvement of collegiate Samoans playing football is found throughout the United States, including many states and localities where there are few Samoans in the overall population. This reflects two processes. One is the desire to play the game while receiving an undergraduate education, so deeply held by many *usos* (literally brother, also often used as a term of endearment towards other Samoans not biologically brothers, as in "What's up *uso*?"). The other is schools that covet their physical athletic abilities and recruit them into collegiate football. To the general observer, hundreds of Samoans who play at various levels throughout the United States are seen as one,

undifferentiated group. In fact, they are individual athletes who have made the decision of which college to attend from a range of considerations, both personal and specific to their immediate family.

The spread of Samoans throughout collegiate football is driven by their continued excellence on the field and the desire of coaching staffs throughout the country to harness that talent. The diffusion of Samoans from their primary places of residence partly reflects the continuous movement of college and professional football coaches, who crisscross the nation seeking improved employment opportunities. Coaching staffs who, 20 or 30 years ago, primarily recruited Samoans to schools in the western United States now attract student athletes to universities in the Atlantic East, the South, the Midwest, and the Plains in addition to the West (Appendix I). In the course of observing this process during more than ten years, I have come to view the recruitment and subsequent mobility of Samoan football players as theoretically and less intriguing in the abstract. What particularly interests me now is that the game of football has been transformed by the increasingly visible participation of Samoans and, conversely, that over time Samoans have come to integrate the sport into their personal lives. To a lesser extent, it has become a component of *fa'a Samoa* as practiced in both the United States and American Samoa and imbedded in what sometimes may be called *fa'a Amerika* or *fa'a Kalifonia*.

Geography and Sport

The broad goal of this thesis project was to expand the geographical study of sport by taking a cultural approach to Samoan athletic performance and experience. Through conversations with college football players past and present, I explored Samoan identity and

how the maintenance of multiple identities depended on time, space, place, and context. In particular, to shift beyond the common practice of enumerating and mapping the origin and diffusion of the student athlete. Unlike some earlier scholarship in sports geography, in this study numbers, maps, and charts are a starting point to understand better why Samoans chose a particular university over others, but were not expected to answer more complex questions as how and why Samoan identity has been and is being shaped by participation in the game of football.

Two sets of information were compiled as benchmarks. One is of the total number of Samoan student athletes who played Division I-A football during an eight year period from 1998 to 2006 (Appendix I). The second is a visual and textual display of Samoans in both professional and collegiate football, presented in chapter three, which illustrates the magnitude and depth of Samoan involvement in football during the past six decades (Appendix IV). Fifteen case histories of past and present football players were constructed through interviews and talking story to explore questions stemming from the tropes of culture and identity. This multilevel approach helps expand the geography of sport beyond numbers, locations, flows, and their graphic representation to a more cultural and holistic understanding of movement processes in the college recruitment of Samoan student athletes.

The geographic study of sport is much different today, nearly forty years after John Rooney (1969) first explored the origin and diffusion of football players in the United States. His keen interest in sports helped lay the foundation for the subgenre of sports geography, for he mentored future professionals with similar interests and guided doctoral students through dissertation research on the success of major college football programs and “blue chip” recruitment (Goudge 1984, Mullins 1982, Pearson 1972, Sutton 1982). Rooney knew

considering sport from a geographical perspective could lead to greater understanding of American society. Richard Pillsbury (1974), his contemporary, also argued that to understand contemporary cultural geography it was necessary to acknowledge both the past and the popular present. For example, scholars looking at Samoan migrants in the United States should go beyond the common topics of movement, assimilation, and remittances to explore the importance of football in the lifeways and thinking of local communities. The critique of the work of Rooney and his students by later geographers like John Bale was that it was long on description and short on interpretation.

Another criticism of and challenge to sports geography is that in its infancy the genre had no particular methodology or paradigm, but essentially mirrored current thinking in the parent discipline of geography. In so doing, at times sports geographers tried to incorporate models and concepts that were poorly related to research issues they were seeking to probe and understand. In recent years, Bale (2000: 181) has argued that “sport is a significant part of culture and that in it they [geographers] may find many exemplars of their contemporary concerns.” This link between sport and culture is understood by mainstream publications. In 2007 *Hana Hou*, the magazine of Hawaiian Airlines, devoted its cover and a multi-page essay to the importance of football in American Samoa (Simon: 2007). Unfortunately, one of the outcomes of so much popular interest is that environmentally deterministic perspectives on sport have crept back into both journalistic and academic writing. The most egregious example in the *Hana Hou* article is that Samoan success in football is due to

Muscle size and strength encoded over generations. Centuries of battle with the constant encroachment of nature. A time-honored warrior ethic. A diet of “Samoan steroids”: breadfruit, banana, fresh fish, taro (Simon 2007: 69-70).

Mental maps and imagined geographies, which in the past decade draw on cultural studies and literary studies within the humanities more than on the social sciences, have become incorporated into sports geography. Thus the mainstream press continues to travel to American Samoa to see and experience the roots of Samoan football players in the United States. In the fall of 2007, Eli Saslow of the *Washington Post* went to Tutuila and from this visit chronicles the life of a young man to illustrate why football is so important in the lives of American Samoan youth. Saslow (2007) writes in a travelogue style, is politically correct, and does not perpetuate stereotypes, probably reflective of the highly literate national and international readership of his newspaper. But in going to American Samoa in search of a story, Saslow and other sports writers display a mental image of from where the Samoan football player originates that is at least a generation out of date.

The vernacular regions from which most Samoan student athletes in college are drawn are the urban cities of the United States such as Los Angeles, Honolulu, and Seattle. Often they live in communities like Tacoma (WA) and Oceanside (CA) located adjacent to large military bases where a parent or relative may be employed. Others reside in Mormon enclaves, both rural — as in La‘ie on the north shore of O‘ahu — and urban, like Salt Lake City. Another tenth of the players hail from various villages and towns throughout the island of Tutuila in American Samoa (Appendix III). Increasingly, Samoan players are no longer found only in the inner cities but rather in a greater range of suburbs outside of Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Honolulu.

The study of Samoan football players hints at the experiential links between sport and the movement of labor. Technically, college football players are amateurs and not paid to play football, but they do receive monetary inducements in the form of athletic scholarship,

food stipend, and medical coverage. As a result, some relocate permanently and many others remain near to the locality of their alma mater. Inevitably, those who go on to play professionally in the NFL and other leagues shift occasionally throughout North America, most often away from communities and enclaves of other Samoans and Polynesians.

Studies of Pacific Islanders in Aotearoa/New Zealand reveal the significance of a national sport like rugby in denoting Polynesian identity. In the southern hemisphere in a primary sport like rugby, the faces of island players such as Jonah Lomu and Tana Umaga are visible on television and the day after a game captured in print in newspapers and magazines. Often in the United States, even Samoan football icons like Troy Polamalu or Junior Seau remain faceless and are recognized far more in uniform by their jersey numbers and names, often also by hair flowing from the backs of their helmets. Out of uniform, Samoan football players in America do not have the same celebrity status of Polynesian rugby players in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, England, and Japan. Hokowhitu (2003) sees the adoption of rugby by islanders as a form of colonialism. In and out of academic circles, but in the United States, Samoans are not heard to speak of football as a colonial force that shackles their youth. Instead, the sport is generally viewed as a vehicle of opportunity to pursue formal education, even perhaps to improve the lives of their immediate and extended family.

Samoan Culture

Culture and identity were the two tropes used to explore and better understand the many and varying issues surrounding the recruitment and mobility of collegiate Samoan football players. When talking story about Samoan culture with 15 former student athletes,

family and the church were the two most common subjects. Both the immediate and the extended family were seen as important not only to athletic success but also to how they identified as football players of Samoan ancestry. Beyond family, in an echo of the Samoan village, all players emphasized the role of the community they lived in. The imagined Samoan community was also significant — enclaves, localities, and places throughout the United States, American Samoa, and independent Samoa whom they represented on the football field and ultimately to whom they answered for their actions in life.

Will Samoan parents continue to emphasize the sport of football, will greater numbers of Samoans begin to excel in other sports, will athletics come to be avoided in pursuit of academic endeavors? For two reasons, the number of Samoans playing collegiate football will continue to increase. More home states than previously will produce athletes and more colleges, the player states in the United States, will recruit Samoans to their respective campuses. In the eight years 1998-2006, Samoan players came from 26 different home states, increasing from 10 in 1998 to 19 in 2006. Similarly, 41 player states have Division I football programs and during the same eight year period, 37 of them had Samoans on a college team (Appendix I). As the Samoan diaspora continues to grow in numbers and expand over space, so it is highly likely that athletes from its communities will come from an increasing number of home states.

Perhaps the more that closely-related members of Samoan families attend college, perform on both the field and in the classroom, matriculate, and even intermarry, the more likely there will be a greater balance on both academic work and sports activity. As a means to an end — a funded university education and, at best, a potential career. In the same way, a younger generation of athletes is likely to gravitate away from such traditional “Samoan

sports” as baseball, basketball, and football. Intermarriage will complicate future trends. As more part-Samoans play collegiate football without Samoan surnames on their jerseys, the casual identification of an athlete’s ancestry and the methodology employed in this study becomes more difficult. Although most *Afakasi* Samoans are claimed by the broader Polynesian community as “one of their own,” some may not so identify or negotiate, change, and claim multiple ethnicities depending on time, place, and context.

A church culture and spiritual faith was an integral aspect of Samoan life, to which the fifteen players attributed their success in the game itself and their later careers. Almost all were raised in the church, regardless of denomination, with attendance and participation in events and socials considered to be a key component of Samoan culture and what it means to be Samoan. Given the social and geographical limitations in the United States of living in cities and towns, rather than in village communities, churches and places of worship are the social spaces where Samoans practice their culture. For many, the church is the one place where they can gather and have fellowship with other Samoans in nearby localities and areas. Equally important, the religiosity of these former student athletes helped ground them while competing in such an exacting and violent sport. The inner strength players gained through their faith gave them the ability to overcome the physical and mental strain associated with the game and especially with how faithfully their Samoan heritage was represented.

Samoan Identity

The large numbers and many successes of Samoans playing college football in the United States has seen the game become, to a lesser extent, a part of what is thought to be *fa’a Samoa*. Gershon (2006: 545) notes in her work that Samoans turn to a set of concepts to convey what it means to be one: *tautua* (service), *fa’aaloalo* (respect), *alofa* (compassion

and love), *ava* (reverence). During discussions and talk story, the former players acknowledged one or more of these terms to describe what values make up their culture and shape their identity. Gershon (2006: 545) also observes that “from a Samoan perspective, cultural knowledge is not translatable largely because it is presumed always to be situated knowledge.”

Within localities, there are differences in the practice of the Samoan way (*fa’a Samoa*), which leads to notions of *fa’a Kalifonia* and *fa’a Hawai’i*. Among other things, these similarities and uniqueness in California and Hawai’i of what it means to be or identify as a Samoan reflects other people in their communities of reference. In California, Samoans live in communities primarily consisting of African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, or Caucasians, and these ethnic groups with whom they associate can influence to some degree how Samoans identify themselves. In Hawai’i, many Samoans of the second or third generation identify as being both Samoan and “local.” For other Samoans, identity may have been shaped from being raised in the vastly different environments of a rural Mormon community, like La’ie, or among the public facilities of urban Honolulu.

In the *Washington Post* article three high school football players in American Samoa, Iosefa Meke, Douglas Matuu, and Wayne Samalu, are asked why they compete. All three answered out of pride for both their school and the part of the island to which they belong. For others, football is the only avenue to leave “the rock” without joining the military (Saslow: 2007). Despite differences in the practice of *fa’a Samoa* in various locales, among Samoans there also exists a certain national identity, which inevitably includes football players. What it is to be identified as a Samoan football player also changes with time and age. As Gershon (2006: 489) notes, identity is not an achievement or an inherent quality, but

rather a signpost for the ways in which families are constituting diaspora, even occasionally for their failures to do so.

Today, fifteen former student athletes belong to communities of college football players among others, but also to a subcommunity of those of Samoan ethnicity. These men, a conspicuous minority of players, “edgewalk” between cultures. They are resilient to cultural shifts and able to maintain continuity wherever they go, walking the edge between cultures in the same persona (Tupuola 2004: 90). They acknowledge that, within and outside the Samoan community, their identity had been shaped by being former college football players. Many also were quick to point out that family and the Samoan people were of greater importance to their identity as human beings than a particular sport. Together, they illustrate the shape of football, its recruitment, players and coaches, and conversely how influential the game continues to be to the Samoan people and its culture.

***Tautua* and the AIGA Foundation**

Today, the abundance of Samoans who have played college and professional football during the past thirty years is reflected in a higher visibility of Samoan coaches at all levels. This indicates not only cumulative experience but also the vast network that Samoan players have with coaches, athletic directors, administrators, and team owners. Internally, from within the Samoan and Polynesian community, as well as within the larger ‘football fraternity.’

Within Samoan culture the concept of performing *tautua*, or service, to one’s family, village, and community is an important aspect of *fa’a Samoa*, whether in a local village or in diasporic communities in the United States and other countries. While working on thesis research, I made contact with various Samoan organizations that *tautua*, practicing social

responsibility by helping other Samoans and often including the young. One organization in particular, the AIGA Foundation, an acronym for All Islands Getting Along, has become second family — appropriately, because *'aiga* means family in Samoan. AIGA Foundation is recognized as a nonprofit organization and was founded in the 1990s by some Samoans from Carson, California, who played college football. It is made up of volunteers primarily resident in California, Hawai'i, American Samoa, and independent Samoa with the goal to assist student athletes to compete successfully at the collegiate level. The organization includes Samoans, Polynesians, and other persons with a keen interest in the game of football through previous and current involvement. Each year, AIGA conducts football camps and training clinics in California and American Samoa, as well as collaborates with similar organizations in Oregon and Hawai'i to share resources and information networks about key centers of influence.

Being introduced to some members as interested in the rise of Samoans in collegiate football led to my involvement with AIGA. During a period of seven years, I have become an active volunteer and am now friends with many members. My initial role was to identify, locate, and contact Polynesian recruits around the country, as well as current players, through both email and the establishment of AIGA's page on MySpace. In this way, student athletes can be kept informed of future events and their successes monitored on and off the field. The AIGA blog, which I administer, can publicize news of Polynesian high school, college, and professional players and is frequented by large numbers of football fans as well as by college coaches who have somehow learned of it. AIGA's page on YouTube allows email links to video clips about student athletes, in addition to personal contact with coaches who inquire.

The strength of the AIGA Foundation, as a network of former players, is the relationships many of its members have with former coaches and with teammates currently involved in the game at all levels. A crucial ability in the world of football and for recruiting coaches is whom to contact about the value and potential of an athlete. Since AIGA Foundation is not in the business of or competition with paid recruiting services, it is able to give a fair and clear assessment of any Polynesian athlete. Each year, AIGA attends the convention of the American Football Coaches Association (AFCA) to nurture channels of communication and to meet old friends and colleagues. Along with AFCA, there exists a Polynesian Football Coaches Association that focuses on recruiting and coaching student athletes of Samoan, Tongan, Hawaiian, and other Polynesian ancestries. Inevitably, these coaches compete with each other, yet there is a shared vision to have Polynesian players succeed at higher education in both their athletic and academic performance.

Through its network of volunteers, AIGA is able to *tautua* many Samoans and Polynesians within their home communities and show both prospective student athletes and their families some of the steps needed to be taken to succeed. The philosophy of most AIGA members is that any high school pupil with talent and interest should be given the tools to matriculate to the next level of football when that can be the vehicle or avenue for a sponsored college education. This *tautua* stems from both a sense of commitment to their community and following the path taken by other Samoans. For example, many AIGA Foundation members were raised in Carson, California, and benefitted from Samoan Athletes in Action based in that city. This organization was led by Frank Manumaleuna, former resident and former NFL linebacker, and before that by his late brother Big John. In his efforts with the Big John Foundation, predecessor to Samoan Athletes in Action, Frank

Manumaleuna has built on the work of previous Samoan football players like Bob Apisa and Al Lolotai described in chapter three. Decades before, these two iconic figures led training camps for Samoan communities in Hawai'i, California, and American Samoa.

Samoans who once played collegiate or professional football often initiate vital mentoring in local communities. In southern California Brandon Manumaleuna, tight end for the San Diego Chargers and son of Frank Manumaleuna, fosters student-athlete education and life planning through his foundation, Outside the Game. He also conducts an annual youth clinic in conjunction with the Big John Foundation. Football coach Alema Te'o of Woods Cross high school (Utah) and his All Poly Sports organization focus primarily on Polynesian athletes and he conducts the largest camp in the country — a camp that attracts large numbers of Samoans and Tongans from within the state of Utah as well as from many others. Similar organizations in California include YAC Sports in Ventura county and Gridiron Ministries in San Diego county, both of which are part of the AIGA network and include Samoan and other volunteers. Whether linked together or not, what is most important about these Polynesian organizations is that many adults are willing to help and serve young people through their respective communities. Collectively, these many organizations and committed individuals *tautua* to create a Samoan community of sport for those no longer playing the game.

At the collegiate and professional levels, Samoan and Polynesian football players will continue to be viewed as a commodity to be recruited. Positive or negative experiences depend on whether these athletes perform well on the field and in the classroom. In college, endemic problems are poor concentration, low grades, and discipline issues; at the

professional level, challenges shift to excellence on the field, staying healthy, and avoiding trouble off the playing field.

Future research in the geography of sport

Future studies of links between football, movement, and ethnicity in the United States can be undertaken within both geography and the broader umbrella of sports studies since they, like geography, contain elements of an interdisciplinary field open to ideas from various areas of research. Specialized departments and schools at the University of Otago (School of Maori Pacific & Indigenous Studies), the University of Hawai'i at Manoa (Pacific Islands Studies), and the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor (Asian/Pacific Islander American Studies) may begin to attract young scholars indigenous or not to Oceania who have keen interest in sports. On the immediate horizon, indigenous female scholars in anthropology and sociology are currently working on doctoral dissertations about Samoans and Pacific Islanders involved in football and related topics. Lisa Uperesa of Columbia University is exploring the history of sports in American Samoa and how some, such as football, offer changing opportunities for local residents. Rochelle Fonoti of the University of Washington is examining the *tatau* (tattoo), including those popular with diasporic Samoan football players as a way of expressing their Samoanness.

In the southern hemisphere, in particular Aotearoa/New Zealand, there has been an increase in recent work by indigenous scholars about sport. In a masters' thesis in business submitted in 2007 Patrick Te Rito explored the perceptions Maori rugby players have concerning leadership and on that basis, examined similarities and differences in Maori and *Pakeha* (white) approach and style (Te Rito: 2007). Brendan Hokowhitu, whose critique of the game of rugby football was noted earlier, is currently supervising two doctoral

dissertations by, Matani Schaaf and Michelle Schaaf, formerly Michelle Saisoa'a. Based on his MA study, Matani Schaaf 2003, (2006: 52) notes that since Pacific Island cultures differ significantly from others family, religion, and formal education are the most important motivations for Polynesians to play and perform well at rugby. He is currently building upon this work in a doctoral project focusing on issues of burnout and motivation among the most renowned of Pacific Island sportsmen. Fascinated with the links between body image, netball, and Pacific Island cultures, Michelle Schaff (2005: 6) observes that Pacific sportswomen are "expected to strive for an athletic physique, and to look sexy and feminine, while also being expected to meet Pacific cultural expectations, which view the Western ideal body-shape as 'unhealthy'."

The internet and the abundance of information available to college officials, alumni, and fans has led to recruiting essentially being a year-round activity. In the past, student athletes from small towns were invisible on the recruiting radar and thus lost any options to play collegiate football and even reach the highest levels. Nowadays, every spring and summer throughout the nation, Samoans and Pacific Islanders attend camps and combines sponsored by companies such as Nike, Rivals, Scout, and even the US Army. Other gatherings are conducted under the auspices of nonprofit organizations like AIGA Foundation, Pacific Athletic Alliance, All Poly Sports, and the Big John Foundation, whose primary focus is on Samoans and other Pacific Islanders but does not exclude athletes of any ancestry. At camps, coaches are able to teach skills to high students based on positions they may play on the field. A football combine involves a neutral party measuring players for height and weight, as well as for speed, power, agility, quickness, and reaction. All these

measurements are commonly used by colleges to identify top-tier athletes before recruiting begins.

Video and statistical information about student athletes, housed on various internet sites such as Rivals and Scout and on other college messageboards, becomes the basis for constant critique by fans, alumni, family, and friends. Rabid fans find as many details about potential recruits through these websites as from the accounts of student athletes posted on MySpace or Facebook and from highlight reels uploaded to sites such as YouTube and Google Video. In the past coaches were forced to recruit in person based on word of mouth but now can be reached quickly by high school athletes, previously unnoticed or unrecognized, by emailing the link to their highlight videos. Consequently a Samoan football player from an American Samoan village or a Hawaiian student athlete from a neighbor island can use video and the internet to open up opportunities to prospective colleges. As the internet has made the world a smaller or more connected place colleges in the West, which traditionally have recruited talented Samoan athletes, find themselves competing with more distant colleges in the Atlantic East, the South, the Midwest, and the Plains.

The increasing maturity of the game of football in the future should mean that the number of football players of a particular ethnicity does not and should not continue to be a contentious issue in academic or mainstream publications. The personal stories of Samoan student athletes, both good and bad, should be explored to provide future players a better road map of where football can take them but, conversely, how and why the game can be a vehicle to accomplish much else outside of sport.

A potential and parallel topic to that of Samoan student athletes is the concurrent rise of Tongans in collegiate football. Whereas the Samoan presence began in the 1940s and

large-scale movement into the game dates from the 1970s, it was the same decade when Tongans started to play college football in very small numbers, but did not become far more visible until the 1980s. Similarly, the first Samoans players reached the NFL in the 1940s, but for Tongans it was the 1980s. Consequently the duration of time from when Tongans began to play college football and graduate to professional leagues has been shorter and more pronounced than for their Samoan cousins. Tongans and Samoans share many of the same desultory experiences of being side tracked by poor study habits, gangs, and crime. They also have to confront many of the same issues of living in America at the same time as practicing their own culture through *faka Tonga* (the Tongan way). The link between culture and religion is especially strong for Tongans, since a higher percentage belong to the LDS church and experience pressure from both family and community to undertake a two-year mission around the age of nineteen. By leaving college and the game of football at this time, aspiring athletes can adversely affect future chances in terms of degree of physical fitness, loss of potential playing time, and the opportunity to advance to the professional level.

Particularly intriguing for a football fan who has spent hours scanning college and professional football rosters is the many first- and second-generation West Africans, especially Nigerians, who excel at athletics and in academic studies at premier institutions like California, Duke, Rice, Michigan, Stanford, and Tulane. Many are the sons of former baccalaureate and graduate students who themselves came to college in the United States. On the field, these football players are of African ancestry yet many look like African-Americans, but do not always have many of their academic and social problems. In adopting a cultural approach to the geography of sport, both case histories and the ethnography of the particular were useful devices to explore the topic of Samoans in football and the inherent

meaning of players' lives. More importantly, from talking story with current and former student athletes whom I have come to know personally has come greater insight into issues of culture, identity, and the Samoan community of sport.

Appendix I: Player and Home States of Division I Samoans by Region: 1998-2006

Region	State	Player St.	Region%	Home St.	Region%
<i>American Samoa</i>		<i>NA</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>9.3%</i>
Total		1191		1191	
<i>West</i>					
	Hawai'i	225		332	
	California	206		446	
	Utah	190		67	
	Washington	105		81	
	Arizona	82		10	
	Nevada	74		19	
	Idaho	66		11	
	Oregon	55		14	
	Alaska	NA		7	
	Sub-Total	1003	84.2%	987	82.9%
<i>Plains</i>					
	Texas	27		26	
	Colorado	22		6	
	Nebraska	20		0	
	New Mexico	16		5	
	Wyoming	7		2	
	Oklahoma	6		5	
	Kansas	2		0	
	Missouri	2		0	
	Iowa	1		0	
	Montana	NA		0	
	North Dakota	NA		0	
	South Dakota	NA		0	
	Sub-Total	103	8.6%	44	3.7%
<i>Midwest</i>					
	Ohio	9		0	
	Michigan	6		1	
	Indiana	6		0	
	Wisconsin	4		0	
	Minnesota	2		2	

Illinois	0		1	
Sub-Total	27	2.2%	4	.3%
<i>South</i>				
Louisiana	7		1	
Tennessee	5		0	
Florida	5		8	
Georgia	4		0	
Kentucky	4		1	
Arkansas	2		0	
South Carolina	2		2	
Alabama	2		0	
North Carolina	2		0	
Mississippi	0		0	
Sub-Total	33	2.8%	12	1.0%
<i>Atlantic East</i>				
Pennsylvania	10		2	
Maryland	5		8	
New York	5		12	
Connecticut	2		0	
New Jersey	2		0	
West Virginia	1		0	
Massachusetts	0		3	
Virginia	0		8	
Delaware	NA		0	
Maine	NA		0	
New Hampshire	NA		0	
Rhode Island	NA		0	
Vermont	NA		0	
Washington DC	NA		0	
Sub-Total	25	2.1%	33	2.8%
Total		100%		100%

Appendix II: US High Schools Producing the Most Samoan College Football Players 1998-2006

High School	Years	College
St Louis (Honolulu, HI)		
Wilson Afoa	2003-2006	Washington
Fa'aolo Alovao	1998-1999	UNLV
Ben Alualu	1998-2001	Arizona
Tyson Alualu	2005	Cal
Prince Brown	2006	UNLV
Ross Dickerson	2002-2006	UH
Pesefea Fiaseu	2001-2003	UH
Taula'i Fonoti	2002-2005	Stanford
Fale Laeli	2004-2005	UH
Tolifili Liufau	2005	Utah
Joe Lobendahn	2001-2005	Washington
Lyle Maiava	2001-2004	Wisconsin
TJ Moe	2001-2005	UH
Timo Paepule	2003-2006	UH
Elliott Purcell	2006	UH
Frank Rivers	2001	UH
Jason Rivers	2003-2004, 2006	UH
Jared Silva-Purcell	2006	Nevada
Joseph Siofele	1999-2003	Arizona
James Sunia	1998-2001	UNLV
Tamotu Tagoa'i	1999-2002	Nebraska
Tony Tata	1998-2001	Nebraska
Vae Tata	1998	UCLA
Sam Taulealea	1998-2001	Colorado
Tavita Thompson	2004-2006	Oregon State
Soon Togiola	1998-1999	UH
Wes Tufaga	1998-2000	Utah
Nofoali'i Tuitama	2000-2001	Cal
Total: 28		
Kahuku (HI)		
Al Afalava	2005-2006	Oregon State
Tala Esera	2002-2006	UH
Vance Fonoimoana	2002	UNLV
Victor Fonoimoana	1998-1999	UH
La'auli Fonoti	2005-2006	New Mexico State
Toniu Fonoti	1999-2001	Nebraska
Afa Garrigan	2004-2005	Utah
Junior Ioane	1999	Houston
Sitivi Laulu	1998-1999	Utah
Palauni Ma Sun	2005-2006	Oregon

Anipati Ma'ilo	1999, 2002-2003	UH
Fa'aesea Ma'ilo	1999-2001	USC
Raymond Manumaleuna	2006	New Mexico State
Lincoln Manutai	2003-2004	UH
Jonathan Mapu	2002-2003, 2006	Tennessee
David Niumatalolo	2005-2006	New Mexico State
Leonard Peters	2001-2006	UH
Mulivai Pula	2002	BYU
EJ Reid	2004-2005	Utah State
Willie Sao	2003-2005	Utah
Tama Si'ilata	2002	Utah
Toalei Talataina	1998-1999	Oregon State
Toriano Tauologo	2004-2005	Utah State
Suaesi Tuimaune'i	2006	Oregon State
Tavo Tupola	2003-2004	Utah
Orlando Wong	2003-2004	UH

Total: 25

Leone (AS)

Fata Avegalio	2000-2002	Arizona
Loo Heather	2001	San Diego State
George Heather	1999-2000	San Diego State
Jason Laumoli	2006	UH
Jeff Mauga	1998-1999	Utah State
Amani Purcell	2005-2006	UH
Amani Purcell	2003-2004	Penn State
Melila Purcell	2002-2006	UH
Adney Reid	2003	BYU
Gabe Reid	1999-2002	BYU
Jared Reid	2002	Utah State
Cyrus Satoafaiga	1998	Utah
Fano Tagovailoa	2004-2006	Utah
Junior Tagovailoa	2005-2006	Troy State
Victor Taifane	2001-2002	Fresno State
Ben Tuinei	1999	Arizona

Total: 15

Long Beach Poly (CA)

Conan Amituanai	2006	Arizona
Hershel Dennis	2002-2006	USC
Daniel Ho Ching	1998-1999	UH
Herman Ho Ching	1998-1999	Oregon
Ryan Iata	1998-2003	San Diego State
Junior Lemau'u	2003	UCLA
Dennis Link	1999-2003	UCLA
Peter Manuma	2006	San Diego State

Hercules Satele	2003-2006	UH
Ray Tago	2003-2004	Cal
Soane Taliauli	2001-2003	Utah
Pauli Tamasoa	2003	Utah
Kim Taylor	2002-2005	Washington
Jonathan Tu'ua	2004	San Diego State
Bryon Velega	2004-2005	UCLA
Total: 15		

Samoaana (Pago Pago, AS)

David Ah Sue	2001	Nevada
Andy Endemann	2003-2004	Western Michigan
Amitoelau Fa'alevao	2002-2004	Fresno State
Danny Masaniai	2000-2002	Arizona State
Keiki Misipeka	2001	UH
Domata Peko	2004-2005	Michigan State
Larry Sauafea	2003-2005	UH
Isa'ako Sopoaga	2002-2003	UH
Lance Sopoaga	1998-1999	Utah State
Young Thompson	1998-1999	Arizona
Matt Toeaina	2002-2006	Oregon
Simi Toeaina	2005-2006	Oregon
Steve Young	1999	Arizona

Total: 13

Oceanside (CA)

Josh Galeai	1998-1999	Boise State
Josh Galeai	2001-2002	UH
Jason Mageo	1998	Oregon State
Ammon Mauga	1999-2002	BYU
Daniel Mauga	1998-2000	San Jose State
Justin Nonu	2006	Colorado
Fale Poumele	2000-2005	San Diego State
Se'e Poumele	2002-2004	UH
Tyson Thompson	2001	San Diego State
Russell Tialavea	2006	BYU
Fitu Tu'ua	1999-2002	Fresno State
Buick Tu'ua	2003-2004	San Jose State

Total: 11

Faga'itua (AS)

Kiso Aab	1998-2001	Louisiana Tech
Isa'ako Aaitui	2006	UNLV
Terrence Apted	2004-2005	Utah
Michael Mapuolosega	2003-2005	Washington
Manuia Savea	1998-1999	Arizona

Robertson Sosene	2002-2003	UH
Sua'ese Ta'ase	1998-1999	Louisiana Tech
Travis Tofi	2002-2006	USC
Fatu Turituri	2005-2006	Kentucky
Total: 9		
Vista (CA)		
Mike Altieri	2003-2006	Boise State
Thomas Altieri	2005-2006	Arizona State
Tony Altieri	1998-2002	Boise State
Salo Faraimo	2003	USC
Josh Hargis	2004	Iowa State
Brian Nicholson	2003-2004	UNLV
Willie Tagoai	2003-2006	UNLV
Mike Tinoisamoa	2003	UH
Pisa Tinoisamoa	1999-2002	UH
Total: 9		
Farrington (Honolulu, HI)		
John Fonoti	2005-2006	UH
Cornelius Fuamatu-Thomas	2004-2005	Nebraska
Michael Lafaele	2003-2006	UH
Shawn Lauvao	2005-2006	Arizona State
Vince Manuwai	1999-2002	UH
Lance Samuseva	1999-2003	UH
Rod Talacai	1998-1999	Utah
Lawrence Wilson	2005-2006	UH
Total: 8		
Kamehameha Schools (Honolulu, HI)		
Brandon Ala	2002-2006	Washington
Houston Ala	2000-2001	UH
Tui Ala	2000-2003	UH
Mika Kane	2005-2006	Cal
Enoka Lucas	2002-2006	Oregon
Abu Ma'afala	2002-2003	UH
Abu Ma'afala	2004-2005	Cal
Caleb Spencer	2004-2006	Nevada
Total: 7		
Tafuna (AS)		
Keith Ah Soon	2004-2006	UH
Pita Elisara	1998-1999	Indiana
Bobby Enosa	1999-2000	Utah
Jonathan Fanene	2003-2004	Utah
David Kava	2005-2006	Army

Shaun Nu'a	2002-2004	BYU
Junior Siavi'i	2002-2003	Oregon
Total: 7		
Banning (Wilmington, CA)		
Fred Matua	2002-2005	USC
Nick Penalosa	2002	San Diego State
Johnny Potasi	1998-1999	Fresno State
Damien Satete	2004	Naval Academy
AJ Tuitele	2003-2006	Oregon
Dan Vili Waldrop	1999-2003	Nebraska
Total: 6		
Carson (CA)		
Sete Aulai	2005-2006	BYU
Donny Fa'aliliu	2001	UH
Fa'avae Fa'avae	1998-1999	Cal
Matthew Malele	2003-2006	Cal
Norris Malele	2004-2006	Cal
Fai Satele	2001-2003	Fresno State
Total: 6		
Kaimuki (Honolulu, HI)		
Matthew Faga	2003-2004	UH
Justin Faimealelei	2003-2205	UH
Daniel Tautofi	2003-2005	UH
Darrell Tautofi	2003-2004	UH
David Tautofi	2001-2003	UCLA
Total: 5		
Punahou (Honolulu, HI)		
Trask Iosefa	2006	San Diego State
Afatia Thompson	1998-2000	UH
Dane Uperesa	2002-2006	UH
Tafiti Uso	2001	UH
Tafiti Uso	1998-1999	Stanford
Donny Utu	1998-1999	Utah
Total: 5		
Waipahu (HI)		
Renolds Fruean	2005-2006	UH
Lui Fuga	1999-2005	UH
Jacob Leota	2003	Akron
Rustin Saole	2003-2006	UH
Turnua Vitale	1998-2000	UNLV
Total: 5		

Appendix III: American Samoan High School Graduates Playing Division I College Football 1998-2006

University	Years	High School
Arizona (Tucson)		
Manuia Savea	1998-1999	Faga'itua
Young Thompson	1998-1999	Samoana
Ben Tuinei	1999	Samoana
Steve Young	1999	Samoana
Fata Avegalio	2000-2002	Leone
Arizona State (Tempe)		
Danny Masaniai	2000-2002	Samoana
Army (West Point, NY)		
David Kava	2005-2006	Tafuna
BYU (Provo, UT)		
Gabe Reid	1999-2002	Leone
Shaun Nu'a	2002-2004	Tafuna
Adney Reid	2003	Leone
Fresno State (CA)		
Victor Taifane	2001-2002	Leone
Amitoelau Fa'alevao	2002-2004	Samoana
Hawai'i (Honolulu)		
Keiki Misipeka	2001	Samoana
Isa'ako Sopoaga	2002-2003	Samoana
Robertson Sosene	2002-2003	Faga'itua
Melila Purcell	2002-2006	Leone
Larry Sauafea	2003-2006	Samoana
Keith Ah Soon	2004-2006	Tafuna
Amani Purcell	2005-2006	Leone
Jason Laumoli	2006	Leone
Indiana (Bloomington)		
Pita Elisara	1998-1999	Tafuna
Kentucky (Lexington)		
Fatu Turituri	2005-2006	Faga'itua
Louisiana Tech (Ruston)		
Kiso Aab	1998-2001	Faga'itua
Sua'ese Ta'ase	1998-1999	Faga'itua
Michigan State (East Lansing)		
Domata Peko	2004-2005	Samoana
Navy (Annapolis, MD)		
Penetekoso Peau	2006	South Pacific Academy
Nevada (Reno)		
David Ah Sue	2001	Samoana
Oregon (Eugene)		
Faiva Talaeai	1998-1999	Nu'uuli Poly Tech
Junior Siavi'i	2002-2003	Tafuna

Matt Toeaina	2002-2006	Samoana
Simi Toeaina	2005-2006	Samoana
Penn State (State College, PA)		
Amani Purcell	2003-2004	Leone
San Diego State (CA)		
George Heather	1999-2000	Leone
Loo Heather	2001	Leone
Troy State (Troy, AL)		
Fano Tagovailoa	2005-2006	Faga'itua
USC (Los Angeles, CA)		
Travis Tofi	2002-2006	Faga'itua
Utah (Salt Lake City)		
Cyrus Satoafaiga	1998	Leone
Bobby Enosa	1999-2000	Tafuna
Jonathan Fanene	2003-2004	Tafuna
Terrence Apted	2004-2005	Faga'itua
Paul Soliai	2004-2006	Nu'uuli Poly Tech
Fano Tagovailoa	2004-2006	Leone
Utah State (Logan)		
Jeff Mauga	1998-1999	Leone
Lance Sopoaga	1998-1999	Samoana
Jared Reid	2002	Leone
Washington (Seattle)		
Michael Mapuolosega	2003-2005	Faga'itua
Western Michigan (Kalamazoo)		
Andy Endemann	2003-2004	Samoana

Appendix IV: Samoans Playing in the NFL, 1946-2006

Name	Place of Birth	High School	College	NFL Experience
<u>1940s (1)</u>				
Al Lolotal	La'ie, HI	Iolani HS (Honolulu, HI)	Weber State	1945 Wash, 1946-1949 LA Dons
<u>1950s (1)</u>				
Charley Ane	Honolulu, HI	Punahou HS (Honolulu, HI)	USC	1953-1959 Detroit
<u>1960s (2)</u>				
Leo Reed	Kahuku, HI	Kahuku HS (HI)	Colorado State	1961 Denver, 1961 Houston Oilers
Ray Schoenke	Wahiawa, HI	Weatherford HS (TX)	SMU	1963-1964 Dallas, 1966-1975 Wash
<u>1970s (13)</u>				
Ray Schoenke	Wahiawa, HI	Weatherford HS (TX)	SMU	1963-1964 Dallas, 1966-1975 Wash
Tu'ufull Uperesa	American Samoa	Aiea HS (HI)	Montana	1970-1972 Philadelphia
Jim Nicholson	Honolulu, HI	St Louis HS (Honolulu, HI)	Michigan State	1974-1979 Kansas City
Kale Ane	Los Angeles, CA	Punahou HS (Honolulu, HI)	Michigan State	1975-1980 KC, 1981 Green Bay
Terry Tautolo	Corona, CA	Millikan HS (Long Beach, CA)	UCLA	1976-79 Phil, 80-81 SF, 81-82 Det, 83 Mia
Wilson Faumuina	American Samoa	Balboa HS (San Francisco, CA)	San Jose State	1977-1981 Atlanta
Mekeli Ieremia	American Samoa	Sleepy Hollow HS (NY)	BYU	1978 Buffalo
Keith Uperesa		Punahou HS (Honolulu, HI)	BYU	1978 Denver*, 1979 Oakland*
Mosi Tatupu	American Samoa	Punahou HS (Honolulu, HI)	USC	1978-1990 New England, 1991 LA Rams
Frank Manumaleuga	La'ie, HI	Banning HS (Wilmington, CA)	San Jose State	1979-1981 Kansas City
Jack Thompson	American Samoa	Evergreen HS (Seattle, WA)	Washington State	1979-1982 Cincinnati, 1983-1984 Tampa Bay
Manu Tulasosopo	Los Angeles, CA	St Anthony's HS (Long Beach, CA)	UCLA	1979-1983 Seattle, 1984-1986 San Francisco
Mike Kozlowski	Newark, NJ	San Dieguito HS (Encinitas, CA)	Colorado	1979-1986 Miami
<u>1980s (27)</u>				
Mosi Tatupu	American Samoa	Punahou HS (Honolulu, HI)	USC	1978-1990 New England, 1991 LA Rams
Frank Manumaleuga	La'ie, HI	Banning HS (Wilmington, CA)	San Jose State	1979-1981 Kansas City
<u>Player Key:</u>	*Practice Squad	**Injured Reserve		^ 1987 Strike Replacement Player

Appendix IV:

Name	Place of Birth	High School	College	NFL Experience
<u>1980s Continued</u>				
Jack Thompson	American Samoa	Evergreen HS (Seattle, WA)	Washington State	1979-1982 Cincinnati, 1983-1984 Tampa Bay
Manu Tulasosopo	Los Angeles, CA	St Anthony's HS (Long Beach, CA)	UCLA	1979-1983 Seattle, 1984-1986 San Francisco
Mike Kozlowski	Newark, NJ	San Dieguito HS (Encinitas, CA)	Colorado	1979-1986 Miami
Tom Tulnei	Oceanside, CA	Wa'ianae HS (HI)	Hawai'i	1980 Detroit
Jerry Scanlan	Honolulu, HI	Iolani HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1980-1981 Washington
Samoa Samoa		Carson HS (CA)	Washington State	1981-1982 Cincinnati*
John Tautolo	Long Beach, CA	Millikan HS (Long Beach, CA)	UCLA	1981 New England**, 82-83 NY Giants, 1984-1985
Maomao Niko		Mt Eden HS (Hayward, CA)	San Jose State	1983 Denver*
Niko Noga	American Samoa	Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1984-87 St Louis Cards, 88 Phoenix, 1989
George Achica	American Samoa	Andrew Hill HS (San Jose, CA)	USC	1985 Indianapolis
Junior Tautalatasi	Oakland, CA	Encinal HS (Alameda, CA)	Washington State	1986-1988 Philadelphia, 1989 Dallas
Nu'u Fa'aola	Honolulu, HI	Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1986-1989 New York Jets, 1989 Miami
David Auplu	Honolulu, HI	Carson HS (CA)	BYU	1987 Los Angeles Rams^
David Fonoti		'Aiea HS (HI)	Arizona State	1987 Kansas City Chiefs^
Chris Matau	Torrance, CA	Carson HS (CA)	BYU	1987 Los Angeles Rams^
Casey Tiumalu	San Diego, CA	Helix HS (La Mesa, CA)	BYU	1987 Los Angeles Rams^
Navy Tulasosopo	American Samoa	Banning HS (Wilmington, CA)	Utah State	1987 Los Angeles Rams^
Peter Noga	American Samoa	Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1987 St Louis Cardinals^
Glenn Kozlowski	Honolulu, HI	Carlsbad HS (CA)	BYU	1987-1992 Chicago
Jesse Sapolu	Samoa	Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1983-1984, 1987-1997 San Francisco
Mark Tulnei	Oceanside, CA	Punahou HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1983-1997 Dallas
Richard Brown	Samoa	Westminster HS (CA)	San Diego State	1987 LAR, 89 LAR, 90 SD, 91-92 Cle, 94-95
Dan Saleaumua	San Diego, CA	Sweetwater HS (San Diego, CA)	Arizona State	1987-88 Detroit, 89-96 Kansas City, 97-98
Al Noga	American Samoa	Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1988-92 Minn, 93 Wash, 94 Indianapolis
Natu Tuatagaloa	San Francisco, CA	San Rafael HS (CA)	California	1989-91 Cin, 1992-93 Seattle, 95 Houston

Player Key:

*Practice Squad

**Injured Reserve

^ 1987 Strike Replacement Player

Appendix IV:

Name	Place of Birth	High School	College	NFL Experience
<u>1990s (36)</u>				
Mosi Tatupu	American Samoa	Punahou HS (Honolulu, HI)	USC	1978-1990 New England, 1991 LA Rams
Jesse Sapolu	Samoa	Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1983-1984, 1987-1997 San Francisco
Mark Tulnel	Oceanside, CA	Punahou HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1983-1997 Dallas
Richard Brown	Samoa	Westminster HS (CA)	San Diego State	1987 LAR, 89 LAR, 90 SD, 91-92 Cle, 94-95
Dan Saleaumua	San Diego, CA	Sweetwater HS (San Diego, CA)	Arizona State	1987-88 Detroit, 89-96 Kansas City, 97-98
Al Noga	American Samoa	Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1988-92 Minn, 93 Wash, 94 Indianapolis
Natu Tuatagaloa	San Francisco, CA	San Rafael HS (CA)	California	1989-91 Cin, 1992-93 Seattle, 95 Houston
Ricky Andrews	Samoa	University HS (Honolulu, HI)	Washington	1990 Seattle
Junior Seau	San Diego, CA	Oceanside HS (CA)	USC	1990-02 San Diego, 03-05 Miami, 2006 N
Esera Tuaolo	Honolulu, HI	Don Lugo HS (Chino, CA)	Oregon State	1991-92 GB, 92-96 Minn, 97 Jack, 98 Atl, 99
Plo Sagapolutele	American Samoa	Maryknoll HS (Honolulu, HI)	San Diego State	1991-95 Cleveland, 96 NE, 1997 New Orleans
Lonnie Palelei	American Samoa	Blue Springs HS (MO)	UNLV	1993 Pitt, 95 Pitt, 97 NY Jets, 98 NY Giant
Carlson Leomiti		Banning HS (Wilmington, CA)	San Diego State	1994 Cleveland*
Arnold Ale	San Pedro, CA	Carson HS (CA)	UCLA	1993 Seattle*, 1994 Kansas City, 1996 San
Ta'ase Faumui	Samoa	Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	1994-1995 Pittsburgh
Sale Isala	Honolulu, HI	Oceanside HS (CA)	UCLA	1995 Cle**, 1996 Bal, 1997-98 Bal**, '99 C
Mu Tagoal		Punahou HS (Honolulu, HI)	Arizona	1995 Kansas City*
Don Sasa	American Samoa	Long Beach Poly (CA)	Washington State	1995-1996 SD, 1997 Wash, 1998 Carolina
Ma'a Tanuvasa	American Samoa	Millani HS (HI)	Hawai'i	1995-2000 Denver, 2001 San Diego
Luther Elliss	Mancos, CO	Mancos HS (CO)	Utah	1995-2003 Detroit, 2004 Denver
Mike Ulufale	Honolulu, HI	Campbell HS ('Ewa Beach, HI)	BYU	1996 Dallas
Tony Banks	San Diego, CA	Hoover HS (San Diego, CA)	Michigan State	1996-98 LA R, 99-00 Bal, 01 Wash, 03-05
Morris Unutoa	Torrance, CA	Carson HS (CA)	BYU	1996-1998 Phil, 1999-2000 TB, 2001 Buff,
Patrick Kesi	American Samoa	Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI)	Washington	1997 Green Bay, 1997 Philadelphia
Pulu Pomele	American Samoa	Oceanside HS (CA)	Arizona	1997 San Diego**
Van Tulnel	Garden Grove, CA	Westminster HS (CA)	Arizona	1997 San Diego, 98 Indianapolis, 99-00 Cl

Player Key:

*Practice Squad

**Injured Reserve

^ 1987 Strike Replacement Player

Appendix IV:

Name	Place of Birth	High School	College	NFL Experience
<u>1990s Continued</u>				
Nicky Sualua	Santa Ana, CA	Mater Dei HS (Santa Ana, CA)	Ohio State	1997-1998 Dallas
Ink Aleaga	Honolulu, HI	Maryknoll HS (Honolulu, HI)	Washington	1997-1999 New Orleans
Spencer Reid	American Samoa	Leone HS (American Samoa)	BYU	1998 Carolina, 1999 Indianapolis
Chris Fuamatu-Ma'afala	Honolulu, HI	St Louis HS (Honolulu, HI)	Utah	1998-2002 Pittsburgh, 2003-2004 Jackson
Joe Salave'a	American Samoa	Oceanside HS (CA)	Arizona	1998-02 Tenn, 2002-03 Balt, 2003 SD, 2004
Mike Sellers	Frankfurt, Germany	North Thurston HS (Lacey, WA)	Walla Walla CC	1998-00 Washington, 01 Cleveland, 04-06
Pene Talamai'vao		Ganeshia HS (Pomona, CA)	Utah	1999 San Diego*
Joseph Tulpala	Honolulu, HI	Burroughs HS (Ridgecrest, CA)	San Diego State	1999 New Orleans*, 2001-2002 Jack, 2003
Ed Mulitalo	Daly City, CA	Jefferson HS (Daly City, CA)	Arizona	1999-2006 Baltimore
<u>2000s (51)</u>				
Junior Seau	San Diego, CA	Oceanside HS (CA)	USC	1990-02 San Diego, 03-05 Miami, 2006 N
Sale Isala	Honolulu, HI	Oceanside HS (CA)	UCLA	1995 Cle**, 1996 Bal, 1997-98 Bal**, '99 C
Ma'a Tanuvasa	American Samoa	Milliani HS (HI)	Hawai'i	1995-2000 Denver, 2001 San Diego
Luther Elliss	Mancos, CO	Mancos HS (CO)	Utah	1995-2003 Detroit, 2004 Denver
Morris Unutoa	Torrance, CA	Carson HS (CA)	BYU	1996-1998 Phil, 1999-2000 TB, 2001 Buff,
Van Tuinei	Garden Grove, CA	Westminster HS (CA)	Arizona	1997 San Diego, 98 Indianapolis, 99-00 Cl
Tony Banks	San Diego, CA	Hoover HS (San Diego, CA)	Michigan State	1996-98 LA R, 99-00 Bal, 01 Wash, 03-05
Chris Fuamatu-Ma'afala	Honolulu, HI	St Louis HS (Honolulu, HI)	Utah	1998-2002 Pittsburgh, 2003-2004 Jackson
Joe Salave'a	American Samoa	Oceanside HS (CA)	Arizona	1998-02 Tenn, 2002-03 Balt, 2003 SD, 2004
Mike Sellers	Frankfurt, Germany	North Thurston HS (Lacey, WA)	Walla Walla CC	1998-00 Washington, 01 Cleveland, 04-06
Itula Mili	Kahuku, HI	Kahuku HS (HI)	BYU	1998-2006 Seattle
Pene Talamai'vao		Ganeshia HS (Pomona, CA)	Utah	1999 San Diego*
Ed Mulitalo	Daly City, CA	Jefferson HS (Daly City, CA)	Arizona	1999-2006 Baltimore
Blaine Salpala	San Diego, CA	Channel Islands HS (Oxnard, CA)	Colorado State	2004-2005 St Louis Rams, 2006 Detroit
Junior Ioane	Samoa	North Sanpete HS (Ephraim, UT)	Arizona State	2000 Oakland*, 01-02 Oakland, 03-05 Ho

Player Key:

*Practice Squad

**Injured Reserve

^ 1987 Strike Replacement Player

Appendix IV:

Name	Place of Birth	High School	College	NFL Experience
<u>2000s Continued</u>				
Mao Tosi	American Samoa	East HS (Anchorage, AK)	Idaho	2000-2001 Arizona
Ula Tultele	Torrance, CA	Pacific HS (San Bernardino, CA)	Colorado State	2000-02 New England, 02 Buffalo, 04 Oak
Saul Patu	Seattle, WA	Rainier Beach HS (Seattle, WA)	Oregon	2001 New England*, 2001-2002 Tennessee
Tupe Peko	Whittier, CA	La Serna HS (Whittier, CA)	Michigan State	2001 Seattle 2002-04 Indianapolis
Brandon Manumaleuga	Torrance, CA	Narbonne HS (Harbor City, CA)	Arizona	2001-2005 St Louis Rams, 2006 San Diego
Marques Tulasosopo	Woodinville, WA	Woodinville HS (WA)	Washington	2001-2006 Oakland
Fa'aesea Ma'ilo		Kahuku HS (HI)	USC	2002 New York Jets*
Ed Ieremia-Stansbury	El Paso, TX	Irvin HS (El Paso, TX)	UCLA	2002 Houston Texans*, 2003 Houston
Setema Gall	Orem, UT	Orem HS (UT)	BYU	2002 New England
Justin Ena	Provo, UT	Shelton HS (WA)	BYU	2002-2003 Phil, 2004 Tenn, 2005 Phil
Tonlu Fonoti	American Samoa	Kahuku HS (HI)	Nebraska	2002-2004 San Diego, 2005 Minn, 2006 M
Anton Palepoi	Salt Lake City, UT	Hunter HS (Salt Lake City, UT)	UNLV	2002-04 Seattle, 04 Denver, 05 Arizona
Anthony Weaver	Abilene, TX	Saratoga Springs HS (NY)	Notre Dame	2002-2005 Baltimore, 2006 Houston Texa
Talifala Atoe		The Dalles HS (OR)	Idaho	2003 Arizona**
Matt Leonard	Ague Dulce, CA	Palmdale HS (CA)	Stanford	2003 Jacksonville
Malaefou Mackenzie	Samoa	Capo Valley HS (Mission Viejo, CA)	USC	2003 Jacksonville, 2004 New England*
Pita Ellsara	American Samoa	Tafuna HS (American Samoa)	Indiana	2003 Washington*
Lauvale Sape	American Samoa	Leilehua HS (Wahiawa, HI)	Utah	2003 Buffalo, 2004 Buffalo*, 2005 Buffalo
Wayne Hunter	Honolulu, HI	Radford HS (Honolulu, HI)	Hawai'i	2003-2005 Seattle, 2006 Jacksonville*
Gabe Reld	American Samoa	Leone HS (American Samoa)	BYU	2003-2006 Chicago
Vince Manuwai	Honolulu, HI	Farrington HS (Honolulu)	Hawai'i	2003-2006 Jacksonville
Troy Polamalu	Garden Grove, CA	Douglas HS (Winston, OR)	USC	2003-2006 Pittsburgh
Pisa Tinoisamoa	San Diego, CA	Vista HS (CA)	Hawai'i	2003-2006 St Louis Rams
Lenny Vandermade		Mater Dei HS (Santa Ana, CA)	USC	2004 Baltimore*, Pittsburgh*
Junior Slavi'l	American Samoa	Tafuna HS (American Samoa)	Oregon	2004-2005 Kansas City
Malcolm Floyd	Sacramento, CA	River City HS (Sacramento, CA)	Wyoming	2004-2006 San Diego

Player Key:

*Practice Squad

**Injured Reserve

^ 1987 Strike Replacement Player

Appendix IV:

Name	Place of Birth	High School	College	NFL Experience
Jonathan Fanene	American Samoa	Tafuna HS (American Samoa)	Utah	2005-2006 Cincinnati
Shaun Nu'a	American Samoa	Tafuna HS (American Samoa)	BYU	2005 Pittsburgh*, 2006 Pittsburgh
Lofa Tatupu	Wrentham, MA	King Philip HS (Plainville, MA)	USC	2005-2006 Seattle
Zach Tulasosopo	Woodinville, WA	Woodinville HS (WA)	Washington	2005 Pittsburgh*, 2005 Oakland*, 2006 Ph
Tui Alalilefaleula		Bartlett HS (Anchorage, AK)	Washington	2006 New York Jets**
Fred Matua	Lakewood, CA	Banning HS (Wilmington, CA)	USC	2006 Tennessee*, 2006 Cleveland
Domata Peko	American Samoa	Samoana HS (American Samoa)	Michigan State	2006 Cincinnati
Chris Plino	Gitmo Bay, Cuba	El Camino HS (Oceanside, CA)	San Diego State	2006 Washington*, 2006 Baltimore*

Player Key:

*Practice Squad

**Injured Reserve

^ 1987 Strike Replacement Player

NFL Teams Key

Atl: Atlanta Falcons

Bal: Baltimore Ravens (Formerly Cleveland Browns, moved to Baltimore in 1999)

Buff: Buffalo Bills

Car: Carolina Panthers (Expansion Team: 1995)

Cin: Cincinnati Bengals

Det: Detroit Lions

GB: Green Bay Packers

Hou: Houston Oilers (Moved to Tennessee in 1997 and became the Titans)

HouT: Houston Texans (Expansion Team: 2002)

Jack: Jacksonville Jaguars (Expansion Team: 1995)

KC: Kansas City Chiefs

LAD: Los Angeles Dons

LAR: Los Angeles Rams (Moved to St Louis Rams 1995)

Phil: Philadelphia Eagles

Pitt: Pittsburgh Steelers

Mia: Miami Dolphins

Minn: Minnesota Vikings

NE: New England Patriots

NO: New Orleans Saints

NY Giants: New York Giants

NY Jets: New York Jets

SD: San Diego Chargers

SF: San Francisco 49ers

Tenn: Tennessee Titans

TB: Tampa Bay Buccaneers

St Louis Cards: St Louis Cardinals (Moved to Phoenix in 1988 and was subsequently renamed Arizona Cardinals in 1994)

St Louis Rams: (Moved from Los Angeles in 1995)

Wash: Washington Redskins

Appendix V

Talking Points for Interviews with Samoan Athletes

- Where were you born and have you lived in this area your entire life?
- Where are your parents and grandparents from? If from American Samoa or Independent Samoa, what town or village are they from?
- Why or what led your family to come to the United States?
- Where have your parents and grandparents lived in the United States?
- Where is your immediate and extended family located in the United States?
- What role if any did the Church and religion have in your upbringing?
- Did you grow up playing sports such as rugby and *kilikiti* (Samoan cricket), which are popular among Samoans in the Islands (American Samoa and Independent) and overseas?
- As a child did you want to be a college or professional football player?
- Did you look up to or idolize Samoan football players such as Junior Seau, Chris Fuamatu-Ma'afala, Troy Polamalu, Dan Saleaumua, Jesse Sapolu, Mark Tuinei, Mosi Tatupu, Manu Tuiasosopo, Frank Manumaleuna, Bob Apisa, and Al Lolotai?
- Were nonSamoans your favorite football players?
- Who were your role models growing up?
- What other sports did you play in high school and were you recruited to play other sports in college?
- What universities recruited you to play college football?
- What role did your parents have in the decision making process of what school to attend?
- Why did you and/or your family choose to attend your present or former university?
- Do you have other siblings or relatives that have played collegiate football?
- What were the primary reasons in choosing not to attend the others schools?

- What role did coaches and players have in your choice of schools to attend?
- What are you majoring in or why did you choose to major in a particular field?
- Do you plan to have a career in professional football and if not what do you plan to do after football?
- What do you see your role, if any, as a present or past football player of Samoan ethnicity to the Samoan community?
- Do you have a different sense of obligation to your immediate family, your extended family, your home community, and the greater Samoan communities throughout the United States?
- What are your thoughts and impressions on the increasing number of Samoans playing high school, collegiate and professional football
- Do you think Samoans are naturally predisposed to be football players?
- What are the reasons you think that leads Samoans to being such good football players?
- Why do you think nonSamoans often identify Samoans with football?
- Is the perception that Samoans make good football players a good or bad representation?

Appendix VI: Tuiasosopo 'Aiga

1st Generation of Samoan College and Professional Football Players

Second Cousins

Terry Tautolo Millikan HS (Long Beach, CA) UCLA NFL: 1976-1984	Mike Tuiasosopo Banning HS (Wilmington, CA) Pacific Lutheran Coach at Arizona Nephew Conan Amituana'i	Anton Pete Tuiasosopo Farrington HS (Honolulu, HI) Moreno Valley HS (CA) Sacramento State	Albert Toeaina Lowell HS (San Francisco) California *Sons Matt, Simi	Bill Apisa Farrington (Honolulu, HI) Colorado State	Manu Tuiasosopo St Anthony (Long Beach, CA) UCLA NFL: 1979-1986 *Sons Marques, Zach, Matt *Daughter Leslie	Fa'asamala Tagaloa Bishop Montgomery (Torrance, CA) El Camino CC (CA) Orange Coast (CA) California
John Tautolo Millikan (Long Beach, CA) UCLA NFL: 1982-83, 1987 *Daughter Emma	Navy Tuiasosopo Banning HS (Wilmington, CA) Utah State NFL: 1987-1990 Nephew Conan Amituana'i	Peter Navy Tuiasosopo San Pedro HS (CA) Cal Poly-SLO	Alex Toeaina Balboa HS (San Francisco) CCSF San Jose State	Bob Apisa Farrington (Honolulu, HI) Michigan State	Sina Tuiasosopo *Sons Trenton, Tyler	
Ray Tautolo Millikan (Long Beach) UCLA	Titus Tuiasosopo Banning HS (Wilmington, CA) USC Nephew Conan Amituana'i					
	Aima Tuiasosopo Amituana'i Brothers: Asoaoga, Mike, Navy *Son Conan Amituana'i					

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