Preface

Advancing Theory and Method

LOIS ANN LORENTZEN, KEVIN M. CHUN,
JOAQUIN JAY GONZALEZ III, AND HIEN DUC DO

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

Nestled in the bucolic hills of northern California lies a Buddhist religious center founded by a Chinese venerable master who was born in Manchuria at the beginning of the twentieth century. According to the center's official website, the organization was established as an ideal "way-place for the propagation of the Proper Dharma."[1] Further, the grounds of the compound cover 488 acres, or "about twenty-five times the size of the grounds of the White House." Originally built in the 1930s as a state hospital compound, all of its buildings and streets have been renamed and refashioned into "a wellspring from which Buddhism flows into the world" and a "place to which Buddhism throughout the world returns." When exploring this vast complex, one encounters buildings with names such as Joyous Giving House, Five Contemplations Dining Hall, Rebirth Hall, and the Jeweled Hall of Ten Thousand Buddhas, which, in its former life, served as an indoor gymnasium. Wild peacocks roam the grounds under street signs demarcating "Boddhi Way" and "Mindfulness Way," which serve as ever-present reminders of the Buddha dharma and the holy decree for this site. This rich religious and cultural landscape provided the inspiration for our book title because it embodied themes that we witnessed among the immigrant communities discussed herein. First, there is a theme of direction and guidance—all of the immigrant communities in this book turned to their faiths for direction and guidance in times of transition, dislocation, and relocation. For the Buddhist congregants at the northern California religious site, the street signs that metaphorically pointed the way to the proper dharma and spiritual transformation symbolized this guidance. For the immigrants in our study, faith traditions, teachings, institutions, and devotional practices pointed to a spiritual "center" that anchored their daily lives.

Another theme revolves around adaptation and synthesis. The religious lives

of the immigrants in our study extended well beyond replicating "home" in a new land. Rather, their religious activities and identity formations represented a dynamic process of adaptation to new physical and cultural environments and an ongoing synthesis of cultural elements from their countries of origin, the United States, and elsewhere. For instance, the Buddhist religious site in the example above might at first glance appear to be a transplantation of Chinese Buddhism and culture to an American location. However, a more complex picture of this site emerges upon closer inspection: the transnational activities of its monks and congregants (many of whom move through its Asian and North American organizational network) and its ongoing dialogue with its surrounding northern California community have contributed to an altogether unique religious and cultural identity. The Buddha dharma street signs manifest this unique, hybrid identity—they are inscribed in English, reference ancient Buddhist tenets, and are most likely not found anywhere else in the world. In essence, the distinct characteristics of these signs capture the vibrancy and heterogeneity of the immigrant religious communities in this book. For some, the signs also symbolize their hopes and beliefs in a new, idealized religious space in America, thus reflecting historical immigrant narratives of renewal, reinvention, and regeneration.

This book reflects the findings of a four-year study conducted by researchers from the Religion and Immigration Project (TRIP) at the University of San Francisco to analyze the role of religion in the civic and political processes of new migrants.[2] When we started our fieldwork in 2001, few studies existed that explored the multiple and complex ways that religion provides both sites of resistance to assimilation as well as resources that facilitate civic incorporation in the United States. Fortunately, the literature on religion and recent immigrants to the United States is growing, and we have benefited from a number of excellent studies (Carnes and Yang 2004; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, 2002; Foley and Hoge 2007; Haddad, Smith, and Esposito, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007; Jeung 2004; Kniss and Numrich 2007; Leonard, Stepick, Vásquez, and Holdaway 2005; Levitt 2007, 2001; Vásquez and Marquardt 2003; Warner and Wittner 1998). What the literature has in common is a desire to problematize traditional portrayals of ethnic communities as monolithic and static and to demonstrate how groups and individuals negotiate multiple religious, cultural, and national identities along a vast array of value, attitudinal, and behavioral domains. We hope to contribute to this body of literature a set of theoretical frameworks that are new or understudied in religion and migration literature, including theories that address sexual migration and acculturation. We also

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

aim to provide ethnographic case studies that revisit, challenge, and reinterpret existing theories related to social capital, civic incorporation, and transnational migration.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Community-based ethnographic research shapes this volume. Data from our four-year study include ethnographic field notes from each study site; semistructured family interviews for five immigrant families at each study site; and interviews with individuals. The first data collection phase involved ethnographic field observations at each site. Participant observation was our primary investigative technique because it afforded rich opportunities to study the daily interactions and rituals of congregants in their own time and space. Our ethnographic field notes consisted of detailed observations made by our research staff during weekly visits to each site. The consequent extensive ethnographic database allowed us to examine the actual processes we were studying. The notes included comprehensive descriptions of all aspects of religious and spiritual life (religious and social activities, rituals, texts, religious objects, etc.), as well as interpersonal relations and exchanges between individuals and groups that could be associated with themes explored at a particular site (civic and political incorporation, sexual migration, acculturation, transnationalism, social capital, etc.). The comprehensive field notes generated "thick descriptions" (LeCompte and Schensul 1999; Geertz 1973) — that is, detailed narratives of events, behaviors, conversations, interpretations, and explanations that illuminate how meaning and identity are constructed in the religious and civic lives of new immigrants. Our guiding research agenda was to explore the role of religion as a primary variable in the civic and social incorporation of recent migrants.[3]

Our family interview data consisted of audiotaped responses to semistructured interview items. All members of a designated family who were at least seven years of age were recruited for these interviews. The semistructured format of the interviews allowed each family member to elaborate on their unique immigration experiences. This included extended discussions on how their religious and spiritual lives help them cope with displacement and relocation. We also conducted semistructured interviews with numerous individuals who were not part of religious sites or families and individuals who frequented nontraditional religious sites, such as day laborers, gang members, transgendered sex workers, and other study participants. Interviews were conducted by

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

multilingual researchers who were fluent both in English and in the respective languages and dialects of the five ethnic groups under investigation. Most of the research interviewers belonged to the five ethnic communities and were screened for cultural competence in interpersonal and communication skills. In addition, research interviewers attended three two-hour training sessions in interviewing techniques.

Although we began with a congregational model, we soon discovered that our sites "leaked" well beyond established religious sites and congregations. In some cases, we did indeed remain with congregations or religiously based social service sites, although we emphasized multilevel strata including families and individuals. In many cases, however, we followed our subjects outside the walls of traditional religious sites or congregations to places such as tattoo removal clinics, brothels, single-room occupancy hotels, and the streets of San Francisco, El Salvador, Vietnam, Taiwan, China, and Mexico. We began our study of a tattoo removal program for example, in a religiously based social service agency. We soon realized that we needed to follow gang members to the streets, to hospitals where tattoos were removed, to juvenile detention centers, to homes, and eventually to prisons in El Salvador. On the streets of San Francisco we encountered migrant transgendered sex workers and followed them to single-room occupancy hotel rooms, social service sites, and eventually to altars and shrines devoted to Santisima Muerte throughout Mexico. Had we stayed within the walls of a religious site or remained bound to a congregational model, we would have missed the strong and vibrant religiosity expressed by this highly marginalized group of migrants.

Hermeneutic phenomenology guided the analyses of our ethnographic data. This entailed analyzing and interpreting how people are situated in their worlds, constituted by their worlds, engaged in daily activity, and moved by their concerns in their everyday lives (Chesla 1995). This analytic approach offered multiple angles from which to examine the everyday lives of new immigrants. Conceptual connections between field-note text, codes, and multimedia data (e.g., photos, videotaped images, and audiotaped narratives) were examined. This process enabled us to develop conceptual networks of knowledge that contributed to emergent theory. Analyses of interview data similarly involved interpretive phenomenology to examine narratives related to each questionnaire domain. This involved reviewing entire interview narratives for each ethnic group to track holistic themes and then formulating detailed interpretations of each interview and marking text that addressed each of the identified themes. The combination of comprehensive descriptive data from ethnographic observations with individual narratives provided rich, in-depth

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

understandings of the heterogeneous, complicated, incorporation processes for a broad range of immigrant groups.

Study Sample and Sites

Our ethnographic observations during the study's first year canvassed broad cross-sections of people at our study sites. To this end, we made a conscious effort to observe and record the diverse range of voices comprising the ethnic and religious groups under investigation. Study participants included first- and second-generation immigrant adults and youth of Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Mexican, and Salvadoran descent. Although there is a tremendous range of ages in our ethnographic and family interview samples (from elementary-school-age children to adults ninety years of age), the majority of our adult participants are first-generation immigrants of low socioeconomic status who have relatively little formal education and who have either minimal or no skills in speaking and writing English. The majority of our youth sample, however, was enrolled in the public education system and possessed bilingual skills.[4]

Study sites were selected according to their sociopolitical and historical significance to each of the five ethnic minority groups; their high level of migrant membership, participation, and leadership; their emphasis on religious and social services for new immigrants; and their central location in neighborhoods with a high proportion of the specified ethnic populations. Prospective sites were evaluated on these four main criteria through exploratory field observations and individual interviews with religious and civic leaders and community members. Archival research of community records, historical documents and books, and printed media also aided our evaluation and selection process. Eleven sites constituted the final selection for our investigation.

Chinese Immigrant Sites:

1. A Chinese orthodox Mahayana Buddhist temple and monastery in San Francisco Chinatown that serves approximately 300 congregants per year.
2. A Chinese American Presbyterian Mission in San Francisco Chinatown that serves over 1,000 adults and youths per year.

Filipino Immigrant Sites:

1. A Roman Catholic church in the South of Market district of San Francisco with approximately 1,000 parishioners.
2. An indigenous Filipino Christian church in Daly City, California, with approximately 1,500 members.

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

Vietnamese Immigrant Sites:

1. A Roman Catholic church in downtown San Jose, California, with approximately 2,500 parishioners.
2. A Vietnamese Theravedic Buddhist temple in San Jose, California, that serves approximately 2,000 congregants.

Mexican Immigrant Site:

1. A Presbyterian church in the Mission District of San Francisco with approximately 150 congregants.

Joint Mexican and Salvadoran Immigrant Sites:

1. A charismatic Roman Catholic church in the Mission District of San Francisco with approximately 300 parishioners.
2. A Pentecostal church in the Mission District of San Francisco with approximately 300 congregants.
3. A Roman Catholic social service agency that serves approximately 14,000 immigrants per year.

It is important to note that these sites were the starting points for our study. The research quickly expanded into the numerous nontraditional sites mentioned above and discussed throughout the volume. The Filipino team, for example, not only observed rites and rituals at convents, seminaries, schools, monasteries, temples, grottoes, and churches but also participated in Bible studies, prayers, meditations, outreach events, picnics, masses, baptism, weddings, confirmations, house blessings, and funerals. They ate *almusal* (breakfasts), *tanghalian* (lunches), *hapunan* (dinner), and *merienda* (snacks) with their research subjects. The Mexican and Salvadoran teams found themselves in skid row hotels, prisons, detention centers, brothels, street corners, prayer meetings, indigenous baptism rituals, homes, and marches. Members of the Vietnamese team attended Catholic masses and Buddhist services as well as technical skills courses, language classes, social activities, and festivals. The Chinese team regularly visited children's after-school programs, festivals, and family events, and took long bus rides to remote Buddhist centers.

The Transnational Social Field

A paradigm of transnational migration guided our study of new immigrant communities. We assumed that our geographic site would not be limited to the San Francisco Bay Area; transnational lives and bilocalism more accurately describe the new immigrant communities of San Francisco. These immigrants, especially Salvadorans, Filipinos, and Mexicans, maintain active social inter-

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

action and community involvement across borders. Travel between sending and receiving countries is common and frequent—often taking place at least once in a given calendar year. For some, dual citizenship, including voting in elections in both countries, is possible. As Nina Glick Schiller writes, “Persons in the sending and receiving societies become participants in a single social unit” (1999, 99). Thus, comparative research in which both sending and receiving societies are explored is critical to properly understand the realities of the new immigrants. Researchers with gang members for example, quickly concluded with Elana Zilberg that “the complex flows and the multiple geopolitical scales of analysis at work in the urban barrio make it impossible to engage with the cultural politics of one side of this social field (Los Angeles) without simultaneously accounting for those at play on the other side (San Salvador)”; thus San Francisco and San Salvador became a single social unit” (2004, 769).

Religious groups also reflect this transnational dynamism. Our research field thus encompassed the San Francisco Bay Area as well as numerous “other sides” and sites. The Filipino research team conducted extensive fieldwork in the Philippines, in the cities and provinces of Manila, Quezon City, Laguna, Cavite, Cebu, Tagaytay, and Bohol. They also worked with colleagues at De La Salle University (Manila and Canlubang) and at the University of the Philippines (Quezon City and Los Baños). Jonathan Lee’s primary research site was in

read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

Taiwan and secondarily in San Francisco. Other members of the Chinese team traveled to Hong Kong and Taipei to gather more information about the transnational activities and social fields identified by subjects based in San Francisco. Researchers from the Mexican and Salvadoran teams collaborated with researchers in Mexico and El Salvador and conducted extensive fieldwork in those respective countries. Patricia Fortuny Loret de Mola conducted fieldwork with Maya in the Yucatán Peninsula and then followed them to San Francisco for further fieldwork. The Vietnamese team's study took them to Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, as well as to a smaller city forty-five kilometers to the south; researchers traced the close transnational ties between a Catholic church in Vietnam that is "partnered" with a San Jose, California, church, and the transnational religious field inhabited by linked Buddhist temples in Vietnam and northern California.

The point is that we ended up conducting our research in much the same way that our subjects lived their lives—coming and going, reinforcing and complementing transnational connections. Once we identified instances of transnational activities and ties, we explored their nature and extent and outlined the spatial or geographical demarcations of the transnational social field in which they occurred. We examined the significance of transnational activities to the character and settings of our study sites. Fieldwork and collaboration with researchers in countries of origin focused on what was actually exchanged in the identified transnational social fields, how these exchanges occurred, and how they directly or indirectly shaped the character and activities of our study sites in the United States.

Embodying the Transnational Social Field

In many ways our research team embodied the transnational social field we were studying. The entire Chinese research team had personal and family ties to the social fields they were investigating. Selina Lui, our Cantonese-speaking research team member, was born and raised in Hong Kong and later relocated to the United States for her graduate education in counseling psychology. She had extensive family and social networks in Hong Kong and the United States, which included active membership in a transnational Chinese Baptist community. Maureen Lin, our Mandarin- and Taiwanese-speaking research assistant, was born and raised in Taichung, Taiwan, moved to Canada during her high school and college years, and eventually relocated to San Francisco for her graduate education in counseling psychology. Kevin Chun, a fourth-generation Chinese American, has family roots in the San Francisco Chinatown community that span over a century. His first-generation family ancestors have

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

historical ties to Guangdong province in China and to Hawaii when it was a U.S. territory.

The Filipino research team consisted of Joaquin Jay Gonzalez III and the research assistants Andrea Garcia Maison, Dennis Marzan, and Claudine del Rosario—all Filipino Americans and keen bilingual and bicultural observers. The second-generation immigrants Andrea and Claudine were born and raised in the East Coast of the United States. Dennis and Jay were born in the Philippines and are first-generation immigrants to California. Dennis immigrated at the age of twelve and Jay when he was twenty-four years of age. Jay also lived in Singapore for five years. Jay and Dennis live the transnational lives of their subjects, with family, friends, and social networks in both the United States and the Philippines.

The Vietnamese team members were all born in Vietnam and are refugees, although they took different routes coming to the United States. Hien Duc Do, sociologist and team leader, arrived as a teenager at the end of the Vietnam War in 1975. The research assistant Tommy Luu came to the United States as a young child, whereas Minh Tuan Nguyen arrived later as an unaccompanied young adult, leaving family behind. Now Vietnamese Americans, all members of the team are bilingual, bicultural, and active community members.

The Mexican and Salvadoran teams boasted a first-generation Salvadoran migrant, Rosalina Mira, in addition to Liliana Harris, who migrated from Mexico only months before the study began; Luis Enrique Bazan, a recent migrant from Peru where he had worked with street children; Susanna Zayarsky, a Russian migrant who has worked as a journalist in Argentina; Patricia Fortuny Loret de Mola, a Mexican anthropologist based in Yucatán; and Lois Lorentzen, a native-born Euro-American. The majority of the team led both personal and professional transnational lives throughout the course of the project.

The unique family origins, cultural socialization experiences, and life experiences of our researchers enriched their perspectives on acculturation, cultural and ethnic identity formation, and social stratification issues for new transnational migrants. Moreover, their diverse religious traditions, interdisciplinary perspectives, and ethnic backgrounds afforded them unique insights into the many facets of religious life for migrants in the San Francisco Bay Area.

COMMUNITY DISSEMINATION

Our team was dedicated to activism and community advocacy, as well as to academic research. Our research enabled us to inform public policy and promote social justice by giving voice to migrant concerns. We were fortunate in

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

that our funders and the University of San Francisco encouraged us to sponsor community-based workshops and to disseminate our findings beyond the academy.

The Chinese team provided funding and support for Family Day at the Presbyterian Mission, an event that brought together over two hundred new immigrants for educational and informational sessions on health, parenting, and education. The team also supported Respecting Elders Day at the Buddhist Temple, an event that gathered over one hundred new immigrant seniors and their family members for an annual celebration to honor their achievements and lives. Members of the Chinese team routinely acted as translators for congregants, provided instrumental support by assisting with academic tutoring and completion of daily tasks or chores. These examples of community involvement are consistent with a participatory-action research approach, and are also culturally appropriate given Chinese cultural norms of reciprocity and collectivism, and the need for more staffing at nonprofit community sites with limited resources. The team also published in *Sing Tao Daily News* (the largest Chinese language daily in North America and Asia), provided radio interviews, and broadcast news (in Cantonese) of social services and activities offered to migrants by local Chinese religious groups over KUSF, the University of San Francisco's radio station.

The Vietnamese team shared research findings with the Vietnamese community in San Jose, California, and provided radio and newspaper interviews. The team also collaborated with the actors Van Pham Mai and Hung Nguyen and the director Victoria Rue of the Vietnamese theater company, San Khau Viet, to conduct theater workshops at two project sites: a Vietnamese Buddhist temple and a Vietnamese Catholic church. The community theater group produced a play based on project research and findings.

The Mexican and Salvadoran team cosponsored numerous events including Immigrant Pride Day 2002, the Migrant Face of God Conference (with a local interreligious immigrant rights organization), and the Celebration of Day Laborers. Team members regularly wrote for the popular press in both Spanish and English, and they were interviewed by local and national radio and television. The team was most proud of helping cofound the theater troupe El Teatro Jornalero. We invited the theater director Roberto Gutiérrez-Varea and the cultural worker Francisco Herrera to conduct workshops with day laborers. The day laborer actors quickly decided that they wanted to stage original theater productions based on their life experiences. El Teatro Jornalero now regularly performs to standing-room only crowds in San Francisco; their produc-

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

tions are frequently covered by Univision and Telemundo (national Spanish language television networks).

The Filipino team participated in Immigration 101a and Immigration 101b, workshops on legal rights and employment opportunities for newly arrived Filipino immigrants. They also sponsored Filipino Immigrants and their Churches: Helping Shape the New San Francisco Community, the first ever gathering of local Filipino American religious leaders to discuss the role of churches in the lives of new migrants. Team members published in the popular press both in the United States and in the Philippines (in English and Tagalog). Team leader Joaquin Gonzalez III was appointed to the Immigrant Rights Commission of the City of San Francisco and was recognized with a Special Congressional Citation from then House minority leader Nancy Pelosi for his "outstanding and invaluable work to the community."

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

This volume draws from the multiple academic disciplines represented by our research team, including psychology, sociology, political science, art history, communication studies, anthropology, and religious studies. Theories that influenced our research come from acculturation studies in psychology, gender and sexuality studies, ethnic studies, migration studies, and sociology of religion; we also utilized theoretical frameworks related to transnationalism and globalization, border studies, class and structural analysis, and political and social capital.

We hope to bring new theoretical and conceptual frameworks to understand the role of religion in new migrant communities. Literature in migration studies, including that on religion, rarely references widely used models in the psychological literature on acculturation. We wanted to bring together literatures that are virtually never in dialogue, even when they address the same subject, such as migrants and acculturation processes. Sociologists of religion may not be convinced by acculturation theory, but we contend that at a minimum they should be exposed to this set of psychological approaches. Conversely, acculturation theorists in psychology could benefit from familiarity with the wide array of sociological, economic, and political literature related to migration. Similarly, the literature on religion and migration rarely, if ever, addresses the phenomenon of sexual migration, one of the foci of this volume. Theorists of migration studies, queer studies, and human rights could profit from dialogue with each other; as Howe writes in this volume, sexual migrants and the legal

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

status of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) migrants pose particular challenges to concepts of human rights and citizenship.

We decided to organize this book thematically rather than by ethnicity in order to break standard ways of examining communities as entities with minimal connections to each other. All too rarely do scholars in Asian American studies and Latin American or Latina and Latino studies, for example, compare and contrast data across disciplines. One of the great joys of our research process was the monthly daylong team meeting in which we shared reflections across academic disciplines and ethnic communities; we used case studies from our diverse groups to interrogate theories related to gender and sexualities, acculturation, political and social economy, and transnationalism. The following theoretical debates shaped our discussions and the eventual writing of this volume.

Gender and Sexualities

Research on gender and sexuality remains marginalized within migration studies. The household and family are the most studied (although still understudied) aspects of migration that acknowledge the importance of networks, as opposed to individual actors, in migration processes. Generally this research, while acknowledging family ties, does not explicitly analyze gender relations and sexual identities, although gendered divisions of labor have been well studied by migration scholars. Our essays build upon recent work on "sexual migration," a new theoretical intervention in the social sciences concerned with the motivations and processes associated with crossing transnational boundaries based partially or wholly on one's gender and/or sexuality (Cantú 1999; Parker 1997). Gender and sexual orientation may be key variables in the decision to migrate. Although feminist scholars have increasingly brought gender into migration studies during the last two decades, most immigration studies still treat gender relations and sexual identities as peripheral.

Research on the particular citizenship demands faced by lesbian and gay couples hoping to establish their legal legitimacy as same-sex couples in the United States is virtually nonexistent. We appreciate the new work that directly addresses the work of faith-based organization in promoting migrant rights, at times placing religious groups in direct opposition to the state (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007). To our knowledge, however, the crucial role that religious organizations may play in helping LGBT migrants negotiate complex legal and social aspects of migration to the United States is invisible in the burgeoning literature on religion and immigration. The complex challenges faced by queer migrants are also largely unknown within the LGBT community (Donayre 2002;

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

Ranck 2002). Cymene Howe suggests, in this volume, that the legal mechanisms and community-based interventions that aid lesbian and gay migration are a fundamental element of sexual migratory practices. Howe addresses the role that religious communities might play, conceptually and pragmatically, in LGBT migration. Utilizing human rights epistemologies and the philosophical framework of a particular religious organization, Howe poses a series of questions that emerge surrounding the theory and practice of LGBT and same-sex couple migration. Special challenges to notions of citizenship are posed by LGBT migrants; by virtue of both their legal status and their sexuality, they face difficulties in claiming full citizenship. Howe claims that religious communities, although not known for being champions of LGBT rights, may have the networks, tools, and philosophical resources best suited to address the legal and epistemological liminality of LGBT migrants, thus challenging human rights at the level of both theory and practice.

The role of religion in constructing and transforming gender identities and relations remains relatively unexplored. Feminist and social movement theorists are often quick to discount positive reports of their religious life by Pentecostal women, for example. Robin Leidner writes that "feminist ideology defines the constituency of the contemporary women's movement extremely broadly—all women should benefit from the struggle, all could contribute to it, none should feel excluded. The reality has been somewhat disappointing" (2001, 47). The migrant Pentecostal women featured in Lorentzen's essay in this volume reported positively of their experience in the church; they claim that they enjoy public roles and that their male partners increased participation in the home. Lorentzen challenges social movement and feminist theory by exploring the paradoxical characteristics of Pentecostalism in a migrant church; it is both oppositional to the status quo and upholder of it. Questions of identity are also central in this migrant Pentecostal church; religious, theological, migrant, and gender identities are continually renegotiated and shifting. Transnational migration networks may also emerge based on gender/sexual identity as is evident in the case of transgendered sex workers who travel between San Francisco and Guadalajara, Mexico (see Howe, Zaraysky, and Lorentzen in this volume). The politics of citizenship, legitimacy, social acceptance, and identity construction are especially challenging for outwardly LGBT migrants; those who engage in sex work face even greater challenges and increased marginalization. We argue that the devotional practices offered to La Santisima Muerte offer transgender sex workers both a sense of shared community as well as an affirmation of identity.

We hope that these essays encourage other scholars to push the edges of

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

theoretical debates within migration studies concerning sexual migration, gender identity construction, gender and religion, and transnationalism and gender.

Acculturation

Acculturation theory remains the predominant theory in psychology that specifically addresses psychosocial adjustment and adaptation experiences among new immigrants and refugees. Although the Chinese team members' research training has mostly focused on the scientific method and statistical analyses, they decided to broaden their investigative lens by using ethnographic methods that more fully capture the multidimensional and dynamic properties of acculturation. This represented a paradigm shift from traditional acculturation studies that typically rely on individual self-report measures with limited data points.

Current debates in acculturation research are mostly concerned with understanding the nature and specific characteristics of acculturation. Specifically, researchers have called for more innovative assessment methods that can more effectively assess the fluctuating and multifaceted nature of this construct (e.g., Bornstein and Cote 2006; Chun, Balls Organista, and Marin 2003). Along similar lines, researchers believe that greater attention should be given to contextual or environmental factors that potentially influence acculturation. In some respects this has moved the field a little closer toward sociological research on immigration, which has paid more attention to the social, historical, and political dynamics underlying resettlement.

Chun references current theoretical models of acculturation in his essay on religious organizations in San Francisco Chinatown. Acculturation is basically defined as a multidimensional and dynamic process of cultural acquisition and maintenance when distinct cultures come into sustained contact. Acculturation is multidimensional because cultural acquisition and maintenance can occur along different dimensions of psychological functioning. For instance, a new immigrant may exhibit shifts in behaviors, beliefs, attitudes, and values as a result of immersion in a new cultural environment. Acculturation is dynamic because the rate and nature of cultural acquisition and maintenance are constantly in flux depending on social conditions and environmental factors. The construct of acculturation is receiving greater attention in the social science literature, especially in the field of psychology where it has been linked with experiences of stress and the resultant difficulties in psychological adjustment. In his essay, Chun attempts to expand the scholarly discourse on acculturation theory along several fronts. First, his essay attempts to bridge the conspicuous

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

gap between the psychological literature on acculturation and the current literature on religion and immigration. He primarily achieves this by exploring how two religious organizations in San Francisco's Chinatown—a Presbyterian mission and a Buddhist temple—serve as important sites of acculturation. Second, he attempts to broaden the discussion of acculturation theory by examining how contextual factors, including the institutional cultures and histories of religious organizations, shape individual experiences of acculturation among its members. Third, Chun spotlights youth acculturation experiences that have received relatively little attention in the psychological literature. Fourth, he explores whether religious practices and values are maintained or are transformed during acculturation. Surprisingly, there is a paucity of psychological research on acculturation and religion despite the fact that religious faith and organizations figure prominently in the lives of many Chinese immigrants. Finally, his essay is based on ethnographic methods that offer new opportunities to observe and analyze the complex characteristics of acculturation.

Hien Duc Do and Mimi Khúc illustrate the multiple roles that a Vietnamese American Buddhist temple occupies in the United States, including as a site of resistance, a place of worship, a center for cultural and religious preservation, a transnational tie between the United States and Vietnam, and a link between the global and the local. Do and Khúc begin their essay by presenting a historical overview of acculturation models in the field of sociology. In this presentation, they emphasize how these acculturation models offer an important macro-level or societal perspective of immigration. Do and Khúc then provide an in-depth discussion of the history, structure, and activities of a Buddhist temple in San Jose, California. These authors pay close attention to how these facets of the temple embody different manifestations of acculturation, adaptation, and innovation in response to the distinct needs of their Vietnamese American congregants and their new American cultural setting. This essay shares a major theme that also runs throughout Chun's essay—religious sites offer novel and rich opportunities to investigate the complex and multilayered process of immigrant adjustment and adaptation.

Transnationalism

New immigrants often maintain active social interaction and community involvement with family members, friends, political and social organizations, and, increasingly, religious groups in their countries of origin. For some migrants, dual citizenship and multiple allegiances, including voting in elections in both countries, is possible and encouraged. At a minimum, today's migrants send money home and are able to stay connected through electronic mail and

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

cell phones. The fabric of many migrants' "daily lives becomes transnational" (Vásquez and Marquardt 2003, 42). The geographical site and unit of analysis has changed from what was used in traditional research on immigration to recognize the transnational dynamic of immigration and the multidimensional nature of personal adaptation and societal incorporation (Basch, Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1995; Espiritu 2003; Levitt 2001). Comparative research in both countries of origin and host countries, such as that conducted for this volume, is critical in helping us understand the realities of new immigrants.

Religious actors and groups reflect the transnational dynamism characteristic of contemporary migration. This volume directly addresses the need to analyze the role of religion, religiosity, and religious communities as part of the transnational migration paradigm. Gonzalez argues here, for example, that the Spanish and American Christianization of the Philippines also precipitated a Filipinization of American Christian churches, especially in California, which is the adopted home of close to two million Filipino immigrants. Gonzalez's essay clearly demonstrates that when taking a transnational perspective we must address multiple populations, including not only those who migrated but those who remained in the country of origin, and groups and organizations (in this case U.S. Christian churches) affected by new migrants.

Countless examples exist of religious acts and actors reinforcing and complementing transnational connections. Jonathan Lee explores the relationship between transnational identity and transnational religion manifested in the pilgrimage of the U.S. Tianhou/Mazu from the San Francisco Ma-tsu Temple U.S.A. to her mother temple in Beigang, Taiwan. Lee asks what happens when a territorial goddess becomes deterritorialized, suggesting that a paradox of spatiality exists in the transnational veneration of Tianhou/Mazu. Although Tianhou/Mazu is a territorial goddess, her expanding territorial sovereignty is based on a deterritorialization of geographic and temporal space of an imagined community of transnational personalities. In this case, what Peggy Levitt terms a "simultaneity of connection" occurs and "connections are integrated into vertical and horizontal systems of connection that cross borders" (2001, 3).

Levitt defines social remittances as the "ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that migrants export to their home communities" (2001, 5). Patricia Fortuny Loret de Mola analyzes the transformation in the *hetzmek* (baptism) ritual of the Maya of Yucatán, Mexico, as they move between Yucatán and San Francisco, California. She also demonstrates that the transnational ties between two Presbyterian churches (one in San Francisco and one in Yucatán) strengthened the respective congregations, facilitated improved communica-

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

tion among family members on both sides, and enabled preservation of rituals such as hetzmek thanks to the receipt of "religious remittances."

Sarah Horton analyzes two lay Catholic movements—the Catholic Ministry of Kerygma and the Catholic Charismatic Renewal—in San Francisco and the transnational connections maintained with their counterparts in El Salvador. She argues that the networklike structure (Castells 2000) paradoxically spurs the Roman Catholic Church to adapt to globalization while also posing a challenge to its hierarchical organization. Lois Ann Lorentzen and Luis Enrique Bazán demonstrate how the transnational social field of gang life in El Salvador and in the United States is perceived as a threat to state actors who then initiate increasingly repressive measures against marginalized youth. Unlike Horton's more optimistic view, gangs reflect the underbelly of "transnationalism from below" and the valiant efforts of religious groups to serve as mediating institutions between youth, the state that hopes to incarcerate or deport them, and the larger society that has failed marginalized youth.

We agree with Manuel Vásquez and Marie Marquardt that religion "is one of the main protagonists in the unbinding of culture from its traditional referents and boundaries and in its reattachment in new space-time configurations. Through this interplay of delocalization and relocalization, religion gives rise to hybrid individual and collective identities that fly in the face of the methodological purity and simplicity sought by modernist sociologies of religion" (2003, 35). We argue in this volume that religion can contribute to transnational flows and consequent formation of multiple identities, challenges to the nation-state, and rejection of assimilationist ideologies.

Civic and Political Engagement

The final essays in this book go beyond the dominant themes in the social and political economies of migration literature that place heavy emphases on the "globalization phenomenon," institutional economics, business-government-society relations, and the capitalization of gender (Chant 1992; Espenshade and King 1994; Halpern 1998). We build on the important writings of Basch, Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc (1995), Choy (2003), Levitt (2001), Parreñas (2001, 2005), Sassen (1998), and Smith and Guarnizo (1998) in recognizing that diasporas are not just static global events caused by "waves of migration" or "push and pull factors" but are dynamically transnational and multidimensional in terms of their capitalization—that is, not just social and cultural.

In part 3, Transnationalism, Gonzalez exposes the relative size and magnitude of the process of reverse colonization occurring in the San Francisco Bay Area due to the inflow of Filipinos and their churches, especially during

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

the more than one hundred years of Philippine–United States relations. The Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam employs a capitalization audit" in his controversial book *Bowling Alone* to argue that in American civil society there is a massive decline in social capital formation and civic culture (Putnam 1993, 1995, 1996, 2000). Undeterred by his many critics, Putnam (2004) further reinforced his U.S. findings when he and his collaborators presented more empirical evidence that this dire situation is also endemic in a number of Western countries. Putnam adds that the decline is evident in both bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is the inward-focused connections drawing individuals to form a social organization, while bridging social capital is the outward-looking activities linking them to society. However, Putnam and the many others who support his thesis have failed to account for the capital commitments and contributions of new immigrant groups, including Filipino Americans. Hence, in "We Do Not Bowl Alone," Joaquin Gonzalez, Andrea Maison, and Dennis Marzan attempt to rectify Putnam's oversight. They argue that hidden behind the European facades of San Francisco's spiritual spaces "abandoned" by the early Irish, German, English, French, and Italian settlers due to radical sociodemographics shifts are the social, political, organizational, cultural, culinary, and intellectual capitals from new Latino and Asian and Pacific Islander immigrants, particularly Filipinos.

The religion and community-based organizing literature in the United States is dominated by examples and cases of mainstream Caucasian-European and African American religious organizations building bonding social capital (see, among others, Dillon 2003; Harris 1998; Jacobsen 2001; Ramsay 1998; Wood 2002). However, there are few studies about civic engagement among new immigrant religious and spiritual groups. Given that accumulation and accounting of various forms of these bonding capitals exists among new Filipino migrants, as discussed in the preceding paragraph, the question that follows is has this critical mass translated to "bridging capitals" and, more importantly, to civic engagement and societal empowerment? Gonzalez and del Rosario address this question in their essay. They acknowledge that Catholic, Protestant, and independent churches have been utilized as effective hegemonic allies by colonizing states, like Spain and the United States, to pursue their imperialistic political and economic self-interests within their colonies, including the Philippines. Yet colonization and, consequently, globalization may also contain inherent dysfunctions that favor the "colonized" or "marginalized" populations. As discussed in Gonzalez's essay on transnationalism, globalization facilitates a reverse colonization with immigrants moving back and forth through gateway cities like Manila and San Francisco. Philippine Airlines alone flies over

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

the "not so friendly skies" of the trans-Pacific route seven days a week. Just as churches in Manila have been used for Hispanicization and Americanization, Gonzalez and del Rosario assert that in San Francisco the colonized immigrants use Filipinized churches as modern-day counterhegemonic spaces and structures where advocacy, protest, lobbying, and activism tactics are learned and immigrant rights are discussed. Similar to liberation theology and faith-based organizing in Latin America (Cleary and Steigenga 2004; Martin 1990; Smith 1991; Swatos 1995; Torres 1992) as well as the activism of African American churches during the U.S. civil rights movement (Lincoln and Mamiya 2003; Sales 1994; Warren 2001), these contemporary counterhegemonic actions are directed at U.S., Philippine, and international laws and regimes that displace, repress, discriminate, and terrorize not just the global Filipino immigrants but all transnational communities in the post-9/11 era.

El teatro jornalero's first play, *Soldado de arena* (Sand Soldier), tells the story of a young man who crosses the border from Mexico to the United States, watches his brother and parents die at the border, and later finds himself a soldier in Iraq where he is then killed and consequently awarded U.S. citizenship posthumously. Throughout the play the young man (and others) are accompanied by *coyote místico*, a figure who crosses the physical border with the young man and his family and who holds the hands of the dying brother, mother, and father as they cross from life to death. Coyote místico accompanies the young man to Iraq and encourages him to cross cultural borders constructed between Iraqi "sand soldiers" and him. He holds the man as he dies, and mocks the general who "resurrects" him from death to the eternal life of U.S. citizenship. Finally, coyote místico crosses with the soldier from life to death back to life as he is reunited with his family and friends.

We believe that migrants ask us to become academic *coyotes*. In this volume we hope to cross boundaries between the academy and advocacy, and among academic disciplines and ethnic communities. We will be grateful if this book helps us understand the resilience, creativity, and courage of the migrants who have profoundly enriched our lives while conducting research for this volume.

NOTES

1. To protect the privacy of the organization, its name and the address of its website are withheld.

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024

2. Primary funding for this study came from the Pew Charitable Trusts.
3. Copies of the research questions and abbreviated sample questionnaires developed to address aspects of this overarching concern are given in the appendices to this volume.
4. Research staff conducted information sessions on the study's goals, procedures, and timeline for leaders, staff, and congregation at each of the eleven initial study sites. Following these sessions, informed consent was obtained from participants as specified by a University of San Francisco Human Subjects Research protocol. During the first year of the study, requests of signed informed consent were restricted to the religious leaders and staff at each site because data collection solely focused on ethnographic observations. In the second year of the study, informed consent was extended to adults and young people who agreed to participate in interviews.

Downloaded from http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/chapter-pdf/639894/9780822391166-vii.pdf by guest on 09 November 2024