

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: TRANSFORMING ESPACIOS CULTURALES INTO CULTURAL SPACES: HOW THE SALVADORAN COMMUNITY IS ESTABLISHING EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCHES AS TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE WASHINGTON D.C. METROPOLITAN AREA

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Transnationalism is a theoretical concept that explains the current migration patterns that are in stark contrast to the prevailing theories of Acculturation and Assimilation. Migration can no longer be described as a linear process. Transnational “migrants” have a foot in both worlds. No matter where their legal citizenship lies, they have a dual social citizenship. Transnationalism is used not just to identify how immigrants maintain their culture in the host country but just as importantly, how they establish and maintain social and economic linkages between both countries. Transnationalism lacks a cohesive definition and a way to test whether it is present.

The Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area serves as case study to examine how the transnationalism process occurs. Key findings include understanding first how transnational communities are established in the host country, as well as how transnational institutions such as Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches began their process of transnationalism

in the home country. Furthermore, the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches reflect and parallel the overall transnational Salvadoran historical and demographic trends. In addition, Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches reinforce the process of transnationalism in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area through memory, ethnic identity, transmigration, networks, and cultural space. It is important to understand that ethnic churches are a major facilitator of transnationalism in the host country; however, there are many other transnational institutions that reinforce the process of transnationalism. This study examines independently each element, which contributes to the process of transnationalism: memory, ethnic identity, transmigration, networks, and cultural space. The research concludes by redefining transnationalism as the process that by which transmigrants create economic, political, social, or cultural networks by participating directly or indirectly in transmigration. Furthermore, transnationalism refers to the process by which migrants become transnational agents when they create linkages at various scales, over time, and across space between the host and home countries and vice versa.

TRANSFORMING ESPACIOS CULTURALES
INTO CULTURAL SPACES:
A STUDY OF HOW THE SALVADORAN COMMUNITY IS ESTABLISHING
EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCHES AS TRANSNATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS IN THE WASHINGTON D.C. METROPOLITAN AREA

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Dedication

To my parents, for having the courage to leave everything behind to provide a better future for their children. To my wife, for being there through the highs and lows of this journey and for her endless love and support. To my nephews, Anthony and Jonathan, all you need to succeed in life is faith, family, dedication, perseverance, and hard work. For the hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans who have risked everything to have a better future.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Around the world, all new immigrants go through a period of adjustment at which time they incorporate elements of their own culture into their new environment to ease their transition into the host culture. Immigrants create transnational institutions like soccer leagues, festivals, clinics, restaurants, grocery stores and ethnic churches to help them with their adaptation to a new environment. Eventually these newly created transnational institutions become permanent cultural spaces, which represent the immigrant community that establish them. The United States has been a laboratory used to examine how immigrants have adapted to new surroundings as they establish strong ethnic communities. In some cases, ethnic communities are identified with particular cities such as the Irish in Boston, Italians in New York, Mexicans in Los Angeles, Asians in San Francisco, or Cubans in Miami.

Each new group that arrives must compete to establish its ethnicity among the ethnic groups found there. When “new immigrants” like their Europe predecessors¹ arrived in the United States, they experience a high level of tension in many of the communities they settled. More recently, the arrival of the “new immigrants” has been called the “browning of America.”² Nevertheless, immigration has always been foundational in the development of the United States as a nation and will continue to be so for decades to come. Immigration will continue to diversify American cities and American culture.

¹ Refers to immigrants who arrived into the United States post-1965. “Old migrants” refer to the immigrants mostly Europeans who arrived pre-1965.

² Refers to the United States Anglo-Saxon population decreasing as immigration population increased from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

1.1 Theoretical Overview

Transnationalism has emerged as the main theory to explain the adaptation processes of immigrants. Assimilation theory is no longer the primary migration theory used to understand the adaptation process of Latin American migrants in the United States. Groundbreaking research by Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton (1992) provided the first in-depth research, conceptual theoretical framework, and comprehensive definition of transnationalism. They defined transnationalism as “the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (p. 1). The focus of transnationalism is to identify how immigrants maintain their culture in the host country, as well as how they produce linkages to remain connected with their home countries. Most transnational research focuses on networks established in the host country but overlook the origin or the process that creates such networks.

Only a handful of researchers have tried to expand transnationalism as a theory by identifying new transmigrant communities or new transmigrant networks (Faist, 2000; Kearney, 1995; Kivisto, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Verdery, 1989; and Vertovec, 1999). Elana Zilberg (1997) and Patricia Landolt, Outlet, and Baires (1999) have reformulated transnationalism by adding new elements such as globalization to understand the linkages created by immigrants between the host and home countries. Issues remain for researchers to address. One concern about transnationalism is the lack of a cohesive definition. Another limitation is that transnationalism theory and frameworks to date lack a way to test whether or not transnationalism is occurring.

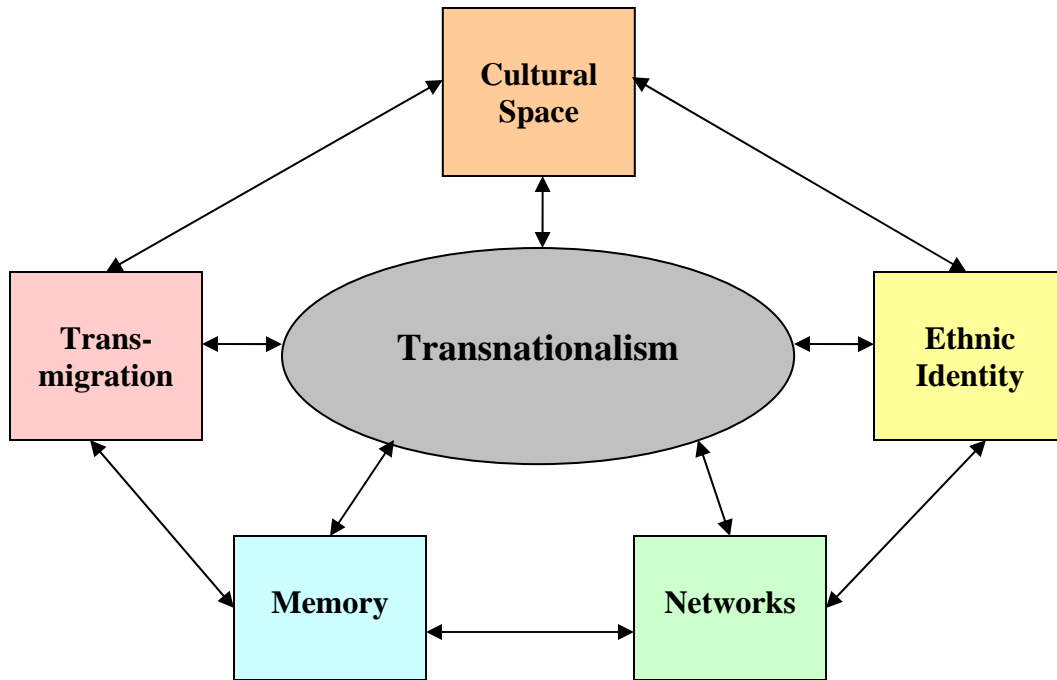


Figure 1.1 Elements that Contribute to the Process of Transnationalism.

Transnationalism is defined in the context of this research as the process by which transmigrants create economic, political, social, or cultural networks by participating directly or indirectly in transmigration. Furthermore, transnationalism refers to the process by which migrants become transnational agents when they create linkages at various scales, over time, and across space between the host and home countries and vice versa. If transnationalism is a process, then there must be a way to test whether or not transnationalism is occurring within an immigrant community in the host country. This research identified five elements that contribute to the process of transnationalism to occur: memory, transmigration, networks, ethnic identity, and cultural spaces (Table 1.1). This research proposes a new way to test whether or not transnationalism is occurring as a process by identifying five elements, which compose transnationalism (Figure 1.1).

Characteristic	Definition	Manifestation
Memory	The desire to be both here and there; to stimulate, transfer, transform and incorporate old memories into new memories.	Immigrants seek ethnic food, listen to ethnic music, or talk to other people that share the same memories.
Transmigration	Takes place when immigrants travel between their host and home countries by bringing goods, cultural traits, and ideas.	Transmigration can occur at a high level of interaction such as when transmigrants travel to their home country or to a lesser extent such as placing a phone call to a relative.
Networks	The linkages and interactions that are created by immigrants when they participate in transmigration between their home and the host countries.	These networks can be economic, cultural, social, or political. Networks can range from the establishment of a church in the host country that has its foundation in the home country, remittances, creating hometown associations to improve communities back home, or forming political organization that influence the host and home governments.
Ethnic Identity	A cultural construct, which is shaped by the individuals' memories of their home country and their host country experiences, as well as the individuals' self-identification of ethnicity, versus that which others might think one's ethnicity might be.	The ethnic identity of an immigrant can either be part of a collective or exclusive community depending on how he or she decides to reclaim memories, participate in transmigration, and in the establishment of networks between spaces. For example, a Salvadoran immigrant can choose to be part of the Salvadoran community, the Hispanic and or Latino community, the immigrant community, or the American community.
Cultural Spaces	When immigrants establish their ethnic identity, claim their cultural citizenship, and engage in cultural activities in the host country, only then does that space become a cultural space.	Cultural spaces begin when immigrants incorporate cultural symbols, customs, and activities of their home country into their daily lives in the host country. This is the case when immigrants establish an ethnic church in the United States.

Table 1.1 Elements of Transnationalism.

1.2 Research Questions

Latin American migrants follow a different pattern of adaptation, assimilation, and acculturation whereby they keep one foot in the host country and one in the home country. This research centers on the Salvadoran community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area, focusing on how the process of transnationalism contribute to the creation of transnational institutions, like ethnic churches. Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches (SEPC) in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area (WDCMA) serve as a case study that allow for conclusions to be drawn about how the process of transnationalism occurs. Therefore, the overarching research question for this study is what elements contribute to the process of transnationalism? Three follow-up

research questions have been formulated to investigate what elements make transnationalism a process.

- 1) What is the origin of the transnational Salvadoran community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area?
- 2) What is the origin and establishment of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in El Salvador?
- 3) How do Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches reinforce the process of transnationalism in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area?

1.3 Overview of the Latino Migration to the United States

The Salvadoran population is part of the Hispanic/Latino³ population which has become the largest ethnic minority in the United States. Since 1970, the Hispanic population has increased from 9.6 million to 35.3 million in 2000, a 268 percent growth rate. By 2050, it is projected to increase from 35.3 million to 102.6 million (Bureau of the Census, 2006). Historically, the Latino population has settled mainly in Southwest states and California. However, since 2000, it has expanded and concentrated in seven states—California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, Arizona, and New Jersey. Seven states had a Hispanic population of more than 1 million in 2000 (Figure 1.2).

The Hispanic population in these seven states accounted for 27 million out of 35 million reported in the 2000 Census. Since 2000, the Latino population has begun to settle in non-traditional areas, particularly in the South in states such as North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Arkansas. These states have experienced a 200 percent growth or more since the 1990s. Only Nebraska,

³ The terms Latino and Hispanic will be used interchangeably throughout the paper.

South Dakota, and Montana had counties in 1990 without a single reported Hispanic resident (Gonzalez, 2000).

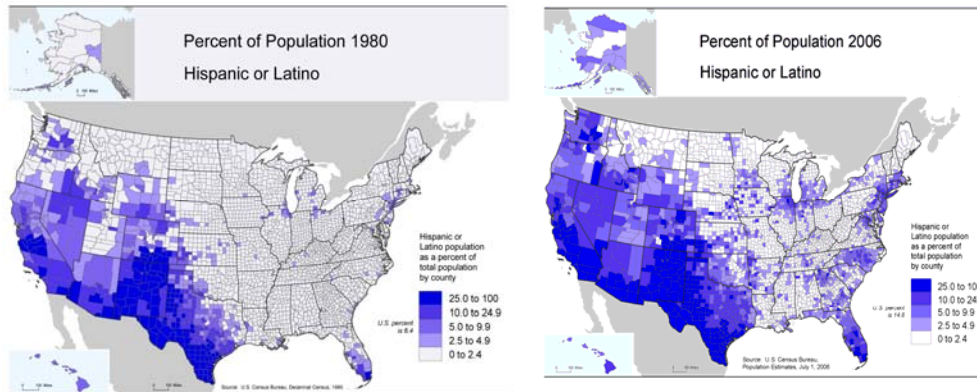


Figure 1.2 Comparative Analysis of the Hispanic/Latino Population: 1980 and 2006. Source: Bureau of the Census: 2006.

1.4 Overview of the Salvadoran Migration to the United States

As the Hispanic population continues to grow, certain nationalities have established a stronger presence in the United States than others. For example, the 1990 and 2000 Census identified Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Salvadorans, and Dominicans as the top Latino populations in the United States (Table 1.2). These groups have been the main catalyst for the Latino population explosion in the United States. Within this group the Salvadoran population has been the biggest surprise since their migration to the United States did not begin largely until the 1980s.

As the Salvadoran population has increased, its settlement pattern has centered in major urban areas in the United States. The Salvadoran population in the United States was estimated at 1,070,740 in 2000. However, the Ministry of the Exterior of El Salvador (2001) estimated this number at 2,215,600 million. If the number of Salvadoran migrants reported by the government is accurate, it means that Salvadorans rank third behind Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the 2000 Census. In

terms of immigration status, the Salvadoran population ranks 8th among all immigrants groups in the number of individuals that obtained legal residency in the United States between 1980-1999 (Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2003); and 4th in the number of individuals deported between 1998-2006 (Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2006).

	1990	2000	Change
Latino (Total)	21,900,089	35,238,481	61%
Mexicans	13,393,208	21,607,506	61%
Puerto Ricans	2,651,815	3,465,784	31%
Cubans	1,053,197	1,236,511	17%
Salvadorans	565,081	1,070,740	89%
Dominicans	520,151	922,137	77%
Other	1,922,286	3,344,204	74%

Table 1.2 Top Latino/Hispanic Groups in the 1990 and 2000 Census.
Source: Bureau of the Census: 1990 and 2000.

1.5 Overview of the Latino Population in Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area

The Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area has been characterized as an “immigrant gateway city” and “new Latino destination” for foreign-born population (Singer; Friedman; Cheung, and Price, 2001; Suro and Singer, 2002; and Singer, 2007). The WDCMA is the fifth most common destination for immigrants in the United States⁴. An estimated 250,000 immigrants from 193 countries have arrived in the region during the same period. The single largest immigrant group into the WDCMA is from El Salvador, accounting for 10.5 percent of the immigrant foreign-born population (Singer; Friedman; Cheung, and Price, 2001, p. 1).

⁴ Ranks behind New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Miami.

Jurisdictions	1980-1990 Percent Change	Jurisdictions	1990 Population	2000 Population	1990-2000 Percent Change
Virginia		Virginia			
Alexandria City	166.7%	Alexandria City	10,778	18,882	75.1%
Arlington	160.5%	Arlington	23,089	35,268	52.7%
Fairfax City	205.8%	Fairfax City	1,159	2,932	152.9%
Falls Church City	91.7%	Falls Church City	604	876	45%
Fairfax	165.5%	Fairfax	51,874	106,958	106.1%
Loudoun	152.8%	Loudoun	2,156	10,089	367.9%
Prince William	195.3%	Prince William	9,662	27,338	182.4%
Stafford	149.2%	Stafford	1,252	3,342	166.9%
Manassas City	725.3%	Manassas City	1,061	5,316	401.1%
Manassas Park City	223.7%	Manassas Park City	314	1,544	391.7%
Maryland		Maryland			
Anne Arundel	N/A	Anne Arundel	6,815	12,902	89.3%
Baltimore	N/A	Baltimore	8,131	13,774	69.4%
Calvert	93.1%	Calvert	502	1,135	126%
Charles	81.4%	Charles	1,705	2,722	59.6%
Frederick	107.4%	Frederick	1,713	4,664	172.2%
Harford	N/A	Harford	2,821	4,169	47.7%
Howard	N/A	Howard	3,699	7,490	102.4%
Montgomery	144.3%	Montgomery	55,684	100,604	80.6%
Prince George's	107.9%	Prince George's	29,983	57,057	90.2%
District of Columbia	85.0%	District of Columbia	32,710	44,953	37%

Table 1.3 Salvadoran Foreign-born Population Percentage Change in the WDCMA: 1980-2000. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980, 1990, 2000.

The greatest concentration of the Latino population has been in the counties of Fairfax County, Virginia (106,958); Montgomery County, Maryland (100,604); and Prince George's County, Maryland (57,057) (Figure 1.3). Between 1980-1990, the Latino population in the WDCMA saw an astronomical growth that ranged between 81 percent and 725 percent for all the counties (Table 1.3). Such growth was more moderate, but still high during 1990-2000, with a growth rate ranging between 37 percent and 401 percent across all the counties in the region.

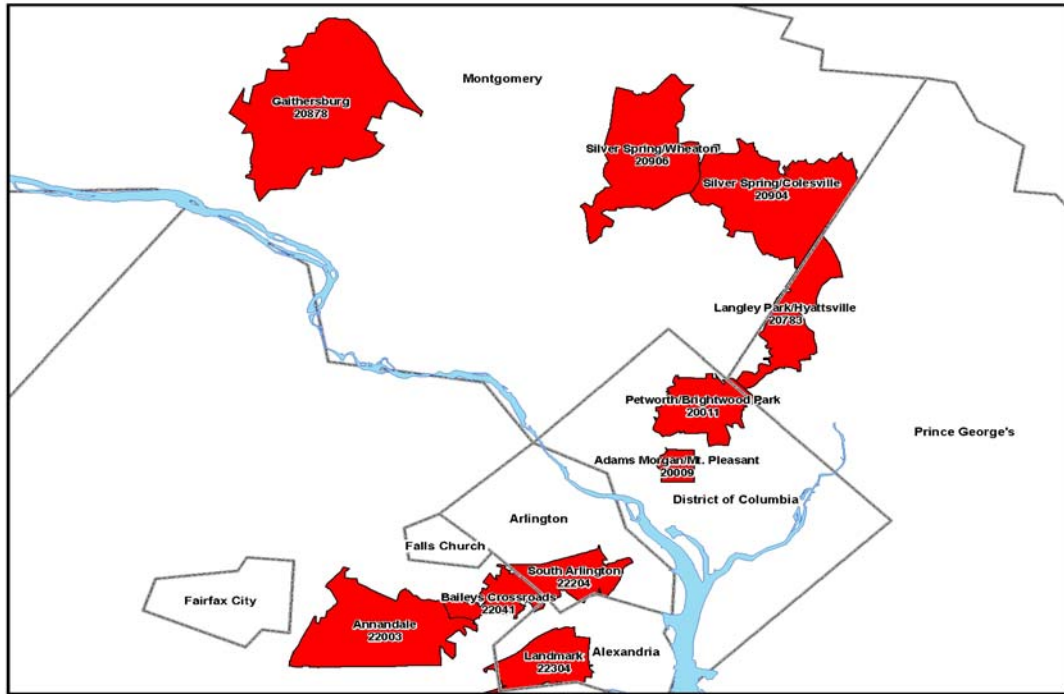


Figure 1.3 Top Ten Immigrant Zip Codes in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area: 1990-1998. Source: Singer, A.; Friedman, S.; Cheung, I.; and Price, M. 2001.

1.6 Overview of Salvadoran Population in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area

As early as 1986, the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area was identified by researchers as having one of the five largest Salvadoran communities in the United States (Simcox, 1988, p. 26; and Montes and Garcia, 1988, p. 6). The 2000 Census revealed that the Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSA) for the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area contained the second largest foreign-born Salvadoran population in the United States (Table 1.4). The CMSA for the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area includes the geographical region of District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia.

LOCATION	1990	2000	PERCENT OF CHANGE
Washington D.C.	6,887	15,886	130%
Maryland	19,122	41,818	118%
Virginia	23,537	54,704	132%
United States	565,081	915,493	62%

Table 1.4 Foreign-born Salvadoran Population Change.
Source: Bureau of the Census: 1990, 2000.

The 2000 Census registered the Salvadoran population as the largest foreign-born population in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area with 108,234. The second largest foreign-born population in the area is that of the Koreans with 60,009 according to the 2000 Census. The Salvadoran population growth rate in Washington D.C., Maryland, and Virginia alone is higher than throughout the entire United States (Table 1.5).

Ranking	Foreign Born
1.Los Angeles--Riverside--Orange County, CA CMSA	284,994
2.Washington--Baltimore, DC--MD--VA--WV CMSA	108,234
3.New York--Northern New Jersey--Long Island, NY--NJ--CT--PA CMSA	105,494
4.Houston--Galveston--Brazoria, TX CMSA	66,026
5.San Francisco--Oakland--San Jose, CA CMSA	56,312
6.Dallas--Fort Worth, TX CMSA	26,654
7.Boston--Worcester--Lawrence, MA--NH--ME--CT CMSA	18,108
8.Miami--Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	15,725
9.Las Vegas, NV--AZ MSA	9,296
10.Atlanta, GA MSA	7,780

Table 1.5 Top Ten Metropolitan Areas with the Highest Foreign-born Salvadoran Population. Source: Bureau of the Census, 2000.

The Salvadoran foreign-born population in comparison to the other top Latino groups in the WDCMA is the most dominant. In Virginia, the Salvadoran population ranks number one, surpassing the Mexican, Bolivian, Peruvian, and Honduran populations respectively. In Maryland, Salvadorans rank number one as well. In Washington D.C., even where the number of Salvadorans is considerably less than in

Virginia and Maryland, the Salvadoran population still ranks number one in relation to other Latino groups in the area (Table 1.6)

The research by Singer, Friedman, Cheung, and Price (2001) revealed the settlement patterns of the Salvadoran population at the zip code level for the WDCMA. The research found that in 185 out of the 258 zip code areas examined, 62 had 100 or more Salvadoran immigrants. The study also revealed that only 33 percent of the Salvadoran immigrant population resides in the outer suburbs of the metropolitan area (Singer; Friedman; Cheung, and Price, 2001, p. 11). Most importantly, the research was able to pinpoint the top ten zip code where the Salvadoran foreign-born population is most likely to reside. The Salvadoran foreign-born population was the strongest in the following zip code: Columbia Pike (22204) in South Arlington, Langley Park/Hyattsville (20783) in Prince George’s County, Silver Spring/Wheaton (20906) in Montgomery County, and in the District of Columbia’s Mount Pleasant/Adams Morgan (20009), and Petworth/Brightwood Park (20011) area (Singer; Friedman; Cheung, and Price, 2001, p. 10).

Virginia		Maryland		Washington D.C.	
Nationality	Population	Nationality	Population	Nationality	Population
Salvadoran	54,704	Salvadoran	41,818	Salvadoran	15,886
Mexican	32,598	Mexican	19,287	Mexican	1,984
Bolivian	15,599	Guatemalan	10,309	Guatemalan	1,888
Peruvian	13,776	Peruvian	8,407	Dominican	1,779
Honduran	9,555	Honduran	5,630	Honduran	1,221

Table 1.6 Top Five Foreign-born Latin American Populations in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area. Source: Bureau of the Census, 2000.

1.7 Overview of Salvadoran Cultural Spaces in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area

All new immigrant groups go through a period of adjustment to their new environment at which time they incorporate elements of their own culture to ease their transition into the American culture. As immigrants arrive in a new place, they use elements of their culture to adapt to a new environment. Thus, they establish varying types of cultural spaces in which their ethnic identity can be manifested. Such cultural spaces can often take on a certain visual representation. One of the cultural elements that immigrants incorporate into their new environment is the establishment of ethnic churches. Across the United States, signs in various languages, welcome immigrants and non-immigrants to attend ethnic churches at a local school, at a retail space, or at an individuals' house or apartment. The combination of the continual migration influx and incorporation of cultural elements by various immigrant communities continues to make Sunday morning the most segregated hour in America.

In the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area, the Salvadoran community has grown rapidly and is no longer concentrated in a few counties but has spread throughout the area. In order, to examine if the cultural spaces created by the Salvadoran community have followed the same dispersion pattern as the Salvadoran community in the area data was collected to map restaurants, grocery stores, churches, health clinics and immigration services that serve the Salvadoran community. The address of the cultural spaces was collected by examining the local Latino newspapers and businesses directories and the address were geocoded. The

result of mapping the cultural spaces was that it follows the spatial distribution settlement pattern of the Salvadoran community in the WDCMA (Figure 1.4).

Distribution of Cultural Spaces in the Washington DC Metropolitan Area

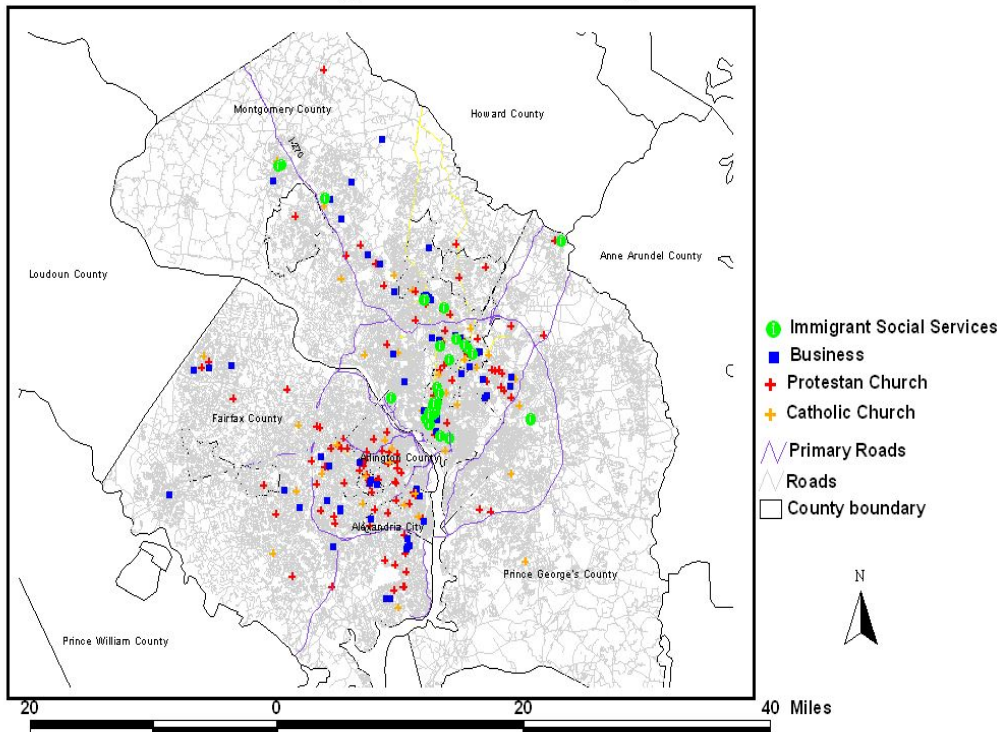


Figure 1.4 Transnational Salvadoran Cultural Spaces in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.

1.8 Overview of Chapters

The dissertation is organized into six chapters to fully investigate the elements which are present in the process of transnationalism. The Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches as a whole become a transnational institution that reinforces the process of transnationalism. This research will examine are the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches (SEPC) in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.

This research will examine how transnationalism operates by investigating the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches.

Chapter one discusses the main research question and three follow-up research questions that are central to this study. Next, the chapter provides a theoretical overview of transnationalism. In addition, it provides a demographic overview of the Latino population in the United States and the WDCMA. The chapter also examines a demographic overview of the Salvadoran population in the United States and the WDCMA. The chapter concludes by observing the various transnational institutions created by the Salvadoran community in the WDCMA.

Chapter two analyzes the migration theory discourse and its relationship to the production of space literature from both a geographical and a non-geographical standpoint. This chapter expands on the five elements of transnationalism: memory, ethnic identity, transmigration, networks, and cultural space. All the elements occur simultaneously, are intertwined, and contribute to the process of transnationalism. Each element is analyzed independently to understand how and why they occur. The first element that is analyzed is memory: the desire to be both here and there; to stimulate, transfer, transform and incorporate old memories into new memories. The second element is transmigration: the movement that takes place when immigrants travel between their host and home countries and through which they transfer goods, cultural traits, and ideas between one place and another. The third element to be researched is networks: the linkages and interactions that are created by immigrants when they participate in transmigration between their home and the host countries. The fourth element of transnationalism to be investigated is ethnic identity: a cultural

construct, which is shaped by the individuals' memories of their home country and their experiences in the host country, as well as the individuals' self-identification of ethnicity versus that which others might identify as the immigrants' ethnicity. The last element to be explored is cultural spaces: the production of space where immigrants establish their ethnic identity, claim their cultural citizenship, and engage in cultural activities in the host country. Only then does that space become a cultural space. Chapter two further examines the various cultural spaces created by Latinos in the United States, such as ethnic churches. Lastly, the chapter ends by examining how immigrants have used ethnic churches as a cultural space to reinforce their ethnicity in the host country.

Chapter three begins by recapping the main research question and follow-up research questions. The chapter explains the research design in this dissertation by discussing the ethnographic approach and triangulation methodology. The chapter examines the case study selection process of the two Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches: C.C. Church and Evangelical Church. The chapter concludes by discussing the selection process of each data collection tool used to answer the underpinning research question and follow-up research questions. Multiple data collection tools were used in the research such as participant observation, in depth questionnaire, key informant interviews, field notes, and the United States Census.

Chapter four answers the first follow-up research question: What is the origin of the transnational Salvadoran community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area? The chapter provides the structure to understand the factors that contributed to the Salvadoran exodus and the establishment of the transnational Salvadoran community

in the WDCMA. The first section examines the push and pull factors present in both El Salvador and the United States that allowed for the first large Salvadoran migration pattern during the 1970s and 1980s. The second section analyses the environmental factors and socio-economic factors that created the largest Salvadoran migration wave to the United States during the 1990 to the present. Each section provides a demographic and historical discussion of how the Salvadoran community was established in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.

The second research question is answered in Chapter five: What is the origin and establishment of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in El Salvador? This chapter examines the origin of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Church in El Salvador. This chapter is organized into three sections. The first section examines the origin of the three largest Evangelical Protestant denominations in El Salvador: Central American Mission, Baptist, and Pentecostal denominations. The second section examines the growth of the evangelical protestant church in El Salvador from 1900 to the present. The last section examines the establishment of the Salvadoran transnational church in WDCMA as the result of many members migrating to the United States beginning in the 1980s. Each section provides a historical analysis of the origin of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in El Salvador.

Chapter six answers the follow-up research question: How do the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches reinforce the process of transnationalism in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area? Chapter six begins with a demographic profile of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in the Washington D.C. region.

The next section constructs a demographic profile of the two Salvadoran Transnational Churches selected as case studies. The last section examines in depth how Salvadoran Protestant Evangelical Churches became transnational institutions.

This transformation reinforces the process of transnationalism through the manifestation of five interconnected elements: memory, transmigration, networks, ethnic identity, and cultural space. Chapter seven summarizes the key finding

revealed from the dissertation. a new definition of transnationalism, elements that enable transnationalism as a process, and an operational model for transnationalism. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of future research directions.

Chapter Two: Migration Theory and Production of Social Space Discourse

This chapter examines the theoretical origin and development of transnationalism as a theory starting with E.G. Ravenstein's migration law, assimilation theory, acculturation theory, historical-structural theory, labor recruitment theory, heterolocalism theory, and others. Further, this chapter analyzes migration theory discourse and its relationship to the production of social space from both a geographical and a non-geographical standpoint. In addition, it examines how Latinos in general use cultural spaces as a mechanism to adapt to a new environment such as the United States. Lastly, this chapter will examine how immigrants have used ethnic churches as a cultural space to reinforce their ethnicity in the host country.

2.1 Migration Theories

2.1.1 Migration Laws

Literature on migration theory dates back to the work of E.G. Ravenstein (1885) when he analyzed England's 1871 and 1881 census to examine migration patterns established by immigrants. Patterns are created by push and pull factors and contribute to individual decisions to migrate. Furthermore, Ravenstein concluded that migration takes place within well-defined flows/routes, and for every major migration stream, a counter stream emerges. Ravenstein's main contribution to migration theory is the establishment of the first theoretical framework in migration studies. Although his research focused primarily on identifying push/pull factors and migration patterns, he did not emphasize the immigrant's adaptation process.

2.1.2 Assimilation/Acculturation Theory

In the United States, migration theories moved away from push and pull factors to an emphasis on understanding of how immigrants and their immigrant community “incorporate” into a host culture. The literature has periodized migration to the United States into two sections: the “old immigrants” (pre-1965, dominated by European immigrants), and the “new immigrants” (post-1965, dominated by Latin American and Asian immigrants). The assimilation theory emerged as the dominant migration theory by focusing on the “old immigrants.” Pioneer assimilation theorist Robert E. Park (1950) identified that assimilation occurs when immigrants are part of a “race-relation cycle of contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation” (p. 138). Another key contribution of Park is his definition of assimilation. He defines it as:

[A] process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common culture life (Park and Burgess, 1969, p. 735).

Park describes the process by which immigrants’ assimilate by adopting the host culture. In contrast, transnationalism focuses on how immigrants incorporate their home culture into their new culture as a mechanism of adaptation.

Further analysis is needed to understand the roots of Park’s assimilation theory. An examination of Park’s earlier writing reveals a biased context. Park believed that only white European immigrants could achieve “total assimilation” in a short period of time to the degree that they could not “be distinguished, in the second generation, from an American born of native parents” (Park, 1914, p. 607).

Furthermore, he believed that other ethnic groups were incapable of achieving assimilation into the American society based on the color of their skin.

Park bluntly states that total assimilation cannot be achieved by the “Negro and the Japanese” because of their physical traits; “[i]f they are given an opportunity the Japanese are quite as capable as the Italians, the Armenians, or the Slavs of acquiring our culture, and sharing our national ideals. The trouble is not with the Japanese mind but with the Japanese skin. The Jap is not the right color” (Park, 1914, p. 611). Clearly, Park is stating that in order to achieve total assimilation in the United States one needs to be the right color, as was the case with “old immigrants.” So what happens if you are born with the wrong color? In that case, the “Japanese, like the Negro, is condemned to remain among us an abstraction, a symbol, and a symbol not merely of his own race, but of the Orient and of that vague, ill-defined menace we sometimes refer to as the yellow peril” (Park, 1914, p. 611). According to Park, a main criterion for assimilation in the United States is having the right color.

In 1955, Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse conducted research with Japanese born in the United States (Nisei) and Japanese immigrants (Issei). They concluded that within the Japanese community a varying level of assimilation exists depending on individuals’ formal education. The Nisei had intermediate level to high level assimilation in comparison to the Issei. However, one factor remained true for both groups. Because of the physical traits of the Japanese, total assimilation is “impaired and retarded by the societal regulations of racial exclusion. . .” and “impeded by the strong bars to racial crossing in the United States” (Broom and Kituse, 1955, p. 46). Broom and Kitsuse’s conclusion is that the Japanese will never

accomplish total assimilation unless there is racial acceptance. According to Park racial acceptance will not be possible because racial differences will reinforce natural prejudice, which in time will tend to accumulate and gain strength and volume thus making complete assimilation impossible for certain ethnic groups.

Milton Gordon (1964) followed Park's racial concepts in his book Assimilation in America Life. He believed that, in order for immigrants to assimilate into the United States host culture, they needed to adapt to middle-class, white Protestant, and Anglo-Saxon cultural patterns (p. 74). Gordon identified additional ethnic groups that he felt would never accomplish total assimilation. These new groups were the Jews, Puerto Ricans, and Catholics. Gordon stated that the problem with such groups "is not that they are not American, but they also have an 'inner layer' sense of peoplehood which is Negro, Jewish or Catholic" (p. 77). It is this "inner layer" that Gordon's believes that prevents ethnic groups from assimilating into "the primary group and institutions—that is, the subsociety—of the white Protestant group" (p. 72). A limitation of assimilation theory is that it not only constrains the types of groups and individuals who might become assimilated, but it also discourages them from maintaining a sense of belonging to their ethnic group. In contrast, transnationalism focuses on the "sense of peoplehood" or the "inner layer" of immigrant groups that bring a strong sense of culture with them and express it by creating strong ethnic communities.

On a positive note, Gordon challenges Park's conception that assimilation occurs in a single stage or generation, as Park claims is the case with Europeans. Gordon introduced a multidimensional and temporal model that examines how

immigrants can accomplish total assimilation in phases (Table 2.1). The first phase in his model is acculturation, a process through which the group acquires cultural traits such as language from the host culture. Most ethnic groups complete phase one within two generations. It is in this first phase that transnationalism is most relevant and evident when immigrants create linkages with their host country.

The second stage in Gordon’s model is structural assimilation, whereby immigrants come into primary relationships with members of the host society via school, work, friendships, etc. This stage becomes critical in the process of total assimilation because once structural assimilation occurs all other phases of assimilation are expected to follow automatically (Gordon, 1964, pp.70-71). Subsequent research has not uncovered problems with Gordon’s concepts of stages themselves, but with the implication that in order to become assimilated an individual must lose her/his original cultural identity. Transnationalism is focused on how immigrants preserve their ethnic identity in a new environment.

Conditions	Stages of Assimilation
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level	Structural assimilation
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation
Development of sense of people-hood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation
Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional assimilation
Sense of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation

Table 2.1 Milton Gordon’s Assimilation Phases. Source: Gordon, 1964, p. 70.

Acculturation theory emerged around the same time as the assimilation theory. Theorists have debated whether acculturation is part of the assimilation theory (Broom and Kitsuse, 1955 and Gordon, 1964) or an independent theory (Spiro, 1955 and Teske and Nelson, 1974). Acculturation theory examines how immigrants

maintain certain cultural elements from their culture of origin as they incorporate into the host culture. Similar to Gordon (1964), Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse (1955) acknowledge that acculturation is only a stage “toward the ultimate assimilation of the ethnic individual in American Society” (p. 48). Broom and Kitsuse introduced the notion that there needs to be a “validation process” to determine “the ways that the acculturated patterns of behavior are used by the groups undergoing change and the contexts in which they are used” (Broom and Kitsuse, 1955, p. 44). The idea of a validation process is what this research will introduce later in its discussion of the theory of transnationalism.

Teske and Nelson (1971) provide a checklist to validate the acculturation process: (1) acculturation is a process, not an end result; (2) this process may be conceived as both a group phenomenon and an individual phenomenon; (3) it is a two-way approach between the immigrant culture and the host culture; (4) direct contact is a necessary prerequisite in order for acculturation to occur; (5) the direction and degree of acculturation will be determined by the degree of influence that the host culture has on the individual or group; (6) acculturation is not contingent on a change of values or loss of “sense of peoplehood.” However, values can be acculturated (p. 358). The research by Teske and Nelson concluded by stating, “acculturation and assimilation are separate, distinct processes; acculturation may occur independently of assimilation; acculturation is a necessary, though not a sufficient condition for assimilation to occur; and the extent to which acculturation must occur before assimilation begins is indefinite” (1971, p. 365). The importance of these theoretical arguments does not lie in the exclusion or inclusion of the acculturation theory in

assimilation theory but in that they both occur as a separate process (Table 2.2). The difference between acculturation and transnationalism is that transnationalism focuses on the linkages created between the host and home countries as a mechanism of adaptation.

Acculturation	Assimilation
1. A dynamic process	1. A dynamic process
2. May be treated as either an individual or a group process	2. May be treated as either an individual or a group process
3. Involves direct contact	3. Involves direct contact
4. Two-way, that is, may occur in both directions	4. Unidirectional
5. Does not require change in values, though values may be acculturated	5. Change in values required
6. Reference group change not required	6. Reference group change required
7. Internal change not required	7. Internal change required
8. Out-group acceptance not required	8. Out-group acceptance required

Table 2.2 Acculturation vs. Assimilation Theory. Source: Teske and Nelson, 1974, p. 365.

In recent decades assimilation theory has continued to evolve with the work of T. Shibutani and K. Kwam (1965). They added a temporal scale and a belief that immigrants assimilate to various levels depending on their ethnic identity. Similarly, Gans (1973) and Sandberg (1973) popularized the concept of “straight-line assimilation” in which immigrants follow a sequential assimilation through generations. Therefore, with each new generation immigrants move further away from “ground zero” (non-assimilated) and closer to “Americanization” (total assimilation). In the decade of the 1980s, scholars continued the assimilation tradition and introduced a spatial and economic element into the process of assimilation. Assimilation is a process that does not happen in a vacuum because individuals from distinct backgrounds come in contact and interact with each another on a daily basis (Massey and Mullan, 1984, p. 837).

Massey and Mullan (1984) introduced the concept of “residential or spatial assimilation,” a view in which the spatial distribution of immigrants reflects their human capital and their social mobility. They defined spatial assimilation as the “process whereby a group attains residential propinquity with members of the host society” (p. 837). An example of the spatial assimilation process is the movement of minorities in the United States out of ethnic neighborhoods into a larger urban environment inhabited by “nonethnic” native whites. They explained that “if a group is not physically integrated within a society, structural assimilation, and consequently the subsequent stages [Gordon’s phases] of assimilation would be exceedingly difficult” (Massey and Mullan, 1984, p. 837).

Another important observation by Massey and Mullan is that “spatial mobility is not only a key component in the process of assimilation; it also has important feedback effects on social mobility itself and is therefore an important element in social stratification ... Barriers to spatial mobility are barriers to social mobility” (1984, p. 838). Massey and Mullan’s research added a socioeconomic and spatial element, reaching the conclusion that “blacks remain socially and spatially isolated within U.S. society ... blacks are segregated by virtue of race, not class ... In contrast, Hispanic assimilation is very much an ongoing process ...” (p. 870). Park, Gordon, Massey, and Mullan all agree that blacks have a harder time assimilating into the American culture because they are not “the right color.” But what explains why the Hispanic population is not assimilating to the American culture?

In summary, there are two cornerstones of assimilation theory: (1) the concept that immigrants have to become incorporated into the American culture, and (2) that

immigrants have to abandon their ethnic identity in order to become fully Americanized. Even assimilation theorists such as Alba and Nee (1997), Brettell and Hollifield (2000), Hirschman (1983), and Portes and Rumbaut (1990) have begun to challenge the foundations of assimilation theory, arguing that assimilation studies must stop assuming the inevitability of assimilation of all immigrants and begin to accept that “new immigrants” retain elements of their culture and incorporate them into the host country. If theories are not tested or challenged they will not evolve and new theories will not emerge.

Other migration theories have emerged through time representing attempts to build upon and augment assimilation theories. Examples of these theories include the historical-structural theory, labor recruitment theory, world theory, dependency theory, heterolocalism and transnationalism theory. They have emerged in large part because of massive attempts to understand how “new immigrants” adapt their new lives to new geographic and cultural places. All of these theories with the exception of transnationalism focus mainly on push and pull factors that enable “new immigrants” to migrate to the United States while, at the same time giving special emphasis to certain aspects of the migration process and the adaptation process.

2.1.3 Historical-Structural Theory

Theories such as historical-structural theory stress the economic linkages between capitalism, globalization, and division of labor. This theory identifies results in outward migration, generally to areas from which the original investment of capital emanated such as, in this case, the United States. Historical-structural theory examines how the "penetration of foreign or domestic capital causes disruptions in

traditional modes of production and exchanges. . .[and how] migration is one response to economic dislocations and changes in the world economy as people are forced to find new ways to earn a livelihood and provide to their families" (Repak, 1995, pp. 24-25). Historical-structural theory helps explain migration patterns from developing to developed countries such as the case of Salvadoran immigration to the United States.

2.1.4 Labor Recruitment Theory

Labor recruitment theory is similar to the historical-structural approach in that both rely on economic factors as major determinants for migration. The labor recruitment theory explains how employers recruit workers in other countries, either indirectly or directly, in order to get a cheaper labor force. In this case, employers assist in the creation of migration flows (Repak, 1995 and Hamilton and Chinchilla, 1991). These two theories focus on economic push and pull factors but are not concerned with the mechanisms that these migrants use to establish their own culture in their new environment.

The Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area is a good example of how labor recruitment theory and historical-structural theory was applied on an international level in the 1970s. WDCMA experienced a shortage of housekeepers, child-care providers, and cleaning staff. To remedy this shortage of laborers, Salvadoran women were recruited or invited to work in the nation's capital during the 1970s by government officials, diplomats, and workers of international non-profit organizations (Repak, 1995, p. 11). For employers, immigrant women were desirable workers, because they saw them as docile and willing to work long hours for little pay. A high

“demand for domestic workers enables women—especially those without documents—to find work more readily than men” (Nash, 1999, p. 6).

M. Kearney (1995) examines how two theories, world-system and dependency theory, help explain the impact of globalization on migration. Dependency theory utilizes history to determine the relationships between nations that create centers and peripheries. On the other hand, world-systems theory concentrates on how “global space within which nation-states are [revitalized] with other units,” creating thus a “semi-periphery” interposed between the centers and peripheries (p. 550). Kearney explains that “new immigrants,” who arrived in the United States [core] post-1965, included a “high percentage persons, refugees, and women coming from non-Western nations [periphery]” and made it possible to talk of the “Caribbeanization of New York City, Los Angeles or Miami the capital of Latin America” or the Latinization of the United States (p. 554). However, both theories failed to explain the mechanism employed by these immigrants to adapt to a new city.

2.1.5 Heterolocalism Theory

Recently, researchers have used Zelinsky and Lee’s (1998) heterolocalism model as an alternative approach to understanding immigrant spatial patterns in urban America and as a detachment from traditional assimilation theory. The heterolocalism model “notes that the dispersion of immigrants throughout metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas conveys the possibility that national and ethnic groups can exist without the traditional clustering” (Newbold and Spindler, 2001, p. 1906). Heterolocalism suggests “that transportation and communication innovations...have made it possible for certain racial and ethnic communities to

maintain their distinctive identities through time, no matter how dispersed their initial residential patterns may become after initial settlement in North American cities” (Hardwick and Meacham, 2005, p. 544). Researchers have examined how immigrants are no longer clustered together in one ethnic enclave but are dispersed especially in large metropolitan areas such as the Vietnamese in Northern Virginia (Wood, 1997), the Polish and Mexican enclaves in Chicago (Newbold and Spindler, 2001), and the refugee communities in Portland (Hardwick and Meacham, 2005).

2.2 Transnationalism Theory

A new theory has emerged that, at its core, is interested in how immigrants maintain linkages between their home country and host country: transnationalism. Transnationalism theory, unlike assimilation theory, embraces the cultural differences that immigrants bring to their host country. In contrast to assimilation theory, transnationalism theory is concerned with understanding the linkages that immigrants establish across space and time between the host and home countries. The theoretical framework of transnationalism allows researchers the opportunity to investigate immigrants in both the host and home countries.

As previously discussed, assimilation and acculturation theories are interested in how immigrants lose their culture and become integrated into the dominant culture or they focus on the push and pull factors. What differentiates transnationalism theory from other migration theories is that it embraces the fact that immigrants are culturally different and will use their cultural traits as a means for adapting to life in their new surroundings. Transnationalism theory will be discussed further in Chapter six and seven as the basic theoretical framework of this research and will broken

down into five elements that will each be analyzed independently: memory, networks, transmigration, ethnic identity, cultural space.

2.2.1 Memory

A central question that transnationalism theorists must ask is: What happens when immigrants leave their home country, whether for a short or prolonged period of time? According to Steven Vertovec (1999) immigrants “always leave a trail of collective memories about another place and time and create new maps of desire and of attachment” in the host country (p. 451). Transnationalism researchers must understand how immigrants need to create new experiences, desires, and attachments because it helps them stimulate, transfer, transform, and incorporate old memories into new memories in the host country (Duany, 2000 and Rutherford, 1990).

Transnationalism theorists must examine other theories to comprehend how immigrants incorporate memories from their home country into new memories in the host country. Edward W. Said (1983) explains the process of how old memories are transformed into new memories in his concept of travel theory. Travel theory seeks to explain how memories travel from person-to-person, from place-to-place, and from one period to another in stages (p. 226). Travel theory identifies a point of origin (home country) where memories originate and a point where they enter into practice (host country). A time of acceptance is needed wherein memories can be incorporated into a new environment. Transmigrants transport memories across space where they go through a process of detachment. Even when a new space is created in the host country by immigrants there is still a connection to the home

country through nostalgia. This process is what Lefebvre (1991) describes as a production of social space,

which is at first biomorphic and anthropological, tends to transcend this immediacy. Nothing disappears completely, however, nor can what subsists be defined solely in terms of traces, memories or relics. In space, what came earlier continues to underpin what follows. The preconditions of social space have their own particular way of enduring and remaining actual within that space. (p. 228)

Memory is such a powerful vehicle that it triggers immigrants to seek ethnic foods, listens to ethnic music, or attend ethnic churches to share a collective memory from their home countries.

Memory induces transnationalism to occur not only in the host country, but also impacts and creates changes in the home country. Elana Zilberg explains that memories become transformed in the home country as immigrants come in contact with friend and family in the host country. She defines “the twenty first century [Salvadoran] family with one foot in the United States [host country] and another in El Salvador [home country]” (1997, p. 139). She put forth the idea that old vs. new memories start to change when transmigrants share their memories and experiences of the United States and the “American dream” with friends and family back home. This interaction allows individuals to begin fantasizing about opportunities abroad, until those fantasies become real when they become migrants themselves. By combining concepts from travel theory, the desire of immigrants to be “here and there,” and the “twenty first century family,” we begin to understand the importance of memory in the process of transnationalism. Old and new memories are created and become a driving force in the pursuit of immigrants’ desires to be both “here” and “there.”

2.2.2 Transmigration

The other element of the transnationalism that needs to be incorporated in the discourse is transmigration. This is the element that most transnationalism theorists have researched and their focus has been to understand one transnational community at a time. Most transnationalism literature focuses on the transmigration of Dominicans (Georges, 1990 and Levitt, 1998, 2001), Puerto Ricans (Duany, 2000), Mexicans (Arreola, 2004; Massey, 1987; and Orozco, 2004), and Salvadorans (Bailey, Wright, Mountz, Miyares, 2002, Bailey and Hane 1995; Menjivar 2003; Vasquez 1999; and Zilberg, 1997). These transnational communities and others have a greater flexibility and opportunity than previous immigrant groups to remain in contact with their relatives and friends because of the advancements of technology, such as widespread availability of telephone or e-mail and the ability to fly across space more conveniently, cheaply, and frequently.

In chapter six we examined that it is important to note that individuals are not the only ones that can participate in transmigration but that goods and ideas also can travel across space and time between the host and home countries. The original research on transnationalism defines transmigrants as

Immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state. . . However, at the same time, they are engaged elsewhere in the sense that they maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated. (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1995. p. 48)

Therefore, transmigrants are those migrants who participate in transmigration by either moving themselves or bringing goods, cultural traits, and ideas across space.

Transmigration, like memory, needs time to develop and affects the host and home countries. A series of articles on the Salvadoran transnational community demonstrates how migrants become transmigrants (Bailey, et. al., 2002; Bailey and Hane, 1995; and Wright et. al., 2000). The research by Bailey and Hane (1995) describes the transnational community of Salvadorans in the United States as divided into three types of migrants: émigrés, circulators, and return migrants. They describe “immigrants [who] leave El Salvador and do not return” as émigrés (p.171). It is important to note that the Salvadoran community during the 1980s was primarily composed of émigrés. Émigrés are Salvadoran immigrants who sought asylum and the protection of the United States government because of the civil war in El Salvador, but were denied and were characterized as “illegal” immigrants in search of work (Bailey and Hane, 1995, p. 129).

Since, a majority of the Salvadoran population was deemed “illegal” they could not participate physically in transmigration. Thus, Salvadoran immigrants rely on other modes of transmigration such as exchange of goods, letters, phone calls, etc between the host country and home country. A massive Salvadoran community in exile was created yearning to recapture their old memories in the host country. The response of the Salvadoran community to the fact that they could not return to their country was to import items to the United States. These items allowed the immigrants to reminisce about their home country. For example, Batres-Marquez, Jensen, and Brester (2001) examined the need, demand, and consumption of ethnic food by the Salvadorans in United States. As more and more individuals gained legal

status more individuals were able to participate in transmigration which resulted in stronger networks and greater interactions.

However, as years turned into decades, the Salvadoran population began maturing, growing, and their migration status changed from “illegal” to “legal.” A combination of U.S. immigration laws and the end of the Salvadoran civil war in 1992 gave thousands of Salvadorans their first opportunity in many years to visit their home country. Those who traveled when their migration status changed and “those who continue to, and who expect to continue to, shuttle back and forth” between the home and the host countries are known as *circulators* (Bailey and Hane, 1995, p. 171). Transmigration can occur at various levels. A high level of interaction would include transmigrants who are able travel back and forth. A lower level of interaction would include actions such as placing a phone call to a relative back home (Duany, 2000 and Georges, 1990). The greater the transmigration the stronger the transnationalism process becomes. In the case of “those who leave and who return, repatriate and resettle in El Salvador” are categorized as *return migrants* (Bailey and Hane, 1995, p. 171). These are immigrants who have been deported or have gone back voluntarily to El Salvador over the decades. In this case, the transmigration process reverses from the United States to El Salvador.

More research is needed to understand how transmigration can create both positive and negative countercurrents between home and host countries and vice versa. A negative outcome of transmigration has been the mass deportation of gang members of La Mara Salvatrucha (MS 13) and 18th Street gang by the United States government to their native country, in this case El Salvador (Vasquez, 1997). During

the last decade El Salvador has become hostage to the culture of violence that these “transnational” gangs create in order to claim their spaces and identity by adopting “behaviors and lifestyles typical of North America and U.S. Latino subcultures to El Salvador in a striking example of transculturation” (Gomez, 1999, p. 57). What Gomez explains as “transculturation” can be seen in the United States with the recent violent attacks by Salvadorans that have received massive attention by the media, law enforcement agencies, Congress, and the President. Researchers must continue to investigate around the world how immigrants become transmigrants and their communities become transmigrant communities.

2.2.3 Networks

Another element that is central in transnationalism discourse is how transnationalism creates networks. Transnationalism theorists have investigated a wide range of linkages and interactions that immigrants construct between the home country and host country and vice versa. Peggy Levitt (1998) concluded that networks are created and strengthened when ideas, practices, identities, and social capital flow from home to host country continuously. In other words, as memories move across space and higher levels of transmigration occur, networks are created and strengthened.

Transnational researchers have also concluded that networks can be economic, cultural, social, political, or religious. An economic network can be an immigrant sending remittances back to her/his home country (Funkhouser, 2000; Montez and Vasquez, 1988; and Orozco, 2002). A manifestation of a cultural network is the establishment of a church in the host country that has its foundation in the home

country (Chong, 1998 and Yang and Ebaugh, 2001). A social network is the creation of hometown associations in the host country in order to improve communities back home (Levitt, 1998, 2001 and Zilberg, 1997). An example of a political network is forming political organization to influence the host and home governments (Itzigsohn, 2000; Kivisto, 2001; and Landolt, 2002). Religious networks are ethnic churches established by immigrants in the United States (Baia 1999; Levitt 1998, 2001; Menjivar, 1999, 2003; and Vazquez 1999).

Furthermore, Levitt (1998) examines transnational networks by investigating how Dominican transmigrants establish religious networks in Boston. She explains that the ability of transmigrant Dominicans to participate in transmigration has enabled them, to “keep [their] feet in both worlds” and create transnational networks between the Dominican Republic and the United States (p. 74). An outcome of these networks has been the establishment of “transnational institutions” such as an ethnic church created by Dominicans in Boston. This ethnic church has become an integral part of the Dominican community in Boston because it provides a familiar space for churchgoers to have a support system with which they can participate in social and religious functions.

Although a church is a cultural extension of a society and is composed of people; it is subject to change. Peggy Levitt (1998) uses transnationalism to explain the role of ethnic churches and examine how this cultural space changes over time, location, and circumstances. Peggy Levitt explains that the Catholic Church attended by Dominicans in Boston needed to educate immigrants about new norms of financial responsibility in relation to the church. Levitt explains,

in the Dominican Republic parishioners were accustomed to receiving assistance from the church, while in the United States the church relied on their financial support. Latinos come naturally to the church looking for social services. They are used to being on the receiving end of missionaries. Here [in the U.S.] they don't understand that the church has finite resources and that it depends on their contributions. (Levitt, 1998, p. 80)

The relationship between parishioner and priest can change as well. For example, the church in the United States felt that

Boston clergy claimed that [churchgoers] often expected [the priest] to be available at all times instead of during prearranged office hours, while [priests in the Dominican Republic] felt it was their responsibility to come when a parishioner called. (Levitt, 1998, p. 80).

In Latin America, priests are available at anytime and immigrant parishioners expect that the relationship will continue in the same manner, or perhaps expect ever more.

The relationship between the congregation and the church hierarchy will thus continue to evolve and change because the ethnic church is a cultural extension of the churches in the home country. It is important to note that when networks emerge in the host country they acquire the ethnic identity of the individuals or ethnic groups that established them.

2.2.4 Ethnic Identity

The fourth central element in the analysis of transnationalism is the manifestation of ethnic identity by immigrants in the host country. Similar to transmigration, memory, and networks, ethnic identity plays a crucial role in the formation, unification, identification, and expansion of transmigrant communities. The lack of research about ethnic identity and its importance in the creation of transnationalism has prompted researchers such as Larissa Baia (1999) to challenge other transnationalism researchers to incorporate ethnic identity in the discussion of

transnationalism. Baia calls for researchers to respond, “to the challenges of understanding identity formation from a perspective that is not bounded by space or time, but that instead appreciates the fluidity and the dialectical character of the process of identity construction” (p. 93). Researchers must explore the dialogue of ethnic identity outside of the transnationalism literature.

Flores and Benmayor (1997) are interested in how identity is constructed and defines this process as "cultural citizenship." Cultural citizenship is “how groups form, define themselves, define their memberships, claim rights, and develop a vision of the type of society that they want to live in” (Flores and Benmayor, 1997, p. 263). Kelly Chong (1998) goes one step further by combining the construction of ethnicity and how it relates to immigrants’ memories. Chong defines ethnicity as a

dynamic, emergent cultural construction arising in response to external conditions over time, ethnic identity must also not be understood simply as a “collective fiction,” but as a construction which ‘incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories. (1998, p. 260)

This reinforces the overall premise of this research that ethnic churches can serve as “institutional vehicles” of transnationalism among immigrants in the United States because of their role in a process that takes time and incorporates past memories into a new identity in the host country. In other words, ethnic identity is constructed based upon old memories or experiences in the home country combined with new memories and experiences in the host country. So how do immigrants establish an ethnic identity in the host country?

Religion is one of the many paths that immigrants can choose to construct their ethnic identity. Kelly Chong’s (1998) research establishes that the ethnic church

serves as an “institutional vehicle” that allows for the reproduction of ethnicity in the host country. Fenggang Yang and Helen Rose Ebaugh (2001) also recognize this institutional vehicle but tie it with various other relationships and patterns that exist between religion and ethnicity. One of these patterns is how ethnic groups, including new immigrants, may adopt a “nontraditional religion,” as happens in the case of Latino Pentecostals, Korean and Chinese Protestants, and Vietnamese Catholics (p. 369).

The research by Fenggang Yang and Helen Rose Ebaugh (2001) examines the relationship between religion and ethnicity by classifying it in four categories. The first category, “ethnic fusion,” refers to when religion is the foundation of ethnicity or where ethnicity equals religion as in the case of the Jews. Next, “ethnic religion” is where religion can be tied to a particular ethnicity but does not define the ethnicity or vice versa as is the case with Greek or Russian Orthodox churches. Third, “religious ethnicity” occurs where an ethnic group is linked to a religious tradition that is shared by other ethnic groups and religious identification can be claimed without claiming ethnic identification like Irish, Italians, or Latino Catholics. In a fourth category “nontraditional religion,” we find new immigrant groups that adopt a religion that is not normally associated with the dominant religion of their home country. The fourth category dynamics of their construction of religious and ethnic identity take on a new character in the case of Latino Pentecostal, Korean and Chinese Protestants, and Vietnamese Catholics (p. 369).

The Catholic Peruvian community in the United States is an example of the third category of ethnicity and religion: “religious ethnicity.” Larissa Baia’s (1999)

transnational research examines the Catholic *Hermandades* (Brotherhoods) created by the Peruvians. *Hermandades* are associations constituted by lay Catholics for the purpose of worshipping a patron saint from a particular geographic region. Baia concluded that American parishes encourage the establishment of separate *Hermandades* by Peruvians for two reasons: First, it helps Peruvians to construct an ethnic identity within the parish. Secondly, acceptance of the *Hermandades* by the parish establishes allegiance and participation within the parish (p. 100). In this case the Catholic Church encouraged a national identity within the large Latino parish.

The work of Cecilia Menjivar (2003) shows how Salvadoran Catholic Churches in San Francisco, Washington D.C., and Phoenix respond to “immigrants’ needs and afflictions” and identifies the role of these religious institutions in the lives of Salvadoran immigrants. Menjivar explains that the Catholic Church has always been an advocate for the right of immigrants particularly as they come from Latin America. Indeed, the Catholic Church has been at forefront of immigrants rights in the United States participating in the debates on “*Illegal Immigration Reform, Immigration Responsibility Act, the Welfare Reform Act of 1996*, and the Bishops Conference of 2000 [that] made a pastoral call to respect immigrants’ rights as human rights” (Menjivar, 2003, p. 30). According to Menjivar the Catholic Church advances “pan-ethnic models (in multicultural parishes) and encourages members to look for collective solutions to their problems [ie. Immigration Marches and Boycotts] which may lead to a coalition building and a sense of ethnic Identity” (p. 42). In other words, the Catholic Church emphasizes a collective identity (Latino/Hispanic) versus a single nationality (for example, Salvadoran or Peruvian). But how does the

Evangelical Protestant Church shape the ethnic identity of the Latinos in the United States?

The Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in the United States fits the fourth category of Fenggang Yang and Helen Rose Ebaugh's research. The emergence of "nontraditional religion" is observed in the rapid rise of Pentecostalism over the last several decades and its challenge to the dominance of Catholicism among Latinos. Manuel Vasquez provides a possible explanation for the emergence of nontraditional religion among Latinos in the United States. Vasquez believes that Latinos are drawn to Pentecostalism in the United States because it "correlate[s] with their gradual assimilation to the Anglo civilization in which they find themselves. Pentecostalism is a way for Latinos to effect a symbolic repudiation of what previously held them in place, vertically and horizontally [i.e. the Catholic Church]" (Vasquez, 1999, p. 621). According to Vasquez, Pentecostalism teaches individuals the value of free will and hard work allowing them to climb the social and economic ladder and achieve the American dream (Vasquez, 1999, p. 621). Furthermore, Manuel A. Vasquez argues that Pentecostalism has become an alternative choice for Latinos who do not agree with the "hierarchical and organic Catholic order, which historically has been associated with authoritarian and patriarchal social systems in Latin America" (1999, p. 620). The notion that immigrants such as the Salvadorans are choosing "nontraditional religion" in the United States so as to become "assimilated" is repudiated by Fenggang Yang (1998) who argues that immigrants attend ethnic churches as a response to the construction of their new ethnicity in the United States.

Yang tells of Chinese Christians who are fighting to preserve their ethnic identity by establishing, creating, and attending ethnic Chinese churches. If the Chinese Christian wanted to become assimilated as Vasquez argues, he or she “would be join[ing] a mainline church. However, Chinese Christians have chosen evangelical or fundamentalist Christianity and subsequently have formed nondenominational ethnic churches” (Yang, 1998, p. 240).

Cecilia Menjivar argues that Evangelical Protestant churches serve as a mechanism to “forge strong ties among the [congregation] and with leaders, which often make the church the single most important institution in their lives” (2003, p. 42). As a result, the church becomes the center of their life for many of the immigrants who are adapting to a new culture. In other words, Salvadorans who attend Evangelical Protestant Churches do so, not with the intent to become Americanized, but to maintain and preserve an ethnic identity. Even Vasquez’s own research with the Salvadoran community in Washington D.C. contradicts his assimilation argument.

Vasquez (1999) observed the *Iglesia de Apostoles y Profeta* (IAP), an Evangelical Protestant Church in Washington D.C. whose denominational origin lies in El Salvador. The picture that Vasquez provides is an ethnic church strongly identified by its congregation’s nationality. The pastor of the IAP church identifies his church as “working people, janitors, waiters, gardeners, and maids. We were peasants and laborers in El Salvador. We work with our hands, not with books. We are not lawyers, doctors, or professors. We are poor and humble [people]. . . .”

(Vasquez, 1999, p. 627). Furthermore, the church's main activities are geared towards El Salvador. Vasquez explains further,

[f]or the the IAP the main referent is not the local Hispanic community but small towns in eastern El Salvador that are now undergoing a process of reconstruction after the civil war. Thus the church's main evangelistic thrust is towards El Salvador via a weekly radio program called "Toward Heaven," linking Washington and eastern El Salvador, in which relatives exchange, in addition to prayers, information about what is going on in the two communities. (1999, p. 627)

Clearly, Salvadorans attend the IAP church not with the intent to become Americanized but to seek, maintain, and preserve an ethnic identity.

Vasquez (1999) even examines the power of the pastor and its influence on the identity of the church. He explains that the power of the pastor lies in "an agrarian traditional type of authority, based on exclusionary, patriarchal, 'caudillo – style' patterns" (p. 629). The congregation can struggle with the authority of the pastor. As a member explains,

the pastor, the authority in the congregation. Whatever [he said must] be done.' This decision by the pastor created uproar within the congregation and challenged his authority by stating "you have no authority to tell us what to do. Pastors are to serve God not to serve themselves. Pastors are to help the people, the congregation. They must respect the authority that God has given them. This is not something that is trivial. [Fidel] Castro can do what he wants in Cuba, but here we aren't in Cuba. You can't do whatever you please; you have to listen to the community. . . . (Vasquez, 1999, p. 629)

Two aspects are important to note from Vasquez' research: first that the congregation is capable of challenging and disagreeing with the hierarchical structure and authority. The second aspect is that the construction of ethnic identity in this case is a description of how Pentecostal ideas, practices, and forms of organization help construct an exclusive identity among Salvadorans in Washington D.C.

Lastly, Fenggang Yang (1998) argues that immigrants in the United States choose to attend ethnic churches as a response to their ethnicity and not to become assimilated to American society. If he is right, this process contradicts the argument of assimilation theorists. Yang explains that in the case of the Chinese Christians are fighting to preserve their ethnic identity by establishing, creating, and attending ethnic Chinese churches. If Chinese Christians wanted to assimilate, they “would join a mainline church. However, Chinese Christians have chosen evangelical or fundamentalist Christianity and subsequently have formed nondenominational ethnic churches” (Yang, 1998, p. 240). Each ethnic community can use its ethnic churches in a different way to replicate their own ethnic identity in the host country. In synopsis, ethnic churches provide immigrants a space that allows for their culture to be re-created and manifested either as exclusive or a collective identity.

In summary, the ethnic church provides immigrants with a space to create and manifest an exclusive or collective identity depending on how each immigrant decides to reclaim his or her memories, participate in transmigration, and participate in the establishment of networks across space. Ethnic identity is a process like transnationalism. It is shaped by the individuals’ memories of their home country and their host country’s new experiences.

2.2.5 Cultural Spaces

An important theme ignored by transnational researchers is how transmigrants create and reproduce cultural spaces in the host country. This is the element of transnationalism in which geographers can excel and must be at the forefront. When transnationalism theorists mention cultural spaces, they do so in the context of the

activities of daily life. They describe the space itself: “shops and kiosks stocked [with] Salvadoran icons such as bumper stickers and key-chains portraying the Salvadoran flag and/or its colors, alongside similar objects for other ethnic groups living in the area, but the discounted calling rates advertised in storefront windows placed information on calling to the El Salvador below rates to Colombia or Mexico” (Bailey, et al., 2000, p. 135). Ignored in transnationalism research is the idea that before an immigrant enters a shop, restaurant, grocery store, ethnic church or another cultural space a transformation process has changed *espacios culturales* into cultural spaces.

Other researchers and disciplines have conceptualized cultural spaces through terms such as “living border” (Flores and Yudice, 1990), “*relatinización*” (Zilberg, 1997), “third space” (Soja, 1996), “cultural citizenship” (Flores and Benmayor, 1997), “other” (Hooks, 1990) and “borderlands” (Anzaldúa, 1987). For example, Bell Hook describes space as

home is no longer just one place. It is locations. Home is that place which enables and promotes varied and ever changing perspectives, a place where one discovers new ways of seeing reality, frontiers of difference. One confronts and accepts dispersal and fragmentation as part of the constructions of a new world order that reveals more fully where we are, who we can become. (Hooks, 1990, p. 148)

In other words, individuals are the agents that create cultural space.

Geographer must expand the scope of post-modernist dialogue and incorporate in their discourse how immigrants are creating cultural spaces around the world through the process of transnationalism. Geographer must examine our past contribution of production of space and also incorporate outside theoretical perspective concerning space. Researchers of transnationalism and production of

space must examine how the cultural space becomes part of the immigrant's daily life in the host country. Only then researchers can understand the process that enables space to be created. But how do cultural spaces emerge?

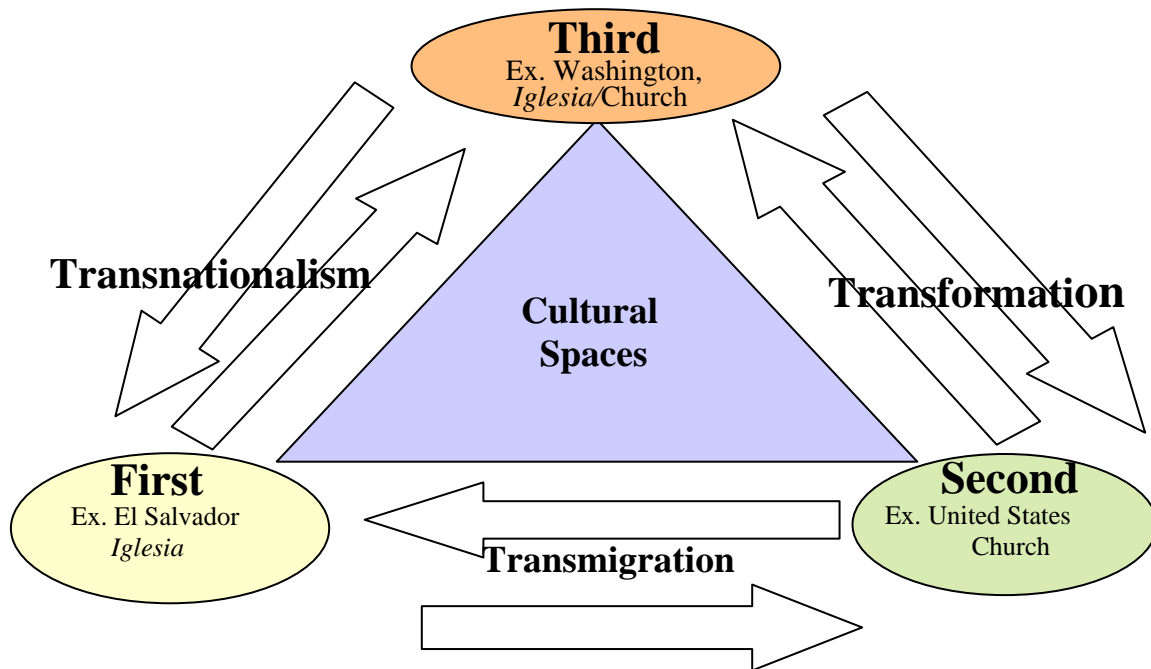


Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework of the Transnationalism Process.

Cultural spaces occur when in the first space [home country] a culture such as the Salvadoran culture with its particular cultural traits comes into contact through the process of transnationalism with a second space [host county] with its own culture such as the United States culture with its own particular cultural traits. The result is the emergence of a third space [host/home country] created by the process of transnationalism which produces a visual output in the form of a cultural space (Figure 2.1). Cultural space is the physical manifestation of transnationalism created by the transmigrant in the host country. If this is the case, then transnationalism is the process that enables cultural, political, economic, social, and religious networks to

establish cultural spaces in the home country and in the host country and vice versa.

Cultural spaces begin when immigrants incorporate cultural symbols, customs, and activities of the home country into their daily lives in the host country, that remind them of home such as religion, festivals, food, music, or sports. Cultural spaces can have multiple meanings that change depending on the ethnic identity that created them and how each ethnicity uses the cultural space as in the case of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches. Cultural spaces created by transnationalism are a cultural extension of and are composed of people, and are subject to change. When immigrants “claim [cultural] space, they do so not for the purpose of being different, but rather simply to create a place where they can feel a sense of belonging, comfortable, and at home” (Flores and Benmayor, 1997, p. 262). Lefebvre (1991) simply states that “(social) space is a (social) product” (p. 26). Transnationalism allows for memory, transmigration, networks, and ethnic identity all to come together and become manifest in tangible cultural space. However, a better theoretical understanding of the production of social space or cultural space is needed before proceeding here.

2.3 Production of Social Space Theories

By examining the literature of the production of social space, one can better understand how transnational spaces can be created. Tim Unwin (1992) argues that, surprisingly, geographers have played an “insignificant role in contemporary philosophical debates concerning the nature of space” (p. 194). Others believe that human geography “has become inextricably caught up in this intellectual maelstrom, and in many respects has moved to the forefront in the conceptual reappraisal and

exploration that has ensued” (Gregory, Martin, and Smith, 1994, p. 1). Whether one agrees or disagrees with these interpretations, geographers, especially human geographers, have contributed to the philosophical debates concerning nature and space and must continue to lead the discussion. However, geographers need to continue to explore how space is socially constructed by examining past arguments, both within and outside the field of geography.

2.3.1 Social Production of Space

The philosopher Henri Lefebvre is a pioneer in examining how space is socially constructed. Henri Lefebvre’s book, *The Production of Space* (1991), establishes a conceptual and theoretical framework for the production of social spaces. Lefebvre understands that multiple spaces can be produced simultaneously, such as mental space, science of space (mathematic), knowledge of space (philosophical), physical space, real space, and economic space, and that these spaces are interrelated. In this understanding of intertwined spaces, there is no mention of how immigrants create spaces.

To further understand the production of social space Lefebvre provides a conceptual triad. The first component of the triad is the “*spatial practice*,” which embraces production and reproduction by allowing individuals to maintain relationships within a social space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). The second component, “*representations of space*,” is the conceptualized space of intellectuals, “all of whom identify what is lived, and what is perceived with what is conceived” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). The last component of the triad is “*representational spaces*,” which is the space directly lived through symbols and where the imagination seeks to change and

appropriate such space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). The visual manifestation of such spaces can be represented in buildings, monuments, or the arts (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). Even though Lefebvre does not mention the role of immigrants in the visual manifestation of social spaces, his theory offers geographers and non-geographers a perspective from which to investigate whether immigrants can create such spaces.

Tim Unwin (1992) argues that Lefebvre is concerned with producing “reconciliation between the physical/natural space and mental space.... which is achieved through the development of a concept of social space” (p. 196). Furthermore, Unwin draws four main implications from Lefebvre’s work on how social space is produced: first, “physical space is disappearing”; second, “every society and hence every mode of production ... produces a space, its own space”; third, “if space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production”; and lastly, “we are therefore dealing with history” (p. 195). But how does Lefebvre define space?

Rob Shields (1999) argues that Lefebvre uses space as a metaphor and allegory. However, Shield argues that space itself can be interpreted differently from the production of space. If this is true, then “space is not just spatial practice, in the sense of its social construction, but equally the representations of it and discourse about it. . .” (p. 154). The literature on Lefebvre’s theories allows for an understanding about how various types of spaces are produced and interrelated.

2.3.2 Third Space

Edward W. Soja (1996) organizes Lefebvre’s triad into First, Second, and Third spaces (p. 69). Soja analyzes how the social production of “First space” or

“perceived space” takes place within a historical perspective. The First space is where space evolves through a sequence of “changing geographies that result from the dynamic relations between human beings and their constructed as well as natural environments” (p. 77). The “Second space” or “conceived space” is known as the “real,” “symbolic” or “dominant space.” It is “entirely ideational, made up of projections into the empirical world from conceived or imagined geographies” (p. 79).

According to Soja, Third space is where lived, perceived, and conceived spaces are fused together and are manifested. It is where everything comes together, “subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable.....” (p. 57). Most importantly, Soja’s work establishes that spaces can be constructed, and those spaces can change us. The production of space according to Soja (2000), “begins with the body, with the construction and performance of the self, the human subject, . . . our actions and thought shape the spaces around us, but at the same time the larger collective or socially produced spaces and places within which we live also shape actions and thoughts” (p. 6). In other words, the responsibility is on the individual to create and manifest a visual representation of their social space and for the researcher to understand the process. In terms of this research, this would mean that immigrants are the agents who create spaces in a new surrounding based on their ethnicity.

2.3.3 Grid of Spatial Practice

David Harvey agrees with Soja that these spaces change us. But they can also “take on new definitions and meanings” (1990b, p. 422). For Harvey, social space

evolves and can pass through a process of conflict, struggle, and change that makes a space take on new definitions and meanings. David Harvey adds time as a factor in Lefebvre's reproduction of space. Harvey (1989) reorganizes Lefebvre's production of space by creating a grid, based on three dimensions: (a) material spatial practices (experiences), (b) representations of space (perception), and (c) spaces of representation (imagination), which he sees intersecting with three aspects of (a) spatial practice, (b) accessibility and distancing, and (c) appropriation and use of space, and domination and control of space (Unwin, 1992, p.174). In summary, this implies that spaces can acquire different meanings over time for an individual or an immigrant community.

The purpose of the Harvey's grid (1989) is to find a point of entry allowing for a deeper discussion of space and social practices because spatial practices derive "their efficacy in social life only through the structure of social relations within which they come into play" (p. 222). In his book *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, David Harvey (1996) further explores how alternative and multiple modes of production of space and time vary from society to society. Harvey's work supports Lefebvre's (1991) statement that "(social) space is a (social) product" (p. 26) that human beings create when they discover that struggle for material survival and their conceptions of space and time depend upon their cultural backgrounds. In the book, *Human Geography: Society, Space, and Social Science*, the authors disagree with Harvey's interpretation of space and time, agrees that it is "necessary to insist on the importance of a history of the production of space for any critical politics of space" (Gregory, Martin, and Smith, 1994, p. 369). Harvey continues by stating that "social

constructions of space and time operate with the full force of objective facts to which all individuals and institutions necessarily respond. . . Social definitions of objective space and time are implicated in the process of social reproduction” (Gregory, Martin, and Smith, 1994, pp. 211-212). These authors add the component of history to the creation of social space. In other words, is important for this research to pay attention to the historical origin of spaces that immigrants create in their new surroundings.

2.3.4 Structuration

Anthony Giddens’ structuration theory continues the discussion of the production of space but incorporates memory, time, and space as crucial elements to this theory’s discussion. Tim Unwin explains that Anthony Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory is the “outcome and the medium of human agency, and its aim is to analyze both the production and the reproduction of such structures” (Unwin, 1992, p. 172). According to Unwin, Giddens’ theory provides two central features to the discourse on space and time; first, “that it seeks to understand the interactions between human agency and structure, and second, this is undertaken through the introduction to social theory of relative views of time and space” (Unwin, 1992, p. 173). Giddens conceptualizes his structuration theory as:

A recursively organized set of rules and resources, is out of time and space, save in its instantiations and co-ordination as memory traces, and is marked by an ‘absence of the subject’ . . . Analyzing the structuration of social systems means studying the modes in which such systems, grounded in knowledgeable activities of situated actors who draw upon rules and resources in the diversity of action contexts, are produced and reproduced in interaction. (1984, p. 25)

Structuration theory allows this research to examine how individuals and their activities allow memory to be transported across spaces and time and be manifested in the host country.

2.3.5 *Place versus Space*

Edward S. Casey (2000), however, talks of a new dynamic in the production of space. Casey believes that *space* “possesses no points of attachment onto which to hang our memories, much less to retrieve them” (p. 186). At the same time, he says, *place* “serves to situate one’s memorial life, to give it ‘a name and local habitation” (p. 184). For Casey space and place are two different concepts and memory can only be manifested in place, not in space. On the other hand, Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) devotes an entire book to three themes in experiences of place and space and the relationship between them: (1) how humans as infants learn the concepts of space and place; (2) the relationship between space and place; and (3) the range of experiences and knowledge derived from space and place (p 6). Yi-Fu Tuan describes the relationship of space and place as follows:

... the meaning of place often merges with that of space. ‘Space’ is more abstract than ‘place.’ What begins as undifferentiated space becomes places as we get to know it better and endow it with value. Architects talk about the spatial qualities of place; they can equally well speak of the locational (place) qualities of space. The ideas ‘space’ and ‘place’ require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause of movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place. (1977, p. 6)

If spaces and places are the continuation of the same movement, then immigrants create their space as they make their places as pauses in their journey between home

and host countries and this research can look at immigrant places as indicators of immigrant space.

Unlike Casey, for Tuan place and space are intertwined, which allows for the production of space to acquire meaning. Tuan explains, “space is an abstract term for a complex set of ideas. People of different cultures differ in how they divide up their world, assign values to its parts, and measure them” (p. 34). Meaning can only come from a place of remembrance which only individuals can evoke. In other words, immigrants create spaces partially out of a desire to manifest their nostalgia. Herein lies the missing link in the discourse on the production of space: how can the existence of space be represented in a more tangible and less abstract manner?

Postmodern geographers such as Edward Soja (1996, 2000), Michael Dear (2000), David Harvey (1989, 1990a, and 1996), and others have used the urban architecture of Los Angeles as example of the representation of space and time in a society. The use of architecture as a visual representation of space can be simplistic in light of a postmodern critique that points out the need for “multiple voices” or perspectives to participate in the discourse. Voices such as women’s voices or immigrant voices have not been equally represented in the discourse about the reproduction of social space within the discipline of Geography (Gregory, Martin, and Smith, 1994, p. 103).

Lefebvre, Giddens, Soja, and Harvey’s research provide a model to examine how social spaces are produced (Table 2.3). They have shown us that there are different types of spaces that can be produced; however, all spaces are intertwined. Spaces can change and acquire new meaning over time; and constructed social space

can change the inhabitants and neighbors of that place. Immigrant spaces draw on historical origins that lead to their production through the power of nostalgia. The visual representation of space can take on various forms and complexity, as is the case with Los Angeles or at a smaller scale such as an ethnic restaurant.

Lebfevre's Production of Space (1991, p. 33)	Giddens' Structuration Theory (1984, p. 25)	Soja's Thirdspace (1996, p. 74)	Harvey's Grid of Spatial Practices (1989, pp. 220-221)
Spatial Practice	Structure(s)	First space/Perceived	Material spatial practices
Representations of Spaces	Systems(s)	Second space/Conceived	Representations of space
Representational Spaces	Structuration	Third space/Lived	Spaces of representation

Table 2.3 Summary of Interpretation of Production of Space.

2.4 Social Spaces Created by Latinos in the United States

Lefebvre (1991) stated “(social) space is a (social) product.” How, then, is this social product produced by immigrants? Before a space can become part of the immigrant daily life that space must first be created. This section investigates what types of spaces Latinos create to adapt to a new country. The spaces created by immigrants represent their cultural symbols, customs, and activities such as religion, food, music, or sports from their home country transplanted into their daily lives in the host country. The immigrants create these spaces to remind them of home. The spaces that immigrants create revolve around their culture. Therefore, we will call the social spaces that Latinos create “cultural spaces” or “*espacios culturales*.”

There has been a recent explosion of books dedicated to how Latinos are altering the cultural landscape and creating new cultural spaces in the United States. The work of Setha M. Low (2000) examines how the cultural importance of urban landscapes such as plazas in Latin America are being transported by immigrants to the

United States, Europe, and other places. Another line of research examines the impact of the Latino population in U.S. cities like Los Angeles and focuses on the spaces and places created by the urban Chicano in Los Angeles' Latino barrios (Valle and Torres, 2000). The cultural spaces in these Latino barrios emerge as a consequence of physical regulations and constitution of space (landscape effect), the social control of space (law effect), and the ideological control of space (media effect) (Villa, 2000, pp. 3-4). Meanwhile, books like *Latinos: Remaking America* examine the broader Hispanic/Latino population in terms of issues such as immigration, ethnic identity, and U.S. racial relations and their effect on the urban landscape (Suárez-Orozco and Pérez, 2002). Arlene Dávila (2001) writes further of the commercialization of Latinidad, or Latino identity, and analyzes the social, political, and cultural dynamics of a growing Hispanic/Latino consumer market in the United States. *Harvest of the Empire: A History of Latinos in America*, by Juan Gonzalez (2000), documents the historical context of the relationship between the United States and Latin America through the stories of the largest Latino communities in the United States: Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans, Dominicans, Central Americans, Panamanians, and Colombians (Gonzalez, 2000, p. XVI). The common theme of these books is the ever-growing Hispanic/Latino population in the United States and its impact on urbanization, economy, politics, society, and religion.

Cultural Spaces	Mexican	Hispanic/Latino	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Salvadoran	Other
Shopping Streets	Méndez/Miyares, 1997				Rosemary/Vigil, 1993	
Murals	Villa, 2000 Arreola, 1984 Ford/Griffin, 1981					
Housescapcs	Manger, 2000 Arreola, 1988, 1981		Kent/Gandia-Ojeda, 1999	Curtis, 1980		
Identity	Zecchi, 2002 Tovares, 2001 Arreola, 1995, 1987 Godfrey, 1985	Smith 2002, 2000	Zecchi, 2002		Zecchi, 2002	
Built Env't, Material Culture, Plazas	Veregge, 1993 Arreola, 1993b, 1992 Herzog, 1986 Nostrand, 1982	Smith et al., 2001 Smith, 1999, 1998 Gritzner, 1990, 1974				Low, 2000
Ethnic Churches	Barton, 2006 Treviño, 2006				Menjivar, 2003 Vasquez, 1999 Baia, 1999 Hoge /Foley, 2007 Vasquez/Marquard, 2003	Levitt, 1999 Gómez, 1999 Leonard, et. al, 2005 Badillo, 2006
Festivals		Cadaval, 1998				
Soccer					Luna, 2001	Arreola, 2004

Table 2.4 Cultural Spaces Created by Hispanics/Latinos in the United States.
Source: Adapted from Arreola, 2004, pp.5-6.

However, the book edited by David Arreola best describe the production of cultural spaces created by Latinos is *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places* (2004). The significance of this book is that it identifies the emergence and impact of cultural spaces such as barrios, colonias, murals, bodegas, soccer leagues, religious figures and “plazas” across the Southern United States. The book creates a comprehensive table categorizing research on the spatial and place perspectives as related to Hispanic

or Latinos in the United States, which has been expanded here to include other research on space and place (Table 2.4). The book shows the importance of examining the historical origin and the significance of cultural spaces and places created by Latino immigrants groups.

A valuable example of cultural spaces is that of plazas that emerged in the Western Hemisphere during the period of King Phillip II of Spain as he enacted the “Laws of Indies” in 1573 (Low, 2000). Plazas served to give order and a sense of familiarity to all new Spanish towns in the New World. The plazas became “resolonas” places where people gathered and socialized. Today in Las Vegas, Nevada, the plaza has maintained its original purpose to be a place where people converge to participate in activities such as festivals, parades, local vendors, and listening to local bands and “express their membership within the community” (Arreola, 2004, p. 52). However, in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Taos, plazas have become highly commercialized and profitable spaces for the tourist industry, a fact reinforcing thus David Harvey and Derek Gregory’s concept that the meaning of spaces can change over time.

Arreola also suggests that certain Latino groups create strong urban places. Arreola divides his book into three sections: Continuous communities, discontinuous communities, and new communities. The continuous communities are “places where the Hispanic/Latinos have always been dominant populations groups” such as Las Vegas, New Mexico, and Laredo, Texas, where 94 percent have Mexican ancestry (2004, p. 7). Discontinuous communities are communities in which Hispanic/Latinos were once the dominant ethnic group but where non-Hispanic Anglo Americans have

emerged to control the social space such as San Francisco's Mission District, San Diego/San Ysidro, California, and Southeast Los Angeles (2004, p. 8). New Hispanic/Latino communities can be found throughout the United States in places such as New York, Cleveland, Kansas City, Northern Nevada, Phoenix, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington D.C. (Arreola, 2004).

2.5 Ethnic Churches as Social Spaces

It is important to note that the ethnic church is one of many spaces created by immigrants in the host country. Recently several books have begun to explore how the ethnic church serves as a visual representation of cultural spaces or social spaces as discussed previously and they also serve as cultural mechanisms to be used by immigrants either to incorporate or adapt to a new environment (Badillo, 2006; Foner, 2001; Foley and Hoge, 2007; Leonard, et al., 2005; and Treviño, 2006). Kelly Chong's (1998) research with conservative Evangelical Protestants in the Korean-American community shows us that an ethnic church can serve as an "institutional vehicle" facilitating the process of transnationalism in the host country. Ethnic churches reveal important cultural characteristics about an ethnic community such structure, hierarchy and gender roles.

2.5.1 Structure and Hierarchy

The ethnic church as a transnational institution can provide a familiar space for immigrants in a different environment, even if those spaces reinforce traditional gender roles. Another unique characteristic about the ethnic church as a cultural space is that it provides a structure. The research by Kelly Chong (1998) explores the

institutional structure of the ethnic church by examining the Korean church in Chicago. Chong concluded that the Korean ethnic church is “organized in a vertical, male dominated, hierarchical structure, headed by a male pastor who wields considerable authority and power, and governed by a large [male] group of elders” (Chong, 1998, p. 265). Females in these Korean congregations cannot become pastors or elders, but rather they hit the “religious ceiling” at the deaconess level.

Females are usually responsible for departments, such as Sunday school, library, or teaching the Korean language while their male counterparts are heads of the finance department or preaching ministries. The gender hierarchy of the Korean ethnic church not only defines women’s roles, but also limits women’s social behavior. Chong (1998) observes that females are expected to “display proper traditional feminine behavior, such as behaving in a polite, subdued, and non-aggressive manner” (p. 265). A female member answered to the traditional gender role by stating,

girls are definitely supposed to act a certain way.... In Korean churches male/female separation is a very big deal. I’m friends with a lot of guys. That bugs them. Isn’t it the Christian thing to be nice? That’s not a Christian mentality, that’s a Korean mentality.... The gender role, it’s in a lot of the little things. The way Koreans think bugs me. (Chong, 1998, p. 266)

Furthermore, this social behavior is reinforced by the separation of females and males during Bible classes.

A second component that shapes both structure and hierarchy in the Korean ethnic church is age related. In the Korean culture, the elderly person is respected to the point of becoming idolized, exercising complete authority over younger people. Age-based hierarchy is most noticeable between first generation and second

generation Koreans. Chong explains that authoritarianism and gender/age hierarchy at the church level is an extension of the ethnic values that are present in the home.

Needless to say, this authoritarian structure creates friction between first and second generation to the point that a second generation Korean responded, “we are never equal to the first and second generation. We always have to do what they say. A lot of ideas we have are too radical for the pastor to deal with. We are seen as, rocking the boat” (Chong, 1998, p. 265). Chong concludes that authoritarianism and gender/age hierarchy at the church level is an extension of ethnic values from home. Unwritten rules and codes of behavior such as respect and obedience in an authoritarian and patriarchal Korean society are passed down from generation to generation by the Korean church. In order to comprehend the dynamics of an age-based hierarchy one needs to take it out of the religious context and place it in the cultural context.

A gap exists in the literature in relation to the hierarchy, structure, age, and gender role within the Latino ethnic church. Manuel Vasquez has tried to narrow the gap by examining the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in the United States. According to Vasquez, these Evangelical churches have become an alternative for individuals who do not agree with the “hierarchical and organic Catholic order, which historically has been associated with authoritarian and patriarchal social systems in Latin America” (Vasquez, 1999, p. 620). Menjivar’s research finds that Evangelical church hierarchy centers on the pastor as the central figure of the Church. The structure and hierarchy of the Salvadoran Protestant

Church is very similar to that of the Koreans but fails to explain the process that establishes these churches.

The book entitled, *Religion and the New Immigrants: How Faith Communities form Our Newest Citizens* (Foley and Hoge, 2007), focuses on the role of the religious community in the immigrant community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area by investigating six immigrant communities and their ethnic religious bodies: Salvadorans, Muslims, Nigerians, Chinese, Koreans, and Hindu (Foley and Hoge, 2007). The research examines how the immigrants use ethnic religious communities as a mechanism to adapt to a new culture and to understand the role of these ethnic churches in the lives of the local immigrant community.

The research main focus is on the implementation of a theoretical framework to determine civic incorporation by the local worship communities and to determine the variation between worship communities. A factor that determines the composition of the worship community is the immigration status of its members, whether they are refugees, undocumented workers, or permanent residents. The next factor is the economic status of the immigrant whether as low-wage workers or professionals. The ethnic worship community organization structure is divided into four types of structures: “house of worship,” “family style,” “community style,” and the “civic leader” organizational structure. The organizational structure types are derived from the different religious traditions that each worship community represents and, most importantly, on the vision of each religious leader that ultimately determines the characteristic of each congregation.

The last factor observes the influence of religious tradition developed in the home country and how those traditions might influence religious leaders and congregations to respond to situations in the United States such as September 11 (9/11). The conclusion of the study determines that

immigrant churches, mosques, temples, and local worship communities of all sorts assist immigrants in a variety of ways, some of them directly contributing to their incorporation into the new society: they provide psychological and cultural “refuge” for newcomers that entails new, and sometimes enduring, social networks and social capital; . . . and they help shape immigrants’ images of themselves, not only morally and spiritually but as members of our society and polity. (Foley and Hoge, 2007, p. 5)

In other words, local worship communities/ethnic churches serve as cultural spaces where immigrants can choose to worship with individuals from geographically distinct background or from similar backgrounds, and share to and reinforce new and old cultural traits, symbols, practices, and activities. Some assimilation theorists such Samuel Huntington (2004) might call this an effort by immigrants to exclude or isolate themselves, even to the point of branding it as an anti-American sentiment barring assimilation into the wider American society.

This chapter has examined three main literature discourses: migration theory, production of space, and the creation of space by the immigrant population in the United States. Transnationalism provides the best theoretical structure to examine the current adaptation of immigrants in the United States. The literature on production of social or cultural space provides an additional model to examine how immigrants create space in the United States. Lastly, the discourse reveals that the ethnic church can serve as a cultural space for immigrants to make themselves at home while claiming their cultural ethnicity in a different country.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter will discuss the methodology and data research tools used to answer the four research questions. The principal methodology is a qualitative approach involving multi-scale and multi-temporal analysis. Chapter three begins by recapping the main research question and follow-up research questions. Next, the chapter discusses the selection of ethnographic research approach and triangulation methodology that underpin this dissertation. In addition, the chapter examines the case study selection process of the two Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches: C.C. Church and Evangelical Church. The chapter concludes by discussing the selection process of each data collection tool used to gather the information for this research including in-depth interviews, congregational questionnaire, participant observation, field notes, and U.S. Census data.

3.1 Research Questions

This research centers on the Salvadoran community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area, focusing on how the process of transnationalism creates transnational institutions and cultural spaces, like ethnic churches. The Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches (SEPC) in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area (WDCMA) serves as a case study to understand how the process of transnationalism occurs. The main research question for this study is what elements contribute to the process of transnationalism? Three follow-up research questions have been formulated to further investigate the elements that contribute to the process of transnationalism: (1) What is the origin of the transnational Salvadoran community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area? (2) What is the origin and establishment

of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in El Salvador? (3) How do Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches reinforce the process of transnationalism in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area?

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Ethnographic Research Approach

Various qualitative and quantitative research methods were considered for this dissertation, but the ethnographic research approach provided the best fit for this research. The ethnographic approach was selected because it allows for “a description and interpretation of a cultural or social group or system,” where researchers can examine the group’s learned pattern of behavior, customs, and ways of life (Creswell, 1998, p. 58). In addition, the ethnographic approach is used when “cultures are examined over an extended period of time, whether at home or abroad, in rural areas or urban settings” (Johnson and Christensen, 2000, p. 238). Also, when the researcher is an insider in the culture or participates in the social phenomena the ethnographic approach is the best fit (Marshall and Rossman, 1989).

Bruce Berg (2001) encourages ethnographic researchers who are insiders not to merely “report findings as facts, but actively construct interpretations of experiences in the field, and then question how these interpretations actually rose” (p. 139). Lastly, the ethnographic approach works best when the researcher is investigating “a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 248). The ethnographic approach also allows the integration of multiple data techniques to ensure rapport and increases data validity and reliability.

3.2.2 *Triangulation*

This research utilized the ethnographic research approach in conjunction with triangulation methodology. Triangulation methodology strengthens the overall validity of the study by using multiple data gathering tools. Often, qualitative research has been criticized because of its use of a single methodology technique. Mostly, this happens because researchers become comfortable using only one data gathering tool such as participant observation, interviews, or questionnaires. One of the benefits of using the triangulation methodology is that it allows for the use of multiple methods of gathering data to provide corroborating evidence and multiple lines of perspectives (Hay, 2000, p. 47 and Creswell, 1998, p. 202).

The benefit of using various tools for gathering data is that each tool “reveals slightly different facets of the same symbolic reality. . . . By combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer; more complete array of symbols, and theoretical concepts; and a means of verifying many of these elements” (Berg, 2001, p. 4). Triangulation allows for each method to add a different component to the reality of the phenomenon that is being researched. Any conclusions derived from the use of multiple techniques have been cross-validated by comparing the data collected in different ways (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002, p. 102). Or simply stated, “triangulation is the simultaneous display of multiple, refracted realities” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 8). Triangulation method combined with the ethnographic research approach will allow for the use of multiple data tools and for a more comprehensive answer the research questions proposed in this study.

3.2.3 Case Study

According to Atkinson, Hammersley, Denzin and Lincoln (1994), researchers who are interested in an ethnographic research approach should focus “on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypothesis about them... [and] a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail” (p. 248). This statement fits with this research’s focus on a specific social phenomenon (Transnational Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area). Case study provides an excellent strategy when examining human phenomena, because it allows the researcher to establish parameters and to observe human activities, themes, or issues (Berg, 2001, p. 230). Furthermore, a case study strategy allows for multiple data collection techniques to be incorporated within the same research such as triangulation.

Multiple case study types exist; however, the explanatory case study was selected for this research (Yin, 1994, p. 15 and Berg, 2001, p. 230). An explanatory case observes the forces that cause and affect the phenomenon in question, in this case the TSEPC (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). The explanatory case study better suits a study when its research focuses on identifying networks that shape the phenomenon such as the transnationalism theory (Marshall and Rossman, 1989, p. 77). Lastly, the explanatory case study allows for the creation of an initial structure and for the development of initial theoretical statements (Yin, 1994, p. 111). The explanatory case study’s flexible structure allowed for this study to examine how transnationalism creates transnational institutions such as SEPC.

3.2.4 Case Study Selection Process

A two-step selection process was designed to identify which Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches to research. The Life Cycle Institute (LCI) research discussed in Chapter two produced two data tools: multi-ethnic congregation census and the congregational questionnaire. The first step was to identify which churches had linkages with El Salvador. The LCI's multi-ethnic congregation census contained important information such as contact information and demographic data such as the percentage of immigrants in the congregation, the top three nationalities at the congregation, denomination or affiliation, and total membership size (Appendix A). In addition, the congregation census identified 434 ethnic churches in the WDCMA of which 75 were African, 21 Chinese, 17 Indian, 192 Korean, 26 Muslim, and 103 Salvadoran (Foley and Hoge, 2007, p. 66). In the case of Salvadoran churches they were identified as those where 10 percent or more of the congregation was of Salvadoran origin. The multi-ethnic congregation census also classified churches into protestant or catholic denominations. It identified more protestant churches (66) than Catholic churches (37) that serve the Salvadoran community throughout the WDCMA. The addresses of the churches were mapped and their spatial pattern in the region revealed.

The second step of the selection process was to further narrow the pool of 103 Salvadoran worship communities. The Life Cycle Institute selected forty churches to fill out the congregation questionnaire. The leaders of the churches were asked a series of questions; however, this research is only concerned with the questions related to church affiliation and their linkages with El Salvador (Appendix B). The

congregational questionnaire showed that Latino both Evangelical Protestant and Catholic churches in the area had a dominant Salvadoran congregation. However, only eight out of the forty congregations surveyed answered that their congregations were affiliated with congregations in El Salvador. All eight churches were Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches with strong linkages with El Salvador. Most importantly, it showed that there was a group of Evangelical Protestant Churches in the area whose denominational origin and affiliation can be traced back to El Salvador.

Based on the Life Cycle Institute's congregational questionnaire, the following criteria was selected to identify the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches that would become the case study for this research: religion, denomination, ethnic composition, congregation affiliation, accessibility to pastor and congregation, location, and date of establishment.

- 1) Religion: Protestant churches.
- 2) Denomination: Evangelical churches.
- 3) Ethnic composition: churches whose congregation is more than 60 percent Salvadoran.
- 4) Congregation affiliation: churches whose denomination originated in El Salvador.
- 5) Accessibility: access to the pastor, religious leaders, and congregation to conduct interviews and perform participant observation.
- 6) Location: Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.
- 7) Date of establishment: At least five years since establishment.

Only four churches met all these parameters out of the original sixty-six churches identified from the Life Cycle Institute's congregation census and from the forty

selected for the congregational questionnaire. The common denominator for these four churches was that each had a dominant Salvadoran congregation and that the churches had a denominational origin and affiliation in El Salvador. Each church was given a pseudonym to preserve its anonymity (Table 3.1). Pastors were contacted for all four churches to obtain their permission to participate in this research. However, only two out of the four churches granted access to their congregations. By process of elimination, two churches became the final case studies for this study: C.C. Church and Evangelical Church.

Name	Founded	Religion	Membership Size	Denomination	Affiliation with churches in El Salvador	Salvadoran Congregation
Evangelical Church	1994	Protestant	80	Evangelical	Yes	74%
International Church	1993	Protestant	800	Evangelical	Yes	65%
A.P. Church	1988	Protestant	400	Evangelical	Yes	75%
C.C. Church	1996	Protestant	220	Evangelical	Yes	90%

Table 3.1 Case Study: Transnational Salvadoran Churches.

3.3 Data Research Tools

The ethnographic research method was selected because it helps build rapport with subjects and increases the validity and reliability of data. The triangulation method was selected because it allows for multiple data tools to be used simultaneously. Specific data tools were identified and selected which would provide the best methods of gathering information, ensure consistency, and eliminate potential biases. The following data tools were selected: such as questionnaires, participant observation, field notes, in depth-interviews, and census (Table 3.2).

	Data Tools
Research Follow-up Question #1	Census Questionnaire
Research Follow-up Question #2	Questionnaire In-depth interviews Participant Observation Field Note
Research Follow-up Question #3	Questionnaire In-depth interviews Participant Observation Field Notes
Main Research Question #4	In-depth interviews Participant Observation Field Notes

Table 3.2 Breakdown of Data Tools.

All these data tools provide different insights and gather different types of data. These tools were chosen not only because the ethnographic method is being used, but also because this research gives

a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypothesis about them. . . . [or a] tendency to work primarily with ‘unstructured’ data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories. (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 248)

The data collected from these tools arrived in various forms and the researcher had to deduce, analyze, and sort the information. In such cases, the ethnographer must be able to interpret “the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 248). As a result the researcher must be able to understand not only the data being collected but also the subject.

3.3.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were the first of the data tools implemented in this study to better understand the social phenomena and to develop the questionnaire. One of

the advantages of using in-depth interviews is that they can fill gaps of knowledge, whereas other methods are unable to provide key insights into communities, organizations, and ethnic enclaves being researched (Berg, 2001). Furthermore, interviews complement other data collection methods such as questionnaires (Hay, 2000, p. 52). Interviews allow face-to-face interaction and they provide “an opportunity for greater flexibility in eliciting information; in addition, the interviewer has the opportunity to observe both the subject and the total situation to which he is responding” (Selltiz, Wrightsman, and Cook, 1976, p. 238). However, an important factor to note is that when one is collecting data from human beings their responses, experiences, and opinions are shaped by their social class, ethnicity, age, gender, educational attainment level, and other factors (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). As a result, other methods must be used as data gathering tools to account for these data variations.

3.3.2 Participant Selection Process

The individuals who were targeted for participation in the in-depth interviews were key informants within the church and key informants outside the church. The pastor and leaders of the church were selected as key informants. The key informants were asked about the church’s history, affiliation, structure, and strategies for growth. The in-depth interviews were performed face-to-face either at the church or at the individual’s home. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted on average thirty minutes. A semi-structured interview approach was selected because it allowed for structure while maintaining flexibility in the interview (Hay, 2000, p. 53). Also, semi-structured interviews are good data instruments when interviewing key

informants because they “possess the expertise between the researcher and the communities being researched” (Hay, 2000, p. 59). The interview guide used contained key questions that each key informant was asked. However, the interview guide served only as a guideline, as additional questions could be asked based on the information the key informant provided (Appendix C).

The key informants outside the church were pastors and missionaries who had significant knowledge about the Evangelical Protestant Churches in the United States and in El Salvador (Appendix D). These interviews took place both in the United States and in El Salvador. Seven face-to-face interviews were completed in total lasting between twenty minutes to one hour. All the data was recorded, translated from Spanish to English, and then transcribed. The interviews were collected and transcribed from July 2005 to March 2007. The data collected in the in-depth interviews helped fill gaps of knowledge which other methods, such as participant observation, were unable to provide. Furthermore, besides filling these gaps of knowledge interviews also complemented data collected in the questionnaires.

3.3.3 Congregational Questionnaire

The questionnaire was chosen because it provides the best tool to gather data about specific aspects of the characteristics, attitudes, beliefs, and behavior of the two Salvadoran Protestant Churches selected as case studies (Marshall and Rossman, 1989, p. 95). Bruce Berg (2001) suggests that questionnaires are a perfect data tool that can provide maximum opportunity for complete and accurate communication of ideas between the researcher and the respondent. Another advantage of using a questionnaire is that it provides anonymity for the respondent. This is critical

especially when dealing with the Salvadoran community, their legal status and the anti-immigration sentiment in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.

When using a questionnaire as a data gathering tool, the researcher must be careful in selecting the type of questionnaire to ensure maximum validity and accuracy. Even before the researcher selects the type of questionnaire several things need to be considered: mode of administration, the subject matter, and the kind of analysis and interpretation intended (Selltiz, Wrightsman, and Cook, 1976, p. 543). Most importantly the researcher must take into account the socio-economic and cultural background of the subject. For the purpose of this research, the type of questionnaire chosen was a standardized questionnaire with various types of questions. A standardized questionnaire has “exactly the same wording, and in the same order, to all respondents” (Selltiz, Wrightsman, and Cook, 1976, p. 309). Standardization of the questionnaire allows for an easier analysis of the data once the answers have been coded.

However, one of the disadvantages of a “questionnaire is that the information one obtains is limited to the written responses of subjects to prearranged questions” (Selltiz, Wrightsman, and Cook, 1976, p. 294). This rigid structure could be a great disadvantage if a questionnaire is the only data gathering tool used. This is why questionnaires are more effective when they are used in combination with other data gathering tools such as interviews. Interviews are a good tool to combine with the use of questionnaires because they can help shape the responses by inquiring about certain types of assumptions (Berg, 2001, p. 73). When a questionnaire is used with other data gathering tools its rigid structure ceases to become a disadvantage.

3.3.4 Participant Selection Process

The target was to have ten percent of each congregation fill out the congregational questionnaire. Ten percent was selected to ensure a meaningful sample size. One of the criteria for individuals to complete the questionnaire was that they had to be a member of the church. A member of an Evangelical Protestant Church has been there for a significant time, and has been baptized and received special classes prior to becoming a member. A member usually holds leadership positions such as Sunday school teacher, member of the choir, deacon, elders, and other leadership positions. The pastor was asked to identify initial individuals to participate and later more participants were identified using a snowballing sampling. Thirty seven members filled out the congregational questionnaire, twenty four from C.C. Church and thirteen from Evangelical Church (Table 3.3). The questionnaires were filled out in both churches between August, 2005 and December, 2006. The coding and analyzing was performed from December 2006 to July 2007 using Lotus Approach.

Name	Membership Size	Participants
Evangelical Church	80	13
C.C. Church	220	24

Table 3.3 Breakdown of Congregational Questionnaire Participants.

3.3.5 Questionnaire Guide

The questionnaire developed for this research contained closed-ended questions, open-ended questions, and fixed-alternatives (Table 3.4). This questionnaire allows for the comparison between the churches that participants attended in El Salvador and the ones they attend in the United States. The

questionnaire was divided into three sections: demographic background, church in El Salvador, and church in the United States (Appendix E).

Questionnaire	Number of questions Section #1	Number of questions Section #2	Number of questions Section #3	Opened ended questions	Closed ended questions	Total Number of questions
Short Questionnaire	17	19	13	5	44	49

Table 3.4 Congregational Questionnaire: Number of Questions per Section.

Section I: Demographic Background:

The first section of the questionnaire had questions relating to the demographic and religious background of the informants: age, gender, place of birth, civil status, residency in the United States, residency in the WDCMA, first city where residency was established in the USA, duration of attendance in the church, traveling distance to church, Zip Code, information on how informants became aware of the church, and religious background in El Salvador.

Section II: Church in El Salvador

The second part of the questionnaire contained closed-ended questions and open-ended questions relating to the church the participant attended in El Salvador. The questions acquired information on the stakeholders' religious participation, experiences, beliefs, gender role perception, or church structure in El Salvador.

Section III: Church in the United States

The third section of the questionnaire included closed-ended questions and open-ended questions relating to the church informants attend in the United States. The closed-ended questions acquired information on the stakeholders' religious participation, experiences, beliefs, gender role perception, or church structure in the

United States. It also addressed how the participants or their churches maintain contact with the churches in their home countries. The open-ended questions asked the stakeholders to mention any similarities and differences between their home and host country churches, as well as how the church in the United States has changed since they have been attending.

3.3.6 Participant Observation

Participant observation provided the best opportunity to collect information about the case studies as an insider. According to Berg (2001) participant observation is needed when the researcher wants to observe the population under study in their natural setting and collect data on a large range of behaviors or observe a wide variety of interactions (p. 117). In addition, Yin (1994) states that participant observation should be used when the researcher wants “to perceive reality from the viewpoint of someone ‘inside’ the case study rather than external to it” (p. 89). Based upon Berg and Yin’s research, participant observation provided the best ethnographic data collection tool for this research. It is critical that the investigator “takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture” (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002, p. 1).

For two years, the researcher attended various church activities as an insider such as church retreats, baptisms, birthdays, anniversaries, seminaries, holiday celebrations, and other events. Through participant observation, the researcher was able to observe and interact with the congregations in their natural setting, collect data on a large range of behaviors, and observe a wide variety of interactions. Also, as an

insider it allowed for the opportunity to collect visual data such as photographs and videos of the various religious and social activities of the church. As an insider, allow to interact and talk to key members about various topics relating to the church. Most importantly participant observation allowed for a better structure and more effective questionnaire and the identification of key informants during the in-depth interview process. Participation observation began on April 29, 2005 and ended on April 29, 2007.

3.3.7 Field Notes

Field notes are an integral component of an ethnographic research as well. Field notes are a good combination with participant observation. Field notes allow participant observation to increase the systematic structure of data retrieval and to insure comprehensive details without losing the quality of the data. Using Berg's field note structure for each entry, the date was recorded, followed by a brief descriptive topic label that explained the essence of the field session and a page number (2001, p. 161).

The field notes began on April 29, 2005 and ended on April 29, 2007. The field notes also included videos of people's testimonies, songs, preaching, conversations with church members, or interaction of the congregation at social and religious events. The field notes were organized by categories in order to assure consistency and accuracy. For example, categories ranged from special services like church anniversaries, holiday celebrations, weddings, baptisms, and church retreats to different types of transactions between the church in the USA and churches in El Salvador such as monetary aid, church visits by the pastor, activities of missionaries,

and other linkages. Field notes allowed for the organization and later examination of the collected data.

3.3.8 Census Data

The United States Census was used primarily used to obtain demographic information of the Salvadoran community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area. Various dataset were used to obtain the size of the Salvadoran population in the United States and in the area. The first table selected was the 2000 Census relating to the Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSA) and Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA). The United States Census identifies the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area as a CMSA which is grouped as Washington—Baltimore and also contains population information for the entire District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia. Next, the Table PCT19 in the 2000 Census was selected because it corresponds to the place of birth for the foreign-born population. This is the only table in the Census that allowed the researcher to identify and select the Salvadoran foreign-born population. Both table allowed to acquire the Salvadoran population living in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.

Chapter Four: Historical Analysis of the Salvadoran Transnational Community

Chapter four answers the follow-up research question: What is the origin of the transitional Salvadoran community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area? Transnationalism theories focus on the linkages created between the host country and the home country. However, most do not focus on the reasons that enabled a transnational community to be established in a host country. The chapter has been organized by first analyzing the push and pull factors that allowed for the establishment of the Salvadoran transnational community in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s. Next, it examines push and pull factors which facilitated the massive exodus of the Salvadorans to the United States during the 1990 and 2000 to the United States (Figure 4.1). Finally, it will examine the establishment of the transnational community in Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area (WDCMA).

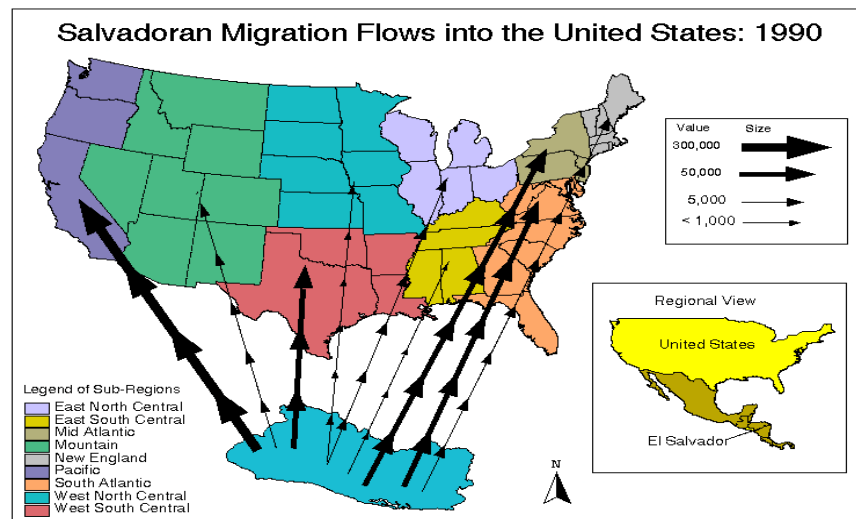


Figure 4.1 Salvadoran Migration Patterns to the United States: 1990.
Source: Statistical Abstract of Latin America, 1996, p. 430.

4.1 Push and Pull Factors of the Salvadoran Exodus: 1970 and 1980

Historical-structural theory and labor recruitment theory explain some of the ebb and flow of the Salvadoran migration into the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area during the 1970s. In Chapter two it was explained that historical-structural theory and labor recruitment theory stresses the economic linkages between capitalism, globalization, and divisions of labor, which result in an outward migration generally to areas from which the original investment capital comes such as the United States. An examination of these two theories will reveal the push and pull reasons that allow American employers to attract and recruit Salvadorans to work in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.

4.1.1 Historical-Structural Theory

During the 1960s and 1970s, the United States invested heavily in the modernization of the agricultural sector of El Salvador, thus creating an economic linkage and migration push factor. The transformation of the agricultural economy from farming to a cash crop-based agriculture that harvested crops such as cauliflower or snow peas for U.S. markets encouraged the elite landowners to take advantage of the penetration of foreign and local capital to expand their estates. By the late 1970s, six families of the Salvadoran oligarchy held more land than 133,000 small farmers (Barry and Preusch, 1986, p. 217; and Hamilton and Chinchilla, 1997, p. 87).

Furthermore, the globalization of the agricultural sector altered land tenure practices in Central America. For example, in El Salvador “. . . in 1961, 11.8 percent of rural households were landless; by 1971, 29.1 percent owned no land, and by 1975,

40.9 percent. In addition, the percentage of farms having less than one hectare increased from 40.4 to 49 percent between 1950 and 1971” (Hamilton and Chinchilla, 1991, p. 90). Consequently, the inequality of land distribution reduced the agricultural work force from 310,097 in 1961 to 267,079 in 1975 (Gettleman, 1987, p. 68). These factors and others, which are too numerous to mention here, show how the transformation of the agricultural sector devastated rural societies, increased unemployment, forced rural-to-urban migration of peasants seeking work, and created an abundant pool of cheap labor that would be utilized by multinational corporations in future decades.

4.1.2 Labor Recruitment Theory

At the same time that El Salvador was experiencing this agricultural transformation, the United States was shifting from a manufacturing to a service-based economy in the 1970s, thus creating pull factors. This transformation created a demand for salespersons, administrative and clerical workers, and other service personnel (Phillips, 1996, p. 532). Women, especially Anglo-Saxon females, benefited the most from this new demand of service-based jobs. The book *Women of Color in U.S. Society* (1994) provides insight into how women in general benefited from these new jobs and how they joined the labor force at a dramatic rate. Anglo-Saxon females entered the work force at a rapid rate between 1960 and 1988 (Table 4.1). At 13.3 percent, their college graduation rate was higher than African American females at 8.3 percent and Latinas at 6 percent in 1980. Higher educational attainment levels meant that Anglo females could obtain better employment in the job market. For example, 22.4 percent of the Anglo females had jobs in professional

occupations, while African American females followed at 16.5 percent and Latinas at 12.5 percent. In addition, Anglo females had lower levels of poverty, lower percentage of female-headed families, and higher medium family income levels than minority woman (Zinn and Dill, 1994, pp. 24-32).

	1960	1970	1980	1988	Difference 1960-1988
White	33.6%	40.6%	49.4%	56.4%	+22.8%
Black	42.2%	47.5%	53.3%	58.0%	+16.0%
Latina	—	39.3%	49.3%	52.1%	+12.8%

Table 4.1 Percentage of Women Entering the Labor Workforce by Race: 1960-1988. Source: Zinn and Dill, 1994, p. 28. Note: Based on Women Sixteen or Older.

The table above depicts how Anglo-Saxon women began entering the workforce gradually during the 1960s. By 1988, 56.4 percent of Anglo-Saxon women were working. This increase in professional Anglo-Saxon women in the workplace created a need for domestic labor in the home. Consequently, a demand for service-based jobs such as housekeepers, child-care providers, and cleaning personnel saw a rapid increase during the 1970s. Terry Repak explains the labor recruitment situation in Washington D.C. as one of rapid expansion of gender-specific jobs such as childcare and domestic services during the 1960s and 1970s. These types of jobs clearly held more attraction for immigrant women than for immigrant men (Repak, 1995, p. 51). Moreover, a high “demand for domestic workers enables women—especially those without documents—to find work more readily than men” (Nash, 1999, p. 6). Furthermore, the recruitment of Salvadoran women coincided with the rise of the United States as an economic power, producing “economic distortions and dislocations that result in emigration by uprooted groups who can no longer find work in their own countries” (Hamilton and Chinchilla, 1991,

p. 76). These conditions established the pull factors in Washington D.C. for the attraction of an outside workforce such as Salvadoran women.

By the 1970s, Salvadoran women were being recruited or invited to work in the nation's capital by American government officials, diplomats, and workers of international, non-profit organizations to fill the shortage of domestic workers (Repak, 1995, p. 11). This direct labor recruitment established the first strong migration linkage between El Salvador and the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area. A series of interviews conducted by Terry Repak in the Washington, D.C. area revealed that:

70 percent of those who moved into the nation's capital before 1980 were women. This affirms the findings of Lucy Cohen's 1980 study, that 69 percent of Central and South America immigrants to the Washington area in the 1960s and 1970s were women. . . . Nearly one-third of the pre-1980 immigrants interviewed in Washington and a fifth of those surveyed were recruited by employers directly or through other Central Americans who were already working in that city. (Repak, 1995, pp. 77-78)

Immigrant women evolved into a desirable workforce because employers saw them as docile and willing to work long hours for little pay. At the same time, foreign domestic housekeepers and childcare providers such as Salvadoran women provided American women with the opportunity to undertake full-time jobs and solve their childcare and household dilemmas. The U.S. Census estimated that 73,000 Salvadorans entered the United States during the decade of the 70s (Peterson, 1986, p. 7). However, 60 percent of those who entered the United States were women, a percentage that coincides with labor recruitment studies and Terry Repak's findings.

4.1.3 Gender-Based Migration

One of the unique characteristics about Salvadoran migration is that women emerged as the pioneer migrants. In addition, the first transnational linkage was created as Salvadoran women were recruited to work as domestic help in Washington, D.C. The study of women-led migration adds a “critical element to understanding the ebb and flow of entire communities, households, and individuals across national borders” (Repak, 1995, p. 25). In her summary, Terry Repak describes this unique gender-based “ebb and flow”:

Rosa Lopez initiated a family migration that would eventually draw other family members to settle in the Washington area. Rosa was a Salvadoran woman who worked as a housekeeper for a family from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) when they were stationed in San Salvador in the 1960s. When the family's tour of duty finished, they invited Rosa to return with them to Washington and continue working as their housekeeper. Once there, the family sponsored Rosa so that she could become a permanent resident in the United States, and soon she was able to send money to bring her husband, Javier, to Washington as well. Javier arrived in 1968 and found a job as a tailor in one of Washington's exclusive men's store. In 1971, Javier and Rosa invited his niece Teresa (who was working as a domestic servant in San Salvador) to join them. (Repak, 1995, pp. 2-3)

Mrs. Lopez eventually brought more than thirty-five members of her family into the area. The interview reveals how Salvadoran females were recruited, how they arrived alone, and how they helped established a chain migration in the WDCMA.

Consequently, Salvadoran women helped create a Latino community with a strong social support network that would assist future immigrants during the coming decades. This social support network “provided job referrals, housing, and other forms of assistance to later arrivals from their countries of origin” (Repak, 1995, p. 181). As Cecilia Menjivar (2000) points out, “social networks are central in

migration movements” (p. 24). Although these opportunities are not available to every immigrant when they seek help from friends or family members in the United States; this "ebb and flow" between Salvadoran women and their families in El Salvador established the foundation from which a strong Salvadoran community would emerge in the following decades in the nation’s capital.

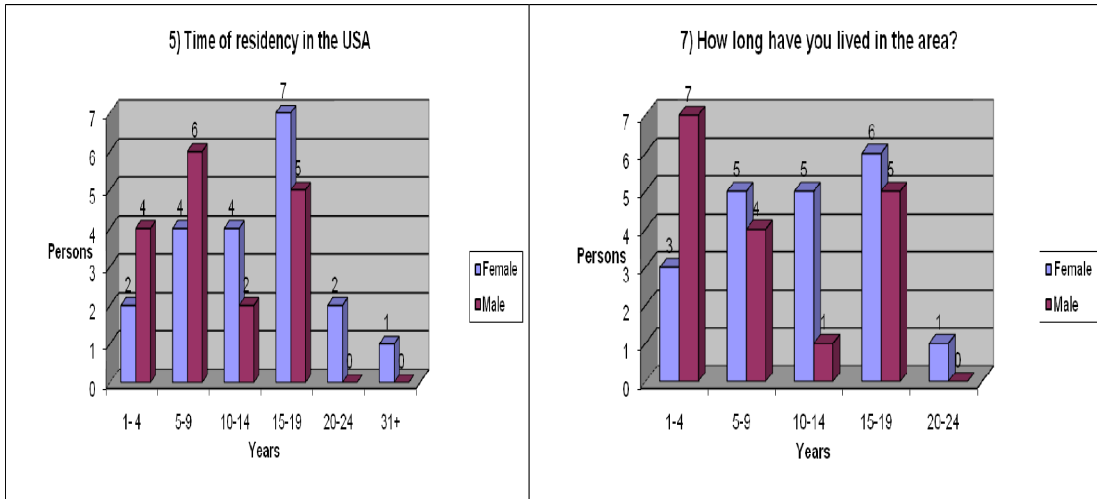


Figure 4.2A Length of Residency in the USA. **Figure 4.2B** Length of Residency in the WDCMA.

The data gathered in the Salvadoran congregational questionnaire correlate to the findings of historical-structural theory, labor-recruitment theory, and gender-based research in that all show how Salvadoran women were the pioneer migrants to the WDCMA. This gender-based migration was captured in the congregation questionnaire. The data obtained from the questionnaire revealed that women had longer time of residency in the United States and the WDCMA (Figure 4.2A and 4.2 B). This information is important because the pool of participants in both the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches mirror the overall migration pattern of the Salvadoran population into the United States. Even though the congregation sample is small, it is able to reflect the overall Salvadoran community migration

patter in the area. The congregational questionnaire was also able to accurately reflect the settlement pattern of the Salvadoran community in the WDCMA. The questionnaire revealed that immigrants who attended the two transnational case study churches had arrived in the United States and the WDCMA consistently between 1980s, 1990s, and 2000.

4.1.4 The Civil War

A second migration pattern occurred when thousands of Salvadorans displaced by civil war began to migrate to the United States in great numbers. In 1980, 2,000 Salvadorans were registered as displaced; in 1983, that number grew to 468,000; and in 1985, to 535,000 (Peterson, 1986, p. 11). As the number of displaced people increased, so did the number of people emigrating from El Salvador. For example, “[t]he net emigration rates for 1980 and 1981 reflect the sudden, dramatic refugee flow from El Salvador, jumping from 22 to 46 per 1,000 population respectively” (Peterson, 1986, p. 7). This data is dramatically different when compared to the 1970-74 figures, when the net emigration was only 3 per 1,000. Further evidence of the increase in the number of Salvadoran migrants during the time of the civil war is seen in the increasing number of asylum cases and apprehensions of undocumented Salvadorans in the United States.

As Hamilton and Chinchilla state “the number of undocumented Salvadorans apprehended doubled between 1977 and 1981 from eight thousand to sixteen thousand and reached seventeen thousand in 1985” (Hamilton and Chinchilla, 1997, p. 91). Furthermore, INS records show how El Salvador ranked number one in terms of cases pending as of 1990, cases filed between 1990-1998, and cases pending at the

end of the fiscal year in 1998. However, few Salvadorans were granted political asylum (Table 4.2). At the height of the civil war in 1985-1986, 20-35 percentage of the total population of Salvadorans was displaced (Table 4.3). Surprisingly, this table shows that only 5 to 6 percent of those displaced migrated to the United States.

Area	Cases pending beginning of FY 1990	Cases filed in FY 1990-98	Cases granted in FY 1990-98	Individuals granted in FY 1990-98	Percent of cases granted	Cases pending at end of FY 1998
All Countries	71,993	865,921	69,407	96,663	7	360,247
12 Countries	66,783	741,358	32,822	43,833	4	334,388
China	142	43,729	3,275	4,337	7	4,833
Costa Rica	8	574	0	0	0	29
Cuba	13,873	19,208	2,415	3,153	7	3,631
El Salvador	24,375	248,853	1,791	2,248	1	180,991
Guatemala	6,191	190,580	2,902	3,625	1	105,207
Haiti	399	40,343	4,362	5,154	11	14,876
Honduras	512	20,779	485	606	2	1,521
India	29	26,676	4,565	5,135	17	3,239
Mexico	60	51,751	132	209	0	1,359
Nicaragua	21,054	69,687	6,828	10,402	8	15,134
Panama	72	1,205	326	593	26	232
Soviet Union	68	27,973	5,741	8,371	20	3,336

Table 4.2 Asylum Applicant Statistics: 1990-1998.

Source: INS Statistical Yearbooks, 1990 through 1998 and Perry, 2001.

4.2 Push and Pull Factors of the Salvadoran Exodus: 1990 and 2000

When the civil war finally came to an end in 1992 after twelve years of fighting, it left over 70,000 people dead, billions of dollars in property destruction, and one-third of the population displaced. It was thought that with the end of the war in 1992, the Salvadoran economy would stabilize, and the flow of immigration to the United States would be curtailed. However, the socio-economic conditions in the country, coupled with the hit of a major environmental catastrophe, Hurricane Mitch,

derailed any economic development in El Salvador since the civil war and produced other push factors.

Type of Population	Population (thousands)	Percent
Total Population	4,963	100
Total displaced	974-1,725	20-35
Internally displaced	535	11
Migrants in U.S.	245-310	5-6
Migrants in Middle America	195-881	4-18

Table 4.3 Displaced and Emigrant Salvadoran population: 1985-1986.
Source: Peterson, 1986, p. 10.

4.2.1 Socio-Economic Conditions

In 1997, even before Hurricane Mitch battered Central America, an alarming socio-economic gap between the rich and the poor and an astronomical rise in poverty levels was already present. The following statistics provide insight into the dismal socio-economic conditions in Central America after the civil war:

[o]ut of 1,000 children born in our countries [Central America], 425 have mothers who are illiterate, 130 are born premature, 84 will die before the age of five, 678 will live in poverty; . . . out of those 540 will be undernourished; 400 will not have access to portable water; only 68 would be able to complete the sixth grade. (Translated from Ordoñez and Gamboa, 1997, p. 19)

Furthermore, in 1999 El Salvador ranked 107th out of 174 countries in the Human Development Index (HDI), which is provided by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). It uses factors such as life expectancy, income, educational attainment and literacy to determine the development level of a country. A lower HDI was found in the rural areas of El Salvador, where the war was mostly concentrated. It was “concluded that 61.1 percent of the indigenous population live in poverty, 38.3 percent in extreme poverty, while only 0.6 percent are able to cover the basic necessities of life” (Payne, 2000, p. 2). In addition, the national unemployment rate rose from 7.7 percent to 10 percent between 1994 and 1996.

Also, 46 percent of males and 55 percent of females between the ages of 25 and 45 worked in the informal sector (Payne, 2000, pp. 1-3). But how did Hurricane Mitch contribute to the rise of Salvadoran migration to the United States?

4.2.2 Hurricane Mitch

On October 27, 1998, Hurricane Mitch battered the Caribbean coast of Central America with winds measuring 150 miles per hour for eight days and dropped 50 inches of rain in some areas. Hurricane Mitch came at a time when the region was recovering from the earthquakes of the 1970s, the civil wars in the 1980s, and at last enjoying some economic prosperity in the 1990s. Hurricane Mitch will go down in history as the deadliest and most expensive natural disaster ever to hit Central America. Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador suffered Hurricane Mitch's devastation with an estimated \$10 billion in total damages, 9,000 deaths, 10,000 missing, and millions displaced (Hunt, 1999, p. A7). Of those estimated damages, El Salvador was the least affected of the three countries, with only 240 deaths, 19 missing people, 85,000 homeless, and \$400 million dollars in property damages (Payne, 2000, p. 2). Nonetheless, the rural population of the country was again the most affected by this phenomenon; it was the same rural population that ten years earlier had been displaced by the civil war.

In the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch, officials at the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) began reporting an increase in the influx of Central American immigrants crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. INS data reveals that from November to December of 1998, the number of immigrants apprehended at the border rose to 39% over the same period as the previous year, and in January, it

increased to an astronomical 153% (Robinson, 1999, p. 43). From November 1998 to the end of January 1999, United States officials along the Texas border apprehended 6,555 people described as other than Mexicans. According to INS records, in March 1999, 213,306 apprehensions were conducted along the border. Out of these, an estimated 30 percent were of Salvadoran origin, most of them fleeing from the devastation that Hurricane Mitch had caused in their countries (www.ins.gov/graphics/aboutins/statistics/msrmay00/swbord.htm).

This increase in the influx of Central American immigrants was reported not only in the United States. Other countries experienced it as well. For example, “between Nov. 1 and Jan. 3 [1999], Mexico caught and expelled 31,995 immigrants at its five busiest immigration stations, a 70 percent increase over last year” (Zarembo, 1999, p. 47). The numbers of apprehensions of undocumented Salvadorans increased along the border, as did the number of Salvadoran migrants admitted legally into the United States. According to Robert Suro’s investigation, the INS admitted more than 215,798 Salvadorans as legal permanent residents between 1991 and 2000 (Suro, 2002, p. 7).

4.2.3 Earthquakes

Ten years after the civil war ended and three years after Hurricane Mitch devastated El Salvador, El Salvador experienced two major earthquakes in January and February 2001. The earthquakes caused severe damage to the infrastructure and housing in El Salvador. Furthermore, the number of individuals displaced by the earthquakes created a health crisis. The earthquake affected the rural areas of El Salvador, the same area that for ten years earlier suffered the worst of the civil war,

where most individuals lack access to clean water and were threatened with an outbreak of diarrheal diseases (Woerschling and Snyder, 2001). El Salvador's

Emergency Commission (COEN) reported the earthquakes destruction as:

944 dead; 5,565 injured and a total of 1,364,160 victims. However, some departments were more seriously affected than others. The department of La Libertad, for example, recorded a higher mortality rate of 100.43 per 100,000 population. It is estimated that 21.74% of the entire population of the country was affected. The populations of Usulután and La Paz account for a disproportional amount of this percentage as these populations were affected almost 100% and 79%, respectively. With regards to the affected structures, a total of 1,155 public buildings were damaged, while 169,792 houses were damaged, 108,261 destroyed and 688 buried. Additionally, 405 churches and 43 piers were damaged, amounting to a total of 280,344 affected constructions. The departments with the greatest proportion of houses destroyed among all buildings were La Libertad (50.6%), Usulután (48.5%), and Cuscatlán (47.1%). Until February 16 of this year, the principal health problems of the country were: acute respiratory infections with 117,871 cases (incidence rate of 1,878.2 per 100,000 population), diarrheal diseases and gastroenteritis with 29,128 cases (464.1), injuries with 7,901 cases (125.9) and depression and anxiety disorders with 7,252 cases (115.6). (Pan American Health Organization, 2001)

The earthquake was so devastating and its impact so widespread that the United States government responded by extending a special work permit programs for Salvadorans living in the United States (Murphy, 2001).

Salvadorans who arrived in the United States prior to February 13, 2001 before the second earthquake in El Salvador qualified for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) authorized by United States government. This program allowed Salvadorans who qualified for the work permit to work for an 18-month period in the United States. More than 280,000 Salvadorans registered for this program. The United States government analyzed the economic situation of El Salvador after the earthquakes and concluded:

As of April 2003, only one-third of the 170,000 homes destroyed by the earthquakes had been replaced. More than three-quarters of the damaged roads still need repair. As of February 2003, some rural health clinics have been rebuilt, but construction had not begun on other major health facilities. . . The economy of El Salvador is not yet stable enough to absorb returnees from the United States should TPS not be extended. Returning Salvadorans would tax an already overburdened infrastructure that is currently incapable of providing for them at home. (Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, July 13, 2003)

The United States government decided to extend the program until March 2004 based on the economic situation of El Salvador at that time. The U.S. government explained that,

A large number of returnees from the United States would not be able to find jobs or possibly housing, creating social unrest and exacerbating a critical crime situation and already dismal living conditions. An extension will allow the approximately 290,000 Salvadorans now with TPS to remain in the U.S. and continue sending home remittances, which have proven helpful in the recovery process. (Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, July 13, 2003)

Once again the United States evaluated the economic situation of El Salvador before the period of TPS was schedule to end. The decision was the same as the previous time in that the TPS was extended for Salvadorans.

The incomplete reconstruction programs translate into a continued deficit in low-cost housing and a lack of access to hospital-based healthcare services for many communities. Moreover, El Salvador has not been able to fully recover, in part due to the 2005 eruption of the Santa Ana volcano that was immediately followed by mudslides and flooding caused by Hurricane Stan. There continues to be a substantial, but temporary, disruption in living conditions in El Salvador as the result of an environmental disaster, and El Salvador continues to be unable, temporarily, to handle adequately the return of its nationals. (Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, June 15, 2006)

In summary, the situation in El Salvador from the 1970s to the present has been mired with natural and man-made catastrophes. The catastrophes have forced the Salvadoran population to continue to migrate to the United States (Figure 4.3). It is

interesting three times the TPS program was extended; the U.S. government has stated that El Salvador was ill-equipped economically to re-absorb Salvadoran migrants.

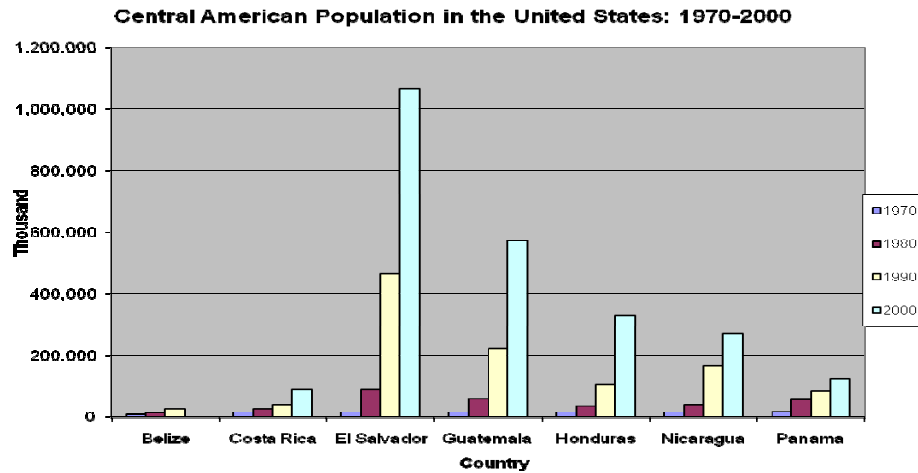


Figure 4.3 Central American Foreign-born Population in the United States: 1970-1990. Source: Mahler, 1995 and US Census Bureau, 1990 and 2000.

4.2.4 Remittances

The Salvadoran population in the United States is estimated to be nearly one million people, representing for the Salvadoran government a veritable economic resource as well as an economic potential as Salvadorans who continue to emigrate. Furthermore, the impact of twenty years of continual migration of the Salvadoran population to the United States can be measured economically. This economic potential and impact is manifested in the form of remittances. Remittances are the monies that immigrants send back home for their families. Remittances sent to El Salvador have increased each year from \$1.9 billion in 2001 to \$3.6 billion in 2007 (Figure 4.4). In 2007, El Salvador was the fourth largest remittance-receiving country in the Latin America with \$3.6 billion after Mexico (\$23.9 billion), Brazil (\$7.0 billion), and Colombia (\$4.5 billion) (Figure 4.3). For the economy of El Salvador, remittances are larger than any economic assistance received by the Official

Development Assistance and Foreign Direct Investment (\$427 million in 2004). Remittances represent 17 percent of El Salvador’s GDP in 2005. Remittance flows have surpassed a significant main export revenues and equal about 80% of total exports (Inter-American Development Bank, 2008). Therefore, remittances represent an economic linkage created by the Salvadoran community in the United States. Furthermore, it shows that the Salvadoran community residing in the United States has created strong economic linkages with El Salvador.

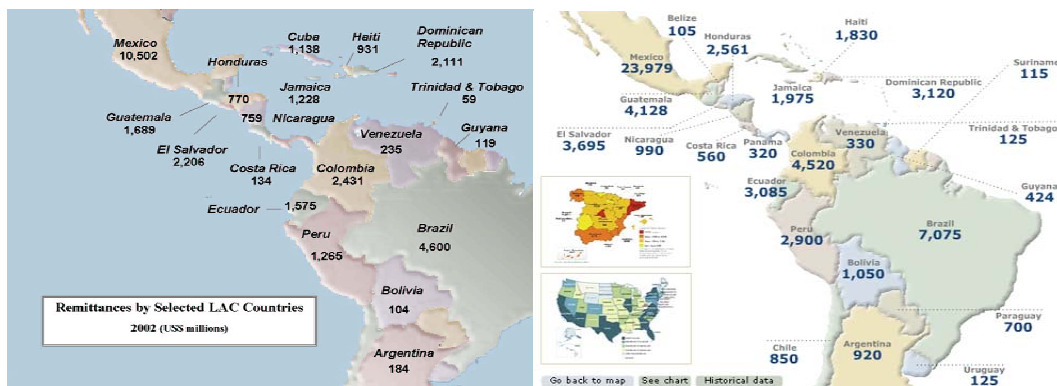


Figure 4.4 Latin American Remittances: 2002 and 2007.
Source: Inter-American Development Bank Multilateral Investment Fund: 2002, 2008.

4.3 Establishment of the Salvadoran Transnational Community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area

In the previous sections, we examined the push and pull factors that established the Salvadoran migration exodus to the United States from the 1970s through the 1990s. Amidst this massive exodus, the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area became a refuge for a large portion of the Salvadoran population fleeing the civil war during the 1980s, and the economic and environmental devastation of the 1990s. But most importantly, the INS began identifying Washington D.C. as a place that Salvadoran immigrants intended to settle in the United States (Table 4.4). Furthermore, “by 1996 the Census Bureau estimated that the Salvadoran population

in the Washington, D.C. metro area [had] grown by another 53 percent to 485,000”
 (<http://www.fairus.org/html/msas/042dcwdc.htm>). Why has the nation’s capital
 become such an attractive place for Salvadorans migrants?

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	Total
Asylum cases received by INS	27,048	29,680	22,271	10,244	6,781	14,616	18,600	126,240
Salvadorans admitted to the U.S.	12,045	57,878	80,173	47,351	26,191	26,818	17,644	268,100
Salvadorans who reported to INS that they intended to settle in the Washington D.C. area	---	----	----	5,320	2,814	3,589	2,853	14,576

Table 4.4 Salvadoran Immigration Data: 1988-1994. Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service and www.fairus.org/html/msas/042dcwdc.htm.

4.3.1 Chain Migration

In previous sections, we discussed how Salvadoran women were the pioneer migrants to the nation’s capital during the 1970s and how these women developed a strong social network after migrating to the country. As Terry Repak’s research concludes, “a large percentage of the survey respondents were not the first members of their families to migrate to the United States, and most of them arrived in the Washington area after 1980” (1995, p. 78). Some Salvadoran immigrants arrived after being sponsored by friends and relatives to join them as the job market and wage levels were favorable in D.C. during the 1980s (Repak, 1995, p. 83). The presence of this strong social network would ultimately allow for the development of a migration chain between El Salvador and Washington D.C. The Salvadoran women’s social network and migration chain "contributed to the rapid development of a thriving community that ensures the continuation of cultural traditions and assists coethnics in the settlement process" (Repak, 1995, p. 181).

In the 1980s the Salvadoran population settled mostly in Washington D.C. near the area of Adams Morgan, Park and 14th Street; and 16th Street and Columbia Road, N.W. As the population began growing in size, researchers began investigations on the Salvadoran community in Washington D.C. One of the first investigations focused on the reasons for Salvadorans' decision to emigrate from El Salvador. The research concluded that, "28.5 percent of the Salvadorans who arrived after 1980 responded that they emigrated exclusively for political reasons and 20.6 percent for political and economic reasons" (Montes and Garcia, 1988, p. 13).

Another study almost ten years later arrived at the same findings:

close to half of the Central American immigrants interviewed in the Washington area claimed that they fled their countries because of oppressive political conditions and civil strife. Even those who attributed their departure to unemployment and poverty blamed the civil war for exacerbating already difficult economic circumstances as factories and businesses were forced to close. (Repak, 1995, p. 40)

The research by Montes and Garcia (1988) and Terry Repak (1995) provide insight on the political and economic reasons given by the initial Salvadoran migrants who immigrated to Washington D.C.

The chain migration was so strong between Washington D.C. and El Salvador that the scale went beyond sponsoring families and involved entire towns. For instance, Sarah Mahler conducted a survey in the early 1990s where she found that:

Statistically, only 15% of Salvadoran families [had] members living in the United States yet in my own research in towns in northern La Unión department, 95% of students surveyed there reported family members abroad, on average 6 members per student. Moreover, two-thirds of these students expressed a desire to emigrate to the U.S. and within two years of the survey, over 10% [had] done so (Mahler, 1995, p. 15).

Mahler’s research provides an overview of the increasing desire to migrate during the 1990s, especially in the Eastern part of El Salvador which was most affected by the civil war. Another research by Terry Repak examines more closely the migration chain established between the Salvadorans towns of Chirilagua, San Miguel, and Intipuca, La Union, and the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area (Figure 4.5). Her research found that from “the town of Intipuca in El Salvador so many immigrants went to the Washington, D.C. area that the town grew affluent from the high rates of remittances sent from Washington immigrants to relatives back home in El Salvador (the town even renamed one of its major avenues Washington Street and even changed the name of the town to Intipuca City)” (Repak, 1995, p. 83). In the case of Chirilagua, half of its population was estimated to have migrated to the northern Virginia suburbs.



Figure 4.5 Map of El Salvador’s Departmental Zones.

Similarly, the Salvadoran congregational questionnaire showed three trends. First, 10 out of 37 participants were from La Union in the eastern region of El Salvador, the most from any other department. Second, 43 percent of all respondents were born in the Eastern part of El Salvador: San Miguel (8%), La Unión (27%), Usulután (5%), and Morazan (3%). Lastly, 41 percent of all respondents came from the central region of El Salvador (Figure 4.6). These findings are significant because they correlate with Sarah Mahler and Terry Repak's research, both of which show the Eastern part of El Salvador as the dominant source of Salvadoran migration to the United States, particularly the WDCMA.

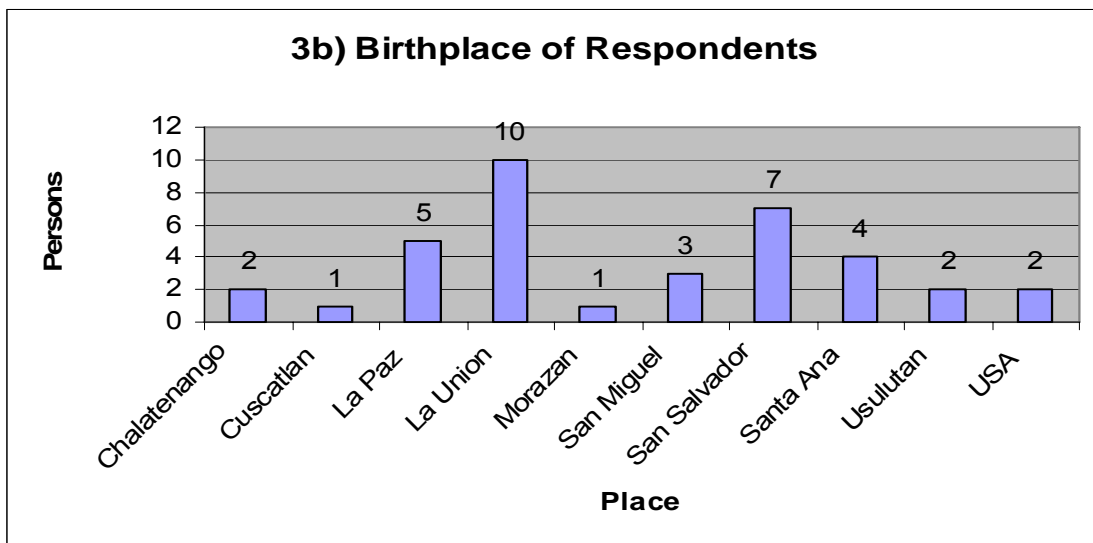


Figure 4.6 Respondent's Birthplace in El Salvador.

Chapter Five: Origin and Establishment of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in El Salvador

Chapter five answers the second follow-up research question: What is the origin and growth of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in El Salvador? One of the limitations of transnationalism as a theory is that it does not examine the origin of the transnational institutions in the home country. By understanding the origin of the transnational institutions in El Salvador, one can better understand the process of transnationalism in the host country, United States. This chapter will examine of the origin of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in El Salvador of three principle denominations: Central American Mission (CAM), Baptist, and Pentecostal denominations. Next, it will examine the growth of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Church from 1940 to 1990. Lastly, it will investigate the establishment of the Salvadoran Transnational Church.

5.1 Origin of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Church in El Salvador

5.1.1 Origin of the Central American Denomination

The oldest Evangelical Protestant presence in El Salvador was the Central American Mission. Dr. C. I. Scofield founded the Central American Mission (CAM) on November 14, 1890 not as a denomination but as a missionary umbrella organization in Central America. Dr. Scofield wrote that the CAM “should be undenominational, evangelical, evangelistic, that neither missionaries nor money should be personally solicited, and that no salaries should be paid to anyone” (Martin, 1990, p. 5). CAM was an “example of a new philosophy called ‘faith mission.’ Faith missions were inter-denominational. They did not solicit funds or officially recruit

their personnel, and they depended totally on the direction of the Holy Spirit for the provision of their personnel and financial support” (Anderson, 2005, p. 408). In essence, Non-denominational agencies like CAM send out multi-denominational missionaries and they start churches that later on become part of a denomination or new denominations in themselves. However, CAM in the coming decades would serve as a gateway for the entry of missionaries and the establishment of other Evangelical Protestant denominations in El Salvador (Table 5.1).

Denomination	Year Est.	First Missionary (Citizenship) Denomination	Location and Year of First Church Established	Transnational Linkage Denomination City, Year	Sources
Central American Mission (CAM)	1896	Samuel Purdie (USA) Quaker	Ilopango, San Salvador 1898	Dallas, Texas 1896	Martin, 1990; Monroy 1996; Hallum, 1996
Pentecostal	1904	Frederick Mebius (Canada) Pentecostal	Lomas de San Marcelino Izalco 1911	N/A	Monroy, 1996 p. 65 Holland, 1990, p.10
Northern Baptist	1911	William Keech (Britain) Baptist	San Salvador, 1911; Santa Ana, 1911	Northern Baptist Convention USA, 1911	Nelson, 1984, p. 42; Monroy 1996, p. 49
The Seventh Day Adventist Church	1916	John Brown (USA)	Santa Ana, 1916	USA, 1916	Holland, 1990, p.18
Assembly of God	1929	Francisco Arbizu (El Salvador) Pentecostal Ralph Williams (Welsh)	Lomas de San Marcelino Izalco 1929	Assembly of God, USA, 1930	Monroy, 1996 p.65; Cleary and Stewart-Gambino, 1997, p. 181
Baptist	1937	N/A	N/A	Baptist Convention of the USA 1937	Anderson, 2005, p. 437
Apostoles y Profeta	1936	Pilar Calderon (El Salvador) CAM	Soyapango, San Salvador 1936	N/A	Monroy, 1996, p.78
Church of God	1940	Frederick Mebius (Canada) Pentecostal H.S. Syverson (USA) Church of God	United with Rev. Mebius Group	Cleveland, Tennessee, 1940	Cleary and Stewart-Gambino, 1997, p. 181; Monroy, 1984 p.81

Table 5.1 Denominations and Missionaries in El Salvador prior to 1940.

The first missionary sponsored by CAM in El Salvador was Samuel Purdie.

Mr. Purdie, “a veteran missionary of the Friends [Quaker], who had been serving in

Mexico for twenty-four years, successfully arrived in El Salvador” after previous attempts by missionaries had failed years earlier (Martin, 1990 p. 34 and Monroy, 1986). The most famous and successful CAM missionary was Robert Bender who arrived in the capital city of El Salvador on April 6, 1897. His missionary career in El Salvador lasted fifty years and won him the title of “the beloved apostle of El Salvador” (Monroy, 1996 and Nelson, 1984). On July 5, 1898, he founded his first Evangelical Protestant church in a rural area of El Salvador. It was not until later that the first Evangelical Protestant church was founded in the capital city of San Salvador on October 2, 1899 (Monroy, 1996, p. 30). In essence, Robert Bender established the first Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches (SEPC) in El Salvador. Robert Bender’s travels throughout El Salvador were so memorable that decades later he is still remembered by individuals who met him:

I remember the American Pastor; I was five years old at that time. Don Heliberto, was a white, tall, young gentleman who did not speak Spanish very well and wore a straw hat. Don Roberto Bender spoke little Spanish as well; they are the ones who first brought Protestantism to my town in Santiago, La Paz. . . I remember that when it was Christmas the missionaries used to put a Christmas tree and give us gifts. (Bonilla, 2005)

“Don Heliberto,” to whom Ms. Bonilla refers in her account, was a young missionary when he arrived in Santiago Nonualco in October 1927 from Philadelphia and was appointed pastor of the small town (Monroy, 1996, p. 42).

In 1906, Robert Bender wrote to CAM expressing his joy over the rapid growth of the new SEPC, “[w]e consider that ten years ago there was only one congregation; now 25 congregations are scattered throughout the republic. Ten years ago we had 15 believers; now we have at least 600 we know of besides many scattered ones in out-of-the-way places” (Martin, 1990, pp. 24-25). CAM conducted

another census in 1910, which revealed that there were 69 preaching centers with a total of 1018 believers (Monroy, 1996, p. 34 and Spain, 1954, p. 114). Around the late 1940s, CAM reported that 15 missionaries were in El Salvador working along with 50 nationals plus nearly 40 churches, 69 preaching centers, and an evangelical community of 5,000 and 2,000 baptized in CAM Churches (Spain, 1954, p. 148).

Panama Congress and Comity Agreements

The Panama Congress of 1916 expanded the presence of the Evangelical Protestant churches in Latin America (Martin, 1990). An invitation went out to all the denominations that were participating or wanted to participate in missionary work in Latin America (Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1917, p. xi). However, there was a significant Missionary Agency absent from the Panama Congress, CAM. When the conference was first planned, “CAM invited the group to meet in Guatemala City with the Mission as the host. It withdrew the offer when the Congress stated that the purpose was to look for ways Protestants could work with the Roman Catholic Church.... As a result, the Protestant groups that did participate condemned CAM for its divisive spirit” (Martin, 1990, p. 36). The decisions made at the Panama Congress would have historical and cultural repercussions as to how the Evangelical Protestant Churches would flourish in Latin America

One of the legacies of the Panama Congress is that it assigned the countries of Central America to denominational missions by geographical areas (Figure 5.1). These divisions came to be known as “comity agreements” (Hallum, 1996 p. 29). For example, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua were assigned to Northern Baptists

(Nelson, 1984, p. 42). Panama and Costa Rica corresponded to the Methodist Episcopal Church now called United Methodist. The Presbyterians arrived in Guatemala (Samandú, 1991, p. 49). The “comity agreements” provided geographical jurisdictions not only at the Central America scale but also established precedence at the country level (Figure 5.2). Each denomination was assigned a specific country they could evangelize, thus hopefully avoiding further division and competition among the denominations.

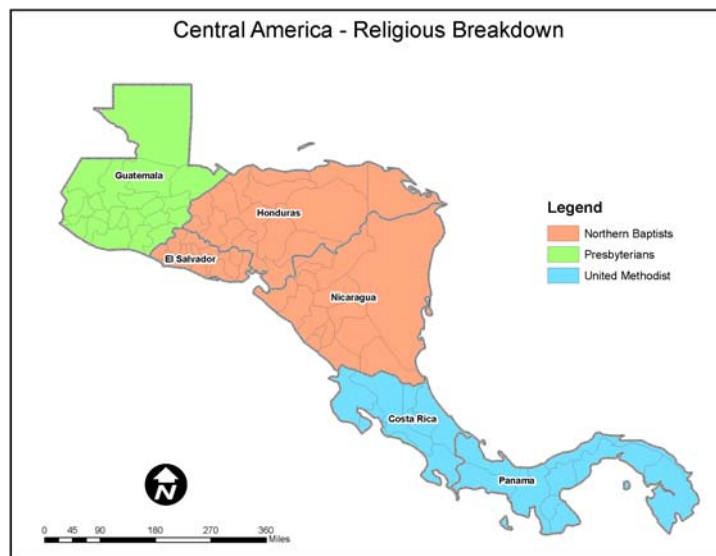


Figure 5.1 Map of the Comity Agreements in Central America: 1910s

According to Gene Lambricht, an American missionary working in El Salvador for more than four decades, El Salvador was divided into regions where Baptist, Pentecostal and other denominations were allowed to evangelize, each in a specific area of the country (Lambricht, 2005 and Monroy, 1996, p. 58-60). A letter written by Robert Bender on January 13, 1911, confirms there was an express desire to establish a comity agreement between CAM and the Baptists denomination:

If the other denomination arrives, they must go to the East of the Republic along with Rev. Percy Chapman [identified as an individual who created the

division between CAM and Baptist is 1911], in other words, from the Lempa River to the Department of La Union. Because CAM has no congregations established there, if the Baptist establishes any congregation in the East I will not oppose them. However, if they want to take what is not theirs, I will consider this a non-Christian act. Chapman has no right to give away our congregations and land without consulting with CAM first. (Translated from Monroy, 1996, p. 59)

At the beginning, the Baptist denomination did not follow CAM's warning and began expanding in the capital city and the western part of the country, territory that CAM considered to be their own. It was not until much later that the Baptists followed Robert Bender's instruction that they established a strong presence in the Eastern region of El Salvador (Monroy, 1996, p. 59). The establishment of the Evangelical Protestant presence in El Salvador was highly conflictive and divisive.



Figure 5.2 Map of the Comity Agreements in El Salvador: 1910s

Cultural Differences

The multiple denominations that entered El Salvador and the artificial geographical boundaries created by the “comity agreements,” created a variety of

Evangelical Protestants, cultural identities based on denominational affiliation and on the country of origin. Gustavo Soto is a Costa Rican missionary, who has been a pastor in five Latin America countries. He explains how the same denomination in different countries can develop its own specific cultural identity:

The CAM churches in Costa Rica are more liberal when compared to the church in El Salvador and the Guatemalan both of which are more conservative. I am not referring to conservatism or liberalism in doctrine. We (CAM churches) have our doctrine in common. What I mean is that the Costa Rican church is more liberal in regard to the songs they sing and whether to clap or not during the worship service, and what type of clothing to use in church. In the case of the Salvadoran church, women wear dresses or skirts. But in Costa Rica, women attend church in jeans or pants and nobody is going to be shocked. In Costa Rica the culture is more liberal and there are more liberties. (Soto, 2005)

Lucy and Rene Zapata are a couple who have ministered in several countries in Latin America. They ministered twice in El Salvador from 1973-1977 and 1986-1991.

Lucy and Rene discuss how gender roles vary depending on the doctrine of the denomination and the country:

Well, there have been changes... Around the world women are occupying leadership and managerial positions. For example, certain churches are very conservative and they have not allowed women to obtain positions of leadership. There are many women who are well prepared academically and spiritually in Latin America. However, in Central America such liberties are not common, and in El Salvador having a leadership role or becoming a pastor is very rare. It is common for women in Latin America to be teachers; however, for decades they could not be deacons as they are today. Recently, the wives of pastors have been able to have more liberty to develop their individual ministry without much criticizing. (Zapata, 2005)

Another way in which cultural differences are manifested in conservative denominations such as *Apostoles y Profetas* is that they monitor and control individuals' dress attires and activities (Monroy, 1996, p. 63). A former member of the *Apostoles y Profetas* explains that when he grew up in a rural town in El Salvador

they were not allowed to play sports, or to wear colorful shoes or shirts because it was considered sinful. They could only wear white-long sleeve shirts buttoned to the neck. Women had to wear long skirts to the ankles, cover their heads with a veil, and keep their hair long; they could not use makeup, or jewelry (Rodriguez, 2005). In other words, the dress attire identified a person with a particular denomination as it does, even today.

5.1.2 Origin of the Baptist Denomination in El Salvador

The Panama Congress led to more denominations entering El Salvador in the 1920s and more Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant churches were established (Table 5.1). Although CAM in the USA was a mission agency and not a denomination it began establishing churches in El Salvador in 1898. However, church goers in El Salvador “expressed a desire to form part of a real denomination preferably Baptist” and not just be part of a mission agency (Nelson, 1984, p. 41). The Baptist denomination first arrived at the request of the Salvadoran Pastor Emilio Morales (member of a CAM church). In 1910, the Baptists quickly responded by sending their first missionary to El Salvador, a British man named William Keech (Anderson, 2005, p. 436; Monroy, 1996, p. 48; and Nelson, 1984, p. 41). By 1911, the first Baptist church was established in Santa Ana with former members of CAM. The Baptists became the second Evangelical Protestant denomination in El Salvador.

Not only did the Baptist denomination attract CAM members but it also took over their property and churches. This resulted in a legal dispute between CAM and the Baptist denomination. Ultimately an agreement was reached by which the Baptist denomination would buy the property of the former CAM churches (Monroy, 1996,

pp. 49-50). In an interview, Gene Lambright, a missionary who served in El Salvador for more than four decades, recalls the origin of the conflict between CAM and

Baptist denomination:

As you know the evangelical work was started by Dr. C.I. Scofield in 1896 in El Salvador. Then in the early 1900s a missionary joined the Central American Mission (now CAM International) from an American Baptist background. He worked with CAM for a term in the Santa Ana area and did much good work there. He went on furlough and came back as an American Baptist missionary. Since there were no other CAM missionaries in the country at that time, he invited all evangelical works of CAM to join him. He switched all our churches in Santa Ana and El Salvador to the American Baptist Association. However, in Metapán they did not join. So a few were still left. Later Robert H. Bender and Roy MacNaught rebuilt the CAM mission work in El Salvador. (Lambright, 2005)

By 1936, there were 2,200 members and several churches affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention (Nelson, 1984, pp. 41-42). However, in 1937, the Northern Baptist Convention was divided when a team of Afro-American missionaries arrived representing the National Baptist Convention of the USA and initiated their own denomination in El Salvador.

5.1.3 Origin of the Pentecostal Denomination

In 1904, CAM recruited the Canadian Pentecostal missionary Frederick Mebius to work in El Salvador. For several years, Mebius worked alongside CAM missionary Robert Bender and with CAM until he decided to leave due to his Pentecostal beliefs. In 1911, Mr. Mebius established the first Pentecostal church, thus becoming the third denomination in El Salvador. This Pentecostal denomination, which later became known as Church of God, focused on the rural Western part of El Salvador particularly in Santa Ana and Sonsonate. Mr. Mebius established “some two dozen congregations with approximately 2,000 members by the late 1920s”

(Cleary and Stewart-Gambino, 1997, p. 181). Similar to CAM and the Baptist denomination, the Pentecostals experienced divisions.

The Salvadoran Pentecostal leader Francisco Arbizú and Welsh missionary Ralph Williams met with several Pentecostal churches that were established by Mebius on April 1930 to establish a new denomination. Twelve churches met in Ahuachapán and created the *Concilio de las Asambleas de Dios de El Salvador* (Assemblies of God denomination) and became affiliated with the Assemblies of God in the United States (Cleary and Stewart-Gambino, 1997, p. 181). By 1936, the Assemblies of God had 965 members and 21 organized churches and by 1940 there were 41 churches (Nelson, 1984, pp. 37-48 and Monroy, 1996, p. 66). The Assembly of God was not immune to divisions. The following church denominations were formed by leaders who left the Assembly of God church: Pentecostal Evangelical Union (1954), the Evangelical Mission of the Holy Spirit (1960), the Garden of Eden Evangelical Church (1962), and the Evangelical Mission of the Voice of God (1969) (Holland, 1990, p. 14).

The Pentecostal churches that did not align with the Assembly of God remained with Frederick Mebius. These churches would become known as *Iglesia de Dios* (Church of God). It was not until 1940 that the churches became affiliated with the Church of God of Cleveland, Tennessee, after the arrival of the American missionary H.S. Syverson (Cleary and Stewart-Gambino, 1997, p. 181). The arrival of H.S. Syverson in El Salvador in 1948 combined with the experience of Frederick Mebius allowed for a dynamic missionary duo. The result was that, by 1949, the Church of God had 20 congregations in El Salvador (Monroy, 1996, p. 81). The

Assembly of God and Church of God battled for dominance in the Eastern region of El Salvador.

Scholars credit Mebius with establishing the movement known as the Free Apostolic Churches in El Salvador (Holland, 1990, p.10). The following denominations belong to Free Apostolic Churches; they were established by dividing from *Iglesia de Dios* (Church of God) not because of doctrinal differences but conflict among leaders: The Church of God of Prophecy “Holy Zion” (1952), The Evangelical Church of God of Prophecy (1972), and Church of God of Prophecy “The City of Zion” (1974) (Holland, 1990, p. 15). Another set of denominations were established as a result of the Pentecostal movement in El Salvador allowing churches to operate independently without a hierarchical structure. The result was several new denominations that flourished in the rural Eastern region of El Salvador: Apostolic Church of the Apostles and Prophets (1935), Apostolic Church of the Upper Room (1930s), Apostolic Church of God in Christ (1950), Apostolic Church of the New Jerusalem (1977) and “*Efesios 2:20*” (Monroy, 1996, p. 63) and Holland, 1990, p. 12). All these churches in El Salvador can trace their lineage back to the work of Mr. Mebius.

5.2 Strategies of Growth Implemented by the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Church in El Salvador

5.2.1 Evangelical Growth 1940-1969

The Evangelical Protestant movement in El Salvador between the 1940s and 1970s went through a period of slow growth and of consolidation by the various denominations. Monroy (1996) explains several reasons for this slow growth period: (1) During the 1940s the Baptists, CAM, and Pentecostal denominations overcame

the socioeconomic hardships and began to expand their denomination. (2) The Protestant movement at that time was stronger in the rural area because that was the area targeted by foreign missionaries. (3) There was a clear division between non-Pentecostal and Pentecostal churches which did not allow for unification between denominations or a national evangelistic strategy. (4) The Evangelical Protestant churches had to combat some of the legacy of colonization such as Catholicism, Machismo and pagan worship. (5) The expansion of Evangelical Protestantism was not easy because missionaries did not know the language and culture and faced many obstacles. From the beginning, when the missionaries arrived in rural areas, the first believers were typically peasants with low socioeconomic standing and low educational attainment. The result was that many professionals and wealthy individuals did not convert because they associated “being a protestant believer” with being a peasant. (6) Each denomination established its own strategy for evangelical growth in the coming decades (Monroy, 1996, pp. 82-83).

The key event that contributed to the evangelical growth was an institutional emphasis on financial growth for both the support of the evangelical campaigns and the growth of individual churches. Denominations like CAM began seeking financial independence from the mission agencies in the United States by putting emphasis on a strong central organization and mid-term strategic goals. Gene Lambright, an American missionary in El Salvador since 1969 who served decades in “El Comite,” explains the financial strategy as “a five year plan to teach the members about tithing. The money will be used to support evangelical campaigns, hire a national director, establish a bible institute, construct an orphanage, and hire a fulltime administrator”

(Lambright, 2005). Mr. Lambright discusses the result of the national strategy and the new goals:

There was plenty of growth during 1974. For example, I saw the churches grow from 50 to 150 members. We [“El Comite”] then set some new goals for 1984, to double the number of churches, double the number of members, double the attendance in those ten years. We asked the churches that in order to accomplish these goals they should have a minimum of one evangelical campaign each year for the next ten years. Also, every church needed to start their own church. (Lambright, 2005)

CAM’s strategy resulted in the highest growth rate up until that time (Table 5.2).

YEAR	EL SALVADOR POP.	DENOMIATIONS	CHURCHES	MEMBERSHIP	CHURCH ATTENDANCE	PERCENTAGE POPULATION	SOURCE
1900	--	1	1	32	--	--	Monroy, 1996, p. 146
1908	--	1	25	600	--	--	Monroy, 1996, p. 33 Martin, 1990, p. 24-25
1910	1,225,835	1	69	1,018	--	--	Monroy, 1996, p. 34; Spain, 1954, p. 114 Menjivar, y Guidos Vejar, 1978, p. 118
1930s	1,459,594	5	80	3,649	7,298	0.5%	Monroy, 1996, p. 82; Nelson, 1984, p. 42; Menjivar, y Guidos Vejar, 1978, p. 186 Holland, 1990, p.13
1960s	--	--	--	--	--	2.46%	Monroy, 1996, p. 146 Cleary and Steward- Gambino, 1997, p. 181
1981	5,300,000	38	1,447	200,600	334,600	6.31%- 6.9%	Monroy, 1996, p. 146 Nelson, 1984, p.76
1985	--	--	--	--	766,498	12.8%	Monroy, 1996, p. 146
1987	--	64	3,362	314,598	1,001,093	18.8%-22.6%	Cleary and Steward- Gambino, 1997, p. 183 Monroy, 1996, p. 146
1992	5,047,925	98	--	514,286	1,800,000	21%-35.6 %	Hallum, 1996, p.37 Monroy, 1996, p. 146
1996	6,000,000	+120	+5,000	1,000,000	2,000,000	33.3%	Monroy, 1996, p. 146
2010	--	--	--	--	--	66.5%	Monroy, 1996, p. 146

Table 5.2 Growth of Evangelical Protestant Movement in El Salvador: 1900-2010

5.2.2 Evangelical Growth 1970-1990

Larger scale campaigns were introduced in the 1970s as another mechanism to spread the Evangelical Protestant message modeled after similar campaigns in the United States. For example, the “Campus Crusade for Christ has been working with local churches in El Salvador in a series of city wide crusades patterned after the ‘I Found It’ campaign in the Unites States” (Holland, 1990, p. 22). Campus Crusade for

Christ's first campaign effort between 1978-1980 resulted in more than 169,000 people being contacted and out of those more than 64,000 professions of faith were registered (Holland, 1990, p. 22). Large-scale campaigns combined with media provided great results as well. For example, Luis Palau, an Argentine evangelist, arrived in El Salvador in the 1970s and produced a dozen one-hour television programs during a 10 day period. The programs were an instantaneous success and generated 1,500 new believers in ten days (Clearly and Stewart-Gabino, 1997, p.168; and Holland, 1990, p. 22). At the beginning of the civil war, two major Evangelical campaigns were planned. The result was that 80,000 people attend the National Stadium in San Salvador during a weekend of campaigns. In April 1981, 70,000 people attended yet another weekend campaign, this time in Santa Ana (Holland, 1990, p. 22). The Evangelical Protestant movement, despite the war, continued to grow at an unprecedented rate.

Evangelical Protestant growth took place in El Salvador not just concentrated in one denomination but in all of them (Table 5.3). For example, in the 1970s there were 250,000 evangelical members, and by 1984 that number had quadrupled to 750,000 (Monroy, 1996, p. 121). According to Clearly and Stewart-Gabino (1997), CAM grew in 1979 by 4 percent and by 1980 it had grown by 30 percent. The Assembly of God "registered an increase from 63,000 to 200,000 members. By 1986, evangelicals claimed to have tripled, even quadrupled, and represent up to one-fifth of the population" (pp. 166-167). A study performed by *Confraternidad Evangelica Salvadoreña* (CONESAL) revealed that the average annual growth rate for evangelical church membership was 22 percent from 1978 to 1982, 15.6 percent from

1982 to 1984, and 12.5 percent from 1985-1987, all well above the 5.5 percent rate for the 1960-1967 period” (Cleary and Stewart-Gambino, 1997, p. 182)

SURVEY	EVANGELICAL	CATHOLIC	NO AFFILIATION
CONESAL, 1987	22.6	N.A.	N.A
IUDOP, 1988	16.4	64.1	14..7
700 Club, 1990	17.4	47.3	32.1

Table 5.3 Religious Affiliation of Salvadorans According to Various Surveys (Percentage of population). Source: Cleary and Stewart-Gambino, 1997, p.183.

The other factor for growth was a focus on the evangelization of rural areas of the country. Anne Motley Hallum (1996) explains that prior to the civil war in El Salvador the Evangelical movement was experiencing high rates of growth particularly among the poorest sectors of the population, mostly located in the rural areas. She explains that evangelical growth in El Salvador was unique because:

[N]owhere else in Central America has the increase of evangelical churches been so fast and dramatic. Of all the evangelical missions and churches founded in El Salvador, nearly 50 percent have opened in the past ten years. Since 1978, the annual rate of growth has ranged from 15 to 22 percent...The country has over 3,300 evangelical churches operated by some 79 evangelical denominations and sects. (Hallum, 1996, p. 76)

When the civil war finally broke out in 1979, and as fighting intensified in the rural areas of the country, evangelical pastors had no other choice but to regroup and organize in an urban setting to establish their ministries.

An additional factor that influenced the growth of the Evangelical Protestant Churches, especially during the civil war, was the message that they delivered. According to Cleary and Stewart-Gambino (1997), the message was both “a reason and a solution for the crisis afflicting Salvadoran Society...The war and economic crisis were signs that the Second Coming was imminent... in other words, the [Evangelical] churches provided a solution that was within the grasp of most”

Salvadorans (p. 186). Gene Lambright's interview supports Cleary and Stewart-Gambino's previous statement,

Every family in El Salvador during the war was affected somehow. The evangelization prior to war took place all over the country. The result was the seed was planted and people were afraid of dying and looking for refuge. People were coming to church that we even hadn't invited. During the war we didn't need to do a lot of evangelization door-to-door. (Lambright, 2005)

Also, during this time the Evangelical Protestant Church had a particular appeal to Salvadoran women. This particular circumstance was, in addition to the other factors already discussed, another element contribution to the growth of the Evangelical Protestant Church. The church provided women with consolation and solidarity during harsh times of war. Churches organized a support system and allowed women to become involved, providing them with relief in light of the country's crisis. The church allowed women the opportunity to participate in its activities, which in turn provided them with the chance to attain leadership positions within the church (Cleary and Stewart-Gambino, 1997, p. 187). The involvement of women in the church allowed for women to become more independent. In addition, many women became heads of household, when many men either were killed or migrated to escape the war.

By the 1980s the Evangelical church became mostly an urban church that provided spiritual support and a sense of refuge from the war. Another missionary I interviewed was Pastor Zapata, who experienced both the pre-war period during the 1970s and the period of the civil war. He explains the differences:

My wife and I were in El Salvador from 1973-1977 and 1986-1991. The first church that we pastored was a working class congregation. The first time in El Salvador it was not as hard as the second time when we experienced kidnapping, thefts, and the war. When we arrived in 1973 we had a

congregation of 35 members and by the time we left in 1977 we had 400 members in the church. We averaged 100 baptisms per year which allowed us to buy a property, and five years later we were able to build a church. (Zapata, 2005)

A shift occurred where the evangelical movement ceased to be associated with peasants, rural areas, and the poor, and grew more in urban areas through evangelistic crusades. This shift allowed for a new middle upper class to emerge in the Evangelical Protestant churches. For example, new believers in the cities were doctors, lawyers, military officials, entrepreneurs, and government (Monroy, 1996, p. 121). Pentecostal Churches were at the forefront of launching an evangelistic campaign to reach the middle class by expanding their presence in the capital city. In addition, *Asambleas de Dios* began a Christian day school program -the *Liceos Cristianos*- and was successful in attracting a growing middle class population (Cleary-Steward-Gambino, 1997, p. 186). This shift explains why San Salvador has a higher percentage of Evangelicals than any other urban area and rural areas in El Salvador (Table 5.4).

AREA	EVANGELICAL	CATHOLIC	NO AFFILIATION
San Salvador	21.0	47.3	28.4
Other Urban Areas	15.0	50.2	32.4
Rural areas	15.0	39.8	40.2

Table 5.4 Religious Affiliation of Salvadorans by Urban and Non-Urban Areas. (Percentage of Population): 1988. Source: Cleary and Stewart-Gambino, 1997, p. 184.

Another important strategy for growth during this period was the decentralization of the church during the period of war. During the war in the 1980s, it was dangerous to travel to church. Thus some congregations divided themselves into “small outreach groups in the homes of the congregation... In other words the church got smaller. These groups placed a great emphasis on discipline, memorization of the bible, study of the bible, praying, and missionary work. Those

small or family groups helped develop leaders in the church” (Soto, 2005). The result, regardless of the evangelistic strategy followed or the condition of the country, was that the Evangelical Protestant Church continued to grow.

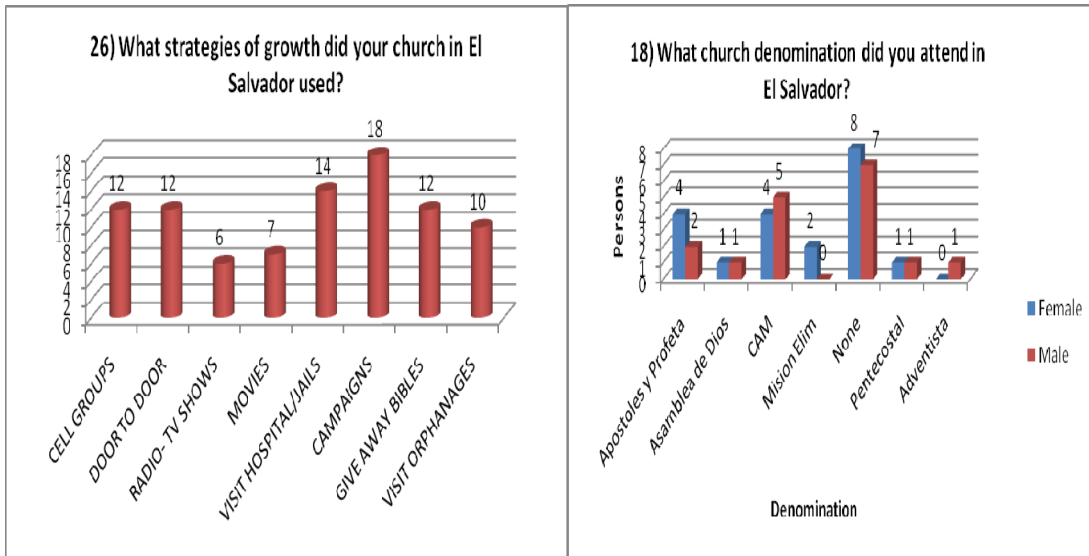


Figure 5.3A Evangelical Strategies Used in El Salvador.

Figure 5.3B Church Denomination Attended in El Salvador.

The congregational questionnaire used for this study was able to identify the various evangelistic techniques mentioned previously as well to identify others. Even though respondents attended various denominations, all of them identified similar evangelistic strategies (Figure 5.3A). The strategies used by their churches in El Salvador included: evangelistic movie screenings, door-to-door evangelizing, and visit hospitals, jails, and orphanages. However, evangelistic campaigns were the number one technique that churches used for evangelizing in El Salvador, thus correlating with the growth period strategies of the 1980s (Figure 5.3B). Another important evangelistic technique was the use of family or cell groups: 59 percent of all the individuals who attended churches in El Salvador attended family or cell groups regularly regardless of denomination (Figure 5.4A). As discussed previously,

the use of various strategies resulted in numerical growth in membership for the Evangelical churches since the 1980s in El Salvador. This is also represented in the congregational questionnaire, a significant percent of the respondents answered that they attended churches with 100-400 members (Figure 5.4B). As seen above, the growth of the Evangelical church in all areas of the country regardless of denomination was a tangible and observable reality.

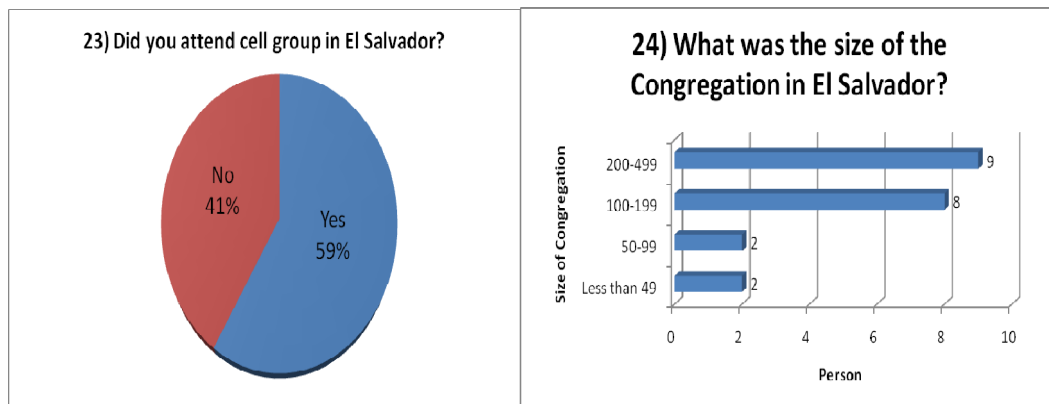


Figure 5.4A Cell Group Participation in El Salvador.

Figure 5.4B Size of Congregation in El Salvador.

5.3 Establishment of the Salvadoran Transnational Church

The establishment of Salvadoran transnational institutions such as ethnic churches began the moment that Salvadoran migrants arrived in the United States. Once in the United States, Evangelical Protestant Church members began establishing transnational linkages between El Salvador and the United States. As the civil war intensified, more and more people regardless of geographical location and economic status began to migrate to the United States. The Evangelical Protestant Church in El Salvador was affected greatly by the exodus of their leaders, pastors, and church members during the war.

Manuel Recino, a pastor of an Evangelical church in San Salvador, explains that his church was greatly affected when many of his friends and fellow church

members migrated to the United States during the civil war. Pastor Recinos explains, “since I have been at this church I would estimate about 50 percent of the congregation has migrated to the United States. They went to states like California, Illinois, New York, and Maryland. They only visit our church when they come down to visit their family during their vacations” (Recinos, 2005). He observed that this exodus to the United States did not bring much positive outcomes for his church. He explains that the only benefit was a financial benefit for the families that stayed behind:

The families that stayed behind were the ones that benefited financially. For many families, remittances are the only source of income. Lack of jobs and opportunities in El Salvador have led many to migrate and the remittances they send have helped the entire economy of El Salvador. (Recinos, 2005)

Pastor Recinos feels that the migration has not been positive for his church but for the church families receiving remittances; thus, the church benefits through the tithes they give to the church.

Transnational linkages are created and strengthen during catastrophes such as the earthquakes of 2001. Former church members in the United States responded immediately and in grand scale, “people sent money and other first aid materials. Salvadoran immigrants even organized medical assistance through our church in El Salvador” (Soto, 2005). Many church leaders like Pastor Recinos believed that the ties were lost once a church member left to the United States. However,

The earthquake and the response of Salvadorans abroad demonstrated that the linkages and trust in the church were stronger than ever. This was not an isolated case with our church. I know of many CAM churches and other denominations where members helped after the earthquakes. Members still feel connected to their churches back home even though they are thousands of miles away. (Soto, 2005)

In transnationalism this process is important because it demonstrates that transnational linkages can be maintained and even strengthened over time. That is why the origin of cultural spaces needs to be investigated both in the home and host country to understand fully the significance of cultural context for the immigrant.

The process of transnationalism creates positive and negative linkages. One of the negative ramifications of the Salvadoran migration has been the disintegration of the family structure in El Salvador. Pastor Recinos has observed first-hand how...

...many parents who migrated left their children back in El Salvador. In the absence of the parents many of these children became involved in drugs and gangs. In other cases, husbands remarried in the United States, or wives remarried in El Salvador. As a result of this, divorce and separation became common. All these factors have affected the Salvadoran community which is reflected in the school systems and in an increase in crime. (Recinos, 2005)

The result of the massive exodus combined with the disintegration of the family structure have resulted El Salvador having one of the highest crime indexes in Latin America. The church in El Salvador was forced to react to the needs of church members as well as the Salvadoran society as a whole by creating social programs such as outreach programs for children in at-risk communities (Recinos, 2005).

Ileana Gomez (1999) explains that the Salvadoran Church's outward expansion through social projects is done mainly as growth mechanism. Another reason why evangelical churches created such outreach projects after the war was to attract new followers as a new evangelistic strategy. But not all denominations have implemented this view. For example, the Assemblies of God in El Salvador, as a church, felt they were not responsible for solving the social problems afflicting the country, and that any involvement in social changes could only be justified if it contributed to saving souls (Gomez, 1999).

Chapter Six: The Salvadoran Church becomes a Transnational Institution

How do Salvadoran evangelical protestant churches reinforce the process of transnationalism in the Washington D.C. metropolitan area? This question will be answered in this chapter by demonstrating how the process of transnationalism creates cultural spaces such as ethnic churches. This chapter will be organized into three main sections. The first section will provide an overview of the ethnic churches in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area. Next, it will analyze data collected from the congregation questionnaire to develop a demographic profile of the case study churches. C.C. Church and Evangelical Church have been selected as the case studies to examine how these churches reinforce the process of transnationalism. It is important to understand that ethnic churches are a major facilitator of transnationalism in the host country; however, there are many other transnational institutions that reinforce the process of transnationalism. Furthermore, each element that contributes to the process of transnationalism will be examined independently: memory, ethnic identity, transmigration, networks, and cultural space.

6.1. Overview of Ethnic Churches in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area

Chapter two provided the theoretical basis for examining ethnic churches as cultural spaces created by immigrants through the process of transnationalism. We examined how other cultures like Koreans, Chinese, and Salvadorans use ethnic churches as an extension and manifestation of their cultural identity. However, few studies have thoroughly examined the presence of ethnic churches in the WDCMA. Dr. Foley and Dr. Hoge's research is one of the few studies that focuses on ethnic churches in the area. Even though their research does not examine ethnic churches

from a transnational perspective, it still provides valuable information regarding how Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches (SEPC) reinforce the process of transnationalism in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area (WDCMA).

	African	Chinese	Indian	Koreans	Salvadoran
Number of immigrants in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area	106,415	51,497	55,554	60,009	108,234
Estimated number of worship communities	75	21	17	192	103
Estimated number of immigrants regular participation	9,000	5,000	10,000	32,000	43,000

Table 6.1 Estimate of Six Immigrants Groups in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area. Source: Foley and Hoge (2007), p. 66 and Census 2000.

Number of Cases	African	Chinese	Indian	Koreans	Salvadoran
	37	15	13	63	53
Worship communities with more than 76% adults born outside the United States	30%	47%	59%	86%	87%
Worship communities with more than 31% adults immigrated within the last five years	24%	7%	0	13%	43%

Table 6.2 Profile of “Typical” Immigrant Worship Communities by Country/Region. Source: Foley and Hoge (2007), p. 66.

In Chapter two we discussed ethnic churches as cultural manifestations of particular ethnicities or culture, as well as the production of spaces. However, the role of transnationalism in creating ethnic churches was not discussed. The research by Foley and Hoge’s provides a comprehensive demographic profile of the Salvadoran ethnic churches in the WDCMA. For example, it revealed that the Salvadoran ethnic churches rank second in the number of worship communities and have the largest regular membership with 43,000 members (Table 6.1). Furthermore, the Salvadoran community ranked number one, having the largest worship community and the highest foreign-born population in the area. In addition, the

Salvadoran worship community had the highest percentage of adults born outside of the United States with 87 percent compared to other ethnic worship communities in the study (Table 6.2). Moreover, the Salvadoran worship community had the highest percentage of adults who migrated to the area in the last five years. Once again the Salvadoran ethnic churches reflect the historical and demographic trends of the Salvadoran population in the area, topics which were also discussed in Chapter one and Chapter four.

6.2 Case Study Profile of the Transnational Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Church

Chapter three explained the process by which C.C. Church and Evangelical Church were selected as case studies for this research. The selection of the participants of the congregational questionnaire was explained in Chapter three. The data acquired from respondents was analyzed, allowing this researcher to create a demographic profile of the congregations. The selection of the participant in the questionnaire all efforts were made for an equal distribution of men and women (Figure 6.1A); 78 percent of all individuals were married (Table 6.1B); and the mode of age for the sampled population was between 31 to 39 years old (Table 6.1C).

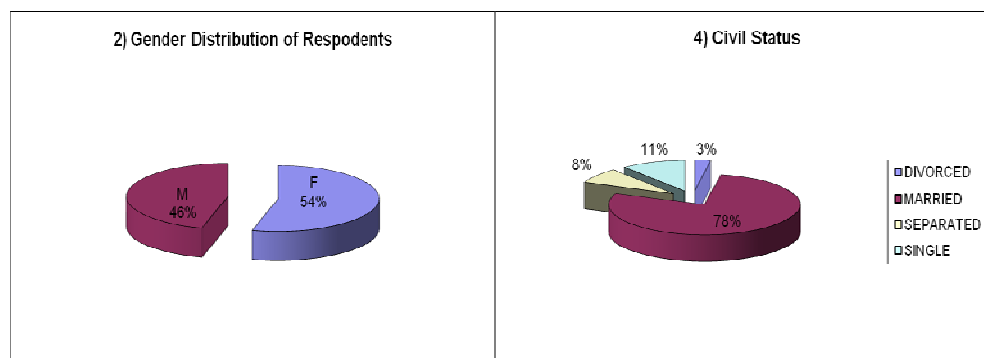


Figure 6.1A Gender Distribution of Participants. **Figure 6.1 B** Civil Status of Participants.

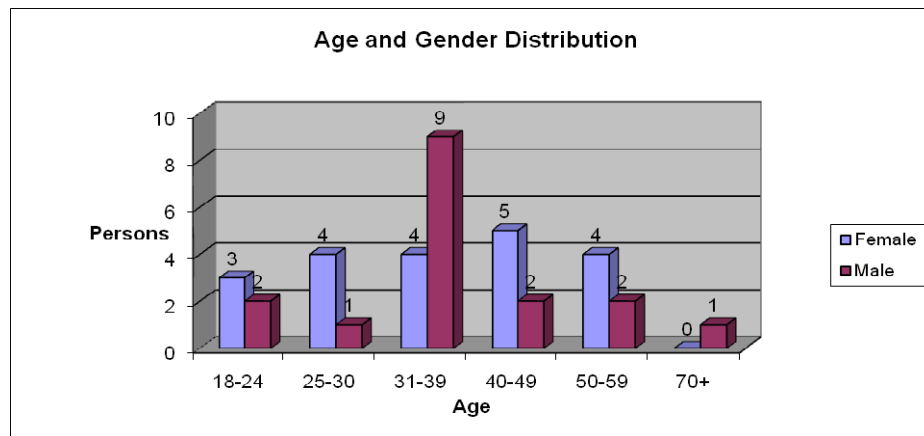


Figure 6.1C Age Distribution of Participants.

The data obtained from the congregational questionnaire provided an understanding of the religious background of the members in both congregations. The questionnaire revealed that 43 percent of the entire congregation responded that their previous religion was Catholic. This is not surprising since most Latin Americans have been historically Catholic. What is surprising is that 30 percent of all the individuals were born in Evangelical Protestant homes (Figure 6.2A). In other words, they are second generation Evangelical Protestant Christians, which correlates with the evangelical growth in El Salvador discussed in Chapter five. Another finding is that 51 percent of the individuals claim to have converted to Evangelical Protestantism in the United States and 49 percent in El Salvador (Figure 6.2B).

Furthermore, the length of time since the participants' conversion to Evangelical Protestant Christians ranged between less than one year to more than 31 years, with a significant response rate for each cohort (Figure 6.2C). Furthermore, most participant members had been attending between 1-9 years their current church in the United States (Figure 6.2D). The wide range is significant because it means the respondents will have different experiences based on the length of time since their

conversion to EPC. Also, the variation in residency will identify different levels of transnational linkages between El Salvador and the United States. This will be explained in greater detail later in this Chapter.

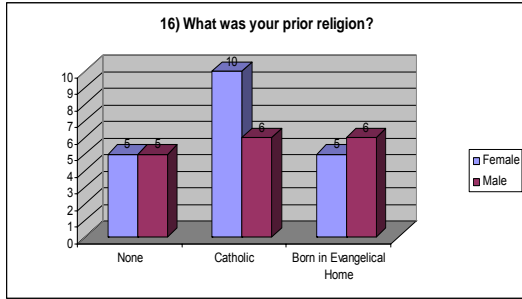


Figure 6.2A Religion of Origin of Participants.

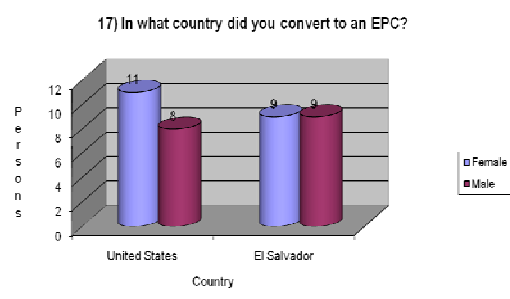


Figure 6.2B Country of Conversion of Participants.

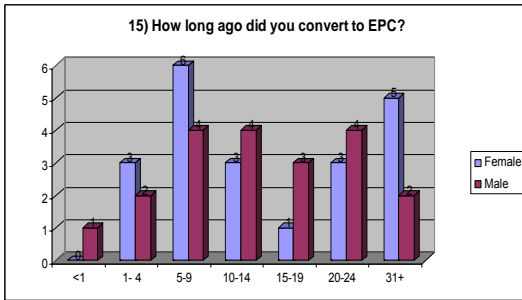


Figure 6.2C Length of Time of Conversion EPC.

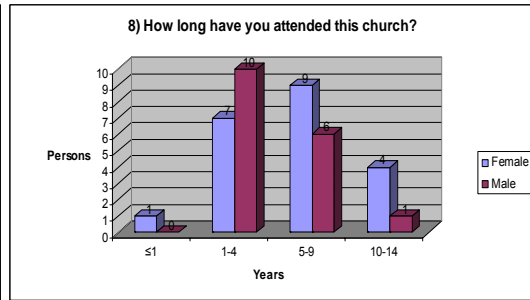


Figure 6.2D Length of Time Attending Church in the U.S.

Another important finding from the congregational questionnaire is the level of commitment of the participants to the church that they attended in El Salvador. 23 out of 37 respondents of all individuals had attended an evangelical protestant church in El Salvador (Figure 6.3A). But more importantly, all the individuals who regularly attended an EPC were also members of those churches and being a member of a church shows a level of commitment and dedication (Figure 6.3B). If one is a member of an Evangelical Protestant Church, it means that one has taken doctrinal classes, has been baptized, and has held a leadership position within the church. 17 out of 37 of the respondents were baptized in El Salvador, and 14 out of 37 of the

participants held leadership positions such as Sunday school teacher, pastors, member of board of directors or another position. Another way to measure the level of commitment can be reflected in the number of services participants attended during each week. The congregational questionnaire revealed that most individuals regularly attended an Evangelical Protestant service at least twice a week (Figure 6.3C). The level of commitment shown by these participants is what makes Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches such an interesting case to study, because their level of commitment helps establish and reinforce the process of transnationalism. It also shows that the process of transnationalism did not originate in the United States, but in El Salvador.

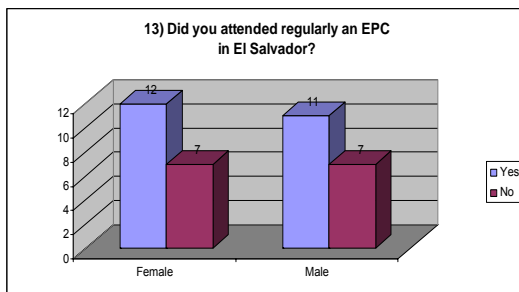


Figure 6.3A Attended EPC in El Salvador.

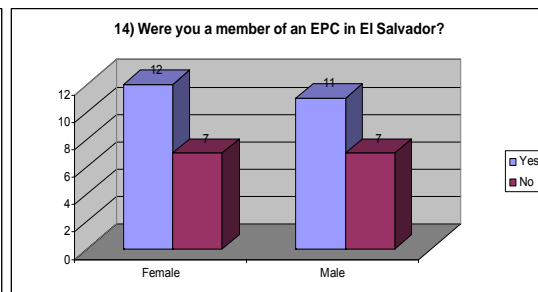


Figure 6.3B Member of EPC in El Salvador.

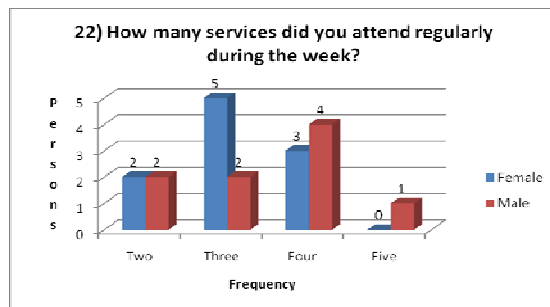


Figure 6.3C Frequency of Attendance to EPC Service.

The data gathered in the congregational questionnaire was able to reflect accurately the settlement pattern of the Salvadoran community in the WDCMA.

Surprisingly, 65 percent of the respondents answered that Maryland was the first state in which they lived (Figure 6.4A). Within the WDCMA, the areas mostly selected by participants were Wheaton, Maryland with 30 percent; Hyattsville, Maryland with 19 percent; and Washington, D.C. with 11 percent (Figure 6.4A). This is significant because it shows that the Salvadoran Transnational Church parallels the Salvadoran community migration trends to the area. This information also correlates with the previous chapter’s finding that indentified the WDCMA as one of the five largest Salvadoran communities in the United States. Interestingly, 66 percent of the participants answered that they travel less than 9 miles to attend church (Figure 6.4B). This is noteworthy because it reveals that people want to live close to the church that they attend. But more importantly, 34 percent of participants responded that they travel more than 10 miles to attend church. The data gathered in the congregational questionnaire parallels the findings of previous chapters relating to the Salvadoran population in the area.

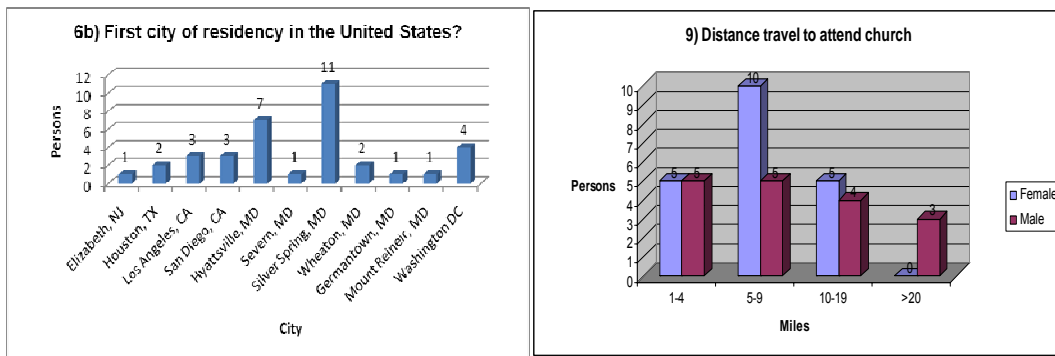


Figure 6.4A Immigrant First City of Residency in the U.S.

Figure 6.4B Traveling Distance for Church Attendance.

In summary, regardless of what mechanism for estimating is used, the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area is home to a large Salvadoran population that ranks among the top five Salvadoran communities in the country. Migration to the

area has been fueled by economic, political, and environmental push-and-pull factors during the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, thus making the WDCMA Salvadoran community one the largest immigrant populations in the United States. The Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches chosen for this research reflect the historical and demographic pattern of the Salvadoran community in the WDCMA. The next section of this chapter will integrate the questionnaire, participant observation, and field notes results to address how the Salvadoran evangelical protestant churches reinforce the process of transnationalism in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.

6.3 Formation of a Transnational Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Church

The previous section showed that transnational institutions such as the ethnic church reflect the demographic and historical trends of the larger immigrant community in the host country. This is why it is important to investigate the origin of transnationalism in both the home and host country, so that the cultural contexts behind the creation of such transnational institutions are fully understood. However, we have yet to analyze how immigrants become agents of transnationalism and why ethnic churches become transnational institutions linking the host country (United States) and home country (El Salvador). This next section will analyze the process of how immigrants become agents and ethnic churches become institutions of transnationalism when memory, transmigration, networks, ethnic identity, and cultural space are incorporated in the host country.

6.3.1 Memory

The Transnational Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Church in the United States is created by the Salvadoran immigrant as a nostalgic response. Churches are created by the Salvadoran migrant as a need to replicate and preserve their memory in the United States. By looking into the journey of Eduardo Rodriguez, as he escaped the civil war in 1984, arrived in the WDCMA, and founded an Evangelical Protestant Church, we can begin to understand the process of transnationalism. As a theory, transnationalism cannot occur without individuals migrating from one place to another. In the case of Eduardo Rodriguez, he wanted to find a church similar to the one that he left in the Eastern part of El Salvador, "*Apostoles y Profetas*." This denomination was discussed in Chapter five, and is one in which all church members adhere to strict dress code and restrict sports activities because they are considered sinful activities, and musical instrument cannot be used in church services.

When Mr. Rodriguez arrived in the area, he began attending one of the first local Salvadoran churches known as "*Apóstoles y Profeta Efesios 2:20*⁵," which was established in 1981. Mr. Rodriguez explains that any "church [in the area] that has the name Apóstoles y Profeta Efesios 2:20 is the same denomination that you find in El Salvador. The concept of Efesios 2:20 is strictly related to El Salvador" (2005). As we can see, Mr. Rodriguez's nostalgia for his home country created in him the desire to look for a church that closely mirrored the one he attended in El Salvador.

Similar to Mr. Rodriguez, Abraham Bonilla arrived in Maryland escaping the Salvadoran civil war and economic hardship in 1985. In El Salvador, Mr. Bonilla

⁵ "Built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, which Christ Jesus himself as the chief cornerstone" Ephesians 2:20.

was a very active member of a church that belonged to the CAM denomination. When he arrived to Maryland, he attended various churches like a Hispanic Baptist and Pentecostal congregation, but none felt like his church in El Salvador. What Mr. Bonilla did find in those churches were other individuals who were nostalgic to find and attend a CAM church like the one they had left behind in El Salvador. What both of these accounts show is how memory becomes a driving force to start the process of transnationalism.

The influence of memory is a constant presence in transnational churches and can be stirred from the pulpit or seen in church activities. For example, it is common for pastors to use stories from their childhood in El Salvador during their sermons to evoke a sense of familiarity or nostalgia within the congregation. Furthermore, during the worship service it is common to sing hymns that were sung in El Salvador. Another way nostalgia manifests itself is in church activities, such as baptisms. In El Salvador, it is common and almost a tradition to get baptized in rivers or lakes.



Figure 6.5 Baptisms Performed in Public Spaces in the United States.

For example, 82 percent of the respondents were baptized in public spaces in El Salvador. While in the United States ethnic churches try to maintain the tradition of baptisms in public spaces, it is more difficult because of the climate and the lack of

available public places to perform the baptisms. However, still 68 percent of all respondents who were baptized in the United States were baptized in public spaces such as lakes or rivers (Figure 6.5). In summary, memory not only creates the transnational spaces such as churches, but it also determines how certain church activities will be performed.

Regardless of one's nationality or race, there are always memories of one's childhood, no matter where one's home was or where one currently lives. For the immigrant population in the United States who are not able to travel back and forth to their home country, memories become the driving force behind the linkages established between the home and the host countries. The memories of immigrants are constructed in their home country and manifested in the host country. Memory is the remembrance of the home country while nostalgia is the feeling of loss of place: however, both are manifested in an ethnic community in the United States through restaurants, grocery stores, nightclubs, churches and other ethnic spaces. Memory allows immigrants to establish transnational institutions in the host country.

6.3.2 Ethnic Identity

The ethnic identity in the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches is constructed by the church leader and the congregation. The identity of the church is established by the leaders of the church and by the denomination and doctrine they implement in the United States. However, the congregation is the one that validates and reinforces the identity established by the church leaders. When the participants were asked to identify what attracted them to a specific church in the U.S., the most common responses were the church's doctrine, pastor, people, and whether their

family members attended that church. Family members and friends were identified as main factor that attracted them to attend their particular church (Figure 6.6A).

However, it is interesting to observe that the family structure of church attendees varies in El Salvador and the United States. For example, in El Salvador individuals attend church mostly with their extended family while in the United States they attend with their immediate family (figure 6.6B). An explanation for this is that during the war not many families or extended families migrated together initially. Also, the individuals who migrated to the United States, in most cases, were single and later married in the United States. Although family and friends were identified as the main reasons why they are attracted initially to the church; it was not the main reasons why they decided to stay in the church. The church doctrine and the pastor where the top two reasons why individuals decided to stay at a church in the United States (Figure 6.6C). Essentially individuals validate the identity created by the church leaders and the denomination. Furthermore, individuals want to attend a church where the members share the same identity in terms of culture, language, nationality, and doctrine. Ethnic identity is manifested and strengthened in the company of other individuals of one's own background. But why were the doctrine and the pastor chosen as the main reasons for individuals to stay in a particular church?

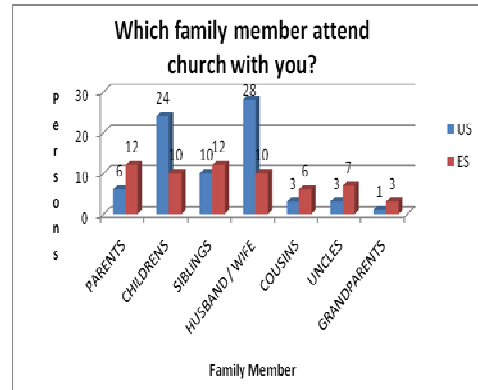
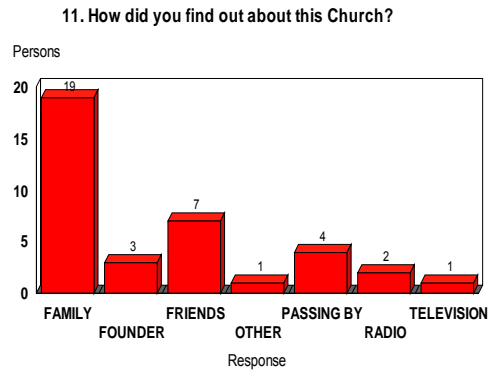


Figure 6.6A Reason for Initial Attraction to Church. **Figure 6.6B** Family Members Attending Church.

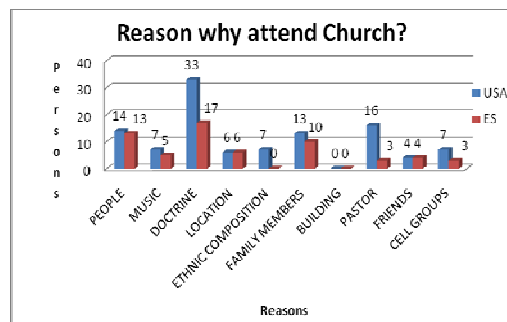


Figure 6.6C Main Reasons to Stay at Church

For Transnational Salvadoran Churches, the identification process began in El Salvador not in the United States. Therefore, the founder of the church, the pastor and the denomination with which the church is affiliated become important elements in the identity of Salvadoran Transnational Churches in the WDCMA. For example, the C.C. Church was established as a result of a turbulent and complex set of events and because of a need for Salvadorans to find a church they can call their own (Figure 6.7). All the founding members of the C.C. Church had attended either “Apostoles y Profetas” or “Asamblea de Dios” churches in El Salvador or in the United States.

The founding members wanted to establish a church in the area that resembled one of the two doctrines. However, the final decision about denominational

affiliation took place when the congregation decided to bring a pastor from El Salvador.

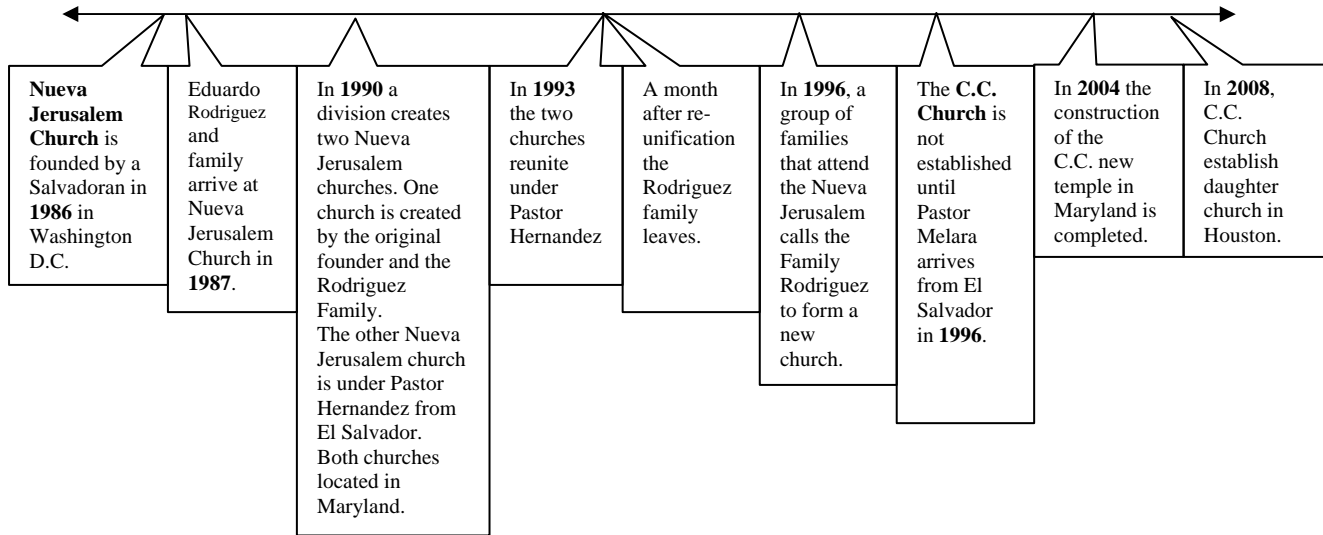


Figure 6.7 History of the C.C. Church.

When the founding families decided to establish a church, their next step was to make a phone call to El Salvador to find a pastor. The pastor they selected came from a well-known “*Asamblea de Dios*” church in El Salvador. Most Salvadoran congregations in the United States want to recruit pastors from El Salvador. The reason is that congregations are seeking familiarity, leadership, someone that would work full-time to ensure numerical growth, and simply someone that reminds them of the structure they had back home. The typical selection process is based on a pastor that the leaders knew in El Salvador or through references. Once a pastor is selected, that person ultimately shapes the identity of the congregation as was the case at C.C. Church.

As a founding member, Abraham Bonilla has created the identity of two churches in the area. The first church that Mr. Bonilla founded was Peniel Church in

1988 and the second church was Evangelical Church in 1994. Peniel Church illustrates better the process of identity because it was established as a nostalgic response by Salvadoran immigrants in the area who wanted to establish a church similar to the ones they left back home. In the case of the Peniel church it was established by three Salvadoran families who were active CAM members in El Salvador and wanted to establish a CAM Church in the area. Peniel Church decided to add CAM as part of their official name to tap into the nostalgia and to establish an identity among the large Salvadorans and Central Americans living in the area who attended CAM churches back home.

To further legitimize their denominational identity Peniel Church contacted CAM headquarters in Dallas, Texas in 1990. This is the same CAM that a century earlier had sent missionaries to convert Central Americans from Catholicism to Evangelical Protestantism. Their converts had arrived in the U.S. and established their own church. Now they were seeking recognition, assistance, and structure from what was, to them, the “mother church” in Dallas. The leaders of Peniel Church felt that by reaching out they would formally cement their affiliation and linkage to the denomination they came from in El Salvador. CAM headquarters responded by stating that their focus was Latin America and not the Hispanics in the United States. Nevertheless, Peniel Church decided to identify itself as a CAM church even without their support. Even though CAM’s headquarters did not officially recognize Peniel, the church maintained strong linkages with CAM in Dallas and in El Salvador. Every year Peniel brings CAM missionaries, music groups, pastors, and religious leaders

from both Dallas and El Salvador to the church as guests to cement their identity as a CAM church further.

Like C.C. Church, Peniel Church also sought to legitimize its identity by finding a pastor from El Salvador. When congregations grow numerically and financially strong, they are able to begin searching for a pastor. By 1991, Peniel was able to start its selection process for a pastor. All the nominees were pastors who lived in El Salvador and belonged to CAM church in El Salvador. Ultimately, Peniel church selected a pastor that had been with CAM since the 1940s and was the father of one of the founding members.

Bringing a pastor from El Salvador is an expensive financial decision because the church has to obtain a visa, pay the pastor's salary and rent, and cover moving expenses. Bringing a pastor from El Salvador is not only an expensive proposition but also one with mixed results. In the case of C.C. Church bringing a pastor from El Salvador was a positive experience that helped unify the church and establish a long-term strategy to buy a property and eventually build a new temple. On the other hand, Peniel Church had very negative results. Between 1999-2002, four pastors were hired by the Peniel Church from El Salvador and each one either divided the church or forced key leaders out. The result was the establishment of five additional transnational churches that trace their origins back to Peniel Church (Figure 6.8). Furthermore, all the leaders who left decided to become pastors of the new churches that each founded.

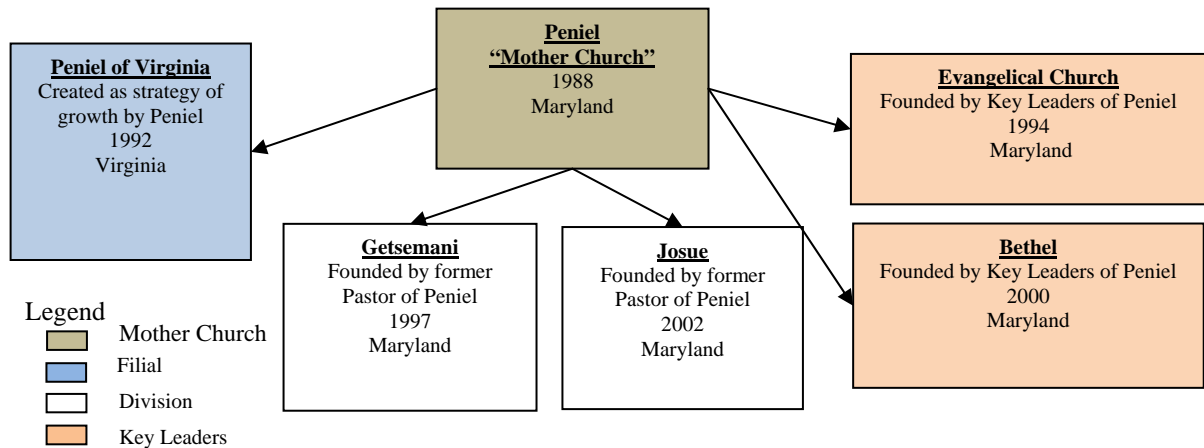


Figure 6.8 Diagram of Churches Tracing Their Origin to Peniel Church.

C.C. Church, Peniel Church, and Evangelical Church established a Salvadoran ethnic identity based on their founding members. The selection of denominational affiliation was made by the founding members. The denomination serves as identification for individuals arriving in the area, who wanted to find a church similar to the one they left behind in their home country. It is important to note that these congregations are not exclusively Salvadoran and that other nationalities are present: Mexicans, other Central Americans and South Americans. However, it does mean that individuals from other nationalities must adapt to the larger identity of the church, in this case a Salvadoran identity. The pastors also become an integral part of the identification process for a Salvadoran Transnational church. In the end, it does not matter if the pastors become a unifying force or a source of division. The dominant ethnic identity of these churches continues to be Salvadoran. Therefore, identification process is created and strengthened through the process of transnationalism and manifested in transnational institutions like ethnic churches.

The identity of a Transnational Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches is manifested in the nationality and denomination of the founding members, in the selection of the pastor, and the selection of the denomination. These factors will determine which individuals will be attracted and become members of a particular church. The more individuals share the same identity and memories the stronger the church's identity will become.

6.3.3 Transmigration

As discussed previously, the selection of a pastor is extremely important because it establishes and reinforces the identity for the church. However, pastors are also agents of transnational migration. Pastors bring evangelical strategies of growth, ministry experience, and doctrinal ideas rooted in their home country, El Salvador. A reason why pastors struggle and why friction arises is that they do not understand how the congregation in the USA is culturally different from the context from which strategies, experience, and doctrines are drawn.

Gustavo Soto has been a pastor in several Central American countries and the United States, and has a unique perspective about some of the differences between being a pastor in the United States and one in Latin America. Soto explains that,

from my experience it is a thousand times harder to be a pastor in the USA than in Latin America. For example, Latin America is not one culture but dozens of cultures. It is difficult to unify those cultures into one church in the United States. On the other hand, Latino immigrants do not come to the USA looking for spiritual answers. They migrate from Latin American to solve an economic or political problem. Trying to convince an immigrant who comes to work in the United States to change jobs or change his/her working schedule to attend church is very difficult. (Soto, 2005)

Understanding that church is not the number one priority for the immigrants is a challenge for most pastors who come from Latin America. Another reason why

pastors from Latin-America struggle is that they try to implement strategies that work in Latin-America but that are not necessarily successful in the United States. Gustavo Soto explains,

Pastors that come to the United States thinking that because they were successful in Latin-America they are guaranteed success here are wrong. The same strategies that work in Latin America do not work in the United States. On the other hand, Latin American churches feel that churches in the United States are stealing their pastors. Instead of stealing our pastors they should be sending us money. (Soto, 2005)

In addition, pastors must deal with multiple nationalities and not just with a single nationality as they are accustomed. Pastors must realize that the Hispanic church in the United States is not the same as the church in El Salvador.

Transmigration is not only about individuals migrating back and forth but also about ideas travelling. Certain ideas, cultural behaviors, values, and norms can change or remain the same in the host country, but when they migrate with immigrants, they are greatly transformed and/or challenged. For example, gender roles in the Salvadoran ethnic church can be change or be strengthened. In El Salvador, the role of women in a church is limited as to the leadership positions she can and cannot hold. For example, 75 percent of participants responded that women were not allowed to become pastors in their churches in El Salvador for either biblical or doctrinal reasons (Figure 6.10A). C.C. Church's denomination in El Salvador would not allow women to become pastors. However, in the United States the wife of the pastor of C.C. Church is the pastor of the church as well. Even when the C.C. Church has two pastors, the male in this case is the head of the church. In some churches, women would not be allowed to speak in front of the church or hold

leadership positions other than Sunday school teacher. However, in the United States, in both C.C. and Evangelical Church, women play an important, active, and visible role (Figure 6.9). In this case, ideas such as leadership roles for women, which were forbidden in El Salvador, have evolved and changed in the United States.



Figure 6.9 Women Holding Active and Visible Roles in the Salvadoran Ethnic Church.

Another way in which gender roles can be manifested in Salvadoran Transnational Churches is the dress attire and physical appearance expected of women. All denominations in El Salvador have a dress code for women and men. In El Salvador, the more conservative the denomination the more stringent the dress code is for women. The congregational questionnaire reveals that the most extreme cases of dress attire restrictions were found in churches that expected women to wear long skirts, veils, and absolutely no pants. The physical appearance for women attending these conservative churches was no make-up, no jewelry, no high heels and only long hair (Figure 6.10B). Furthermore, there are churches in El Salvador and the United States that still restrict women and men from sitting together. In the United States denominations that originated in El Salvador may be either liberal or ultra conservative in term of gender roles, dress code, and physical appearance but, in the

case study, none of the churches had a strict dress code or physical appearance restriction for their women members.

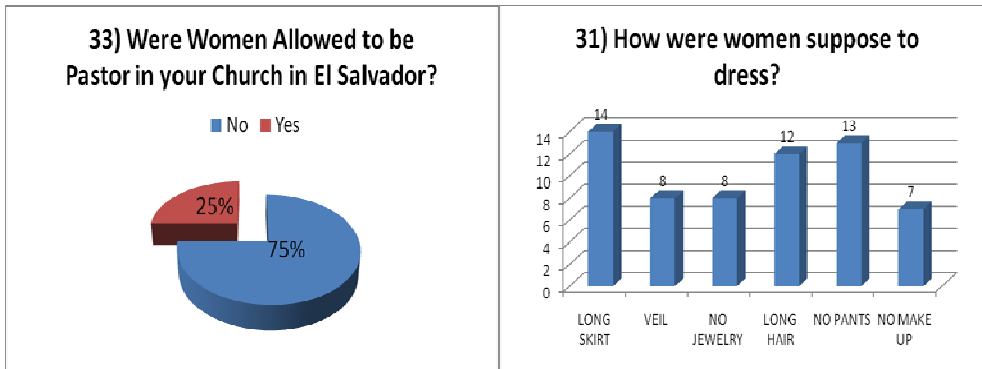


Figure 6.10A Women as Pastors in El Salvador. **Figure 6.10B** Women’s Dress Attire and Physical Appearance.

The process of transmigration contributes to the incorporation of cultural activities into the life of the ethnic church as well (Figure 6.11). In Latin America, a girl’s passage to womanhood at age fifteen is an important event in the young lady’s life and for her family as well. This event is known as the “quinceañera.” The Salvadoran Transnational Churches allow for events like this one to be celebrated in the church. Even though in El Salvador quinceañeras are celebrated in the churches in the United States they become more important cultural symbols. Cultural events such as “quinceañeras” allow for the church in the United States to come together and celebrate this with family and friends. Other events that are celebrated at church are Mother’s Day, Father’s Day, Easter, Church’s anniversary, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year’s. At these events Salvadoran traditional food is served, further establishing the connection between memory, identity, and transmigration. However, when the congregation increases as is the case of the C.C. Church, special days are no longer celebrated because of the logistics, the size, and the cost of the events. Mr.

Rodriguez explains that one of the drawbacks of having a church as larger is that the fellowship among the group has decreased. The only event now that the C.C. Church celebrates for its congregation is the anniversary of the church. This event, which only happens once a year, will cost \$5,000 dollar just in food and \$25,000 in lodging and appearance fees for musical groups and invited pastors.



Figure 6.11 Quinceañeras Celebrating in the Salvadoran Transnational Church.

Transmigration occurs when people migrate between their home country and host country in a circular migration. However, transmigration is not only the movement of people but also the movement of ideas, values, memories, and goods across space. Through circular or transmigration, Salvadoran Transnational Churches, allow for the reinforcement of memories and the strengthening of networks. Transmigration in Salvadoran Transnational Churches is manifested through the hiring of pastors, the congregation, gender roles, and cultural activities.

6.3.4 Networks

Within the Salvadoran Transnational Church individuals are important agents for the establishment of transnational networks. Individuals can create or reinforce multiple transnational linkages between themselves and their friends and family members in El Salvador. It may be more surprising to discover that individuals still

maintaining contact with their former churches in El Salvador. Regardless of gender both female and male create linkages to remain in contact with their churches in El Salvador (Figure 6.12). In the case of female participants, they maintain contact with their former churches mostly through their family members. On the other hand, male participants remain in contact with their former churches mostly through friends and only secondarily through their family members. Surprisingly, both female and male participants remain in contact with their former churches by sending regular offerings. For participants who have obtained legal resident status and thus are able to travel back to El Salvador, it is a priority to visit their former churches. Other interesting way that participants remain in contact with their churches is via email, website, or downloading podcast sermons. In the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area there are several Spanish Christian radio stations that transmit live in El Salvador and vice versa so family members can exchange greetings. Even though immigrants have their own churches in the United States, they still want to maintain linkages with their former churches in El Salvador.

Not only are individuals creating networks with churches back home. The churches do so as well. Churches have begun providing monetary assistance to pastors, missionaries, and churches in El Salvador. For example, Evangelical Church sends money every month to a church in El Salvador that has social outreach programs for children and families in the poorest areas on the country. Members of Evangelical Church have travelled to El Salvador to help in medical campaigns and provide monetary assistance. C.C. Church wants to establish a similar program to help the poor population of El Salvador. Both C.C and Evangelical Church have sent

money for relief efforts after the earthquakes of 2001. These churches are constantly seeking ways to maintain linkages with individuals, churches, and denominations in El Salvador.

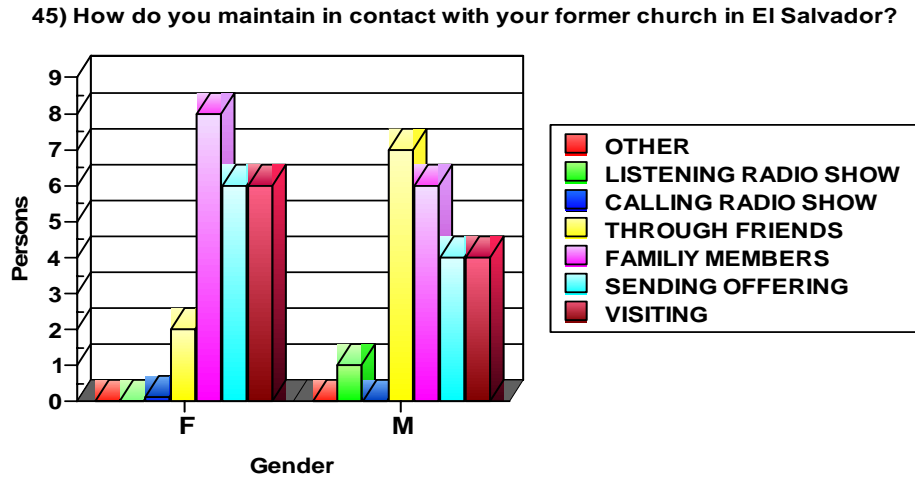


Figure 6.12 Transnational Networks Created by Members of the Salvadoran Ethnic Church.

Churches are not only establishing networks with the home country but also within the United States. The growth of the Hispanic churches has been so large that American religious institutions have begun to take notice and to implement strategies to create linkages between these churches. CAM headquarters in Dallas, Texas, recognized that many immigrants from Central America were members of CAM churches in Central America. The first thing that CAM did to establish linkages with Hispanic Church in the United States was to bring a pastor from Central America. This person will serve as an ambassador and the new coordinator of FIELUSA (Fraternity of Evangelical Hispanic Churches in the United States). Gustavo explains the mission of FIELUSA,

to be a support mechanism for Hispanic churches that share the same doctrine as CAM. Not only for churches that have a large percentage of CAM

members (like Evangelical Church) but for churches that want to join a support system. Over two hundred churches have been contacted and about one hundred have expressed the desire to be members but only twenty have filled out the paperwork. (Soto, 2005)

The characteristics of the churches that have joined FIELUSA are churches in which a large percentage of the congregation is composed of former CAM church members in Central America or that have pastors who were CAM members. Evangelical Church was one of the first churches contacted and one of the first to become members. Pastor Abraham Bonilla has always wanted to create an affiliation with CAM in the United States.

Salvadoran Transnational Churches are a context for transnational networks to be established between the host and home countries. Individuals, pastors and the church are the agents that establish the networks. Networks increase or decrease over time depending on how strong nostalgia, ethnic identity and transmigration is present at the church. A same network can operate simultaneously at various scales, over time, and be present at multiple spaces. Previously we have examined how memory, ethnic identity, and transmigration have created transnational networks by bringing pastors from El Salvador and through denominational affiliation with churches in El Salvador. Most researchers focus only on one-way linkages from El Salvador to the United States. The networks established through the Salvadoran Transnational Churches are not uni-directional but flow in both directions between El Salvador and the United States.

6.3.5 Cultural Space

As mentioned earlier, Abraham Bonilla established Peniel and Evangelical Church. Both churches like many other ethnic churches in the area began as small

gatherings of family and friends meeting in an apartment or a basement. One of the challenges that new churches face is the lack of available space. Salvadoran churches are not only competing for space among themselves but with other ethnic churches such as those of other Latinos, Chinese, Koreans, and Nigerians. Many churches rent space in local schools, community centers, retail space, with other congregations or anywhere else, they can meet (Figure 6.13). Surprisingly, C.C., Peniel, and Evangelical Church all have gone through the process of being recognized by the state and federal government as religious institutions and be classified as non-profit and are tax-exempt.

Another challenge is what occurs when the church grows and needs to find a larger place. When Peniel Church experienced this challenge, they decided, in 1992, to implement an expansion strategy that is very familiar in El Salvador called “filial.” A filial is where a church like Peniel establishes an offspring as a method of growing by providing leadership and financial assistance. The reason why they chose this strategy was because a large percentage of the congregation was coming from Virginia. In essence two churches were established: Peniel of Maryland became the “mother church” and Peniel of Virginia became the “offspring.” Eventually these two churches became independent from one another, with each its own pastor and board of directors. As a result another Salvadoran Transnational Church was born.

As Peniel Church continued to grow after the filial was established, it decided that it was time to buy property in 1993. They began the process of learning how to construct a church in the United States and even brought a former American CAM Missionary to be a consultant in the construction process. However, as Peniel church

grew, decisions became more difficult to make and a power struggle occurred between the pastor and the church leaders. The result was that Peniel's pastor left the church and established Evangelical Church, another Salvadoran Transnational Church.



Figure 6.13 Spaces Used by the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches.

Very few Salvadoran Transnational Churches have been able to purchase their own property and build their own church. One of the hardest things for an ethnic church, regardless of its nationality, is the construction of building since this requires buying property with the proper zoning, securing a bank loan, finding architect and engineering firms, having a shared the same vision, and having the leadership to navigate through the difficulty of the project. In El Salvador if a small congregation wants to build a church, they do not worry about permits or architects. The entire congregation will contribute to the construction of the church.

C.C. Church is an ethnic church that was successfully able to construct a church in the WDMCA. The C.C. Church began by renting commercial space for many years like many other ethnic churches in the area. Finally, their dream of buying a property came true when they purchased a property in 2000 with the hope that they could build their new church. They began a very aggressive fundraising activity which allowed to them begin construction of a multi-million dollar church two years later. What is most remarkable about this congregation is that it was able to construct a new church in a very short period of time with a congregation of around 85 members.

The congregation acted as a community with a single goal. Every individual contributed time or money to the construction effort. In other words, congregation members acted as if they were in El Salvador where individuals help in any way they can. The men of the CC congregation would work during their free time or on weekends. They used their abilities as carpenters, steel workers, painters, roofers, drywall, etc. They bought construction materials and donated them to the church. Meanwhile, women helped with the fundraising activities such as selling food after the service or providing food for the workers during the week (Figure 6.14).

One of the individuals quit his construction job for two years to become the site supervisor, receiving only a couple hundred dollars a week from the church for working nearly 60 hours a week. Other individuals that owned their own painting, drywall, carpeting, and roofing companies also donated time and money. Obviously not all the work could have been done by the congregation. The church hired an architectural firm to help with the permits and design of the church. However,

everyone, in one way or another, helped build the church and make it a reality. In 2004 the construction of the temple was completed (Figure 6.15).



Figure 6.14 C.C. Congregation Building Their New Church.

One of the individuals quit his construction job for two years to become the site supervisor, receiving only a couple hundred dollars a week from the church and working nearly 60 hours a week. Other individuals who owned their own painting, drywall, carpeting, and roofing companies also donated time and money. Obviously not all the work could have been done by the congregation. The church hired an architectural firm to help with the permits and design of the church. However, everyone, in one way or another, helped build the church and make it a reality. In 2004, the construction of the temple was completed (Figure 6.15).

Four years later the congregation has outgrown the new building. The church has three services and over 700 people attend all three services. The leaders credit the construction of the church as a reason for it growing so fast. Also, the church is located in one of the largest Salvadoran communities in the WDCMA. However, the main reason why they have grown so rapidly is the implementation of an evangelistic

strategy for growth that had been used in El Salvador during the civil war. In Chapter five, we discussed how churches during the war in El Salvador became decentralized by using cell groups or family groups. Most Salvadoran churches in the area use this method.



Figure 6.15 C.C. Church in Maryland.

The C.C. Church currently has over 60 cell groups throughout the area (Figure 6.16). The method of cell groups is effective because each church cell group during the week becomes its own cultural space/ethnic church. During the week the pastor gives the lesson to each group leader then the group leader gives the lesson to his/her cell group. This structure insures that each cell group teaches the same message. Also, each cell group has a limit of how many individuals can attend. If the cell group grows any bigger than sixteen individuals then that group is split in half. Each cell group is encouraged to invite friends, family members, and neighbors so that it can continue to grow and expand. If the cell group grows then the church will grow as well. In essence, each cell group becomes a cultural space. The church becomes more than a spiritual space, it becomes a second home for the immigrant congregation.

C.C. CHURCH CELL GROUPS IN MONTGOMERY, AND PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY.

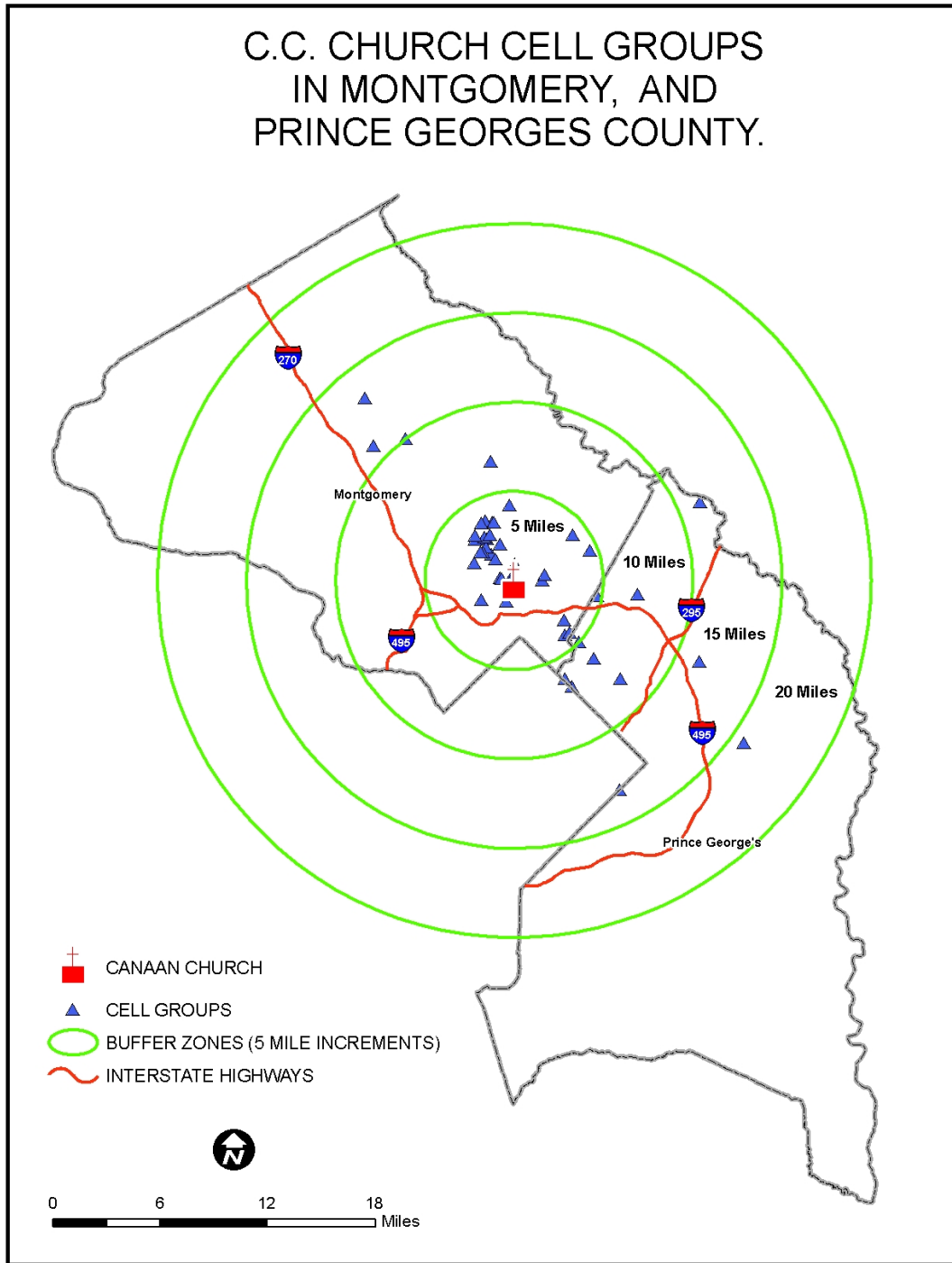


Figure 6.16 Spatial Distributions of C.C. Church's Cell Groups.

The ethnic church has become more than a religious symbol; it has become a place where immigrants can manifest their culture. The church allows immigrants a mechanism to adapt to a new environment. For example, the church is where individuals can find a support system or extended family that can help them with spiritual and non-spiritual needs. The church becomes the visual representation of the transnational process occurring across space, scale, and time. Churches that are able to construct their own building give congregations a sense of pride, place, and realization of the “American dream.” Also, a place gives the congregation a sense of achievement in a foreign land where most of the congregation does not know the language, customs, and laws. The building becomes an imprint in the landscape of the outside community, but for the congregation it is a symbol of unification, cultural resilience, and strength.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The Salvadoran community in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area (WDCMA) was initiated by Salvadoran women when they were recruited to work as domestic workers during the 1970s. When the civil war erupted during the 1980s, followed by the socioeconomic conditions of the 1990s and environmental disasters in 1998 and 2001, conditions were created for the Salvadoran community to become the largest immigrant group in the WDCMA. The Salvadoran transnational community in the area was created through a process of transnationalism and is made up of transnational institutions such as businesses, cultural centers, soccer leagues, radio and newspapers, and churches. These transnational institutions have enabled the Salvadoran transnational community in the area to maintain strong linkages with El Salvador. The Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches (SEPC) in the area were chosen as a case study to answer the overarching research question of this study: what elements contribute to a process of transnationalism?

An ethnographic research approach was used to investigate the inner workings of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant church as a transnational institution using data collection tools such as in-depth interviews, congregational questionnaires, participant observation, field notes, and U.S. Census data. This chapter will summarize the key finding revealed from the research: a new definition of transnationalism, elements that enable transnationalism as a process, and an operational model for transnationalism. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of future research directions.

7.1 Theoretical findings

One of the key findings of this research is a new definition of transnationalism. The definition was derived from the extensive literature analysis of both migration theory and literature on the production of social space plus field work with the transnational migrants. This research defines transnationalism as the process by which transmigrants create economic, political, social, or cultural networks by participating directly or indirectly in transmigration. Furthermore, transnationalism refers to the process by which migrants become transnational agents by creating linkages at various scales, over time, and across space between the host and home countries and vice versa. As Salvadorans migrated to the area they did not relinquish their membership in their home communities in El Salvador. Instead they created a transnational community that enabled them to create linkages between the United States and El Salvador.

Another key finding of this investigation was to identify five elements which enable the process of transnationalism to occur: memory, ethnic identity, transmigration, networks, and cultural space. The ethnography research approach revealed that the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in the area as a transnational institution enabled the process of transnationalism to be manifested. The research showed that all the elements occurred simultaneously, are intertwined, and contributed to the process of transnationalism. Each element of transnationalism was analyzed separately.

The study revealed that the SEPC are created by memory. Memory is manifested by the need of Salvadoran immigrants to be both here in the United States

and there in El Salvador; to stimulate, transfer, transform and incorporate old memories into new memories. The influence of memory is a constant presence in transnational churches and can be seen from the pulpit or seen in church activities. For example, it is common for pastors to use stories from their childhood in El Salvador during their sermons to evoke a sense of familiarity or nostalgia within the congregation. Furthermore, during the worship service it is common to sing hymns that were sung in El Salvador. Another way nostalgia manifests itself is in church activities, such as baptisms. Memory allows immigrants to establish transnational institutions in the host country.

The second element of transnationalism was ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was defined in the research as the cultural construct, which is shaped by the individuals' memories of their home country and their experiences in the host country, as well as the individuals' self-identification of ethnicity versus that which others might identify as the immigrants' ethnicity. In the case of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches their identity is manifested and constructed by the founding members, the pastor, and the denomination of the church. However, it is the congregation that validates and reinforces the identity established by the church leaders.

Transmigration is the third element in the process of transnationalism. Transmigration is defined in this research as the movement that takes place when immigrants travel between their host and home countries and through which they transfer goods, cultural traits, and ideas between one place and another. The research found that transmigration occurs not only when people migrate but when ideas,

values, memories, and goods also migrate across the same space. Transmigration allows for certain cultural activities such as quinceañeras to be celebrated and incorporated within the church's activities. However, transmigration can also facilitate changes in traditional roles of women, allowing some to become pastors even when they were not allowed to do so in El Salvador.

The fourth element of transnationalism that was discerned was networks. The research found that individuals as well as congregations create transnational linkages and interactions between their home and the host countries. Individuals, for example, maintain contact with their former churches in El Salvador through their friends and family members. Churches in the United States form partnerships with churches in El Salvador to help with social problems such as poverty and gangs.

The last element to be explored was cultural spaces: the production of space where immigrants establish their ethnic identity, claim their cultural citizenship, and engage in cultural activities in the host country. In the case of the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches, they are more than a mere religious symbol; they are places where immigrants can manifest their culture. The church allows immigrants a mechanism to adapt to a new environment. The church is where individuals find a support system or extended family that can help them with spiritual and non-spiritual needs. The church becomes the visual representation of the transnational process occurring across space, scale, and time. Churches that are able to construct their own building give congregations a sense of pride, place, and realization of the "American dream."

An additional key finding was to understand how transnationalism operates as a model. The research demonstrated that is imperative to understand how transnational communities emerged in the host country. The model must account for the push and pull factor that create the transnational community in the United States. Furthermore, the model must investigate the origin of transnational institutions in the home country to further understand the process of transnationalism. In addition, the transnational model must examine how transnational institutions facilitate the process of transnationalism and how transnational networks create connections between the host and home country and vice versa. Lastly, the model considers the immigrant to be the primary agent of the process of transnationalism. Immigrants are the agents that enable transnationalism to be created, reinforced, and transformed in the host country and home country and vice versa.

7.2 Future Research Directions

This research has only examined the process of transnationalism as it is presently occurring in within the Salvadoran Evangelical Church in the Washington DC Metropolitan Area. It has also introduced a new definition and model to examine the process transnationalism occurring within a particular transnational community and transnational institution. While the findings and analyzes in this research are compelling, they raise additional questions that point to future research directions.

First, the study has focused primarily on the Salvadoran community in the WDCMA that has strong transnational linkages with El Salvador. However, for the Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches in the region, the transnational process has been going on for at least ten years and strong linkages remain between the host

and home countries. But what is the outlook for these congregations twenty years or more down the road when the families in the congregation become more Americanized and further removed from their home country? What will happen to the cultural identity of the Salvadoran children who have been born in the United States with no memory of their parents' home country, even if they continue to attend a Salvadoran Transnational Church?

A possible insight into this question lies in the experience of Gustavo Soto, as he travels throughout the United States each week visiting various Hispanic churches in an effort to establish a Hispanic Church Association. For example, Soto's experiences have shown him that East Coast churches are different from West Coast churches because of the length of time that the Hispanic community has been in existence in each part of the country. The Hispanic churches on the West Coast are different than East Coast churches because "they were established many decades ago. On the West Coast one can find churches where the members have jobs that are more stable and some are second and third generation" (Soto, 2005). Gustavo Soto's insight can serve to interrogate the experience of other immigrant groups in the United States and examine possible differences between East Coast and West Coast ethnic churches.

Second, this research has not examined the second generation and their role in the ethnic churches and its implications for maintaining their Latino identity in the United States. Gustavo Soto explains that

these children understand but do not speak Spanish well. Certain problems arise. For example, in what language will Sunday school be taught? Do we continue speaking only Spanish? Should these children attend an English speaking church or create English speaking classes? However, if we force

these children to attend English speaking churches our Hispanic congregation will develop an older demographic similar to the phenomenon facing the American churches. (Soto, 2005)

The West Coast Hispanic churches have already faced this challenge. Some churches on the West Coast have begun to function as bilingual congregations and have Sunday school for children in English while conducting the main service in Spanish. On the other hand, some West Coast churches have begun incorporating English worship songs in the services. In others, the church has to evolve along with their congregation as other cultural spaces have done.

A third future research direction is to examine other immigrant groups settling in non-traditional immigrant destinations, and investigate the role of the church as a mechanism of adaptation, and how transnationalism is reinforced. For example, both the East and West Coast there are cities that have a strong historical presence of Latino immigrants. But what is the case in areas where immigrants are recent arrivals? Soto explains that in areas where immigrants have recently settled such as,

Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas the congregations are more unstable. These are Latinos that just arrived and they are constantly moving so it is hard for them to establish a residency. Ten new people can arrive at the church, and within two months, only half of those new people remain because they have moved on. Yet, you can find churches of 200 or 300 members... I have heard of Hispanic churches of 1,000 members but never see them personally. The majority of the churches that I visit are between 50-60 members that are not able to sustain a pastor fulltime. (Soto, 2005)

Maybe East Coast churches may not have the same chance as their West Coast counterparts to become stable because of the present economic crisis and legal status of the congregation. For example, with the recent anti-immigration backlash in Prince William County in Virginia, many congregations with large numbers of illegal members have lost more than fifty percent of their congregation. These individuals

have moved to other counties in the WDCMA or moved to other states which they consider more immigrant friendly. Furthermore, many members in the congregations are unemployed and are unable to find jobs thus affecting the economic conditions of the church. How will the older communities be affected by the mass exodus of immigrants and how will the new communities respond to the new immigrants?

In conclusion, ethnic churches are cultural spaces that allow for memory, ethnic identity, transmigration, and networks between the host country and home country to be manifested through the process of transnationalism. What would be the result when ethnic churches stop relying on ethnic leaders and pastors, when second generation children have no memory of their parents' home countries, or when the congregation becomes more Americanized? Will the transnational churches disappear or be transformed into other ethnic cultural spaces? Since the church is an extension of the immigrant culture it will always be subject to change, transformation, adaptation, and perhaps acculturation. What remains true is that transnationalism is the best theory to date, to understand how transnational institutions such as the ethnic churches have been created by immigrants around the world.

Appendix A

The Multi-Ethnic Congregation Census

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
		Religion	OrganizationName	Address	Number	Name	Type		Other	City	State	PostalCoc	Stud
1		62 Protestant	Central Presbyterian Church of Maryland	2206 Briggs Rd.	2206	Briggs	Rd			Wheaton	MD	20906	Kore
2		64 Protestant	Cornerstone Community Church	7006 Rhoden Ct. #204	7006	Rhoden	Ct		#204	Springfield	VA	22151	Kore
3		65 Protestant	Montgomery Korean Baptist Church	4205 Aspen Hill Rd.	4205	Aspen Hill	Rd			Rockville	MD	20853	Kore
4		66 Protestant	The Korean Baptist Church of Faith	13100 Andrew Dr.	13100	Andrew	Dr			Silver Spring	MD	20904	Kore
5		68 Protestant	Virginia Presbyterian Church	6021 Franconia Rd.	6021	Franconia	Rd			Alexandria	VA	22310	Kore
6		69 Protestant	First Korean Presbyterian Church of Virginia	7610 Newcastle Dr.	7610	Newcastle	Dr			Annandale	VA	22003	Kore
7		70 Protestant	First Virginia Baptist Church	212 S. Washington St.	212	S. Washington	St			Alexandria	VA	22314	Kore
8		71 Protestant	Global Mission Church of Virginia	2750 Gallows Rd.	2750	Gallows	Rd			Vienna	VA	22180	Kore
9		72 Protestant	Virginia Korean Methodist Church	701 Bennett St.	701	Bennett	St			Herndon	VA	20171	Kore
10		11 Muslim	Islamic Community Center of Maryland	19401 Woodfield Rd.	19401	Woodfield	Rd			Gaithersburg	MD	20879	Muslim
11		12 Muslim	Islamic Community Center of Laurel	7306 Cortee Rd.	7306	Cortee	Rd			Laurel	MD	20707	Muslim
12		13 Muslim	Islamic Education Center	7917 Montrose Rd.	7917	Montrose	Rd			Potomac	MD	20854	Muslim
13		14 Muslim	Islamic Jammat Cultural Institute	531 West Diamond Ave.	531	West Diamond	Ave			Gaithersburg	MD	20877	Muslim
14		15 Muslim	Islamic Society of Washington Area	2701 Briggs Chaney Rd.	2701	Briggs Chaney	Rd			Silver Spring	MD	20904	Muslim
15		16 Muslim	Muslim Community Center (MCC)	15200 New Hampshire Ave.	15200	New Hampshire	Ave			Silver Spring	MD	20905	Muslim
16		17 Muslim	Nigerian Muslim Council in the USA	4411 41st St.	4411	41st	St			Brentwood	MD	20722	Muslim
17		18 Muslim	Turkish American Islamic Foundation	9704 Good Luck Rd.	9704	Good Luck	Rd			Lanham	MD	20706	Muslim
18		19 Muslim	Afghan Academy	5568 General Washington Dr., A	5568	General Washington	Dr		A-206	Alexandria	VA	22312	Muslim
19		20 Muslim	Afghan Islamic National Community	P.O. Box 613116320 Hanover Av	3620	Hanover	Ave			Springfield	VA	22150	Muslim
20		21 Muslim	All Dulles Area Muslim Society (ADAMS)	500 Grove St.	500	Grove	St			Herndon	VA	22070	Muslim
21		22 Muslim	All Muslim Brothers Association III (United Methodist Church)	3900 King Street	3900	King	St			Alexandria	VA	22302	Muslim
22		23 Muslim	Darul Huda	6666 Commerce Street	6666	Commerce	St			Springfield	VA	22150	Muslim
23		24 Muslim	Darul Salam Center	4510 Old Columbia Pike	4510	Old Georgetown	Pike			Annandale	VA	22003	Muslim
24		25 Catholic	St. Catherine Laboure Catholic Church	11801 Claridge Rd.	11801	Claridge	Rd			Wheaton	MD	20902	African
25		26 Muslim	Islamic Community Center of Northern Virginia	8253-G Backlick Rd.	8253-G	Backlick	Rd			Newington	VA	22079	Muslim
26		27 Muslim	Masjid Mustafa	6844 Braddock Rd.	6844	Braddock	Rd			Annandale	VA	22003	Muslim
27		28 Catholic	St. Andrew Kim Catholic Church	8108 54th Ave.	8108	54th	Ave			College Park	MD	20740	Korean
28		29 Catholic	Korean Community at Our Lady of Mercy	9200 Kentsdale Dr.	9200	Kentsdale	Dr			Potomac	MD	20854	Korean
29		30 Catholic	St. Paul Chung Catholic Church	4712 Rippling Pond Dr.	4712	Rippling Pond	Dr			Fairfax	VA	22033	Korean
30		31 Protestant	Gospel Community Church	2208 Rockland Ave.	2208	Rockland	Ave			Rockville	MD	20851	Korean
31		32 Protestant	The Korean Galilee Presbyterian Church	5924 Princess Garden Pkwy.	5924	Princess Garden	Pkwy			Lanham	MD	20706	Korean
32		33 Protestant	Calvary Korean Baptist Church	8616 Pohick Rd.	8616	Pohick	Rd			Springfield	VA	22153	Korean
33		34 Protestant	Great Grace Presbyterian Church	9640 Blake Lane	9640	Blake	Lane			Fairfax	VA	22031	Korean
34		35	Church of Wilderness	11200 Old Georgetown Rd.	11200	Old Georgetown	Rd			Rockville	MD	20852	Korean
35		36	Salvation Army Landmark Corp.	6005 Tower Court	6005	Tower	Court			Alexandria	VA	22304	Korean
36		37 Protestant	Glenndale Baptist Church	10808 Patuxet Ave.	10808	Patuxet	Ave			Glenndale	MD	20769	Korean
37		38	Gloria Community Church	4734 Gainsborough Dr.	4734	Gainsborough	Dr			Fairfax	VA	22032	Korean
38		39	Foundation Khadim Rassoul, North America	733 H. Street NW, #756	733	H	St	NW	#756	Washington	DC	20011	Muslim
39		40	Islamic Center of Washington, DC	2551 Massachusetts Ave. NW	2551	Massachusetts	Ave	NW		Washington	DC	20008	Muslim
40		41	Islamic Foundation of America	6606 Electronic Dr.	6606	Electronic	Dr			Springfield	VA	22151	Muslim
41		42	Baitul Arqam	106 Hume Ave.	106	Hume	Ave			Alexandria	VA	22301	Muslim
42		43	Darul Arqam	360 S. Washington St.	360	S. Washington	St			Falls Church	VA	22046	Muslim
43		44	Prince George's Muslim Association	9150 Lanham Severn Rd.	9150	Lanham Severn	Rd			Lanham	MD	20706	Muslim
44		45	Iglesia Evangelica Ebenezer	8745 Flower ave.	8745	Flower	Ave			Silver Spring	MD	20901	Salv
45		46	St. Michael the Archangel Catholic Church	824 Pershing Dr.	824	Pershing	Dr			Silver Spring	MD	20910	African
46		47	Dar-Adh-Dhikr Masjid	4323 Rosedale Ave.	4323	Rosedale	Ave			Bethesda	MD	20814	Muslim
47		48	Dar-Us-Salaam	5301 Edgewood Rd.	5301	Edgewood	Rd			College Park	MD	20740	Muslim
48		49	First Christian Presbyterian Church	11310 Montgomery Rd.	11310	Montgomery	Rd			Beltsville	MD	20705	Korean
49		41 Protestant	National Korean Church of God	6700 Bock Rd.	6700	Bock	Rd			Ft. Washington	MD	20744	Korean
50		42 Protestant	Noel Baptist Church	4300 Sandy Spring Rd.	4300	Sandy Sandy	Rd			Burtonsville	MD	20866	Korean

Appendix B

Life Cycle Questionnaire

Affiliation

Is the immigrant community you serve a self-standing congregation, or is it part of a larger congregation or parish?

In what year was your congregation founded, when you began worshipping as a group?

Is your congregation, or the larger congregation of which you are a part, formally affiliated with a denomination, convention, or some similar kind of organization? (If Yes) What Denomination or association does it belong to?

Is this organization based outside the USA?

If your congregation (not just the pastor) affiliated with any local association of congregations of different denominations, such as a local council of churches, temples, or mosques?

Does your congregation, or the larger congregation of which you are part, own the building in which you worship, or rent it?

Demographic

First, how many persons would you say are associated in any way with the religious life of this group—counting both adult and children, counting both regular and irregular participants, counting both official or registered members and also participating non-members?

If you count by families, not by individuals, how many families?

How many persons—counting both adults and children—would you say regularly participate in the religious life of your congregation—whether or not they are officially members of your congregation?

How many adults—people 18 or older—would you say regularly participate in the religious life of your congregation?

What are the main nationalities or national background in your congregation? Please list them in order of their size, and estimate the percentage of each.

Thinking of the regular adult participants in your congregation, about what percent would you say are female?

About what percentage would you say have four-year college degrees or more?

About what percentage would you say have less than a high school diploma?

About what percentage would you say are over 60 years of age?

About what percentage would you say are under 35 years of age?

About what percentage would you say live in households with incomes under \$25,000 a year?

About what percentage would you say live in households with incomes higher than \$100,000 a year?

About what percentage would you say are born outside of the United States?

About what percentage would you say come to the United States within the past five years?

About how many, or what percent, have traveled back to the home country of their families within the past 12 months for any religious ceremonies, such as baptism, confirmation, adolescent ceremony, or burial of someone?

Overall about how many, or what percent, have traveled back to the home country of their families within the past 12 months?

About what percent of the families have sent their children back to the home country for six months or more, to be raised or educated there?

About what percent of the families have left children back, when they came to this country?

Background on Religious Leader

Is there one person who is the head or senior clergy person or religious leader in your congregation?

Is this person male or female?

Where was this person born?

What is the highest level of education has received?

Worship

In the main service of the week for your congregation, what language or languages are spoken or sung?

Is there a separate English worship service, in which many teens and young adults participate?

(If yes) How many teens or young adult participated in the last week?

How many teens or young adults led by speaking, praying, or singing?

Thinking about the main service that took place this past week, how many people including both adults and children, attended?

In this service, how many different individuals spoke, prayed, or read to the group at some point in the service? Please don't include those who made brief announcements or informally shared a concern.

How many teens or young adults participated in this service by speaking, reading, singing, or performing, not including participating just by being part of the congregation or their choir?

Within the past 12 months, has your congregation participated in a joint worship service with any other congregation?

(If yes) Were any of these services with congregations outside your denomination or religious tradition?

Were any of these services with congregations whose racial or ethnic make-up is different than your congregation's?

Missionary work

Is your congregation or immigrant worship community linked to one or more specific congregations in the home country of a large number of your members?

Of all money your congregation contributed or raised for outreach, mission, service, and help for others in the last year, what percent did you send to other nations, rather than used for programs in the United States?

Organizational structure

Of the regularly participating adults in the immigrants group, how many would you say have served in some sort of leadership role in this congregation—such as chairing a committee, serving as an officer, teaching a class, or other leadership roles—within the past 12 months?

Of these persons, how many are male and how many are female?

Of these persons, how many of them are young adults, that is, under 30 years old?

Is there one committee that is the most important governing body or coordinating committee in your congregation?

(If yes) How many people are currently on it?

How many are male and how many are female?

Were these people appointed by the pastor or leader, or were they elected by the members of the congregations or by a special body?

Does this body have the responsibility to appoint the pastor or religious leader, or does that responsibility lie elsewhere?

Does this body have formal authority over the congregation's budget, or does that responsibility lie elsewhere?

Appendix E

Interview Guide

Name of Participant
Location of Interview
Date

Where were you born?

In what year did you convert to protestant?

Where your parents protestants?

What is your current position within your church?

What is your denomination facilitation?

Do you have any affiliation to Salvadoran Evangelical Protestant Churches?

In what capacity or role have you been in El Salvador?

What was your experience with the Salvadoran congregation?

Why you think that Salvadoran churches are so conservative?

How have you seen the churches you have ministered in El Salvador evolved over time?

How has been your experience in El Salvador compare to other churches you have ministered?

What type of linkages did your church or congregation have with the United States?

In your opinion how are Salvadoran churches different then their Hispanic churches in the United States?

What do you think are the biggest challenges that Hispanic Churches will face in the United States?

Appendix F

List of Interviewees

Interviewee	Location of Interview	Date	Town of Residency
Sara Bonilla	Silver Spring, MD	January 15, 2005	El Salvador
Eduardo Rodriguez	Silver Spring, MD	April 24, 2005	Silver Spring, MD
Abraham Bonilla	Silver Spring, Md	June 15, 2005	Silver Spring, MD
Rene Zapata	Silver Spring, MD	July 18, 2005	Pueblo, Mexico
Gustavo Soto	Silver Spring, MD	August 4, 2005	Atlanta, GA
Gene Lambright	El Salvador	August 29, 2005	Indiana
Manuel Recinos	El Salvador	August 23, 2005	El Salvador

Appendix E
Interview Questionnaire

Section I: Demographic Background (Circle appropriate number below)

1) Age:

- (1) 18-24 years old (2) 25-30 years old (3) 31-39 years old
(4) 40-49 years old (5) 50-59 years old (6) 60-69 years old
(7) older than 70 years old

2) Sex: Female (1) Male (2)

3) Country of Origin? _____ City _____

4) What is your current marital status?

- (1) Single (2) Married (3) Divorced (4) Widow (5) Separated
(6) Other _____

5) How long have you been in the United States?

- (1) less than a year (2) between 1-4 yrs (3) between 5-9 yrs
(4) between 10-14 yrs (5) between 15-19 yrs (6) between 20-24 yrs
(7) between 25-30 yrs

6) In which city and state did you first settle when you came to the USA?

City _____ State _____

7) How long have you lived in this metropolitan area?

- (1) less than a year (2) between 1-4 yrs (3) between 5-9 yrs
(4) between 10-14 yrs (5) between 15-19 yrs (6) between 20-24 yrs
(7) between 25-30 yrs

8) How long have you been attending this church?

- (1) less than a year (2) between 1-4 yrs (3) between 5-9 yrs
(4) between 10-14 yrs (5) between 15-19 yrs (6) between 20-24 yrs
(7) between 25-30 yrs

9) What is the distance that you travel to attend church?

- (1) 1-4 miles (2) 5-9 miles (3) 10-19 miles
(4) more than 20 miles

10) What is the zip code that you live in? _____

11) How did you find out about this church?

- (1) Family (2) Friends (3) Radio
(4) Television (5) Newspaper (6) Flier
(7) Founder (8) Other _____

12) Do you have children that live in your home country? (1) Yes (2) No

12a) If yes, what is the church denomination that your children attend in your home country?

- (1) Assembly of God (2) Misión Centroamericana (3) Apóstoles y Profetas
(4) Baptist (5) Pentecostal (6) Misión Elim
(7) Catholic (8) Adventist (9) Mormon
(10) Other ____

13) Did you attend with frequency an Evangelical Protestant church in your country?

- (1) Yes (2) No

14) Where you a member of an Evangelical Protestant church in your country?

- (1) Yes (2) No

15) How long has it been since you converted to an Evangelical Christian?

- (1) less than a year (2) between 1-4 yrs (3) between 5-9 yrs
(4) between 10-14 yrs (5) between 15-19 yrs (6) between 20-24 yrs
(7) between 25-30 yrs (8) more than 31 yrs

16) Before converting to an Evangelical Christian what religion did you practice?

- (1) Catholicism (2) Was born in an evangelical home (3) None
(4) Other _____

17) In what country did you convert to an Evangelical Christian?

- (1) Country of Origin (2) United States (3) Other _____

Section II: Country of Origin

If you answer No to questions 13 or 14 please go to section III

18) What type of denomination did you belong to in your home country?

- (1) Assembly of God (2) Misión Centroamericana (3) Apóstoles y Profetas
(4) Baptist (5) Pentecostal (6) Misión Elim
(7) Catholic (8) Adventist (9) Mormon
(10) Other ____

19) Where was your church located in your home country?

City ____ State ____

20) Did you have family members that attended the church with you in your home country?

- (1) Yes (2) No

20a) If yes, which of the following family members attended church with you?

Parents	(1) Yes	(2) No	Cousins	(1) Yes	(2) No
Children	(1) Yes	(2) No	Uncles/Ants	(1) Yes	(2) No
Siblings	(1) Yes	(2) No	Grandparents	(1) Yes	(2) No
Husband/Wife	(1) Yes	(2) No	Other	_____	

21) Please mark the top three reasons why you decided to stay in the last church in your home country?

(1) People	(6) Family Members
(2) Music	(7) Building
(3) Doctrine	(8) Pastor
(4) Location	(9) Friends
(5) Ethnic composition	(10) Cell groups
Other	_____

22) How many days did you attend church services in your home country? (Please circle all the ones that correspond)

(1) One day	(2) Two days	(3) Three days	(4) Four days
(5) Five days	(6) Six days	(7) All Week	

23) Did you attend cell groups frequently in your home country?

(1) Yes (2) No

24) What was the congregation size of the church that attended in your home country?

(1) Less than 50	(2) Between 50-99	(3) Between 100-199
(4) Between 200-499	(5) Between 500-999	(6) Between 1000-2000
(7) Other	_____	

25) Could musical instrument be used in the church that you attended?

(1) Yes (2) No

26) What types of evangelical strategies did your church used?

Cell groups	(1) Yes	(2) No	Visit hospital or jails	(1) Yes	(2) No
Door to door	(1) Yes	(2) No	Evangelical campaigns	(1) Yes	(2) No
Radio/TV show	(1) Yes	(2) No	Give away bibles	(1) Yes	(2) No
Movies	(1) Yes	(2) No	Other	_____	
Visit nursery homes or orphanages	(1) Yes	(2) No			

27) Were you baptized in your home country?

(1) Yes (2) No

27a) If yes, where were you baptized in your home country?

(1) River (2) Lake (3) Ocean (4) Church (5) Other _____

28) Did you have any privileges in your congregation?

- (1) Yes (2) No

28a) If yes, what were they?

- (1) Pastor (2) Teacher (3) Deacon
(4) Musician (5) Leader of praise group (6) Ujier
(7) Elder (8) Counselor (9) Board member
(10) Other_____

29) How was the pastor elected in the church that you attended in your home country?

- (1) Congregation (2) Mission (3) Leaders (4) Other_____

30) How were the leaders elected in the church that you attended in your home country?

- (1) Congregation (2) Mission (3) Leaders (4) Pastor
(5) Other_____

31) How were women supposed to dress in the church that you attended in your home country?

- (1) Long skirt (2) Veil (3) No jewelry (4) Long hair
(5) No pants (6) No makeup (7) Other_____

32) Could women perform any privileges or ministries in your home country church?

- (1) Yes (2) No

33) Could women become pastors at the church that you last attended in your home country?

- (1) Yes (2) No

33a) If no, why couldn't women become pastor?

34) Did the church that you in your country ever experienced a division?

- (1) Yes (2) No

34a) If no, what were the reasons for the divisions?_____

35) The space that your church occupied was_____?

- (1) Rented (2) Own (3) Mission (4) Commercial space (5) Home

Section III: United States

36) Do you have family members that attend church with you?

- (1) Yes (2) No

36a) If yes, which of the following family members attend church with you?
 Parents (1) Yes (2) No Cousins (1) Yes (2) No
 Children (1) Yes (2) No Uncles/Ants (1) Yes (2) No
 Siblings (1) Yes (2) No Grandparents (1) Yes (2) No
 Husband/Wife (1) Yes (2) No Other_____

37) How many churches did you attend before settling in this church?
 (1) One (2) Two (3) Three (4) Four (5) The only one
 (6) Other____

38) Please mark the top **three** reasons why you decided to stay in this church?
 (1) People (6) Family Members
 (2) Music (7) Building
 (3) Doctrine (8) Pastor
 (4) Location (9) Friends
 (5) Ethnic composition (10) Cell groups
 Other_____

39) Were you baptized in the United States?
 (1) Yes (2) No

39a) If yes, where were you baptized?
 (1) River (2) Lake (3) Ocean (4) Church
 (5) Other_____

40) Do you have any privileges in your congregation?
 (1) Yes (2) No

40a) If yes, what are they?
 (1) Pastor (2) Teacher (3) Deacon
 (4) Musician (5) Leader of praise group (6) Ujier
 (7) Elder (8) Counselor (9) Board member
 (10) Other_____

41) In your opinion how women should dress when they assist to church?
 (1) Long skirt (2) Veil (3) No jewelry (4) Long hair
 (5) No pants (6) No makeup (7) Other_____

42) Can women perform any privileges or ministries in this church?
 (1) Yes (2) No

43) Can women become pastors in this church?
 (1) Yes (2) No

43a) If no, why can't women become pastors?

44) How do you remain in contact with the church that you assisted in your home country? (Please circle all the ones that correspond)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Visiting | (2) Sending offerings |
| (3) Through family members | (4) Through friends |
| (5) Calling radio shows in my home country | (7) Other_____ |
| (6) Listening to a radio program from my home country | |

45) What does the church that you attend mean to you?

46) In what ways is this church different then the one that you attended in your home country?

47) In what ways is this church similar to the one in your home country?

48) In what areas has this church changed since you became a member?

49) What did the church that you attended in your home country mean to you?

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