GATHERING TOGETHER: THE ROLE OF CHURCH IN JAMAICA IN DEVELOPING AND MAINTAINING MIGRANT SOCIAL NETWORKS

By

Lissa Marie Schwander

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Sociology – Doctor of Philosophy

2014

ABSTRACT

GATHERING TOGETHER: THE ROLE OF CHURCH IN JAMAICA IN DEVELOPING AND MAINTAINING MIGRANT SOCIAL NETWORKS

By

Lissa Marie Schwander

A culture of migration permeates the Jamaican landscape. This is true in the interpersonal relationships that exist within families and between friends and kin and also in the structures and systems that surround individuals and families in Jamaica. Beginning with the transport of slaves into the West Indies and continuing today, movement across borders has been a part of life in Jamaica. This dissertation examines the relationships that exist between those who migrate and those who stay behind, with specific attention paid to those who remain in the home country and the ways that they are supported by their local church. This work examines the connection between the church, the family and migration in Jamaica. Evidence gathered through in-depth interviews and participant observation was analyzed in order to better understand the role of the church in supporting or constraining migration in Jamaica. Specifically, I examined whether or not desire to migrate is a factor for individuals and families as they choose a church home. Beyond church choice, I considered the role the church plays in the lives of the participants and those observed including the programs and services offered at the three churches in the study, how class, gender, and age influence participation in the family, church and migration processes, and the culture of migration in Jamaica.

Through in-depth interviews and participant observation the following questions were explored:

1. Do individuals and families choose church in order to connect to social networks that will aid in migration processes?

2. In what ways do North Street United Church, Meadowbrook United and Swallowfield Chapel, all in Kingston, Jamaica, support or constrain migration of their members?
3. What is the relationship between family, church and migration?
4. What role does class status play with regard to church choice and migration?
5. How are social networks formed and utilized in church and do these networks support or constrain migration?

Results of the study find, that regardless of reasons for church choice, the local church does plays a role in supporting individuals and families involved in migration processes, particularly those who remain in the home country. This support happens through the programs and services offered at the local level to individuals and families who are members at these churches, regular attenders as well as community members seeking help and assistance. Results also support the existence of a culture of migration in Jamaica whereby "the aspiration to migrate is transmitted across generations and between people through social networks" (Kandel and Massey, 2002, p. 981). Results suggest that migration will continue to be influential in Jamaican society. Migration influences individuals and families who are directly involved these processes as well as those indirectly involved via support networks that are developed within families and churches.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to offer my sincere appreciation to Dr. Steven J. Gold, chairperson of my dissertation committee. Dr. Gold has been encouraging and supportive and I am grateful for his continued engagement with me throughout the dissertation process. I am also very grateful to Dr. Maxine Baca-Zinn, Dr. Stephanie Nawyn, and Dr. Mara Leichtman for their continued support and encouragement of my work. Special gratitude and appreciation go to my family, especially my two sons, Jordan and Elijah, as well as friends, and colleagues who supported and encouraged me throughout the process. I would also like to thank my family members, friends, and colleagues in Jamaica for helping to facilitate the field research. I am deeply grateful for the encouragement and support I received during the field research and writing stages of this process. I would like to give special thanks to my father, Rev. Robert G. Schwander who didn't live to see the final product but was always encouraging of my efforts and excited to tell his friends what I was up to.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the research

I became interested in Jamaica and Jamaican migration almost three decades ago. My interest grew from relationships I developed in the early 1980's with young people who had migrated to the United States from Jamaica with their families. As these friendships developed I became curious about their life stories, the stories of their families, and their decisions to come to the United States. My first encounter with a Jamaican community, beyond the individuals with whom I have developed friendships, was in Brooklyn, New York. Most of these friends were members or regular participants at a mainline Protestant church and many of the individuals and families that participated in the life of this church came to the United States from the Caribbean and in many cases, Jamaica. As a young Sociologist I found the interactions with and observations of this particular community to be extremely interesting. As these relationships continued to develop, one of which resulted in my marriage to a Jamaican man who came to the U.S. as a teenager, I began to observe some patterns within the various families. In my mind and from my perspective these patterns included similarities in reasons for migrating to the United States, decisions about where to settle, work, and worship as well as the maintenance of ties to the country of origin. At that time, it also seemed to me that it was primarily women and children who were involved in migration, or at the very least it was women and children who were present at the church. It also seemed to me that it was women who were making the decision to come to the United States. This engagement and these observations led me as an undergraduate student, to undertake a qualitative study of the role of women in Jamaican migration. It was a very small study that included extensive interviews with six women at this church. My focus at the time was on gender, the roles of the women in the study and what I

perceived as a micro-level decision to migrate. I had not yet engaged migration processes from a broader perspective.

I took my first trip to Jamaica in the late 1980's where my interest in Jamaican families and migration continued to develop. The small sample of women I had interviewed at the church in Brooklyn also had ties to the church that I visited while in Jamaica. Although this is not altogether unusual as the original study made use of a convenience sample, it raised some interesting questions for me that have become the focus of my current research. Since my initial visit to Jamaica, I have returned several times for a variety of reasons, both personal and professional. I continue to have familial connections to Jamaica and these personal connections have led to many professional relationships as well. Through these connections I, along with a colleague, have established a three week undergraduate course entitled "The Jamaican Journey: Poverty and Hope for Jamaica". I have traveled to Jamaica with a group of approximately twenty students six times over the past ten years. I team-teach the course and its primary focus is on issues of international development that are specific to Jamaica. Issues covered in the course include Jamaican history, culture, political systems, and the economy. This course was born out of my initial interest in the island and my familial ties, these connections have expanded over the years to include not only family members but friends and colleagues in Jamaica. Colleagues include scholars at the University of the West Indies, directors and staff at local social service agencies, business people, and local pastors and laypeople.

My work is framed by an understanding of the embedded nature of migration in Jamaican society. This framework is supported by Kandel and Massey (2002) who suggest that a culture of migration has emerged in Mexico. This culture of migration, they state is "characterized by long-standing and high rates of international migration" (p.981). My observations about

Jamaican society and interactions with friends, families and colleagues over the last twenty-five years have influenced my understanding of migration in Jamaica. Although these experiences will not necessarily be included in the new data collected for this current study, they do form a foundation upon which my understanding of Jamaican society is grounded. Furthermore, Kandel and Massey's work suggests that migration in many Mexican communities become normative; an expected path for people to take at some point in their lives. The concept of a "culture of migration" forms the framework for my understanding of Jamaican migration and the role that it plays in Jamaican society. Travel to and involvement in Jamaica has directed me to particular observations about individuals and families as well as churches in Jamaica and has led to the development of the research questions for this study, primarily whether the church is a site for the building of social networks for the purpose of migration. Church plays a prominent role in Jamaican society; this study seeks to understand how local churches interact with, influence and are influenced by a culture of migration. Grounded with the conceptual framework of a culture of migration, I sought to answer whether and how the church and migration are connected in Jamaica, as well as better understand the role of the church in Jamaica and the social networks formed within them. More specifically I questioned whether individuals and families choose churches based on their desire to connect to networks that might ease the migration process.

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of the church in the development of social networks and the ways that Jamaican individuals and families develop, sustain and utilize them for the purposes of aiding in the migration process. Specific attention will be given to role that churches play within these networks. I will examine how churches in the home country are utilized in the formation of immigrant social networks for families and how these social networks encourage and support migration to and from the island. Included in the inquiry will

be whether or not class in the country of origin influences church affiliation and therefore the networks that are developed. I will consider how connections to a church assist individuals and families in acquiring the necessary resources with which to migrate. The transnational nature of Jamaican migration in the late 20th and early 21st century is supported by a complex network of connections. Bashi (2007) in her work on Jamaican social networks speaks to the complexities and importance of these networks in the lives of immigrants. This study seeks to examine the particular role of churches and the importance they play for individuals and families.

The church and family are central to life in Jamaica but they do not operate in isolation from the individuals who occupy them each day. Likewise, the migration process has become a mainstay in Jamaican society; part of the culture. An individual or family's ability to migrate is due in large part to the resources to which they have access. Families and churches in Jamaica make up a part of complex networks that individuals utilize in everyday life as well as in their decisions to migrate. Class, among other things, also organizes families, churches and the migration processes. Individuals and families located in different class positions within society access resources and networks differently. Utilizing understandings of transnationalism and immigrant social networks I will study the role of the church for individuals and families in the home country and how they use such networks to facilitate migration.

This study adds to current understandings of migration by considering migration processes from the country of origin with a particular focus on the role of the church in the home country. Unique to this study is the emphasis on the home country and the networks that are developed within church organizations. This work also adds to the existing literature on migration by considering individuals and families from the point of the country of origin as well as through an examination of how individuals and families utilize the church to form and sustain

social networks and how these networks help them acquire resources that may be used in the migration process. Although much has been written about migration, family and even religion this study is unique in making the country of origin central to the process and considering the church as a site of social connections, rather than a focus on faith and spirituality. It is my assumption that social networks and the connections that are acquired through them happens not only at the "front end" of the migration process but continues throughout the transnational nature of Jamaican migration processes. Individuals and families in the church continue to interact with and influence each other prior to decisions to migrate as well as after migration happens. Class and gender shape the nature and form of the social networks that are developed and are also shaped by these networks.

The chapters that follow flow from the information gathered from my observations of and interactions with Jamaican individuals and families and the systems and structures that surround them as well as the data gathered in the interviews. Chapter one provides an overview of the literature on migration with particular attention to the literature on transnational migration and social networks as well as the history of migration in Jamaica. Also included is an overview of the literature on migration and families and migration and religion. Chapter two will outline the research process including the research setting and the methods used to collect data. Initial findings will also be discussed as these shaped the ongoing process of data collection.

Using evidence gathered from interviews and field observations, chapter three will explore the particularities and relationships that exist in the social networks that are formed within churches as well as the role of the church in Jamaica with specific attention to how these particular churches acts as sites for the building of social networks for the individuals and families participating in this study. Chapter three will consider how family, church and

migration interact with one another in ways that those involved often do not recognize and will explore the ways that the relationships between these systems both support and constrain participation in migration processes. This chapter will also examine these relationship with a particular focus on how individuals and families rely on the church in the home country and in turn, how individuals involved in migration support the church. The role that church communities play in supporting and/or constraining migration will be highlighted with a particular focus on how this process is very gendered and classed. Migration theories that consider the importance of social networks and the transnational nature of migration will be utilized to better understand the role of these churches in the lives of the respondents in the study and their involvement in migration.

Over the course of the study themes began to emerge suggesting that migration in Jamaica may be understood and constructed in unique ways. In addition to the role that the church plays in the lives of individuals and families involved in migration, chapter four will examine the meanings and perceptions of migration by individuals living in Jamaica and involved in migration processes. Some of these individuals have been involved directly in migration but many more of them have family members who have moved abroad or have lived abroad at some point. This chapter will explore the ways that migration is constructed in the lives of individuals in Jamaica and how these understandings of migration shape their daily lives, their participation in their families and their churches. In addition to theories that examine migrant social networks and transnationalism, chapter four will also seek to further an understanding of a culture of migration that exists in Jamaica and permeates systems such as the family and the church.

Chapter five will review the findings and discuss the limitations of the current study. Although I had a clear understanding of the presence of migration in Jamaica, primary focus in my study was how this influences church choice as well as the use of social networks built within the church to assist with migration. Chapter five will review these findings but will also discuss areas for future research that emerged during the research process.

CHAPTER 2 - METHODS

Introduction to the methods

This is qualitative study that employs both ethnographic and case study to examine the connections between migration and the church in Jamaica. This study is rooted in my connections and relationships with friends and families in and from Jamaica who have been involved with migration processes over the past fifty years. Ethnographic methods are intended to examine an "intact culture group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational data. The research process is flexible and typically evolves contextually in response to the lived realities encountered in the field setting" (Creswell, 2003: 14). Ethnographic methods, according to Atkinson and Hammersley include the following features:

- A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them,
- 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,
- Investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one, in detail, and
- Analysis of data that involves explicit interpretations of 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 (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998: 110-111).

The purpose of my study is to explore social networks within churches and discover whether these networks, that I have observed to sustain and maintain migration, were the reason why people chose a particular church. Primary questions included the following:

1. Do individuals and families choose church in order to connect to social networks that will aid in migration processes?
2. In what ways do these three churches support or constrain migration of their members?
3. What is the relationship between family, church and migration?
4. What role does class status play with regard to church choice and migration?
5. How are social networks formed and utilized in church and do these networks support or constrain migration?

The unstructured nature of the work allowed me to develop additional themes as they emerged during the research process. The number of participants was intentionally limited in order to allow the administration of in-depth interviews as well as to allow me to interact with the respondents in a variety of settings. My involvement in Jamaica over the past twenty-five years makes ethnographic study an appropriate method for the continued collection of data through daily observation and interaction during the research process. I also utilized a snowball sample that connected me to respondents through my previously established relationships. This provided a certain level of trust with my respondents that allowed for open and honest conversation about the topics at hand.

Although the primary research question centered on the connection between choice of church and desire to migrate, this question might have been answered with a simple yes or no question. Research questions also included the role of the church in the home country; because individual choice of church is complex, I chose to include in-depth interviewing in order to

explore and examine particular cases with regard to church choice that existed within these three churches and also the role that these churches play in the lives of their members and participants, particularly with regard to migration. According to Berg (2004) "case study methods involve systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit he researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions" (251). I knew at the beginning of the research process that individuals and families in these churches were involved in and affected by migration. Because questions about how desire to migrate influence one's choice of church in Jamaica emerged from observation and interaction over the years, case study is also appropriate. Case study allowed me to gather particular information about church choice and migration that was not readily available through observation. These two methods allowed me to be both particular in my research question about church but also flexible enough to broaden my study during the research process. Both of these methods led to an understanding of the importance of church to these respondents as well as the culture of migration that exists in Jamaica.

Because of my connections to Jamaican individuals and families who have been involved in migration and my interaction with the three churches in the study, this case study is "both a process of learning about the case and the product of our [my] learning" (Stake, 1998: 86). As Stake points out, decisions to carry out investigation through case study is often a product of what we already know and how we seek to know it better. This is the case for me with my work.

Insider/Outsider

Undertaking investigation of a people and place that I know so well raises some concerns in terms the research process. Jamaican migration, as a "product of what I already know and

seek to know it better" has driven the primary research question about the role of the church in migration but also the other variables that are evident to me. These include an understanding of a culture of migration that exists in Jamaica, the role and importance of the church in Jamaica, the family and the migration process, the role of class status in Jamaica and how that influences migration, and how those who remain in the home country interact with and are affected by migration processes.

Over the years I have observed a great deal of movement back and forth between Jamaica and the United States, particularly, although I know people in Canada and England as well. I have also interacted on a regular basis with the three churches in the study and observed them to be at least somewhat involved in the migration of their members. What I didn't know was the specifics of this involvement. My study of migration has led to my understanding of the importance of social networks for individuals and families in the migration process as well as a better understanding of the way that migration permeates the lives of individuals and families in Jamaica as well as the institutions and structures (such as church) within which they live and exist. I have observed the use of family and kinship networks in the church in Jamaica but did not know how or why these were formed or if they were utilized specifically for the purposes of migration. More particularly, I did not know whether choice of church was dependent upon the existence of such networks. These observations and the questions that resulted from them led me to this study.

Ethnographic research and case studies of migration over the past three decades have yielded increased understandings of the ways that individuals, families and institutions interact with migration processes. Migration studies have examined the macro-structural conditions that lead to labor and political migrations as well as the decisions to migrate that are made at the

micro-relational level. My interest in examining the role of the church in this process in Jamaica is connected to my personal relationship to individuals and families who have been involved in migration from Jamaica as well as my involvement and interaction with the three churches in the study. I chose to utilize ethnography and case study in order to better understand the complexities of Jamaican migration and the importance of the church for people involved in these processes.

My connections and familiarity with the churches, communities and some of the people involved in the study provided a unique location from which I engaged the research. As an educated white woman from the United States, I considered myself an outsider in the context of the research setting. As I engaged the research process, however, I realized that many of my informants considered me an insider, or at the very least, not an outsider. Although I do not believe that this is the case in every sense of the word, it was clear to me that the access I gained to some of the informants was directly related to my long standing relationships with the people in the three churches who validated my experience and connections to the particular church and to Jamaica more broadly. Although I was accustomed to this in my informal relationships over the years, it came as a bit of a surprise to me in the context of the research. It raises interesting questions about definitions of insider/outsider and who decides. My credibility with the informants came via my relationships with people they already trusted, namely pastors and lay people in the church. The pastors and lay people with whom I had long term relationships, considered me an insider, part of the family.

Insider-outsider debates in social scientific research is not new. As Gu (2013) points out, controversies in the 1970's centered on cross-racial research, particularly research being conducted by white researchers in minority communities. Baca Zinn (1979) in her reflections

about research as an insider points out that both insiders and outsiders have obligations to the research process and the informants involved and none of these obligations or issues should be ignored regardless of insider-outsider status. Baca Zinn suggests that field research has been utilized over the years as a "corrective strategy" that places the researcher inside the context of the community being studied. Though she argues that method is not the primary issue related to the unequal power dynamics at play in the research process, in my study, the extensive time spent in the field setting, I believe, helped bridge the insider-outsider divide.

Gu's discussion of the use of interviews in migration studies suggests that "interview-based research has gained increased visibility and significance…migration scholars have relied on qualitative interviewing to acquire in-depth knowledge of the immigrants' life experiences (Gu, 2013, p. 507). She cautions the researcher however to develop cultural sensitivity in both the interviewing and data analysis phases of the research. Gu discusses the insider-outsider effects on both selection of participants as well as the interview process. Gu, like Baca Zinn, points to both advantages and disadvantages of both roles. She suggests that insiders, because of their familiarity with the culture and the subjects can often miss cues or statements in the interview. As I reviewed my interview transcripts and field notes, I realized that this was sometimes the case for me. Several times my informants suggested through words or body language/gestures, that I understood what they were saying. In hindsight, follow up questions, in some cases might have proved useful. However because of my quasi-insider status, I often missed this during the interview process itself and only realized it in the review process. I do not believe this had negative effects on this study as many of these exchanges were more informal and not directly related to the interview questions examining the connections between church, family and migration. Gu's work, however, is mostly concerned with the study of immigrant

groups in the host country. Although the insider-outside questions are quite relevant for my work, it is important to note that my interviews were conducted in the field after extensive contact and connections to these communities over the years. Although field research does not address all of the advantages and disadvantages of insider-outsider status, my familiarity with the research setting helped me to establish relationships with the informants more easily. The complexities of insider-outsider status is an interesting area for me for future research, given my long standing connections to these churches and many of the informants.

Research setting

Research was conducted at three churches in Kingston, Jamaica. All three churches are in the Protestant tradition but serve different populations, primarily in the city of Kingston. Two of the churches belong to the United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman (a mainline protestant denomination in Jamaica), and one is affiliated with the Association of Christian Brethren. All three churches represent Protestant denominations, however, they serve diverse populations and geographic locations in the city of Kingston and individuals and families from varying socio-economic backgrounds. This was an important aspect of the selection of these particular churches. Although I had some familiarity with the leadership at all three churches prior to the study, providing a convenience sample, the different geographic locations of the churches and the socio-economic diversity between the three churches was also considered. All three churches have individuals and families that have been involved in some way in the migration process.

North Street United Church is located in the heart of old downtown Kingston which at one time was the center of commerce on the island. Similar to many U.S. cities, the downtown

area has deteriorated as business and housing has moved outward. There are many individuals and families that continue to travel into the church from outside the downtown area, these members form the leadership of the church. The church continues to serve a low income population that surrounds the immediate location of the church. This church is quite traditional in nature in terms of its worship form and organizational structure. Meadowbrook United Church is located in what would be considered a suburban area of Kingston and serves a largely middle to upper income, professional population. This church is also fairly traditional in organizational structure and worship style. The third church, Swallowfield Chapel, is in an area that includes the neighborhoods of Swallowfield, Mountain View, Stadium Gardens, Lady Musgrave, and Nannyville. It is situated in close proximity to New Kingston and would be classified in U.S. religious circles as a mega-church. New Kingston has developed over the past fifty years and has become the center of global business on the island. In addition to becoming the financial and commercial hub of Jamaica, New Kingston has replaced the old commercial shopping district, downtown Kingston, particularly for the middle and upper income families. Three of the neighborhoods surrounding the church grounds were described as middle class, these included New Kingston, Lady Musgrave and Stadium Gardens. The other three neighborhoods were described by members at Swallowfield Chapel as poor or working class neighborhoods. These include the Swallowfield neighborhood, Mountainview, and Nannyville. The church draws participants and members from all of these surrounding neighborhoods but also has members who come from all over the city of Kingston as well as other parts of the island.

Although these three churches were the primary sites for data collection, the research field included a much larger space, including the city of Kingston and the island as a whole; both

of which are part of a much larger transnational space that extends far beyond the borders of Jamaica itself.

Methods

Research was conducted during the summer of 2012 using qualitative methods that included participant observation and in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Interviews included questions about family, church and migration with a particular interest in whether people choose a church based on a desire to connect to social networks for the purpose of migrating.

Formal research and interviews took place over the course of a year, with three separate trips taken to Jamaica. In January 2012 I spent two weeks in Jamaica introducing my work to church leadership at the three churches and laying some groundwork for field work during the summer of 2012. This work included participation at worship services at all three churches and informal interviews with pastors at two of the three churches. Due to a leadership change at one of the churches, no pastor was available during January 2012. During the summer of 2012 I spent six weeks living in Jamaica and participating in various activities at the three churches. In January 2013 I spent three weeks living, working and teaching in Jamaica. In addition to this, as mentioned above, I have been traveling to Jamaica for over twenty years. This travel is the result of both personal and professional connections to the Island. I have strong personal connections to Jamaica through familial ties, by marriage, for over twenty five years. Through these connections I have established a three week undergraduate course entitled "The Jamaican Journey: Poverty and Hope for Jamaica". I have traveled to Jamaica with a group of approximately twenty students six times over the past 10 years. I team-teach the course and its primary focus is on issues of international development that are specific to Jamaica. Issues

covered in the course include Jamaican history, culture, political systems, and the economy. This course was born out of my initial interest in the island and my familial ties, these connections have expanded over the years to include not only family members but friends and colleagues in Jamaica. Colleagues include scholars at the University of the West Indies, directors and staff at local social service agencies, business people, and local pastors and laypeople

Three churches in Kingston Jamaica that were selected and participants recruited from these churches. Participants were recruited by church leaders through direct requests to individuals as well as announcements in church services and at staff meetings. As noted above, the three churches are familiar to me and selected, in part, because of knowledge about and ties to these congregations. In addition to my personal ties however, these churches also represent a diversity of geographic locations, membership, and programming. They are all protestant churches and have some denominational ties, particularly the two United Church congregations. This is important. Foner (2001) that "given religion's importance in the lives of West Indian New Yorkers, it is surprising that the church is barely mentioned in most scholarly accounts" (17). Foner further suggests that particular attention be paid to protestant churches. Foner's work *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, however, is focused primarily on immigrant settlement and adaptation. My study seeks to examine the importance of the church, its connections to the migration process, and more specifically the relationships and connections formed within them, for Jamaicans in the home country.

Participants in the study had diverse experience with migration including people who moved back and forth between sending and receiving countries as well as those who remained in the country of origin. The three churches selected are North Street United Church,

Meadowbrook United Church and Swallowfield Chapel. Due to a recent change in church leadership at Meadowbrook United Church, most interviews were conducted with people from North Street United Church and Swallowfield Chapel. The interviews conducted during the summer of 2012 varied anywhere from 40 to 90 minutes in length. Many participants were reluctant to become involved, often stating that they did not know if they could be of help with a study about migration. Several participants suggested at the beginning of the interviews that they had not been involved with migration. However, interviews revealed a different story with these individuals who were often connected closely to family members (parents, siblings, and children) who had in fact migrated out of Jamaica. In some cases the participants themselves went on to discuss their own migration experience. In one case an individual participant said she had not been involved in migration and went on to discuss having lived and worked in another Caribbean country for six years. In another similar case, the participant had spent several years abroad working on a Master's Degree. This began to raise questions for me about how individuals in Jamaica think about migration.

Research was also conducted through participation in and observation of the lives of people in and around these three churches as well as in the various activities of the church communities, including those who participated in the interviews. Informal work and observation was conducted in several settings including large church-wide gatherings such as worship services and social events as well as in smaller settings such as meals, family gatherings, and participation in the events of daily living such as household errands and recreational activities. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 26 participants from the three churches. Participants included church staff members as well as church laity (see Appendix B for a list of participants). Observation also included a far greater number of people and informal

conversations about migration, family and the church happened over the course of the data gathering process with a variety of people in a variety of settings.

My observation about Jamaican society and interaction with friends, families and colleagues over the last twenty-five years has influenced my understanding of migration to and from the island. Although these experiences will not necessarily be included in the new data collected for this current study, they do form a foundation upon which my understanding of Jamaican society is grounded and therefore led to the primary research question. Travel to and involvement in Jamaica has led me to particular observations about individuals and families as well as churches in Jamaica. Theories of migration that include transnationalism, the use of social networks, and migration as a household strategy, among others have been part of this observation.

My primary research question was intended to examine whether church choice is connected to desire to migrate. Interview questions centered on the reasons why respondents chose their particular church and included questions about family, class, church participation and church programming and community involvement. Interviews also included questions about migration broadly; it's effect on the church, on families in Jamaica, and on the broader society. Questions about migration also included the ways that individual respondents had been involved in or affected by migration, including the migration of family members. In addition to this, questions included the role of the church and the ways that individuals and families utilize the church to support migration processes and if church members who migrate continue to support and be involved in the church. Patterns developed in the responses indicated that although most respondents believed the church to be a supportive community and a place where people do form networks, none of the respondents believed that this was a central reason why people choose or

participate in a particular church. Networks and connections to other people were important to all of the respondents however and these bonds developed in church were important to families involved in migration. Reflection and review of the interview transcripts and field notes combined with the observation and more informal conversations with individuals also revealed particular patterns and understandings of family, church and migratio. One of these was a focus on migration as a part of Jamaican society and history that seems to be embedded in society. One of the respondents declared "Jamaicans are a migrating people". This statement was interesting in light of the reaction that I received from people when telling them about my work. As discussed above, many people did not believe they had anything to say about migration and others just thought it an odd topic for a research study. What I came to understand is that migration is a part of everyday life in Jamaica, part of the culture. In addition to this, respondents were very clear about the importance of church networks for maintaining and supporting individuals and families who are connected to them. This includes those who migrate, their families, as well as those who remain in the home country.

Participant observation

Atkinson and Hammersley, in their discussion of ethnography and participant observation, state that "it has been argued that in a sense *all* social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being a part of it" (Atkinson & Hammersely, 1998: 111, emphasis in original). This is particularly true in my case, given my involvement in the research site and connections to the three churches. In my work, it was known by the participants that I was researching migration in Jamaica. This type of observation that allows participation by the researcher where the research role is known to the participants and those involved in the observation has its advantages and limitations. Creswell

(2003) lays out some of these advantages and disadvantages. Advantages to the researcher as both participant and observer, as well as the role of the researcher being known by others is that the researcher has a firsthand experience with participants and can record information as it is observed, allowing for more accurate recording. Limitations include the perception of the researcher as intrusive as well as the researcher's attending and observing skills (Creswell, 2003: 186).

As discussed above, participant observation has happened in an informal way over the past several years. It continued in a more formal way throughout the research process which began in January 2012 and continued through January 2013. In particular, three trips to the island happened during this period of time for a total of two and a half months of data collection through interviews, observation and participation in Jamaica. My travel to and time spent in Jamaica during summer 2012 included interaction with Jamaican families and churches both of which have experience with the migration process. I participated in church services and social events at all three churches identified above. Observation at social events included interaction between individuals both returning to and preparing to leave Jamaica as well as those who have migrated and were in Jamaica on vacation. Although, as discussed above, I do not consider myself an insider per say, my extensive experience and relationships with people at these three churches allowed me to interact very naturally in these church environments and at the events in which I participated and observed. My familiarity to and with people at all three church provided an ease of access that might not have existed without my long term connections to the setting. This enabled me to engage in informal discussions about family, church, migration, and class in a variety of settings with a variety of people. These interactions enhanced the findings in

the in-depth interviews and in many cases supported my sense that migration was embedded in the culture and structures in Jamaica.

Participant observation took place in various locations including the churches themselves as well as at informal gatherings in people's homes, restaurants, and other gathering places such as parks and markets. I participated in church gatherings including both worship and social gatherings with local church members as well as meetings that included individuals and families. Formal and informal church gatherings were often the site of the dissemination of information about individuals and families involved in the migration process. This included information about individuals and families preparing to move, those who have recently left the island, and in some cases, members who were struggling with illness or other problems abroad. Information was also shared at all three churches about members living abroad who were making contributions to the local church. Interaction with individuals and families during participant observation enabled me to identify additional people selected to participate in the in-depth interviews. It also allowed me to intentionally observe the different church settings and pay attention to such issues as language about both migration and families as they are addressed in these settings. Participant observation provided additional insight into the role of class, in particular and in some cases, gender, in families and the church and the extent to which individuals and families relied on social networks within the church to facilitate migration. Field notes were maintained in order to document the interaction and observation.

In-depth interviews

In addition to participant observation, during the summer of 2012 I conducted 24 in-depth interviews with individuals at the three churches. As discussed above, due to some changes in

leadership at Meadowbrook United Church, most respondents were from North Street United Church and Swallowfield Chapel. Responses to interviews were recorded electronically and field notes were also kept during and after the interviews. Interviewees were not selected randomly. I relied on referrals from the pastors as well as invitations to participate and therefore the sample is a purposive sample. According to Berg (2009) a purposive sample will not produce information that can be generalized, however it can provide rich information about the research topic. For the purpose of this investigation, interviews sought to determine why respondents chose their particular church and how social networks are formed within churches and utilized by individuals and families to facilitate migration.

Interviews were conducted with individuals who have been involved in the migration process, either directly as a migrant, or indirectly as a family member or close friend of a migrant. The subjects were selected using criterion-based, or purposeful sampling (Maxwell, 1990). This method allowed for individuals to be selected and/or invited to participate that had experience with migration processes within their families and therefore provided insight and information as to the effect of these processes. According to Maxwell (1990) purposeful sampling allows for the achievement of particular goals in the research process. These include the ability to achieve representativeness in a small sample while at the same time ensuring some heterogeneity in the sample as well. Purposeful sampling allowed for the establishment of a sample that provided insight about the church, the family, migration and their interactions with one another. Interviews were open-ended but followed an outline of questions geared toward an examination of topics that are the focus of the research project. (See Appendix A)

Data analysis methods

Interviews were recorded electronically and field notes were also kept during each interview to note body language, expressions and other non-verbal communication. Field notes were also maintained during and after participation at events and gatherings. Interviews were transcribed as they were completed. No names were noted in the transcripts or field notes; participants were identified by a code that indicated the church to which they were associated and an interview number. Field notes of observations at events and gatherings included general descriptions of individual interactions (age and gender) and also included church affiliation. Field notes, audio-recordings and transcripts are stored on a password protected computer in my locked office. During and immediately after data collection, I began to analyze the data. Creswell (2003) suggests several steps in the analysis and interpretation of qualitative data. These steps are summarized as follows:

Step 1: Organize and prepare the data for analysis. This includes transcribing interviews, typing up field notes, and arranging the data into different types.

Step 2: Read through all the data. A first step is to obtain a *general sense* of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning. Sometimes qualitative researchers write notes in the margins or start recording general thoughts about the data at this stage.

Step 3: Begin detailed analysis with a coding process. Creswell encourages codes that address topics that readers would expect to find, codes that are surprising, and codes that address a larger theoretical perspective in the research.

Step 4: Use the coding to generate a description of the setting or people as well as categories or themes for analysis. *Description* involves a detailed rendering of

information about people, places, or events in a setting. This analysis is useful in designing detailed descriptions for case studies, ethnographies, and narrative research. Then use the coding to generate a small number of *themes* or categories.

Step 5: Advance how the description and themes will be *represented* in the qualitative narrative. The most popular approach is to use a narrative passage to convey the findings of the analysis.

Step 6: A final step in data analysis involves making and *interpretation* or meaning of the data (Creswell, 2003: 191-195, emphasis in original).

Each of these steps laid out by Creswell were utilized in the analysis of the data collected for this study. Interviews were transcribed as they were completed. Transcripts of the recordings, along with the field notes were reviewed in order to identify reasons for church choice and initial ideas about themes that emerged in the interviews as well as categories and relationships between and amongst these narratives. Although desire to migrate was not a factor in church choice for the participants in this study, throughout the course of the completion of the interviews, observation in the research site and the review of the transcripts and field notes, it became apparent that strong social networks are formed within church settings in Jamaica and these social networks in many cases, provide some help in the migration process. It also became clearer that migration and movement of people across borders is an expected and regular part of life for most of my informants, even in cases where they themselves remained in the home country. This recognition led to an expansion of the coding and an exploration of additional themes that might be present with regard to the connections between church, migration and the people participating in the research. Themes included:

- The importance of church in Jamaica, broadly,
- The importance of social networks in the church
- The interaction and connection between the church and migration
- The intersection of systems of inequality and migration
- The transnational nature of Jamaican migration
- The culture of migration in Jamaica.

Codes for each of these themes were used in the review of both the transcripts and the field notes, for example, interview responses that included a discussion of the role of the church in neighborhoods or the ways that the church meets needs through services and programming were coded "IoC", for importance of church. Discussions about the importance of relationships within the church and the support given and received through such relationships were coded "CSN", for church social networks. Discussions of the ways that the church interacts with migration and members who have migrated were coded "C&M", for church and migration. Additional codes were used for the other themes as follows: "IM" for intersections and migration, "JTM" for transnational migration in Jamaica, and "CoM" for the culture of migration in Jamaica. Using the codes described above, I read through the transcripts and field notes several more times and identified quotes from the interviews and recordings in the field notes that could be utilized in the description of the findings.

To be sure, the interview questions I asked the respondents, the observations I made and conversations I had during my participation at events and gatherings, and ultimately the codes and themes that emerged for me through the data analysis process cannot be separated from my own experiences and understanding of Jamaican migration, the role of the church in Jamaica and

the ways that these intersect with one another. Quoting C. Wright Mills, Maxwell (1996) states that "the most admirable scholars within the scholarly community…do not split their work from their lives. They seem to take both too seriously to allow such dissociation, and they want to use each for the enrichment of the other" (27-28). He further states that "separating your research from other aspects of your life cuts you off from a major source of insights, hypotheses, and validity checks" (Maxwell, 1996: 28). In addition to my personal connection to the topic, I am also influenced by and have utilized existing theory to provide a conceptual context for the work. Existing theories about migration provided a context for analysis that allowed me to "hang" certain discussions or observations together in one place, it also highlighted particular comments or observations that I may have missed without an understanding the existing theory or concept (Maxwell, 1996: 33).

My work utilizes the methods described above to better understand the way that migration permeates the lives of individuals and families in Jamaica as well as the institutions and structures within which they live.

CHAPTER 3 – REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction to the literature review

Immigration has long been a topic of sociological inquiry. Beginning with the Chicago School in the early to mid-twentieth century and continuing today at the beginning of the twenty-first century, scholars in sociology as well as other disciplines seek to better and more fully understand the processes involved in the movement of people across and within borders. As scholarly inquiry into migration has evolved, it has become clear that it is much more than an event for an individual migrant but a process that involves micro and macro level relationships and processes. Migration cannot be understood merely by observing immigrants and their conditions and patterns upon arrival in the host society. Rather this complex course of action begins in the home country and, as stated above, involves both micro and macro level relationships and processes. These processes include decisions by individual migrants, their family and kin, the networks available to them, the economic and political policies in the home and host countries, the social, cultural and economic conditions in the home and host countries and finally, the history, understanding and use of migration in a particular society. The following pages review existing literature on migration broadly, social networks and transnational migration, migration and religion, the family in Jamaica, and the history of migration in Jamaica. This history is particularly important for Jamaica as individuals and families have been participating in cross border movement for a very long time and this movement has become an embedded part of Jamaican society. I will begin with a broad overview of the migration literature and move to a more specific look at how the literature provides insight to migration, church and family in the lives of the participants in this study.

Because my study is framed with a "culture of migration" perspective, also included below, is a brief discussion of the culture versus structure debate with regard to migration processes.

Perspectives on migration

Neoclassical economic theories suggest that there are both macro and micro level explanations for international migration. These explanations are primarily tied to labor and capital. From this perspective, the movement of people across borders is the result of economic incentives and opportunities (or the perception of such) in the receiving country and disincentives or obstacles in the sending country. Neo-classical theories of migration focus on the global structural conditions in labor and economic markets that influence decisions to migrate based on earning potential and availability of capital in receiving countries (Massey et al. 1993: 433; Gold, 2005: 257). Macro level theories focus on the differences in wages and capital between sending (low wage/less capital) and receiving (higher wage/more capital) countries (Massey, 1999). Neoclassical economic theories that account for micro level explanations for cross border movement consider the actions and choices of individual movers within these larger structures. The primary consideration, however, remains the global economic structures tied to labor and capital that lead to decisions to migrate. Migration theories also consider a world systems approach that credits the movement of capital into less developed countries to be the primary cause of the migration of people from the periphery to the core (Wallerstein, 1974). Economic perspectives on migration provide important insight as to the global structural processes at work in the movement of people around the world. These theories do not however consider the social location of individual actors. Neo-classical theories assume that all people are able to function within these structures without regard for the effects of systems of oppression such as race, class, gender, religion, citizenship, etc. These systems of

oppression are constitutive elements of the macro and micro level structures that influence migration decisions and process. Failing to recognize this makes neo-classical theories incomplete when attempting to understand migration processes completely.

Migration scholarship has also focused a great deal of attention on the ways that immigrants arriving in the United States were incorporated into the host society. Migration studies of the early to mid- twentieth century focused on the ways that newly arriving immigrants to the United States became Americans. Migration to the United States as well as other destinations around the world did not end in this period however. The movement of people across borders has continued throughout the later part of the twentieth century and continues today. Muller and Espenshade (1985) point out that there have been up to four waves of migration to the United States. Each of these waves has brought to the receiving society individuals from various backgrounds that experience this process differently. It is important and necessary to understand this process within the larger context of migration historically. A review of literature reveals much work on migration processes and the theories surrounding the decisions to migrate (Castles & Miller, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Sassen, 1998; Zolberg, Suhrke, & Aguao, 1989; Glenn, 2002; Hondangneu-Sotelo, 1994; Parrenas, 2001), the processes of integration and incorporation into the host societies (Gordon, 1964; Waters, 1999; Alba & Nee, 1997; Gans, 1997; Rumbaut, 1997), and the economic, educational, and social opportunities and barriers facing immigrants in the host society (Rumbaut, 1997; Portes, 1997; Alba and Nee, 1997, Light, et.al. 1994; Light & Gold, 2000; Gold, 2010). This literature provides insight into migration processes historically as well as a context for comparing and contrasting the experiences of those migrating in the fourth wave of migration to those arriving in the earlier waves. As Pedraza (1994) discusses, the literature on migration includes both micro and macro

levels analysis of the processes that encourage the movement of people across national boundaries. Micro analyses include individual and family level explanations of migration, while macro level approaches include more structural level explanations. Both micro and macro approaches include discussions of individual life experiences of migrants and the conditions in the sending and receiving countries.

Contemporary scholarly work in the field of migration recognizes the contributions of these historical roots and seeks to utilize them as well as build upon them to provide a stronger and more accurate picture of immigrant experiences in a new era. Portes (1997) acknowledges these contributions stating,

> these theories and concepts, arising out of the momentous historical experience of turn-of-the-century immigration, represent our intellectual legacy as we set out to make sense of similar events taking place today. Research on present day immigration started with the attempt to use assimilation, amalgamation, melting pot, cultural pluralism, and other concepts stemming from that earlier era as interpretive guides for contemporary events (p. 800).

Using classical theories on immigration and assimilation, contemporary scholars seek to understand and situate today's immigrant in this larger context as well as to underscore the unique nature of persons participating in this fourth wave of migration. Building on this work, more recent scholarly work as turned attention to migration processes beginning at the country of origin and reaching across borders. This work includes explorations of transnational migration and social networks which will be discussed below. My research, also, shifts the focus from settlement and incorporation into the host society and considers the role that migration plays in the home country, the ways that networks are used prior to movement and more specifically the role of the church as a social space where such networks are formed.

Movements of individuals and families across national borders have both social and economic origins. Family dynamics, household strategies, "push-pull" economic factors, and the political, economic and social relationships built or forced over time between the sending and receiving countries all continue to play a role in the decision to migrate as well as the environment in which such decision are made.

Religion and migration

Religion has long played a role for immigrants and has been well documented by scholars of religion and immigration; Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) however, argue that religion has been largely neglected in migration research. They offer several reasons why this is the case including the reliance on entities that are unable to ask questions about religion and anti-religious bias on the part of some academic departments and institutions (p. 15). Despite this, Ebaugh and Chafetz and their colleagues offer an extensive examination of immigrant religion in Houston, Texas. Through their project, the "Religion, Ethnicity and New Immigrants Research Project" or RENIR, a group of researchers examined the role and importance of ethnic religious churches. This study like some of the work on immigrant religion that came before it makes its focus the receiving country. Much of the early research on immigrants and religion also focused on how immigrants use religion to help with the settlement process in the host country as well as to maintain their ethnic identities (Gordon, 1964; Handlin, 1973; Herberg, 1960). In addition to the use of religion for acculturation and assimilation, more recent literature has focused on how immigrants use religious organizations in the host country for economic and social mobility as well as using church as a buffer from the harsh conditions often faced by newly arriving immigrants (Hirschman, 2004; Foley & Hoge2007; Kniss & Numrich, 2007; Mooney, 2009). Foley and Hoge (2007) examine the ways that new immigrants become connected to one another

and develop networks within religious communities in the United States. Furthermore, Kniss and Numrich (2007) examine the ways that newly arriving immigrants utilize local ethnic churches to connect to employment and economic opportunities. In their study they illustrate how newly arriving immigrants connect to co-ethnic communities via involvement in local churches and religious organizations. Connections are made with co-ethnics who have established themselves and their families in the host society and may have access to needed resources such as housing, employment and other social supports.

Hagan (2003) turns our attention to the role of religion throughout the migration process including the decision making process as well as the migration journey. Hagen explores the intersection of religion and migration in her examination of Central American immigration to the United States. Her work focuses in particular on the use of religion in the decision making process and in seeking spiritual guidance and approval for the journey. Although largely focused on the way that prospective migrants use religion, religious practices and cultural expressions of faith in the decision making process, Hagen's focus on religion in the home country centers around the role of the clergy for guidance and approval for decisions to migrate ant the ways that immigrants and their families express and practice their faith. The transnational nature of contemporary religion has also been included in the discussions of religion and immigration. Levitt (2004) and Menjivar (1999; 2000) discuss how religious institutions in both the home and host countries act to create transnational ties for immigrants.

Although Ebaugh and Chafetz and their colleagues also focus on the role of religion and church in the receiving country, they provide a very useful model for understanding the role of churches in sending countries as well. Their model that provides two "types" of ethnic church forms can be applied in the home country to better understand the role of religious organizations

in supporting individuals and families in sending communities, including those affected by migration processes. The two types of churches identified in the RENIR study are categorized by the structure within and through which they function. The first is a congregational model that maintains a membership, has a local governing body made up of lay members, these lay members work together in various committees, has a clergy person selected by the members, and is supported financially through tithes, gifts, and fundraising by the members (p. 347). The community center model is characterized by, in addition to providing religious education and worship, extensive secular services that support the individuals and families connected to the church. These services and activities include the celebration of secular holidays, the provision of secular classes such as ESL, the provision of various other social services, and the presence recreational facilities and community halls for use by members and regular participants in the church (p. 354). Ebaugh and Chafetz suggest that both of these models are somewhat unique to the United States and that for non-Christian churches in non-western countries in particular these models are less useful. As will be evident in the findings, this model can be useful in understanding the role of churches in Jamaica.

This study adds to the current literature on religion and migration by examining the role of religion in the country of origin and the church in Jamaica as a place to gather, meet, and build social networks for the purpose of accessing migration and providing support to those individuals and families involved in migration processes. Because early engagement in the research process indicated that desire to migrate is not a factor in church choice, the models laid out in the work conducted by Ebaugh and Chafetz help to expand the work of this study by focusing research questions that examine the type of support provided by churches in the home country and providing a framework with which to understand the role of churches in Jamaica

more broadly. Unique to this study is the focus on church organizations in the sending country. The study also examines how those who remain in the home country and do not access migration themselves are also supported by the programs, services, and networks built and maintained within the church.

Jamaican migration

> The Caribbean has been more deeply and continuously affected by international migration than any other region in the world. Emigration has long been a way of life for many Caribbean people as they have searched for opportunities that are not available at home (Foner, 1998: 47).

As expressed by Foner, participation in migration has become a way of life in Jamaica that often begins with rural to urban migration within the country and often leads to migration off the island, typically to the United States, Great Britain and Canada. Maignot (1985) suggests that migration is part of the life and history of people in the West Indies. He states, "Jamaicans, like all West Indians, have a long history of migration. In the mid-nineteenth century they went to Panama, later to the United States, and then to Cuba" (Maingot: 1985, p. 66). In his discussion of the political implications of migration in Jamaica, Maignot offers insight into the history of these early migratory patterns. Maignot argues that the nature of Jamaica as a British colony in the early twentieth-century blocked economic and political participation for black Jamaicans and that migration became a way to overcome this. He states:

> the West Indies had early in the twentieth century reached a stage of social and economic development that generated new political aspirations among new groups. These new groups were educated and socially self-assertive but blocked in their political aspirations by the colonial system. They migrated to many areas; however, their migration to the northeastern United States, which had a long history of advocacy of black rights, provided the context for political activism…(p. 68-69).

These early immigrants may have planted the seeds of immigrant social networks, including those formed in church settings that have become part of the Jamaican social landscape.

Although Maignot argues that upon independence in 1962 many of these early immigrants returned to Jamaica to participate in the building of an independent state, he is careful to point out that this did not mean a rejection of migration, particularly to the United States for the Jamaican elite. "It is still very significant that at the height of the Black Power movement in the United States, which spread fast to Jamaica and the other islands, West Indian migration to the United States rose from 4,000 in 1962 to 20,000 in 1971" (71). This significant rise in migration to the United States was not limited to the elite class discussed above. Maignot asserts that movement by Jamaicans to the United States came from all social classes. People from different class backgrounds experienced the social and economic structures on the island differently and thus their motivations to move were not uniform. The social networks to which people from different classes had access were also varied, leading to different experiences among those seeking to migrate. Nevertheless, Maignot points to the continuation of regular movement off the island by Jamaicans of all social classes and increasingly the working class.

In more recent scholarly work on Jamaican migration Foner (2001) agrees that emigration has 'deep roots' in the West Indies that are "traceable to the legacy of slavery, the distorting effects of colonial rule, the centuries long domination of the islands' economies by plantation agriculture, and continued dependence on world powers, lending institutions, and corporations" (Foner, 2001: 3-4). As is evident from the scholarly work discussed above, migration has been a strategy for individuals and families in Jamaica throughout history. These scholars also point out that Jamaicans of all classes have utilized migration for varying reasons. Jamaicans from diverse class backgrounds may look to migration for different reasons. Their

access to social networks may also be very different. In this study, I will consider whether class determines membership in a particular church and also whether ties and relationships in the church that form the basis for social networks facilitate the migration process.

Migration is relied on by individuals and families as a household strategy for maintaining and improving economic and educational circumstances.

> Migration from the Caribbean has served mainly as an escape route for the many persons who feel trapped and disillusioned by the lack of opportunity, unemployment, small salaries, inflation, and the high cost of living…For others, educational opportunities, health, politics, social conditions, and kinship are among the factors motivating migration. Overall, migration from the Caribbean has been seen largely as 'a way out', providing better life chances for the thousands who leave the islands annually and for the families who see members go (Chevannes and Rickets, 1997: 162).

Of course, households in Jamaica, as elsewhere, are in no way uniform in their makeup or with regard to survival strategies. Even within households, it is recognized that individuals have differing opinions and ideas about survival strategies. For the purposes of this work it is understood that these differences exist and decisions to migrate will be treated as one of the various options for Jamaican families. It is also recognized that these decisions are not always fully supported by all members of a household. Although these familial differences and dynamics are not the direct focus of this work, it is important to note however that individuals and families may also choose particular churches in which to participate in order to enhance their opportunities for developing and sustaining networks for migration. These choices may create tension for individuals and families as well. At least one respondent in the study commented that she became a member of her church because it was her husband's home church and she started attending after their marriage.

Chevannes and Rickets also point out that Caribbean migrants do not sever ties with the home country nor the family and kin that they leave behind. The migrants remain embedded in

the home country at the same time as they establish themselves in a new place. In addition to the transnational nature of Jamaican migration, return migration is also a feature of Jamaican migration. Conway, Potter, and Phillips (2005), Philpott, (1973), Thomas-Hope (1992) and Chamberlain (1995) all discuss an 'ideology of return' that exists in the Caribbean, including Jamaica. Understanding this ideology helps in understanding the importance of maintaining connections to support networks in the country of origin. These transnational ties are maintained through relationships and networks that transcend borders. These transnational ties also reinforce migration as a choice and strategy for individuals, families and households who remain in the home country. Transnational ties maintained over long periods of time with large numbers of migrants has, I would argue, resulted in a culture of migration in Jamaica that continues to influence the motivations and choices of people in the home country. The culture of migration, transnational migration, social networks, and return migration will be discussed below.

Transnational migration

Contemporary migrants participate in global processes that are increasingly transnational. As Foner points out however "many transnational patterns said to be new actually have a long history – and some of the sources of transnationalism seen as unique today also operated in the past (Foner, 1997: 356). As Foner has continued to point out in her research, this is particularly true for West Indians (Foner, 1987; 2001; 2005). As a longtime member of the British Commonwealth, Jamaicans historically had access to movement between Great Britain and Canada. More currently, the proximity of home countries in the Caribbean and Latin America to the United States combined with developments in transportation and communication technologies make it increasingly easy for migrants to move back and forth between home and host countries. Glick-Schiller, et. al (1992) have described this process in the following manner:

> Transnational migration is a process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country. Persons who live their lives across borders so that they are simultaneously incorporated in two or more states can be defined as 'transmigrants' (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Szanton-Blanc 1992 p. 1).

In some cases, the ties that immigrants keep to their home countries are strong, and travel back and forth is a regular occurrence, as is the case for many Jamaicans. These immigrants may also maintain ties to social, political, and religious organizations in the home country. Remittances are also a part of these connections and may include support to family and kin as well as various other organizations and associations, such as churches and local religious organizations.

Although transnationalism as a theory or perspective for understanding immigrant strategies has developed over the past two to three decades, the actual practice of maintaining connections between home and host country has been evident throughout the all of the eras of immigration. Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc (1995) point to evidence of transnational practices among Jewish, Czech, Hungarian and other "old world" immigrants. Early immigrants however continued to be seen as uprooted and theories of assimilation and immigrant incorporation were the focus for early scholarly work. Both Pedraza (2006) and Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) offer examples of how transnationalism has been evident throughout the early waves of immigration to the United States; they suggest however that advances in transportation and communication technologies have made this process different and more tangible for contemporary immigrants. "Immigrants today are there not just in their memories and imaginations, but vicariously, in that very moment; they are able to participate-economically, politically, socially, emotionally-in a regular, constant way, often creating two 'homes' that rest on the pillar of an identity (or identities) that incorporate two or more nations, social worlds at the same time" (Pedraza, ASCE, 2002, p. 424). The accessibility of communication with and

travel to home countries makes contemporary transnationalism significantly different than in prior eras both to the immigrants themselves and the home and host countries. Levitt (2001) also points out that transnational ties do not exist only between individuals and families but that migrants also maintain ties and connections with institutions and organizations in the home country. Furthermore, these institutions and organizations come to rely on these ties and often receive political, economic and social support from migrants leaving the home country. Migrant remittances to individuals and family members as well as organizations such as civic organizations and churches is well documented (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Sana, 2005).

Transnationalism as theory or perspective on immigrant strategies can be understood from several vantages, micro and macro. Gold (1997) in his investigation of Israeli transnationalism provides a concise overview of transnationalism and its usefulness for understanding both the micro and macro motivations for migration. Transnationalism, he states, "addresses the major concerns of both micro and macro perspectives. Like the micro tradition, it emphasizes the importance of networks, contexts, and local values. Yet, like macro approaches to immigration, transnationalism also considers the large scale economic, political, and legal structures within which immigrants develop their communities and lives" (p. 410). Transnationalism furthers the notion that immigration is not an event that begins with departure from the home country and ends upon arrival in the host country. Transnationalism provides a lens with which to understand the longer term process of the immigrant experience. Although not all immigrants maintain the same level of ties to their home country, many scholars have recorded the ways in which immigrants do in fact maintain these ties. (Gold, 1997; Pedraza, 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1997; Levitt 1998, Waters, 2002, Smith, 2002; Kasinitz, et. al., 2002, Fouron and Glick-Schiller, 2002; Jones-Correa, 2002) Many of these same scholars suggest that

transnational ties may weaken with the second generation, however they also suggest that it may be too soon to tell whether this will be the case as many second generation immigrants are just beginning to enter adulthood. As will be discussed below, these transnational ties sometimes support return migration as well.

It is important to note that the social and economic conditions that lead to more intentional focus on transnational practices have emerged in an increasingly global environment. "Transnational processes are increasingly seen as part of a broader phenomenon of globalization, marked by the demise of the nation-state and the growth of world cities that serve as key nodes of capital accumulation, communication and control" (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc, 1995, p. 49). These macro global processes encourage migration and are also furthered by the movement of people between nation-states. At the same time understanding the micro practices of networks, kin and family relations, and household strategies (households located in both home and host countries simultaneously) continue to benefit from the transnational perspective.

Critics have argued that transnationalism is far too large a concept and runs the risk of becoming a catch all perspective for understanding the motives, movements, and strategies for international migration. While this may be true, the scholarly work completed by those mentioned above, and others, continue to reveal that this perspective is an important one for understanding current trends in migration. Scholarly work continues to examine migration from a transnational perspective. Drawing, in part on Bourdieu's concept of social fields, Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) suggest that "the concept of social fields is a powerful tool for conceptualizing the potential array of social relations linking those who move and those who stay behind. It takes us beyond the direct experience of migration into domains of interaction where

individuals who do not move themselves maintain social relations across borders through various forms of communication" (1009). With regard to this study on Jamaicans in the home country, transnationalism and the concept of social fields provides a framework for understanding migration processes that affect not only those involved in movement across borders but also those who remain in the sending country. In order for these networks to be transnational, connections must exist across space and time.

Culture of migration

Transnational ties between home and host country influence interpersonal relationships as well as the systems and structures in that exist in both locations. Over time, this influence becomes embedded within societal structures and institutions. It also becomes a way of life for individuals and families making decisions and choices about work, education, mobility, etc. Whether to understand migration patterns either as mostly influenced by global economic structures or as embedded in culture may not provide a complete picture of the presences and influence of migration in Jamaica. I would argue, and I believe the findings support, that migration in Jamaica, as in many other places, is influenced by macro-structural conditions but that responses to these conditions that include migration can and have become part of the culture. In his discussion of the culture of migration in India, Ali (2007) suggests that desire to migrate among young Muslim professionals in India cannot be understood solely in connection to the macro-economic structures evident in society. Drawing on the work of Kandel and Massey (2002) Ali states that "the culture of migration framework is a complement to examining economic factors and network ties" (38). Cohen (2004) in his examination of migration patterns in Southern Mexico also understands the embedded nature of migration in the lives of the individuals and families in his study. Although Cohen recognizes the macro-structural forces

that influence decisions to migrate as well as the decisions made at the more micro level of the individual and the household, he also understand migration to be a part of the everyday lives of those in his study. Much like Ali, Cohen suggests that migration is an option for Southern Mexicans whether they have other options available to them or not. He states "migration fits into local practices as one of many possible ways in which to maintain and sometimes improve a household…It is a sign of the resilience and ingenuity of most rural Oaxacans that they can cope with the changes, that they can integrate migration into the patterns and processes that define their world…Migration and remittance outcome are but one piece of a rapidly globalizing, capitalist market system that is changing rural Mexico in profound ways" (Cohen, 2004, p. 148). Recognizing migration as embedded in culture in Jamaica does not ignore the macro-structural forces that influence decision making. In Jamaica, like in rural Southern Mexico, migration is pervasive, has a long history, and has become accepted as a path toward upward mobility. As Cohen points out, "the choice comes from the interplay of individuals, their households, and their communities, as well as national and international socio-economic forces…migration in Oaxaca is 'deeply ingrained into the repertoire of people's behavior, and values about migration become part of the community's values'" (p. 5-6). Decisions to migrate are influenced by socio-economic structures and also influence those structures and often, as is the case with Mexican migration, and I believe Jamaican migration, migration becomes embedded in the cultural practices of individuals and families.

Migration and social networks

Access to and utilization of social networks also plays a role in decisions to migrate. Castles and Miller (1998) point to the importance of immigrant social networks that provide the financial and cultural capital necessary for migration. They suggest that these 'micro-structures'

assist in immigrant settlement and coping in the host society and also lead to social and economic infrastructure for the immigrant community. Other scholars (Boyd, 1989; Watkins-Owens, 2001, Olwig, 2001, Bashi, 2007 and Massey 1990) also suggest that networks amongst immigrants provide important social and economic benefits. In his ongoing discussions of these networks Massey (1987; 1990; 1993; 1999) points out that although the first individual or member to move may not benefit from ties to networks in the host country, any subsequent migrants strengthen network ties and reduce the costs and risks for additional migrant streams. Massey further suggests that "migration decisions in developing countries are typically made by families, not individuals, and that families migrate not only to maximize earnings but also to minimize risks" (Stark and Levhari quoted in Massey, 1990 p. 65). The presence of social networks both help to maximize profits as well as minimize risks and this is true for networks formed in the host country as well as the country of origin. Bashi (2007) also supports the importance of networks for immigrant communities. In her work, *Survival of the Knitted : Immigrant Social Networks in a Stratified World* she writes:

> Migration is more than a single individual's rational-economic decision to move made in a context set by the macro level socioeconomic structures in two nations. Migration is instead a phenomenon rooted in the decision making of networks – groups of people that may reside in several households and go beyond nuclear family households to include extended family and others who feel like family, such as fictive kin, friends, and compatriots. Migration is now seen as a process that affects and is affected by the economies and cultures at all levels of society, from neighborhoods to entire sub continental regions in ways that knowledge about networks may well be able to illuminate (p. 17).

Immigrants throughout history have depended upon socials networks to obtain and secure economic opportunities and social status in the host society. Different immigrant groups have used these networks in different ways. According to Portes and Rumbaut (2006) "ethnic networks provide sources of information about outside employment, sources of jobs inside the

community, and sources of credit and support for entrepreneurial ventures" (p. 95). In their discussion of Jamaican immigrants Kasinitz and Vickerman (2001) have argued that rather than utilizing networks and niches in small business and entrepreneurial enterprises (although this does occur), Jamaicans have used social networks and niches to carve out a place within the existing economy. They suggest that Jamaicans have established niches in the local economy that have aided in some upward mobility. Rather than creating opportunities outside of the host-country economy, Kasinitz and Vickerman argue that Jamaicans have created niches within the economy that have provided a place for social networks to be utilized. Although they argue that this niche is largely in the public and non-profit sectors, Grasmuck and Grosfoguel (1997) have argued that, especially when discussing women, large numbers of Jamaicans have been found in the health care and the domestic service industry as well. Waters' (1999) work with West Indian immigrants pointed to large numbers in the service sector, in her study, specifically the food industry, supporting the notion that social networks are an extremely important aspect of immigrant settlement and incorporation. As these authors have demonstrated "Immigrants' economic destinies depend heavily on the structures in which they become incorporated and, in particular, on the character of their own communities" (Portes and Sensenbrenner: 1993 p.1322). Support networks can exist at multiple points in the migration process including the country of origin and the host country. In addition to the departure and destination countries, networks can also be formed through the transnational ties that exist between home and host country (Piotrowski, 2006). My work seeks to further an understanding of the importance of social networks by focusing on the networks formed by people in the home country with specific attention given to those networks developed and maintained within church communties.

It is important to note that social and economic networks are not equally beneficial to all immigrants. Decisions migrate, household strategies, entrée to social and economic networks are all gendered processes. Women may not necessarily benefit from these networks in the same way as their male counterparts, whether these networks are found in the home or host country. "Gender dynamics can be highly influential in affecting the social outcomes of immigrant communities by interacting with the structure of opportunities that local environments provide. The fate of female migrants is not always the mirror image of their male counterparts, especially when high rates of family disruption accompany the process" (Grassmuck & Grosfoguel, 1997: 342). Likewise male migrants experience these processes differently than their female counterparts. Furthermore not only are experiences with social and economic networks gendered, resulting in different outcomes for men and women, these networks may be experienced differently by the children of immigrants as well. Support networks also situate people differently based on socio-economic class as well as age of individuals involved in the networks. Socio-economic class often determines what networks are available and whether or not someone can access such networks. As mentioned above, children may experience network ties differently than their adult counterparts, this is also true for elderly members of these communities.

Not only do contemporary immigrants enter host societies with social and economic conditions that are different from those who came in earlier waves, individuals and families in the home country are also situated differently socially and economically and this may affect their access to particular networks, including those developed within the church. Access to social networks in the home and host countries is also racialized. Although the majority of individuals

in Jamaica are of African descent, Jamaica's color lines exist in combination with class status. Addressing these intersections, Hall (1977) defines race in Jamaica as follows:

> Race is not a 'pure' category in the Caribbean, as it is, say, in South Africa, where it is legally defined and defined 'genetically' rather than socially. In the Caribbean, even where a strong white local elite is present, race is defined socially. Thus, it enters into the mechanisms of social mobility and stratification via its visible registrations: physical characteristics, pigmentation, in some more indeterminate way, 'culture'. Of these, colour is the most visible, the most manifest and hence the handiest way of identifying the different social groups. But colour itself is, also, defined socially: and it, too, is a composite term (as cited in Green, 1995: 70).

Race and class in Jamaica is socially defined and has consequences in terms of access to resources such as education, housing, and mobility, including migration. In addition, the ability to access social networks that support migration is often limited by one's social location in the race/class hierarchy. Just as access to resources such as social networks is affected by social markers in Jamaica, so too is access limited in the host society. Although this study is not directly concerned with the manifestations of race, class, gender and other systems of oppression in the host country, because of the transnational nature of Jamaican migration, it is important to note that individuals moving back and forth between Jamaica and the United States, in particular, are forced to deal with the inequalities that exist in both the country of origin and the destination country. In both cases, this affects access to and utilization of social networks.

Rumbaut and Portes (2001) discuss segmented assimilation and the ways that the social conditions in the United States differentially situate newly arriving immigrants based on systems of inequality such as race. They focus on the second generation and the ways that children of immigrants become incorporated into the host society. Portes & Zhou (1993) outline this model by presenting three possible patterns of adaptation to the host society: "one of them replicates the time honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white

middle-class; a second leads straight into the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity" (82). Although segmented assimilation may not directly affect those in the home country hoping to migrate, the transnational nature of Jamaican migration and the flow of information back and forth between home and host country is important in terms of the ways migration is understood in Jamaica.

Return migration

The literature on migration over the past several decades suggests that cross border movement is not a one way journey with those involved in the process leaving personal, economic, social and political ties behind them in the country of origin. This is no different for Jamaican migrants who have long been involved in movement back and forth across borders. Understanding return migration provides an additional lens in which to view migration processes, particularly in the Caribbean and more specifically in Jamaica. Return migration also needs to be understood as a process as opposed to a singular event. As Freeman (2001) points out in her case study of Caribbean higglers, movement back and forth across borders is a way of life and work for many individuals. Pessar (1997) in her edited volume, *Caribbean circuits: New directions in the study of Caribbean migration* points to the diversity of migrants from the Caribbean and the ways that they utilize migration, settlement and return. As the authors in this volume demonstrate, the Caribbean is a diverse region with each country and its people involved in migration processes differently. Specifically, Chevannes and Rickets discuss the role of return migrants on the local economy. They explore the complexities of return migration and remittances and suggest that there are both positive and negative effects on the local economy (as

cited in Pessar, 1997: 161-193). Brown, in this same volume, discusses the movement of Jamaican nurses back and forth across borders. In his study he identifies three types of nurses that use their skill as nurses to respond to the economic situation in Jamaica and to improve their social and economic well-being. The first type worked abroad once, returned home and did not migrate again, the second group travels regularly overseas to work and return frequently, Brown refers to these nurses as "internationalizing their labor" (as cited in Pessar, 1997: 218). This group represents 80% of those in his study. The final type, approximately 15% of his study make the United States their home but maintain "important business and family ties with Jamaica" (219). Extremely important to this work is his identification of class status as an important variable in decisions to return. He suggests that higher social economic status in the country of origin is a stronger indicator of return migration.

> Nurses with high socioeconomic status are more disposed to return home than those with low social status. The nurses who have gone abroad to live are mostly those who have not had the benefit of living and working in the metropole any time prior to their present experiences abroad. In most instances they had not been able to acquire any substantial material assets (home, car, or business). Provided with the opportunity, they left the country for greener pastures (219).

Connections to capital and resources in the home country, both social and economic, matter when it comes to return migration. This is evident in the work of Chevannes and Rickets as well as Brown. Salaff, et. all (2010) also confirm this in their study of family migration in Hong Kong. The complexities of decisions to return to the country of origin include the experience in the host country as well as the relationships that are maintained with people in the home country. Of particular importance are the connections to family and networks. Salaff (2013) further discusses the importance of migrant social networks, "researchers", she says "have realized that migration involves more complex issues than a simple calculation of earnings. They revised their earlier narrow emphasis on economic determinants that excluded

the socio-cultural issues involved in migration decision-making, and tried to incorporate the multiple factors prompting migration" (Salaff, 2013: 462). Drawing on the work of Boyd (1989) she re-emphasizes social networks and the relationships that exist within them as embedding migrants in the country of origin. The embedded nature of these relationships is informative in terms of return migration. Of course not all movers maintain ties to the home country. Issues that affect such decisions include the strength of network relationships, personal identity formation, and migrant generation. Return migration is also influenced by state level policies and access to travel documents such as passports and visas (Salaff, 2013). Boyd, in her work, suggests that recognition of the role of social networks is not new. In her discussion of these networks, she states:

> Networks connect migrants and nonmigrants across time and space. Once begun, migration flows often become self-sustaining, reflecting the establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations which develop between migrants in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area. These networks link populations in origin and receiving countries and ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional, or permanent (Boyd, 1989: 641).

Boyd is also careful, however, to understand that individuals who are embedded in relationships that exist within the structure of social networks are differentially situated. She pays particular attention to gender and the hierarchies of power that exist between male and female migrants, their networks and the social, economic and political climates in both sending and receiving countries (Boyd, 1989: 655-660). Although Boyd's work does not focus directly on return migration, the issues raised by her in terms of the importance and role of personal and familial networks is important for understanding the complexities of social networks and return migration.

Religion, family and church in Jamaica

Scholars have noted the importance of religion in Jamaica. Gordon states that "the majority of Jamaicans have always attached great importance to religious belief and observance in their lives" (Gordon, 1998: IX). Guano echoes this sentiment "religion is an important element of Jamaican culture and society. Christian churches of many denominations are scattered throughout the island. In Kingston, each Sunday morning, streams of well-groomed people flock to their temples; at night, Revivalists, recognizable by their turbans, rush to worship the spirit in their churches" (Guano, 1994: 519). Guano connects church affiliation and social status, stating that "membership in a church is an important social marker, as the religion practiced by a Jamaican tells much about the status of the person. Generally speaking, attendance in orthodox churches is regarded as prestigious, and these congregations are usually composed of upper-class (or upwardly mobile) individuals" (Guano, 1994: 519). It is clear that the church has been an important part of life in Jamaica. The church in Jamaica has a long history that is connected to its Colonial past and influenced by the missions and missionaries who came to the island. An in-depth review of the history of religion and the church in Jamaica is beyond the scope of this work and as well as an area of future research with regard to the role of the church in supporting or constraining of migration processes as well as the provision of social services on the island.

The role that churches play in supporting individuals and families is less clear in the literature. Many scholars have discussed the role that the church in Jamaica has played in defining and shaping the family (Clarke, 1957; Richards, 2003; Barrow, 1996). Like other family systems around the world, the Jamaican family is complex and is often made up of biological relationships as well as fictive kin, including those developed and maintained in the

church. Families in Jamaica have been influenced by slavery and colonization, both of which have played a role for individuals, families as well as the church and has also influenced access to migration. British colonization brought with it particular ideas about the ideal family as well as particular religious traditions. As Jamaican individuals and families have participated in church as well as migration, the church has become a site for the formation of social networks.

Edith Clarke (1957) in an early scholarly examination of the West Indian family suggests that no one family type exists in Jamaica. Furthermore, Clarke suggests that family form is often determined by factors such as age, geographic location and socio-economic status and that no individual variable can be used to understand family form and household makeup. (Clarke, 1957) Several scholars examining West Indian families, including Jamaican families, also suggest that British colonial rule influenced the idea of what the ideal family should look like (Smith, 1957; 1953; Mohammad, 1988; Besson, 2002; Chamberlain, 2006). Afro-Caribbean families, with limited access to resources, were often unable to attain this ideal family type and as a result were defined as deviant (Smith, 1957; 1973).

Jamaican family forms continue to be complex and varied with an added variable throughout the twentieth century being participation in migration. The number of individuals migrating from Jamaica throughout the twentieth century has increased dramatically. According to the U.S. Office of Immigration Statistics, from 1970 through 1999 over 500,000 individuals legally migrated to the United States from Jamaica. This movement has created a much more transnational family than existed during Clarke's study. Chamberlain (2006) in her examination of Jamaican families involved in the migration process suggests that the Jamaican family has continued to evolve and adapt to changing circumstances. Her scholarly work examines families in the West Indian diaspora. She suggests that these family stories tell:

> a story of survival and resistance, of solidarity and reciprocity. It is a story of emotional attachments and family support that extends vertically through lineages, horizontally through kinship networks, and transnationally across the oceans…it is a story of families that evolved, against the odds of slavery and poverty, to form a distinct Creole form (Chamberlain, 2006, p. 5).

As Chamberlain suggests, West Indian families have taken on a transnational form increasing the need for families to rely on others in maintaining households. Family members who leave the island often maintain ties to the sending country and rely on family and friends to care for relatives that stay behind, all of whom make up an extended family network. These extended family networks, including fictive kin, can be found within the church. This study will examine how these networks are formed and maintained within the church and how they facilitate decisions to migrate.

Conclusion to the literature review

Understanding Jamaican migration and the role of the church as a location for building and expanding social networks in the home country is a new area of study. It builds on existing literature that informs an understanding of Jamaican migration historically and theories of migration that include transnationalism, social networks, and return migration. My current study draws on literature from all of these areas to understand how the use of networks formed within the church might facilitate or constrain migration. Gaps in the current literature include the role that the church in Jamaica plays in building and maintaining social networks that support individuals and families as well as the churches themselves and the role that the church in Jamaica and other developing countries play in the provision of social services. Gaps also exist in the literature about the ways that church institutions in the home country provide programs and services that support individuals and families with members who have migrated. Although there is a significant literature on West Indian/Caribbean migration, this literature does not

consider how those who remain in the home country are affected by migration and how they are situated in systems that rely heavily on migration processes. This work adds to the current literature by considering the role of the church as a site for network formation and participation. It also adds to this literature by considering migration from the vantage point of the country of origin, including how a culture of migration affects those who remain in the home country.

CHAPTER 4 - FINDINGS

Introduction to the findings

The study of migration over the last century has yielded many theories and understandings about the macro structural conditions in the world that influence the movement of people across national borders and the micro level relationships between individuals and families and within households that affect decisions to migrate. Neo-classical theories of migration focus on the global structural conditions in labor and economic markets that influence decisions to migrate based on earning potential and availability of capital in receiving countries (Massey et al. 1993: 433; Gold, 2005: 257). Massey, et al., however point to several assumptions based on neo-classical models, one of them being that "labor markets are the primary mechanisms by which international flows of labor are induced; other kinds of markets do not have the important effects on international migration" (434). Massey, et al. also suggest that neo-classical models need not only include a macro level analysis but can also include more micro level analysis that focuses on the costs and benefits for individual migrants. Gold (2005), however, drawing on work from other migration scholars, suggests that the single level of analysis of the neo-classical model that focuses on economic structures, even when it considers both micro and macro level perspectives often fails to consider the "influence of human groups and relationships in motivating, supporting directing and giving meaning to migration" (258). Another critique of neo-classical economics when considering the migration process is the failure to fully recognize race, class, gender, ethnicity, religion, age and other systems of oppression as they affect and are affected by migration processes (Bryce-LePorte, 1972; Foner 1979; 2001; Massey, 1981; Pedraza, 1991; Hill-Collins, 2000; Glenn, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; 2001; Pessar & Mahler, 2003). These systems of oppression situate individuals differently

in both their micro level relationships as well as within macro level systems and structures. Neo-classical economics focuses on individual actors that make decisions that will enhance their own standing in the world but does not situate them differently based on their social location. It therefore assumes that all actors making such decisions will be treated and are free to act, equally in the process; individuals with skills and abilities that are in demand in the market place are equally situated to compete for resources. Neo-classical economic theories do not take into consideration groups of people that are differentially situated and in the crosshairs of systems of inequalities that treat both individuals and groups differently based on characteristics that include but are not limited to age, race, religion, gender and country of origin. For the Jamaicans in my study, these are important issues. As Anglophone blacks moving into racialized contexts in the United States and elsewhere, these migrants as well as those who they leave behind face inequalities that greet them upon arrival in the host society. Because of the increase in communication and transportation technologies Anglophone blacks in the Caribbean may be aware of racial tensions that exist in destination countries, however they may not be fully prepared for the realities of such inequalities.

Although neo-classical economic theories focus on individual decision making within the larger structure of the global economy, other micro level analyses of migration consider more clearly individual actors and the relationships and networks within which they exist and where decisions to migrate are negotiated. Factors influencing decisions at the micro relational level may be affected by economic systems but they are also affected by interpersonal factors and relationships that take place within social systems such as families and networks. These families and networks are also shaped by inequalities. Large-scale global economic conditions as well as interpersonal relationships affect and influence people all over the world. Therefore

the study of migration in Jamaica is similar to the study of migration around the world. Yet, migration is contextualized and individuals, families and even the institutions and structures in a particular society both support and constrain migration depending on the particular context. Massey (1990) states that "individual and structural elements are simultaneously involved in human migration. Decisions are inevitably made by actors who weigh the costs and benefits of movement, but these decisions are always made within specific social and economic contexts that are determined by larger structural relations in the political economy" (7). Theories of migration that include macro level economic, political and social analyses as well as theories about micro level relationships, household strategies, and social networks in many ways can all be applied to the Jamaican context. There are aspects of Jamaican society however that also make it unique to the particular Jamaican context. These aspects include the long history of people movement to and from the island, its political and economic relationships with the United States, Canada and Great Britain; the three primary destinations for Jamaican migrants, and the number of Jamaicans living in the United States and other destinations. According to the Institute for Public Policy Research, "the Jamaican diaspora is unusually large, with some estimates indicating that as many individuals of Jamaican decent many currently be living outside the country as within it" (Glennie and Chappell, 2010). The United States remains a primary destination for Jamaicans. In addition, Jamaicans enter the U.S. with English speaking language skills and members of the African diaspora; this situates them squarely within an existing racialized society. Although the receiving country is not the focus of my study here, because of the history of migration in Jamaica as well as its transnational nature, issues of race in the United States may be understood by those who remain in the home country. To what extent those in the country of origin understand the racialized context of the United States is not clear,

nor is it the focus of this study. It is an interesting question however for future study of migration in Jamaica. This study focuses on the country of origin, rather than settlement and incorporation into the host country; however the history of migration to the U.S. and the existence of a significant Jamaican diaspora affects individuals, families and institutions in Jamaica.

Framed within an understanding of a culture of migration in Jamaica, primary attention in this study is on the relationships that exist within social networks that are developed and maintained in churches in Jamaica. Religion and church participation is an important aspect of Jamaican life and provides the context within which I examine questions about migration, family and social networks.

Findings

This is a case study that explores the role of the church in Jamaica in the migration process, specifically whether or not individuals choose a particular church for the purposes of accessing networks for migration. In this work, I seek to examine migration in Jamaica from the perspective of those who remain in the home country, or in some cases, have returned to the home country. Research questions focused on the relationship between individuals and families in the home country, the church and migration processes in Jamaica. The first question examined whether individuals in Jamaica choose a particular church in order to access networks for the purpose of migration. Because of the complexities of the church as an institution as well as the individuals and families that participate in them, this research question also requires an exploration of church, family, migration in Jamaica more broadly, as well as the intersection of race, class, gender and age within them. Additional questions focused more broadly on the role

of the church in supporting or constraining migration and the ways that the church provides a site for the building of social networks to support individuals and families who are migrating or who are connected to people who have migrated. In the pages that follow I will discuss my findings as they relate to these research questions. I will also discuss additional themes as they emerged from the research process, including the importance of church networks, the transnational nature of Jamaican migration and the culture of migration that exists in Jamaica. Some attention will also paid to the differences between the three churches where research was conducted, including their history and background, their role in the particular community within which they are situated, and the various ministries, programs and services they offer to their own members as well as to the individuals and families beyond their own members. The two models laid out by Ebaugh and Chafatz (2000) will be used to better understand the role and place of these churches in their communities.

Church in Jamaica

My observation of Jamaican society over the years leads me to believe that the church is an important institution in society and plays an important role in the lives of many individuals and families. This observation is confirmed in the work of Gordon (1996; 1998) and Guano (1994). This observation and understanding of the role of church in Jamaican society led me to my research questions. According the CIA World Fact book, approximately 80% of Jamaicans identify with some form of religion. Although identification of a religious background does not necessarily translate to participation in a particular church, the presence of churches in Jamaica is evident. On Sunday mornings in Kingston I observed quiet streets, closed shops and people dressed for church moving back and forth from home to their places of worship. As one respondent commented:

> "Most of us start with church from a young age. Sometimes it's the own family or sometime a grandmother but children start from a young age coming to church and going to Sunday school. My mommy brought us as children and now I bring my grands too. The middles ones sometimes stop for a while but they come back, it's still part of them. Yes, church is a big part of life" (female, 67 years old).

In addition to family connections, most primary or basic schools in Jamaica are connected to a church and this is sometimes how young children get attached to a particular church. Although these schools are considered public, they are connected to and supported by local parish churches. In addition to religious and spiritual programming and often in response to structural adjustment programs that have eliminated or significantly reduced government programs and supports, many churches in Jamaica have taken on responsibility for the provision of social services and supports for individuals and families in their communities. According to Clarke & Howard (2006) structural adjustment programs led to increased unemployment and a decrease in government employment, taxation, and services, all of which disproportionately impacted lower classes communities. All three churches in this study provide such services. None of the three churches fit neatly into the models provided by Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000); they are more of a hybrid model that have elements of both the congregational and community center models laid out by the RENIR study.

North Street United Church and Meadowbrook United Church both have schools that are affiliated with and located on the grounds of the church. Both of these churches also provide other social services including outreach programs to sick members, food distribution to the poor and programs for children and youth. In addition to these more outward reaching programs, both churches provide extensive services for their own members, including small groups, Bible studies, Sunday school and youth groups. Although these two churches include some of the

characteristics of a community center model, they are more similar in form to the congregational model outlined by Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000).

Twenty-six people participated in the in-depth interviews about church, family, and migration in Jamaica. Nine of the participants were connected in some way at North Street United Church, five at Meadowbrook United Church, and twelve at Swallowfield Chapel. Participant connections to these churches varied from long term membership to occasional participation at church events and functions. Sixteen women and ten men participated in the interviews ranging in age from eighty-seven to twenty-three years old. Participants from the two traditional protestant churches (North Street United and Meadowbrook United) described their connections to their churches as very long term. Most of these respondents had connections to their churches that spanned many years and in some cases, generations. Exceptions to this were those respondents that had married someone from the church and started participating at the church through this connection.

Although I have been traveling to Jamaica on a regular basis over the past twenty-five years, my experience living in Kingston for extended periods of time during the research process and intentionally engaging with people about church and migration provided new insight about the role of both in the country and the ways that people participate in church and interact with it. Particular attention at the outset was given to the role of the church as a central institution for individuals and families broadly, as well as for those involved in the migration process. Questions about church focused on how and why participants were involved in their respective churches, how they relied and depended on churches for support, and the role of the church in their lives.

Although my study sought to identify whether individuals choose churches for the purposes of building social networks to be used for migration, it is in the context of neighborhoods and communities, programs and services, that the relationship between the churches and the migration process begins to expand beyond individual choice of church and connections to church. Throughout the interviews it became increasingly clear to me that a relationship between individuals, churches, and migration exists and that the church is an important site for building and maintaining social networks. Many of these networks are long lasting and transcend borders. As stated earlier, most respondents had familial connections to the churches. In the case of North Street United and Meadowbrook United, these family connections date back many decades. When asked why they attend this particular church responses varied. Seven of the nine participants and members at North Street United Church traced their participation back several years, primarily due to family connections and relationships. "My family has been attending North Street for many years, many years, yes. We came as young children. We had others here too, cousins and aunts. We lived close, so" (male, 71 years old). Participants who were members at either North Street United or Meadowbrook United also traced their church attendance to this particular denomination; the United Church in Jamaica and the Cayman Islands. In other words, for those individuals at North Street or Meadowbrook United, membership in the denomination often predated membership at the particular church. According to the denominational website, the current denomination is a result of the 1965 union between the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica and the Congregational Church operating in Jamaica. These denominations became one united church, the United Church in Jamaica and the Cayman Islands. In 1992, the Disciples of Christ in Jamaica also united as one church/denomination (http://ucjci.com). Exploration of the movement of church members from

one member church to another, though interesting, is beyond the scope of this study, however denominational affiliations and ties seem to be strong and may even be important in terms of patterns of migration and the social networks that are formed and utilized in migration processes. By and large, the older participants were members at one of the two United Churches and had been actively involved in these churches for many years. Seven of the fourteen respondents from these two churches have been members of in these two churches since childhood; all seven are over the age of 70. All fourteen respondents from the two United Churches have been involved in the United Church denomination since childhood, though seven of them lived outside of Kingston as children and attended a United Church in their home towns. These individuals migrated to Kingston as young adults and continued their involvement in church within the denomination of their childhood. Whether or not these respondents were able to benefit from social networks built in the sending and receiving churches was not the focus of the questions here, however it does raise questions in terms of the strength and importance of networks formed within churches. Internal migration and the use of social networks that are built and maintained within the church is an interesting area for future research about the formation and use of such ties.

Although Meadowbrook United was founded only in 1959 (as a Presbyterian Church) its denominational affiliation connects it to churches like North Street. Located in a more suburban neighborhood of Kingston, Meadowbrook United benefited from member movement out of the center city. Currently, Meadowbrook United holds two Sunday morning worship services. Typical attendance at a Sunday morning worship service totals about 300-350 between the two services. One of the participants from Meadowbrook United, when discussing the church

acknowledged that many members at Meadowbrook had ties to United churches that were still located in the urban center. He stated:

> "we used to go to Lincoln Kirk, you know, downtown further, which was then United at the time, you know, that became United Church in Jamaica, in 1965. We bought this bit of land here because we knew that the high school, which was Presbyterian, had been established and we wanted to be near to church, which is now Meadowbrook." (male, 84 years old)

Meadowbrook United Church is located in what might be considered a first ring suburb in the city of Kingston, though it is within the city boundaries. The Meadowbrook neighborhood is primarily residential, made up mostly of single family homes. Interviewees from Meadowbrook United shared that this neighborhood built up as middle class people began to move out of the center city. When asked about the neighborhood, respondents from Meadowbrook United Church described it as "professional class" and "a lot of business and civil servants".

Respondents from North Street United as well as Meadowbrook United discussed the location of the church as an important factor for their original choice and participation, though sometimes this was through their parents. Five of the nine respondents from North Street and three of the five from Meadowbrook identified the location of the church as an important factor for them. Two of the five respondents from Meadowbrook United continue to live in close proximity to the church building. The five respondents from North Street, however, have all moved quite a distance away from the church building, though they continue to travel into the city to participate in the life of the church. In response to inquiries about continued participation at a church that is such a distance from home, one North Street United member stated

> "this is my home, I was born here, married here, my children came up here. I don't see myself somewhere else. There are other United churches in my area but I just don't see myself there. Some people leave and go to other United churches and they still call this their home, they kind of belong in both places" (female, 66 years old).

Although the connections and support that exist between churches that are denominationally affiliated is not the particular focus of this study, understanding the forms of social networks and support that do exist between the churches themselves and the members who participate in them is important in understanding the support and connections that create ties and networks across national borders as well. As was expressed to me on more than one occasion, Jamaicans often see themselves as "a migrating people" and this migration happens both internally as well as across national borders. The support networks that are developed and created among individuals, families, and in the case of churches, even institutions, seem to permeate the relationships that exist in the migration process.

Family ties are the most important factor for respondents who are members at North Street United. Eight of the nine respondents from this church identified some kind of family connection to their participation and/or membership at North Street United. Most often these connections happened through parents or marriage. One female respondent noted that she started to attend the church because of her husband. "My husband lived with us. He was a member of the church first here and I was a member of another church but he wasn't happy to be coming here and me going down there so I came up here" (female, 84 years old). Another longtime member commented that he started coming to the church as a child because of his attendance at the school that was attached to the church. "We lived on Princess Street, and that was nearest the church which is around the corner, when I turned four, I went to North Street grammar school so that's how I got there." When asked how his involvement in church emerged from this he said "Sunday school. Sunday school and Sunday church; my sisters and my brothers all of us went to Sunday school and Sunday church…I lived in the neighborhood" (male, 71 years old). Other respondents from this church also traced their membership back to their youths:

> "I started to go to the church from in the late 40's. I was going [working] at the hospital there [across the street] and we used to have a lovely choir. And when the choir stayed up there it used to be filled with men and women. Oh Lord, when you stood up to the gate and hear it's so appealing and they always come to the hospital and give service to the people in there. So I joined there before I have children." (female, 84 years old)
>
> "Well, we were born into it, we are, what do you call it, second generation because our parents went there and because they went there then when we were born and growing up we went there too. It was our family church and we were all going there. It was a big church then with a big choir and lots of people." (female, 66 years old)

North Street United Church is located in an urban neighborhood in what can be classified as the old downtown Kingston area, currently identified as Central Downtown. This neighborhood, once the residential neighborhood for middle and working class families, has deteriorated over the years. It is home to a large public hospital that sits directly across the street from the church. On any given Sunday morning foot traffic in and out of the hospital can be observed. Often the discharged patients with few resources will end up on the steps of the church. The neighborhood continues to be home to many low income working class individuals and families, many of whom are employed only part time or in very low paying occupations. According to the Social Development Commission's 2008 report, 35% of adults in the Central Downtown area were unemployed. The majority of those employed were working as service workers, or sales workers in small shops or the local market. 70% of women and 56% of men in the area who were employed worked in these types of occupations. (Social Development Commission, Community Profile, Central Downtown 2008) According to the SDC, 40% of people in this area earned under $40,000J per month, which in 2008 was approximately $555.00 U.S. dollars and at 2013 exchange rates would be less than $400.00 U.S. dollars per month. The Commission also reports that the majority of family income that does not come from employment comes from two sources, overseas remittances which represent 19.6% of such income and support networks made up of family and friends represented 15.9% of additional income. The respondents at North

Street United could not identify with any certainty the people from the immediate neighborhood who participated in the programs and services offered by the church that were involved in migration. Responses to questions about the influence of migration in Jamaica, on families, and in local communities however, indicated a general recognition that people in the neighborhood were involved with migration in some manner. All of the respondents from North Street United talked about children in the neighborhood who get left behind in Jamaica when parents participate in migration, especially seasonal work opportunities in agriculture and service in the United States. Respondents from this church discussed the presence of "barrel children" in the neighborhood. Barrel children is a term used in Jamaica to describe children whose parent or parents have gone abroad and send items back to them in barrels that arrive on the container ships.

Typical attendance at a Sunday morning worship service at North Street United can vary between about 35 to 60 people. As is the case with many mainline protestant churches in the United States, particularly those in decaying urban settings, this church has suffered from the movement of members from the inner city to the growing suburban neighborhoods surrounding the city. In addition to the movement away from the center city, participants from this church spoke at length about the loss of people who have left to go abroad. These migration patterns and their effects on the church will be discussed in more detail below. During my field study in Summer 2012, North Street United Church was preparing to celebrate their 175th anniversary and were anticipating a large number of members who have migrated to return for the festivities.

All nine respondents from North Street United Church identified themselves as middle class as did the five respondents from Meadowbrook United Church. North Street United Church as discussed above, is located in a very poverty stricken neighborhood in the center city.

The neighborhood surrounding the church has undergone significant changes over the past forty to fifty years. These changes in the neighborhood coincided with the outward movement of many of the members from North Street United, both within the country but also movement abroad. One respondent spoke to these changes:

> "Don't forget at one time, when I was a kid the middle class, the middle class low professional class lived around North Street area. But, as the 60's and 70's came they moved out and what happens is the poor class, who were coming from the country to find work took over. So there's been a change between 1950's to early 60's and now. Significant change. And I would say, now, the environment is now very poor, very poor people" (male, 71 years old).

The respondents who have moved away from this neighborhood point to the programming for children and youth that draw people from the neighborhood to the church today. Responses to questions about church membership and church participation however suggest that outreach efforts in the community do not result in membership at the church but rather are operated as supports to the families, particularly the young people, in the neighborhood. When responding to questions about what programs the church offers to support people involved in migrations, participants stated the following:

> "Well, not for migration you know but the programming is for the children in the neighborhood. Some might have parents abroad but we don't always know but they come and do the little camps and programs and things. Some go to the school here or play in the yard. Then they grow and get involved in youth fellowship, maybe" (female, 66 years old).

> "No, we don't do programming for families who are migrating specifically. The programs are for anyone in the neighborhood but sometimes when people want to go or maybe they need help with a visa or something like that, they come. If they go then, maybe their children come to Sunday school or participate with the youth" (male, 41 years old).

Members of the congregation by and large live well outside of the immediate location of the church. One of the respondents lives in close proximity to Meadowbrook United Church but said she and her family continue their membership at North Street United because it is their

home church. Respondents at North Street United identified several outreach programs in the neighborhood including food distribution, youth programming and Sunday school as programs that draw children from the neighborhood. The church also runs a year round day care center and has a public basic school that operates on their premises. The primary school, which is a partnership with the Ministry of Education, also draws students from the local neighborhood. These programs operate to support the local community and provide a safe place for the children and youth in the community.

Longtime membership and generational connections were not as evident with the respondents from the third church, Swallowfield Chapel. Four of the twelve respondents from Swallowfield have been involved with the church since early in its development. The church was planted in the Swallowfield neighborhood in 1970. Unlike the other two churches in the study, Swallowfield Chapel does not draw the majority of its members from the local community surrounding the church grounds, though many in the community do participate in the programs offered at the church. Swallowfield Chapel occupies several buildings that include a large worship center, offices, a small chapel and buildings that are home to several outreach and social welfare type programs. Swallowfield Chapel, a large church, draws its membership from not only the greater Kingston/St. Andrew area but across the island. The city of Kingston lies in both the Parish of Kingston and the Parish of St. Andrew. St. Andrew parish surrounds Kingston and is home to many of the growing suburban neighborhoods just adjacent to the city. The area is known as the Kingston Metropolitan Area or the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation. Swallowfield Chapel has two Sunday morning worship services with a combined attendance of over 1,000 people. During my field research in the summer of 2012, Jamaica was celebrating its 50th year of independence. I celebrated with Swallowfield Chapel at a combined Sunday

worship service where over 1,500 people were in attendance, including members who had migrated overseas and returned for the celebration. These types of large gatherings were not uncommon at Swallowfield Chapel. Staff members spoke of "Swallows" (members) who have located around the world and continue to be involved in the life of the church.

Respondents from Swallowfield Chapel identified a variety of reasons as to their selection of this church. Two of the twelve respondents did not consider themselves members at Swallowfield Chapel but said that they often participated in the programs and social events that were offered at the church. These two respondents lived in the immediate neighborhood of the church. Another two of the respondents were born and raised in families already involved at Swallowfield and their membership and participation was related to their family of origin. The remaining eight respondents had a variety of reasons for choosing Swallowfield Chapel including its location, mission and programming. According to the Jamaica Gleaner, Swallowfield Chapel was founded as a Chinese Christian Fellowship in 1937 and inaugurated as Swallowfield Chapel in 1970. The Gleaner also notes that Swallowfield Chapel is functionally an independent evangelical church though it retains membership in the Christian Brethren denomination (aka the Brethren Church) (Jamaica Gleaner, Nov. 4, 2003). Swallowfield Chapel has seen increased and steady growth in its formal membership, as well as those who participate regularly, since its development. Although it is located and operates extensive outreach programs in the Swallowfield and surrounding neighborhoods of Kingston, it draws its membership from across the city and the island. During my field research, on visits to Swallowfield Chapel on Sunday mornings, it was clear that the church is primarily a commuter church with two large parking lots overflowing with cars arriving for Sunday morning worship. Over the course of my participation at Swallowfield Chapel and my interviews it was also clear

that these respondents, as those from North Street United and Meadowbrook United, did not choose Swallowfield Chapel in order to access networks for migration.

Five of the twelve respondents from Swallowfield Chapel work on the staff at the church. All five of them, however, began their participation at Swallowfield Chapel prior to joining the staff, and all five lived in the immediate neighborhood when their participation began. All five of these respondents indicated that their participation in the church began when they were in their teenage years and the primary draw was the programming offered by the church. Two of the respondents speaking of their choice to participate at Swallowfield Chapel talked about the influence of family and friends:

> "My aunty and grandmother and all of those things, visited at Swallowfield during that period of time that we were in the places of safety [after a difficult divorce] and she liked it. And she basically encouraged us to come and visit. And she invited me on a camp, a church camp, one of the things that the church did in past years, and the rest is history" (male, 41 years old).
>
> "I came here when I was a teenager. Never, I never really went to church per say for the purpose of going to church. I just kind of enjoyed it. Friends were here and got stuck, became a Christian, got involved in the ministry here and I just decided that I feel comfortable here. It's like family. So I stay here. So, that's what happened, yeah" (male, 30 years old).

Although there were some family connections to participation at Swallowfield Chapel, these differed from the family ties at the other two churches, primarily because Swallowfield Chapel is a comparatively new church. Swallowfield Chapel also differs from the other two churches in worship style and format. The worship style and format is very contemporary and it seeks to draw in people who may not have connections to other churches. Swallowfield Chapel's mission is "to be and make disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ" and much of their programming seems to center around reaching out to their community, both right around the church and more broadly. Those worshipping on Sunday mornings represent a diverse cross section of Jamaican society,

including ethnic diversity as well as socio-economic diversity. Although the majority of Jamaicans trace their roots to African ancestry, there is a significant presence of other ethnic/ racial groups on the island, including Chinese, Indian and British. The Jamaican national motto "out of many, one people" can be seen at Swallowfield Chapel on any given Sunday morning.

Swallowfield Chapel is located in the city of Kingston and continues to target its immediate neighborhood through its programming and activities. As stated above, however, a large percentage of people worshipping on Sunday mornings come from areas far from the immediate neighborhood. All twelve respondents stated that the majority of people who worship on a Sunday morning come from outside the immediate neighborhood and would be considered middle to upper class. They also all described the neighborhood within which Swallowfield Chapel is situated as a low to middle income area. When asked to describe the neighborhoods that surround the church, one respondent described them this way:

> "So if you ask the average person to name the neighborhoods around the church they will call a small very densely populated low income area that is called Swallowfield…Then beside that there is Mountain View, beside that there is Nannyville and then there is Stadium Gardens but the government's classification name all those areas I just named, they name all of that as Swallowfield. ..Stadium Gardens would be called a middle class income. But all the others would be low" (female, 50 years old).

Church records report that 86% of members at Swallowfield Chapel reside in St. Andrew. Although, as discussed above, a portion of the City of Kingston lies in the Parish of St. Andrew, these communities tend to be suburban middle class communities.

As mentioned above, Sunday morning worship draws over 1,000 people to Swallowfield Chapel. Many of those attending worship would be considered members or regular attenders but the church's staff members all stated that the Sunday services bring a mix of people including many visitors including people from the local community. According to the summary statistics

in the church profile, approximately 67% of participants are members and 33% are considered visitors. Of this 33%, some would be regular participants, individuals who visit on a regular basis but have not joined the church fellowship. No income breakdown was provided by this report; however, respondents from Swallowfield Chapel identified most members as middle class. One respondent described the mix of people at Sunday services like this:

> "But on a given Sunday we have both services, 7:30am and 10:45am. We have a mix of persons and persons who just visit us and just you know, one person gone this year, tell you about our church and so we have the middle class persons and of course we have the very low income so those persons will bring in a lot of their colleagues and friends and all of that. So there is a mix" (male, 41 years old).

Migration and the church in Jamaica

Extensive work has been done on the role of the church and religion for immigrants in the United States (see Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; 2002) These studies largely focus on the role that religious affiliation and networks play in the lives of newly arriving immigrants as they settle in the host country. Levitt (2004; 2006; 2007) examines the transnational nature of religion and discusses how transnational ties have influenced religion and religious institutions across national boundaries. Levitt's work focuses largely on how transnational migration has influenced religion and religious practices across borders. Kniss and Numrich (2007) consider how religion and religious life affects the civic engagement of newly arriving immigrants. Hagan (2008) outlines how Mexican and Central American migrants look to and rely on their faith to protect them on their migration journeys and Mooney (2009) discusses how Haitian immigrants around the world utilize church and religion as "a kind of cultural mediation" in the host country (195). None of these studies specifically considers the role of church networks in the country of origin and how these relationships and networks may contribute to and sustain migration. Although respondents in my study indicated that desire to migrate did not factor into

their choice of church, interviews did point to the importance of support networks developed in churches and also the ways that churches, perhaps unknowingly, support individuals and families involved in migration.

Interview questions included how programs and services offered at the church may support individuals and families who have members who have migrated. Respondents from North Street seemed to have a general feeling that many of the children had parents or other relatives who had migrated but they had no systematic way of tracking this or knowing which children may have parents living abroad. Responses to inquiries about children whose parents are abroad included the following:

> "Yes some of our children have family abroad, parents or some aunts. Sometimes older brothers or sisters" (female, 42 years old).
>
> "We don't always know about it you know, the children they come on Sunday or to a little program or something and we don't always know, but parents, they don't always want people to know if they are away so they tell the children not to say " (male, 71 years old).
>
> "People don't always want to tell that they gone. People go abroad for lots of different reasons and not always good ones so maybe they don't want you to know, you know, they tell the children to keep quiet about it, not to tell…they stay with grandparents, mostly" (female, 67 years old).

In response to the ways that the church operates as a support to migration, respondents understood the church's role in supporting individuals and families in the community more broadly but did not connect their support to the migration process, specifically. The nine respondents from North Street United all agreed that there are a lot of members who have moved abroad and that a relationship between the church and those who have migrated continues but there are no formal programs to support members who leave and no formal ways that networks form for the purposes of migration. Respondents from Meadowbrook United also identified many programs and services available to people in the community but did not believe there were

any programs specifically for people who had family members involved in migration. The church however does provide a site where networks and relationships are developed and sustained and provide mutual support. Respondents were unsure of how these relationships supported the migration of individuals and families specifically. It seems as though the ties and relationships between people that provide such support are, like migration, part of the landscape and culture for these respondents. These relationships and networks and the ways that they have supported migration over the years has become somewhat invisible to the individuals and families involved. Much like the kinship networks discussed by Stack (1974), in her examination of African American families in the U.S., networks and relationships developed and maintained in these three churches provide mutual aid, support, and connections in ways that are normative. The support provided by church leaders, members, and programs provides a context whereby the migration of family members can and does happen with less disruption for those who remain in the country of origin. These networks and the churches within which they are maintained, of course, do not mitigate all of the negative consequences of migration, but I found that they do exist and they are helpful in providing support to those involved in migration.

Respondents were clear that migration abroad affects the church in both negative and positive ways and that a relationship exists between the individual and/or family that has migrated and the church. North Street United Church maintains a website and a list of members who have moved abroad and often taps these people for financial support for the programs and operations of the church. Several respondents from North Street commented that the church would not be able to support itself if not for the remittances sent back by members who have moved abroad. When discussing the migration of members from North Street, one member stated:

> "When I was a teenager and there was a lot of migration, young people going out abroad to study and so on, the church was very supportive. They kept in touch. This is why now, we have benefitted from those members who we never let go because they have been so supportive in the building of the church after the fire. They didn't just go and that was it, we always kept in touch. Even with simple thing like the newsletter, for example, made sure that they kept in touch with what was happening ….So, every opportunity that they get to visit, they will come right back to North Street. And, as I say, financially they have been a great, great, tremendous help in the rebuilding of the church" (female, 67 years old).

Another member, speaking about the relationship between members who have gone abroad and the church said:

> "We have a list that we call overseas members. To whom we would mail the newsletters and things like that…so they can keep in touch with what is happening in Jamaica. And they still regard themselves as members; even though they haven't been here…our laws say that if you have not been communicant member for I think they say three years, or two years, or so, you are no longer a member of the church. They don't think this applies to them because they still consider themselves members and they still send money to help the church, for children's programs or for the building" (female, 67 years old).

North Street United Church is made up of individuals and families who have been around the church for a long time. It is my observations and interactions with this church over the past twenty five years that led me to my primary research question about how people choose churches and whether the church acts a support in the migration process. Observations during the research process as well as responses to interview questions suggest that members at North Street United Church have a long and varied relationship with the migration process. All nine respondents knew people who have lived or continue to live abroad. Primary destinations are Florida and New York City in the United States, Ontario, Canada, and London, England. Respondents from both churches say that the destination for migrants depends both on family connections as well as immigration policies in the destination country. Respondents also identified the internal social, economic and political climate in Jamaica as a determinate for choices to migrate. Several of the respondents from North Street acknowledged that it sometimes happens that

church members who have migrated may make connections for their friends or family from the church. These connections typically come through referrals to jobs, particularly domestic help, of friends and family at the home church. For instance,

> "And she said to me, there is this doctor that really wanted somebody to take care of her daughter…a little over three…and a friend came to the house and tell this other friend of mine that this doctor needs somebody and he had decided that he would sponsor me, so the doctor sponsored me and I take care of this little miss…I take care of her and get to love her and care for her. Put her on the bus. Take her off the bus. Fix her lunch. So I was her nanny. I was her nurse…I went over 12 years" (female, 82 years old).

> "Well, I don't know in all cases, but I know of a particular case. You remember Auntie, she went abroad because somebody from church had helped her to go. But this is all I know in that area…a lot of persons, they have relatives abroad and the relatives supports those that are here, they would pay school fees, even for nieces and nephews, they would pay medical bills and some things like that" (female, 67 years old).

Although these respondents identified situations in which a connection was made through a friend from church, they did not believe that such church connections and networks were necessarily a primary way that this happened. All respondents agreed that this is not why people choose a particular church but were aware of situations where such contact and referrals were made. The first respondent above suggested that the church connection in her case had meaning to the doctor who sponsored her because it marked her as "good person". Another respondent from North Street who had lived abroad for several years and now resided back in Jamaica said that although she did not migrate because of connections to people at the church, she did know people from her church in the destination city that provided some connection for her after she arrived. Networks established within churches, even when such networks are formed more naturally over time rather than as a result of church choice, are often maintained by the movement of people back and forth from home to host country and back again. This is particularly true in Jamaica where the transnational nature of migration puts those who leave and those who remain in regular contact with one another. This was also evident in the lives of my

respondents, many of whom had lived abroad for periods of time and now returned to Jamaica and continue to be involved in support networks in their churches and communities. As Massey points out, such networks are often maintained by return migration and furthermore contribute to ongoing migration and a "culture of migration" in sending countries (Massey, 1987).

All five respondents from Meadowbrook United Church had close relatives that had been involved in migration, though only one of them has moved abroad themself. One respondent from Meadowbrook United Church, when asked why and how people from Jamaica move overseas, shaking his head emphatically said "relatives, the influence of relatives" (male, 84 years old). Five of the nine respondents from North Street United Church had been directly involved in migration. Four migrated for employment or educational reasons and one migrated to join a daughter who had filed for her. Four of the five returned to Jamaica after periods abroad ranging from six years to well over thirty years. The other four respondents from this church did not migrate themselves, although one person had briefly lived abroad for graduate study. He did not consider this to be migration, however. The four respondents not directly involved in migration as migrants themselves, had close family members who left Jamaica. These family members included younger siblings, children, and parents.

Six of the nine respondents from North Street United Church identified a period of time during the 1970's when Michael Manley was Prime Minister as a time of great outward migration of people from the middle and upper classes in Jamaica. Due to many factors, including more restrictive immigration policies in the United States, this movement has slowed over the past fifteen to twenty years. Migration and its effects on the church and Jamaican society more broadly are understood by these respondents. Discussing it specifically, though, seemed a bit unusual to many of them. One interviewee, upon our initial conversation agreed to

be interviewed for the study but claimed to have no experience with migration. During the course of our interview however, she revealed that both her mother and father had been involved in movement back and forth from Jamaica; her mother left when she was approximately 13 years old and her father followed a couple years later. She and her younger siblings were left with family members; and aunt and a grandmother. Her parents remained overseas for several years and returned to Jamaica after she was an adult. She herself migrated to another Caribbean country for six years as a young adult. Even with this movement away from Jamaica, this respondent did not consider herself "involved" with or having experience with migration. I believe this provides some insight as to the perception of migration in Jamaican society and the way it has become embedded in the experiences of many in Jamaican society.

Respondents from North Street United Church and Meadowbrook United Church were all aware of members who had migrated overseas. When asked why people choose to migrate, they identified various reasons including work and family. Respondents from North Street United Church and Meadowbrook United Church did not consider temporary moves for education to be included in the broader understanding of migration. Although all fourteen respondents identified school as a possible reason for leaving Jamaica, this was not considered migration but rather a temporary decision for educational reasons. These types of sojourns in foreign locations however have influence on the lives of people directly involved, those they leave behind as well as the structures and institutions in Jamaica.

Long term membership at these churches provided interesting insight as to the effects of migration on the churches. Three of the nine respondents from North Street United Church, all actively involved in the life of the church, spoke clearly about the loss of human resources and support that happens when members migrate.

> "Just when the person has reached an age to really maybe take up their faith and be useful, functionally useful in the church, sometimes they leave. So you have this gap" (female, 66 years old).
>
> "A lot of young people would have been there to bring up families in the church, to bring financial resources, to bring talents into the church. They migrated. And that really smashed up a lot of the push that the church could have had and the building that church could have had because they never came back. So the church was significantly affected negatively by the impact of these guys who it's actually nurtured all these years and saw them through their high school, going away" (male, 71 years old).
>
> "People go and they come back sometimes, it might affect the church in that you might have certain persons on whom you can depend to do the work of the church and for some reason they have to go abroad and you find that that space is not filled up" (female, 67 years old).

The respondents from North Street United and Meadowbrook United were able to discuss some of the negative effects of migration on the church community. Although my work was not specifically focused on families as such research is plentiful (see Kibria (1994); Hondegneu-Sotelo (2001); Parrenas (2005); George, 2005), I did include questions about family because as is evident from these respondents, participation in church often begins with the family. Responses to questions about family and migration typically led to conversations about the effects on children. As discussed previously, several respondents talked about "barrel children", the term used to describe children in Jamaica whose parent or parents have migrated and left them at home with family. Barrel children often have access to material resources such as clothes, shoes, toys and school supplies that would not have been available to them if they did not have a parent overseas. Transnational mothering however, as Hondegneu-Sotelo points out, creates a multitude of issues that are faced by women who migrate and leave children with relatives and friends in the country of origin (Hondegneu-Sotelo, 2001). Despite the material goods provided by migrants, respondents from these two churches believed that the emotional toll on these children far outweighs these material goods. They also spoke of the difficulty of the care givers, typically grandmothers, aunts and older siblings, as the children grew up.

> "It's like when the children grow up and think they are big, they think they don't have to listen and their mommy is away. They don't want to listen to their grandmother. And then again, grandma is getting older too and it is harder for her to follow after them" (female, 67 years old).
>
> "The boys especially, they get used to being on out on the street and don't want to come home when grandma or auntie tells them to. If mommy and daddy are both away, they don't think they have to listen" (male, 41 years old).

Respondents did indicate that the church supports families in these situations but again, noted that there is not intentional programming around this issue.

Although the respondents from North Street United Church could identify the negative effects of migration, they also spoke of the ways that individuals have supported the church financially after they have migrated. This continues to be a positive effect for the church but it is unclear as to whether the church would be stronger had members not left in such great numbers. Interactions with and observations of the church communities at North Street United and Meadowbrook United framed a picture for me as to the role of migration in Jamaican society. Prior to my research I was well aware of the prevalence of migration in the lives of many families with whom I had personal contact. Through my field study I discovered that migration was much more present in Jamaican society more broadly. The presence of migration processes is influential in the social, political, economic, familial and religious environments in Jamaica. This became clearer to me through the research process. What also became evident to me however is that although the presence and influence of migration was clear to me, the respondents to the interview questions as well as the people I interacted with during the field research did not identify migration as so pervasive in society. Migration was described to me as a "part of who we are". This will be discussed in more detail below.

Discussions and observations about migration at Swallowfield Chapel were somewhat different than at the other two churches. This was due in part to the number of people

represented at Swallowfield Chapel, the age difference of the respondents and the mix of socio-economic status of the members and regular attenders at Swallowfield Chapel as well as the range of socio-economic status among the twelve respondents from this church community. Seven of the twelve respondents grew up in the Swallowfield neighborhood, however three of the seven have moved away from the immediate neighborhood. Five of the respondents including four of the seven that grew up here, remain in the neighborhood and had somewhat different perspectives on migration and movement off the island. Among the respondents living in the immediate neighborhood, frustration about the ability to access a visa for migration, or even for travel, was evident. Although all of the respondents from Swallowfield Chapel identified themselves as middle class, there were clear markers of class differences. The five respondents living in close proximity to the church grounds lived in much more modest housing, shared homes with extended families, had more precarious employment (two of the five were self-employed) and relied on public transportation. Five of the twelve respondents from Swallowfield, including two staff people who work directly with outreach programs to the community, discussed the disruption of family life due to migration. The role that the church plays in supporting individuals and families, including those left behind after a member migrates emerged as an important theme in my conversations. When asked about how the church supports migration the respondents did not believe that the church played a specific role in this kind of support, or at least this was not the intention or focus of most of the programming. This was similar to the responses of those from the other two churches. All twelve respondents from Swallowfield Chapel discussed migration in a general sense but did not see direct connections to church per say. Again, my impression about the way that migration is constructed and perceived in Jamaica is that it is very much part of the landscape and that people do not necessarily think

about the ways that migration influences daily life, however, once asked to consider this, respondents were able to identify ways that migration affects the lives of those in the church and community. The presence of migration as a part of Jamaican society however continued to be voiced in the interviews. One respondent discussing the influence of migration on the family said the following:

> "So a part of that has to do with the fact that a lot of families don't have the luxury of some of the basic, how do I put it now, they are struggling to live a decent life. And so like their children they are finding difficulty sending their children to school. I'm talking to parents who really are making the same sacrifices that others do for their children, but certain things are still not happening for them. They recognize that the next best thing is migration and so you know it is a part of the family psyche and so everybody kind of look forward for that, we wait for if it comes for us. Even though as I say, when it really happen, it creates some kind of problem but it's something that is a part of us, I think, migration. Whether or not you go to church or don't go to church. The upper echelon people are still migrating themselves also. So migration definitely affects all of us" (male, 41 years old).

Five of the twelve respondents spent time living away from Jamaica, all five of them however, did so for the purposes of attending school; three of them in the United States and two of them in other Caribbean countries. The other seven respondents from Swallowfield Chapel had not moved or lived abroad, however three of these seven had obtained visas and traveled abroad for short periods of time for vacation or to visit family and friends. Four of the seven respondents who had not been directly involved in migration expressed interest in going abroad however, they indicated that they were not able to receive a visa to travel. One of these respondents said she had an uncle who lived in the United States who was filing for her but she did not know if that would ever come through. She said "he filed for me many years ago already and I just wait, wait until the day it might come through". When asked if it was difficult for her to wait or not know she responded "what else can I do, if it comes, it comes and I will go if not, I can't" (female, 26 years old). Another of these respondents shared a desire to "just go visit the

U.S." (female, 50 years old). She said she has a son in the United States and would love to join him but thinks that too much time has passed for him to file for her. She said that they were not close and that he had been gone for a long time. She did not think she would ever get the chance to travel out of the country. The ability to obtain a travel visa is very classed; those with resources and financial connections to Jamaica are much more likely to receive a visa than those who have less financial resources to return to after traveling abroad.

Although all twelve of the respondents from Swallowfield Chapel responded that they were middle class, based on where they lived and the ways that these neighborhoods were described, there was a clear difference in terms of access to resources among the respondents. Five of the twelve respondents lived in close proximity to the church property; the other seven respondents lived in areas that would be considered more suburban. Swallowfield Chapel is located in an area that would be considered part of Kingston. As described above the immediate neighborhoods surrounding the church are quite urban and are home to mostly working class and poor individuals and families. Unlike North Street United, that was founded and built in the urban core and Meadowbrook United that was the result of denominational movement and expansion, Swallowfield Chapel located in this community with the intention of serving and reaching out to this neighborhood.

Staff members also spoke of the social problems that exist in the immediate neighborhood and did believe that a good deal of the children in the neighborhood had family members, particularly parents, who had migrated. Similarly to the responses at North Street United, one of the staff members at Swallowfield said that they are not always aware of the migration status of family members of the children then serve.

> "Sometime children just show up with a relative or friend, we don't know where the parent is and we don't really push into that, you know, we don't really want to push that, we want them to feel that they can come and participate. We don't meet the parents at time but we want to serve the kids anyway" (male, 30 years old).

Five of the twelve respondents from Swallowfield Chapel, all staff people, talked about crime and poverty in the neighborhood. They discussed their role as a church in providing help to the community to try to address these problems in the immediate neighborhoods that they serve. Three of these five respondents discussed the high incarceration rate of young men from the community and two of these five discussed the issue of deportation and how it affects families and neighborhoods. These two respondents work very closely with individuals and families in the local neighborhoods in outreach capacities. One of these respondents discussed the deportation issue and said that they do not always know why people show up in the community after long periods of time. Because of the high incarceration rates, it is often assumed that people, especially men, are returning after they serve their sentences. One respondent, however, after discussion the issue of deportation said that it was quite possible that it was a problem in the community and was something they, as a church, might have to think about. Two of the respondents acknowledged that the return of migrants through deportation has been a growing concern in Jamaica. During my follow up visit to Jamaica and participation and observation in January 2013 I had the opportunity to attend a lecture on the topic of deportation. Deportation efforts in the United States are having severe effects on individuals and families in Jamaica. Deportation specifically is beyond the scope of my work but it is evident that it is an issue that affects families, communities, and potentially the churches that serve them.

Respondents from Swallowfield Chapel, as from the other two churches, discussed the impact of migration on families, particularly children. Six of the twelve respondents from

Swallowfield Chapel also discussed “barrel children” when asked how migration effects families.

Similarly to North Street United and Meadowbrook United, respondents at Swallowfield Chapel did not believe that the church provided specific programs in response to migration and did not believe that individuals and families choose any church, including Swallowfield Chapel, with migration in mind. All twelve respondents said that they knew many individuals and families who have migrated for purposes that included study, work and family reunification. The impact of migration on Swallowfield Chapel was discussed with all twelve respondents. The five staff members were able to identify both the positive and negative effects of migration on the church. Similar to the other churches in the study, the loss of human resources was identified, however due to the size of Swallowfield Chapel the impact was not as detrimental to the functioning of the ministries and programs here. These respondents also indicated that members who have migrated often continue to support the church ministries through prayer and financial contributions to the church. Similarly to North Street United and Meadowbrook United, respondents at Swallowfield Chapel believed that there are informal networks that exist in the church, between and among family, friends and members, that likely support the migration process but were not able to easily identify how this happens. When asked about whether church members care for family members of those who remain in Jamaica while others migrate, all twelve respondents believed this happens regularly but that it is not something that the church always knows about. Again, these relationships and networks that provide support to individuals and families are, like migration itself, part of the landscape and culture in Jamaica.

The primary research question focused on whether or not individuals and families in Jamaica choose a church with the goals of connecting to networks that may help in the migration

process. The assumption going into the research was that Jamaicans would want to migrate and given this, they would actively seek relationships and networks that would help them in accessing migration. Initial inquiry through participant observation and in depth interviews revealed that although church, for these respondents and informants, is an important site for relationships, social networks and the support they provide, individuals and families do not choose a church because of the prospect for building networks for migration. Individual respondents were asked about how they came to the particular church in which they were involved. Thirteen of the twenty-six respondents said that they came to their respective churches because of family connections. Two of the twenty-six respondents were not members at any of the churches but participated in some of the community based programs at Swallowfield Chapel. The other eleven respondents had various reasons for their participation in their chosen church. These reasons included the programs offered, the proximity to their homes, and having friends at the church. Twenty four of the respondents agreed that they had strong relationships with other members at their respective churches. This included the thirteen respondents who had migrated and now returned to Jamaica.

In addition to the interpersonal, micro-level relationships that exist between individual members and participants at these churches, interviews and observations found that relationships do exist between churches and people involved in the migration process. These relationships are mutually supportive but they are not always immediately evident to those involved. Respondents at all three churches were able to identify the ways that individual migrants provide financial support to their home churches. All twenty-six respondents agreed that most migrants that leave Jamaica and their home churches provide financial support after they leave, though this varies greatly from person to person. In many cases this financial support was provided to specific

programs or fund raising campaigns, such as the rebuilding of the North Street United Church building after the 2006 fire that destroyed the church building. Other fund raising efforts that often include members living abroad include special programs for children such as scholarships for summer camps, gifts for children at Christmas, or assistance with school fees and supplies at the start of the school year. Respondents also talked about prayer support for members who migrate as well as the prayer support the individual churches receive from their members who move away.

When asked if respondents knew of people in their churches who had migrated, responses included phrases such as "of course", "sure", "oh yes". All twenty-six respondents knew many church members who had migrated and were also aware of family members of those migrants who remained in Jamaica and continued to participate in the life of the church community. During my field study, I often observed and participated in conversations with and about migrants who were back in Jamaica visiting friends and relatives. Although these informants did not participate in the formal interviewing process, information gathered in my interactions with them also indicated a close connection to their home churches. One visiting member at North Street United told me "of course I come back to North Street, it is my home, I was baptized here, I will always come back"(female, 70 years old). A gentleman visiting from the United States and a member at Meadowbrook United Church said "I come back every year to visit my parents, I always attend church when I am here, but they are still there so it is natural, I grew up here" (male, 47 years old). At Swallowfield Chapel, I met a woman who left Jamaica over 15 years ago who continues to return to Jamaica and Swallowfield Chapel. She has a sister who lives in Jamaica and also attends Swallowfield Chapel. When I asked her why she was here, she said "I come every year, my children go to the summer camp sponsored by the church but this year we

are also here for the celebration" [Jamaica's 50th Anniversary of Independence). When asked if she still considers herself a member at Swallowfield Chapel, she said "of course, we all do when we move, it is still our church" when asked if she continues to support the church financially, she said "we do what we can" (female, 42 years old).

Respondents from all three churches understood migration processes to be a part of society and having impact on the church and the people who participate in church. None of the three churches had specific programming or services available for people interested in or planning to migrate. All three churches provide programs and service to people in the communities in which they minister. The extent that these programs and services serve and support individuals and families involved in the migration process is unclear. The presence of migration processes in the lives of people in all three churches is apparent. The ways that these three churches provide programs and services to their communities in response to such issues as crime, poverty, family problems, education, and other social problems are responses to the ways that church leadership understand the landscape within which they minister. I would argue that they respond to the issue of migration in much the same way. Migration is part of the daily lives of people who are members of these churches, people who regularly participate in these churches and people who live in the neighborhoods within which they are situated. Although the respondents could not identify specific programs and services that speak to the issue of migration, they were all quite clear that migration happens and it does affect individuals, families, and the church.

All three churches in this study have elements of both the congregational and community center models developed by Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000). All three maintain a formal membership list, have a local governing body, have committees made up of lay leaders, and raise

most of their funds from their members, although the fundraising efforts are not limited to local members but extend out to those members who have migrated and are living abroad. All three churches also provide some "secular" programming that makes up the community center model discussed by Ebaugh and Chafetz. These churches offer a variety of services to support the emotional, financial and physical well-being of their members and people in their communities. Further study of the organizational structures of churches in Jamaica using Ebaugh and Chafetz model would provide information about how churches in Jamaica have responded to increasing need for support by the communities that they serve. A comparison to the role of faith based organizations in the United States that provide similar services to those in need, may shed some light on the global movement away from social service provision as a responsibility of the state, both in response to structural adjustment programs in developing countries and the reduction of welfare benefits in the United States.

Systems of oppression in Jamaica

Scholarly work on migration and the role of race, class, gender, ethnicity, religion, age and other systems of oppression in the migration literature has largely focused on how these systems affect immigrants upon arrival and settlement in the host country. Continued connections to relationships and networks in the home country can act as a buffer against the oppression newly arriving immigrants encounter in the host country (Glick-Schiller, 1999; Levitt, 2001). Churches and religious organizations in the receiving country have also acted as refuge for newly arriving immigrants. Foley and Hoge (2007) point out that "immigrant worship communities provide important sources for adaptation to the difficult circumstance of immigration. They are not only psychological, moral and cultural refuges but also important sources of social capital for many immigrants (p. 216). Post 1965 immigrants arriving from

Latin America, the Caribbean and South East Asia face a racialized context that makes these refuges even more important. These systems of oppression, however, also exist in the countries of origin, as is the case in Jamaica. Although the majority of citizens in Jamaica would be considered of African descent, individuals and families in Jamaica are often separated by "race" or shades of black, class, gender, religion and age. All three churches in my study have members and regular attenders from varying socio-economic classes, men and women, and members and participants of varying ages. Because I focused my work on Protestant churches in Jamaica, all of my respondents identified themselves a Protestant Christians. All twenty-six respondents from the three churches place themselves in what they consider the middle class. Respondents from North Street United Church identified church members as middle class but the community in which they are situated as a very poor community. Swallowfield Chapel is also situated in an urban neighborhood within the city of Kingston and is surrounded by what respondents described as poor and more working class communities, depending on the geographic area being described. Although there are members at Swallowfield Chapel from varying socio-economic locations, by and large, church members tend to be from middle to upper class backgrounds. Though it is not unusual to have individuals and families involved in church that represent different socio-economic locations in a community, as themes began to emerge for me, the focus of my work at these churches concerned how people in different socio-economic locations might experience and perceive migration differently in Jamaica, and more specifically at these three churches.

Although respondents all identified themselves as middle class, my perception of these churches is that they serve very different populations with regard to class status. This is due in part to the neighborhoods and communities in which they serve but also based on observations of

the church buildings, those in attendance on Sunday mornings, and the types of activities sponsored and promoted by the churches. I observed some similarities and some differences in terms of how individual participants perceived and interacted with migration as well as how it affected the churches. In addition to my observations and interactions with individuals at each church, the churches themselves had some similarities and differences in terms of how migration was discussed. I believe some of these differences are related to class status and access to resources.

All three churches publicly acknowledge the movement of members overseas. During sharing or prayer concern time in worship, I observed at all three churches, announcements about members migrating. At Meadowbrook United Church a family was in the process of moving to the United States. This was a general announcement and also a request for prayer. As discussed by Hagen (2008) in her study of Mexican and Central American migrants, individuals and families often seek permission, protection, and safety, through the blessings and prayer of their clergy as well as prayer and sacrifices made by family members. In the case of the family at Meadowbrook United, it would not be a dangerous journey. The family had obtained visas and was asking for prayers for the transition to a new location and community. I asked my host who was in worship with me if this was a frequent occurrence here and she said "yes", families regularly moved abroad and request prayers from their church family in Jamaica. I asked why the family was moving and was told that the father obtained employment in the U.S. and was able to move the whole family. My host did not know the nature of the job but said he was in the medical profession. Prayer requests and announcements about migration happened as a regular part of the church services. None of the three churches held special services or prayer time for families involved in migration nor was their evidence in my study that individuals and families

sought advice or approval for migration decisions as can be seen in Hagan's work on migration from Central America. Hagan (2008) documents the ways that faith and the cultural expressions of faith sustain immigrants before, during and after their journeys. She also points to the ways that the individuals and families in her study rely on their clergy when making decisions to migrate. This was not the case for those in my study, however, there are significant differences between the two studies. Respondents in my study that were directly involved in migration were documented immigrants in their destination countries. They moved as students, connected to families, or as documented workers with legal status. This makes the journey somewhat less precarious.

Meadowbrook United is a solidly middle class church in middle class suburban neighborhood. Its members include well educated and professional status individuals with some access to resources such as housing and education. Due their class status and professional and educational credentials, migration for this family was likely more accessible. Migration from Jamaica by individuals and families from Meadowbrook United Church seemed to be transnational in nature. Individuals and families were moving from Jamaica and settling in a new location and would maintain ties to the home country. The conversations about migration that I observed and participated in revealed that this was the case for many people involved in migration at Meadowbrook United Church.

Although Swallowfield Chapel is located in a poorer, urban community, its membership is also made up of highly educated and middle to upper class individuals and families. Swallowfield Chapel also continues to see movement away from Jamaica by its members. Respondents identified both education and employment opportunities as the primary reasons that people from their church migrate. Regular announcements are made for information and prayer

for individuals and families moving for employment, education, as well as mission opportunities. Because of the sizeable membership at Swallowfield Chapel, migration cuts across socio-economic lines and represents the many different and complex forms of migration. However in my study, the majority of respondents from Swallowfield Chapel involved in migration were involved for educational purposes. These respondents have also returned to Jamaica as they have access to employment, family, and financial resources that made their return a practical choice with regard to continued access to these resources. In other words, for the individuals in my case study, return home to Jamaica guaranteed access to resources that may not have been available elsewhere via permanent migration to a new location. These participants returned to a middle class lifestyle that may not have been accessible to them in the host country. This too, is partly due to their racialized status in the host country. Individuals with access to resources and support networks in the country of origin, based on my case study, make decisions to return to Jamaica rather than situating themselves with the systems of race, class, and gender in the receiving country. Although this is not the particular focus of my research here, perceptions of these systems of oppression by those in the country of origin both prior to and after return is an area for future research and may provide some insight as to motivations to return. Using post-colonial theories of identity, Potter, et. al. (2005) consider how "hybrid identities" affects the incorporation and participation of young returners to Barbados from Britain. Further research might consider the perceptions of systems of oppression and social location prior to leaving.

Because of the size of the church community at Swallowfield Chapel it was much easier to identify a diversity of social locations and circumstances among the members and participants. In addition to the people I spoke with who were temporary migrants for educational purposes, three of my respondents had no such access to resources for migration, for education or

otherwise. All three of these respondents indicated a desire to migrate but expressed frustration with regard to accessing resources to do so. One of these respondents was a member at Swallowfield Chapel but the other two were community members who participated at the church only occasionally. Their lack of access to resources kept them from involvement in migration. One of these respondents, however, discussed a possible path to migration through an uncle who filed for a visa for her in the United States. These three respondents, though they desired to migrate, did not believe that they had access to the resources necessary to do so.

North Street United Church is somewhat unique in the study in that the long-time members who remain in Jamaica and involved in the church are middle class professionals with some access to resources, including resources for migration. Some of this access is a result of connections to migration processes that have roots as far back as the 1970's and 1980's when access to visas was somewhat more open. Some of these respondents have chosen to stay in Jamaica. One of these respondents said that she and her husband have residency status in the United States (they have green cards) but they have never lived in the U.S. When asked why they would pursue residency in the United States with no real intention of living there, she responded "back in the Manley days, you just didn't know so you kept things open. If you could get a visa to go, you did it, you know just as a precaution. Many people were leaving then, he encouraged it, it was a different time, a lot left then, that's when we got it and then from there just went for the green card, I suppose it was just a safety thing" (female, 66 years old). Another unique feature of this church is the age of the respondents and the members who remain in Jamaica. The average age of the members at North Street United Church is significantly higher than either of the other churches in the study. Part of this is attributable to the conversation above about the age of the church itself and its history in the denomination and community.

Many of these members are longtime members who have participated in this church for many years. This provided a unique perspective on the church itself but also the history of migration by members and in Jamaica more broadly. Seven of the nine respondents discussed the political history in Jamaica that, in combination with conditions in the receiving countries (primarily the U.S. and Canada) led to mass migration during the 1970's and 1980's.

The respondents at North Street United Church who had been involved in migration, lived abroad and now returned to Jamaica were also all women, with the exception of one man who left only for educational purposes and then returned to Jamaica. These women, all currently over 70 years of age left their families to pursue domestic employment opportunities. One of these women was single with no children when she left, the other four moved without their family members. Responses to questions about their decisions to migrate from these four women focused on improved economic resources for their families. All four women also said that at the time of their migration (between the early 1970's and early 1980's) it was easier for women to obtain visas for domestic work in the United States. Two of these women obtained citizenship in the United States and brought their families to join them (husbands and children in both cases); the other two women worked for several years as domestic workers but then returned to Jamaica. The two women able to file and send for their families moved out of domestic work into professional employment outside of the home. Although this study is not specifically about the role of gender in the migration process or even in the formation of social networks, gender, as many scholars have argued, is a system that affects and is affected by migration (see Espiritu, 1994; 2001; Glenn, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Houstoun, et. al., 1984; Kibria, 1995; Mahler & Pessar, 2006; Mahler, 1999; Morokvasic, 1984; Parrenas, 2001; Pedraza, 1991; Sassen, 1984; Watkins-Owens, 2001; Zentgraf, 2002).

Access to resources is always a critical component of decisions to migrate but also seems to be a deciding factor in the nature of the migration and return to the home country. The respondents in my study who moved abroad for periods of time and made decisions to return to Jamaica maintain relationships with individuals and networks in the home country. Strong networks in the receiving country are important to settlement after migration but, as discussed above, access to resources in the home country are also critical in terms of decisions to return. Return migration happens for many reasons, including economic reasons. Respondents from North Street United and Swallowfield Chapel who had left Jamaica for advanced education all returned to Jamaica after graduation when they were still in early adulthood. These respondents, in addition to newly acquired skills, all had access to employment and economic resources that made their return possible. The older respondents, particularly from North Street United, who migrated for employment, returned to Jamaica as older adults who had maintained relationships and networks connections, including church connections, while they lived abroad. These participants were first generation migrants who maintained strong ties to Jamaica through various family and network ties, including church ties. Eight of the twenty-six respondents were among the first in their families to leave Jamaica. Four of these eight left for educational reasons and returned to the island shortly after graduation to pursue professional careers. The other four respondents, all women, left to pursue domestic and service work. Three of these four respondents established themselves in the host country and eventually brought their families to join them. All three have since returned to Jamaica where they continue to be connected to their network of relatives and friends in their home church.

All twenty-six respondents also acknowledge differences within families with regard to the role of men and women in the family. These gender roles, however, intersect with age and

class. Respondents in my study, all identifying as middle class, stated that in middle class families men and women both participate in child rearing and child care activities. Respondents over the age of 65 however discussed the ways that this has changed over the years.

Respondents at North Street United and Swallowfield Chapel also spoke of the prevalence of female headed households in their communities. The absence of men in the home for various reasons including lack of work, incarceration, and non-traditional family forms often leave women in the family responsible for both the financial and physical care of children. Respondents from both North Street United and Swallowfield identify this as a problem in their communities but don't connect this to migration. As discussed above, church members do not always know when family members have moved abroad or are absent in the home because of migration. In response to questions about whether men or women are more involved in migration, all respondents believed that this is fairly evenly divided.

Return migration is a growing field of interest within migration studies. Though it is not the primary focus of this study, in the recruiting process I found that individuals who had lived and worked abroad for a significant amount of time (over ten years) and returned to Jamaica, tended to be those that identified as having any involvement in migration. Even though all of the other respondents had some connection to or experience with migration in their family life, it was those respondents who had established themselves in work and homes in host countries that were identified as having any knowledge about migration. Salaff (2013) in her discussion of return migration suggests that identification with the homeland is vivid for first generation migrants and the connections to home and the structures and networks into which they were born are strong. Choices to return, she states, are dependent on the "social relations, emotional factors, and identity issues" (460). Consideration of social networks and the connections and

relationships that exist within them, she says, helps in the understanding of return migration. Further exploration of the decisions to return to Jamaica by the participants in this study will be an area for future research as the first generation individuals who migrated in the mid-60's through the late 80's are coming of retirement age.

Social networks, transnationalism and the culture of migration in Jamaica

The importance of social networks as well as migration as a transnational process were evident in the conversations I had with respondents and others with whom I engaged over the course of my work. I rarely encountered someone at these three churches or the other activities and events in which I participated who was not affected by the on-going connections between Jamaicans living overseas and living at home. At worship services and special events at all three churches I observed and talked with individuals who were living and working abroad (mostly the United States) and were in Jamaica to visit family and friends, celebrate Jamaica's 50th year of independence, or acquaint their children to the place where they grew up. One woman at Swallowfield Chapel explained:

> "I bring my children back to Jamaica every summer. I want them to go to the camp where I went, our church sponsors the camp. They go every year. This year my son brought a friend with him. It just happens that we can celebrate the Olympics and Independence too while we are here this year. I am here over a month with my mother who lives in Canada now. My husband will join us this weekend for the celebrations. My sister and her family still live here. We visit every summer" (female, 47 years old).

The extensive literature that includes both macro and micro analysis of migration processes points to complex systems and relationships that lead individuals and families to cross borders as well as maintain ties across those borders. MacDonald & MacDonald (1964) in their study of Southern Italian immigrants to the United States discuss the concept of chain migration. They suggest that relationships built within networks in the country of origin lead to successive

migration by others in the same town. The focus on this early study concentrates primarily on how these networks are utilized to access movement and then settlement in the host country. More recent work on the use of networks suggests that these hometown networks continue to be valuable for individuals and families wishing to access migration (Basch et. al, 1994; Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004; Smith, 2006; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). Furthermore, as many scholars have suggested, continued ties and connections to individuals, families and networks in the country of origin has led to the understanding of migration as a transnational process (Glick-Schiller, et. al, 1992; Pedraza, 2006; Gold, 1997; Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004).

Kandel and Massey (2002) take the concept of networks a step further to suggest that networks not only connect individual migrants to the migration process but over time these networks and the relationships built within them lead to what they call cumulative causation and eventually leads to a "culture of migration" among the residents of particular towns in Mexico. Throughout my interviews and interactions with individuals and families in this study, I have come to understand that migration in Jamaica has also become part of the culture. As outlined in chapter two there is a long history of migration in Jamaica. Massey (1987) proposes that "international migration is strongly disposed to become a self-sustaining social process. The experience of migration affects individual motivations, household strategies, and community structures in ways that lead to more migration. At the individual level, one trip has a way of breeding another…At the community level, studies show that migration alters social and economic structures in ways that encourage more migration" (1374-1875).

Participants in my study have been involved in the development and maintenance of networks that exist both at home and abroad. Furthermore, relationships are continued and maintained across national borders leading the networks to be transnational in nature. The

transnational nature of these networks and continued ties between those who have migrated and those who remain in the home country contribute to the development of a culture of migration that has become part of the landscape in Jamaican society; migration is part of the norm of life in Jamaica. As I recruited participants for the research, the recruitment process itself proved to be an interesting and informative process in terms of understanding the role of migration in Jamaica. As discussed previously, there were instances where respondents and/or their family members were involved in movement across borders but did not necessarily construct this experience as migration.

At a social gathering for Swallowfield Chapel, I encountered a young professional woman who was just returning to Jamaica after studying and working in the United States for approximately ten years. She had received her doctoral degree and was returning to Jamaica to work at a local university. In an informal conversation with her about my work in Jamaica, she laughed and said "I don't think we really talk about migration like that", when I asked her how she would refer to the moving away or even moving back and forth between countries, she said a lot of people talk about it as "going foreign" (female, 32 years old). My follow up conversation with her and some of the others at the event suggested that the presence of migration, not only in the church, as discussed in the pages above, but in Jamaica more broadly has omnipresence. It is understood and recognize as a part of Jamaica's history, culture, economic and political landscapes, and church and family life. This omnipresence, in many ways, makes it un-noticed and unexamined. Migration and return migration are supported by the social networks that surround the individuals who are involved as well as those affect who remain in the home country. These connections and relationships are transnational and over time have resulted in a culture of migration in Jamaican society.

Conclusion to the findings

Respondents from all three churches had either lived abroad at some point in their lives or had family members who had migrated and were living outside of Jamaica. Most of these family members were living in various areas in the United States, mostly New York City and Florida. Even with this, the respondents found it difficult to understand why an examination of migration would be a worthwhile undertaking. Migration, it seems, is a part of life in Jamaica. Individuals in the interviews, but even more often in my casual conversations at social events, family gatherings, and church events talked about the regular movement of people from rural to urban communities in Jamaica as well as the movement of people to other countries.

Perceptions about the influence and impact of migration on the island were similar. Respondents as well as those I encountered in more casual conversations and gathering, when asked, were able to talk about both the disruption to family life as well as the positive influence of remittances sent back to help with the costs of daily living. There also seemed to be a general feeling of the eventuality of migration for some, and the desire to move for others. Either way, it seems there is at the same time contentment with life in Jamaica and a desire and willingness to move, should the chance arise. This was particularly true for those who had not been abroad. The three respondents from Swallowfield Chapel who had not traveled away from Jamaica for any reason, expressed sincere desire to do so. They were not, however, actively pursuing the chance to migrate. Although one of these three respondents indicated that she had an uncle in the U.S. who had filed papers for her, neither of the others were taking steps to migrate. One fifty year old female respondent had applied for a travel visa more than once but was always denied. She said she had given up trying and had not applied for over ten years. She still expressed an interest in going but thought it was beyond her reach.

Migration, it seems, is a way of life in Jamaica. It has, as Massey and others have suggested, altered the social and economic structures in Jamaica. It has both positive and negative effects on the church, family, the economy and the political systems in Jamaica. Migration and its effects are present in the lives of individuals and families but it is not readily identified by them. Most of the people I encountered would take the opportunity to live outside of Jamaica should the opportunity arise; in fact, the opportunity did arise for many of them, who left for a time and have now returned to Jamaica. For those that have not had the opportunity to migrate, the possibility of doing so remains, and if the opportunity presents itself, they will go. In the meantime they continue to live their lives and participate in their churches of choice. Although respondents in my study made no indication in their conversations that aspirations to migrate informed their decision making about church participation or membership, they were very clear about the relationships that form between individuals, families, churches and the migration process, the ties that exist across borders and the influence of movement back and forth between home and host country on the individuals and institutions in Jamaica.

CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSIONS

Introduction to the conclusions

A culture of migration permeates the Jamaican landscape. This is true in the interpersonal relationships that exist within families and between friends and kin and also in the structures and systems that surround individuals and families in Jamaica. Beginning with the transport of slaves into the West Indies and continuing today, movement across borders has been a part of life in Jamaica. Movement across borders includes movement from country to city within Jamaica itself, movement back and forth between the Caribbean and Latin American countries that make up the region, as well as movement to North American and European destinations. Not always characterized as migration by the individuals in my study, this movement is often understood as temporary and in most cases, strong ties remain between those who leave and those who remain at home. Ties and connections also remain strong, in the case of the individuals in my study, between those who migrate and the institutions, such as the church, that they leave behind. This dissertation examines the relationships that exist between those who migrate and those who stay behind, with specific attention paid to those who remain in the home country. This work also examines the connection between the church, the family and migration in Jamaica. Evidence gathered through in-depth interviews and participant observation was analyzed in order to better understand the role of the church in supporting or constraining migration in Jamaica. Specifically, I examined whether or not desire to migrate is a factor for individuals and families as they chose a church home. Beyond church choice, I considered the role the church plays in the lives of the participants and those observed including the programs and services offered at the three churches in the study, how class, gender, and age

influence participation in the family, church and migration processes, and the culture of migration in Jamaica.

Review of the findings

This study is framed by an understanding of migration as a part of culture in Jamaica. This culture of migration is embedded in and influences the interpersonal relationships that exist in Jamaica as well as the relationships and interactions that individuals and families have with the systems that surround them, including the church. In many ways, this culture of migration is similar to what Massey (1987) examines in his study of Mexican migration. In Jamaica, however, it is less of a "cross border" event that is planned and more of a possibility people live with or an assumption of access to a means to migrate. In this way, migration becomes part of life in Jamaica but it is not necessarily experienced as such. With this in mind, the dissertation examines these questions:

1. Do individuals and families choose church in order to connect to social networks that will aid in migration processes?
2. In what ways do these three churches support or constrain migration of their members?
3. What is the relationship between family, church and migration?
4. What role does class status play with regard to church choice and migration?
5. How are social networks formed and utilized in church and do these networks support or constrain migration?

This study is focused on how, then, migration interacts with the church, specifically church choice, but also the ways that church supports and/or constrains migration as well as provides a place for the building of networks of support. Decisions about church and church participation

are complex; many variables influence church choice. These are often related to personal relationships connected to family and extended kin and these ties and connections often extend back several generations. Church choice is also connected to the services and ministries offered at the church, the location and accessibility of the church to one's home and how welcome one feels at the church. Desire to migrate does not seem to be a deciding factor in terms of church choice for those in this study.

Although this finding is not necessarily unexpected, the findings fit well into the framework that understands and makes room for the way that migration is present in all aspects of Jamaican society. Migration's omnipresence in Jamaican society is such that a conversation about movement across borders does not strike people as a subject to be studied; it is present for the people in my study without a conscious awareness of it. Participants in my study, during the recruitment phase of the research did not understand why an examination of migration was necessary or important, particularly where the church was involved. Individual respondents were curious as to why I would ask about the ways that church and migration are connected, however, as they responded to questions about the two, it became clear that the church supported and in many cases was supported by those involved in migration. The relationships between the church, the family and migration were clearly represented in findings in my study.

Jamaican social networks

Important networks are built within church communities that support individuals and families. Some of these families are directly involved in migration processes and have either participated in migration themselves or have members in their immediate families who have moved out of Jamaica, and in some cases returned to Jamaica. Other individuals and families are

indirectly involved in supporting migration through the services and ministries offered at the churches. For the participants in my study, church was a very important part of daily life. This is particularly true in terms of the relationships that surrounded these individuals and families and the activities in which they participate. Support networks born out of the relationships formed at church were significant As discussed in the review of literature, social networks often provide the necessary financial and social capital needed for migration. Castles and Miller (1998) suggest that these micro-structures are particularly helpful in settlement in the host society. Based on my findings, these micro-structures are also a significant source of support in the country of origin. The respondents in my study spoke clearly of the ways that social networks developed in their churches support individuals and families. Although many of the respondents did not directly connect such support to migration prior to our interviews, after engaging a conversation about the connections between migration, church and family, several respondents spoke to ways that the church provides such support, often without knowing it. One respondent at Swallowfield Chapel, said "there are probably children and families that have members abroad and we don't even know it. We just do what we do, I mean, with our ministries and people participate. This probably supports them but we don't even know it. Now you have me thinking about it. Maybe we should look into it more" (male, 41 years old). At North Street United Church a member echoed these sentiments in terms of the support found at the church. "People rely on the friends and community we have here. We have small groups that support people when they are in need". When asked if this includes times when family members may be abroad, she said "of course, if we know it, but then again we support the people whether we know it or not" (female, 67 years old).

These support networks are also important in terms of return migration. Although this study did not focus directly on return migration, over the course of the field work, it became apparent that return migration warrants attention in Jamaica. Many of the people I spoke with had spent time living abroad and all of them had some family living overseas who maintained connections with them. The importance of social networks for individuals and families involved in migration processes is not new. However, the role and importance of these networks in the home country and the way that the church provides a site for the building and maintenance of these networks offers an understanding of the interconnectedness of church, family, and migration systems.

Social networks, church, family and migration in Jamaica

Findings from interviews and observations of the interactions between the church, the family and migration in Jamaica suggest that these three systems are closely connected. Historically, the church in Jamaica played a central role in defining family. These definitions were extremely narrow and included only those individuals in relationships that involved a married man and woman and their offspring. As Clarke (1957) and Smith (1957; 1973) as well as Chamberlain (1988) point out, this traditional definition and model of family has not often worked in the Caribbean, including Jamaica, where unmarried couples and extended kinship networks often form a family. As a result of slave systems that kept families apart and church practices that restricted membership and inclusion, individuals, particularly those with lower economic status, were excluded from traditional, Christian marriage. This also excluded them from full membership in a church.

Despite the obstacles to full membership in church individuals and families, however defined, continued to participate in the services and ministries offered by churches and form support networks within church communities. The Anglo-Caribbean family has a long history of being mischaracterized as dysfunctional. Chamberlain (2006) points out that participation in migration presented new challenges for families but points to the ways that these families evolved and adapted and formed functional units, in many cases, across borders, as they made decisions to participate in migration processes. These families are supported, as Bashi (2007) suggests, through a strong network of support that is found in extended families, kinship networks, and as I discovered in my study, in institutions such as the church. Although neither of these scholars point to the church as a primary source of support, individuals in my study did identify the church as an important site for support. Again, though desire to migrate was not a reason for church choice, respondents were clear that ties formed within the church were maintained across borders and that there is an important reciprocal relationship with regard to the support given and received.

All three churches maintained some form of connection with their members who migrate. This happens primarily through written communication in newsletters and social media as well as reports from family members who remain in the home country. Such reports often happen during worship services where members who remain will report on health, illness, births, deaths and other important events. Respondents were also able to identify some circumstances where connection to networks formed within the church did provide access to migration. One respondent at North Street United Church who had lived in the United States for many years and now had returned to Jamaica reported "my friend, she went to work for a family and they had a friend who needs someone so she called me up and that's how it happened. They knew her and

she recommends me so they go with it. We knew each other from the church" (female, 84 years old). Respondents from Swallowfield Chapel also acknowledge connections with people from church who had moved overseas and provided information about, if not access to, schools and employment in the United States. The size of Swallowfield Chapel, however, and the number of "Swallows" (members) who have left the island make these networks a bit broader. In response to interview questions, members at Swallowfield identified the ways that membership and involvement as Swallowfield provides connections for people all over the world. Prior to engaging questions specifically aimed at connecting the importance of these networks in terms of migration, however, these respondents did not necessarily connect the church and migration.

My findings suggest that social networks built within the church are not only important in terms of providing access to cross-border migration. The networks built and maintained within the church provide crucial support for those who remain in the home country. The family members who remain in the home country continue to utilize the services and ministries of the church. Respondents at all three churches suggested that this support, through services and ministries at the church, is not specifically intended to support people and members with family members who have migrated. They did acknowledge however that even without realizing it, their churches did likely provide crucial support to these people. There was specific attention given to the children who remain in the home country. As discussed in chapter four, churches often do this without knowledge of the particular home situation of these children and youth who are supported through the programs and services offered at the church.

At all three churches, especially at North Street United Church due to their dwindling membership, ministries and programs that support individuals and families who remain in the home country would not be possible without the financial support they receive from members

who have gone abroad. There is a reciprocal relationship that exists between the church and members who migrate. The church continues to provide support to those members who have migrated as well as their family members who remain. This happens in tangible ways through programs and services offered through the church. It also happens in less tangible ways through continued prayers for those who have migrated and regular reports about the well-being of those who have migrated. This prayer support and the regular updates provided to the home church help to keep members living abroad connected to the community in the home country. Members who have moved abroad then, continue to provide financial support to their own family and kin as well as the church.

My findings suggest that the relationship between family, the church and migration processes exists even though, in many cases the role and importance of the church in these processes is not necessarily identified by those involved. This may be due to the culture of migration that exists in Jamaica whereby migration processes are simply a part of life and the support provided by the church is normalized. The culture of migration that exists in Jamaica also makes engaging questions about migration somewhat foreign to my participants. Family, church and migration are important aspects of life for my participants but identifying the ways that they are connected and support one another seemed quite new for them.

Networks formed within the church support rather than constrain migration. Although historic and traditional understandings of the family that existed within churches may have at one time presented obstacles for families, this does not appear to be the case any longer. Respondents from these three churches support an understanding of a traditional nuclear family as a preferred type, but they all acknowledge that this is not the only type of family that exists in Jamaica and that the church does not keep people from membership for having a non-traditional

family any longer. Although official church policy at these three churches does not appear to restrict membership based on family form, as was once the case in Jamaica, there does seem to be a difference in membership versus regular participation without membership based on class status. Members at North Street United and Swallowfield Chapel reported themselves and other members as middle class and non-members who regularly participate in worship and programs at their churches as lower class. This may also be the case at Meadowbrook United Church; however respondents from Meadowbrook did not offer as much detail in response to these inquiries. All three churches, however, support individuals and families who come to them through their programs and ministries. Some of these individuals and families have been connected to these church networks for many years and some of these connections are more recent. The level of support given and received by the church and the members and/or participants at the church is not equally distributed however. Members and participants, as reported in chapter four, tend to be from different social classes and therefore the giving and receiving of support is imbalanced in many cases.

Church, family, migration and class in Jamaica

All twenty-six respondents identified themselves as middle class. Observation of these individuals and their families however suggests that there was a very wide variation in terms of income, employment, education, access to resources, and housing. Respondents at all three churches identified the members of these churches as middle class as well, however at North Street United Church and at Swallowfield Chapel, respondents stated that non-members, particularly those from the immediate areas surrounding the church grounds, were mostly lower-class and poor. Both North Street United Church and Swallowfield Chapel are located in the center city and both are surrounded by areas where poverty is quite prominent. Meadowbrook

United Church is located in a more suburban community, surrounded by single family homes owned and occupied by middle and upper class families. Respondents from this church could not identify a significant non-member population that regularly attends worship and/or participated in ministries beyond the school. Students attending the school affiliated with this church came from both the immediate community and beyond and therefore may represent a wider range of class groups.

Church members and staff at both North Street United Church and Swallowfield Chapel stated that individuals and families in the communities surrounding the church were very poor and often relied on the programs and ministries provided at many of the local churches for support. This support came by way of tangible goods such as food distribution and clothing and supplies for school age children as well as programming that included youth group, Sunday school, camps, and at Swallowfield Chapel, training programs. Swallowfield Chapel, as the largest church in the study, had the human and financial capital to offer a more wide ranging array of services. Part of Swallowfield Chapel's work includes outreach and community development efforts in the neighborhood where the church is located. These services draw a wide range of people from very low income families.

Class not only determines the types of programs and services the individuals and families take part in; class also determines membership, access to particular churches, and the types of migration in which people are involved. At North Street United Church and Swallowfield Chapel respondents reported that members at their church tended to be from middle to upper class families (in most cases middle class language was used, however, as discussed above, this varied quite widely). Non-members however were identified as lower class and poor. Class, it seems, has become a new marker for membership, though this seems to happen informally.

Although none of the respondents suggested or believed that poor people could not become members of their churches, based on these findings, however, poor people joined these churches in smaller numbers than middle class people. These three churches would be considered mainline protestant denominations however. Further study should consider additional denominations such as Anglican and Baptist, non-denominational churches as well as Seventh Day Adventist churches, which as I discovered during my field work, are quite prominent in Jamaica. During an afternoon spent with one of my respondents from North Street United Church I was introduced to a pastor from another United church that was not a part of my study. He commented that Jamaicans interested in participating in "the program" or seasonal migration may be inclined to participate in Seventh Day Adventist churches because the Minister of Labor was Seventh Day. This was the only indication that church choice might be based on a desire to migrate. It was limited to a particular type of church and a particular form of migration and is an area for future research about the relationship between church and migration in Jamaica.

My findings also suggest that class determines the type of migration individuals and families participate in. The middle class respondents in my study who participated directly in migration, did so for primarily for educational purposes and/or professional employment. Five of the twelve respondents from Swallowfield Chapel were directly involved in migration and did so for educational purposes. As was often the case when respondents discussed their movement abroad, they did not consider this migration. Three of the five considered staying in the host country after they completed their degrees but all decided to return to Jamaica.

North Street United Church is located in a neighborhood that has transitioned from a lower middle class community to a very poor area due to movement out of the center city. Three of the nine respondents from North Street United Church grew up in this neighborhood as

children. They considered themselves lower middle class as children and were also involved directly in migration, two for work and one for education. Only one of the five respondents from Meadowbrook United Church was directly involved in migration. He moved away for educational purposes and settled in the United States.

Eight of the nine respondents that were directly involved with migration have returned to Jamaica. In six of the eight cases return to Jamaica took place immediately following completion of their education. The two female respondents from North Street United Church worked for several years prior to return but in both cases they returned to middle class families with access to resources such as housing and familial support. Two of the respondents from North Street United maintain ties in Jamaica and the United States and continue to move back and forth between home and host country. Migrants that return home, in my study, return to significant resources such as access to employment through family and kinship connections, safe, secure housing, and support networks that often exist within their church communities. My findings suggest that access to resources in the country of origin may be a significant determinant of return migration.

Gender and migration in Jamaica

The systems and structures that are the focus of this study are not only classed but they are gendered. The family, the church, and migration processes are experienced differently by the men and women who occupy them. Gender intersects with class and age and situates individuals differently within these systems. The older respondents in my study that migrated for the purpose of employment and stayed in host countries for longer periods of time were women. In all but one case, these women left children in Jamaica who were cared for by other female family

members, as well as supported by their home churches. These respondents connected their desire to migrate to economic and social conditions that existed in Jamaica during the 1970's and 1980's that allowed them access to visas that made migration possible.

Respondents from North Street United Church and Swallowfield Chapel identified female headed households in Jamaica as a social problem. Although they did not connect this directly to migration, respondents from these churches believed that the absence of men in the home is problematic, particularly for poor families.

Limitations of the study and areas for future research

Migration continues to be influential in Jamaican society. The family and the church also play a central role for the individuals who participated in my study. These three systems in Jamaican society influence and interact with one another in ways that seem to be taken for granted to the participants in my study. My personal connections to Jamaica, relationships with Jamaicans involved in migration both in the sending country and the United States, and my familiarity with the three churches in the study provided both opportunities and limitations for the study. As a quasi-insider, I already had existing trust with several of the respondents at the three churches. These relationships enabled access to additional participants. This was helpful in the interview stage of the field work as those involved were more willing to share their experiences with me. It was also beneficial in terms of observation at events where I was able to be present as more of an insider and participate in activities and conversations that allowed access in ways that might not have been available without my existing relationships. At times these relationships and connections posed limitations for the study. Because of my familiarity with Jamaica and with the three churches in the study, participants often assumed a complete

knowledge of the systems and structures that exist in Jamaica and the ways that interpersonal relationships inside and outside the family operate. Though this may be true in some cases, it often led interviewees to trail off their comments or end conversations implying that I already understood what they were saying. Because the interviews were open ended, I could address this issue when I was aware of it, however it leads me to consider how often participants assumed an understanding of relationships, systems or structures without engaging these things in their responses.

This study included an intentionally small sample of participants in order to conduct in-depth interviews. This worked well for the purposes of this study, however the small sample size is another limitation of the study. Participants were recruited at the three churches through public invitations as well as personal recommendations and requests. At the beginning of the field work, particularly because of my personal connections, I felt that this method would garner more participants than actually agreed to be interviewed. The culture of migration in Jamaica is such that conversations and discussions about it were identified to me by participants as a strange topic for study. These respondents were able to identify many ways in which they, their church, their family and society were affected by migration. General feelings, however, were that migration is a norm in Jamaican society and it is often taken for granted and not necessarily the subject of research. This may be why so few people volunteered to be interviewed or there may be other factors. Either way, this method of recruiting participants limited the sample size and therefore limited the study itself.

Further research to explore the role of the church in Jamaica in constraining or supporting migration should include mixed methods, such as interviews and written surveys sent out to church members and regular attenders at the churches involved in the study. Broadening the

scope of types of churches would also strengthen the study as comparisons could then be made across denominations and types of churches.

There are several areas for future research on migration in Jamaica. There has been much scholarly work completed on the ways that Black, Anglophone immigrants from the Caribbean have been situated in the United States with regard to race (see Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Waters, 1994, 1999; Crowder, 1999; Foner, 1998, 2002; Benson, 2006; Vickerman, 1994). These studies focus primarily on how newly arriving Black immigrants incorporate and settle in the host society. One area for further research is a study of the perceptions of race in the United States by Jamaicans who remain home and/or are considering migration. How these perceptions influence migration behavior and decisions would provide insight as to how people living outside the United States perceive race relations in a potential receiving country. The systems and structures in this study are influenced and affected by gender. Interview questions included gender, particularly with regard to the role in the family. All twenty-six respondents identified some differences in terms of the role of gender in families and in migration; however, further study should include an examination of the intersections of gender, class, and age more specifically. Access to migration has changed over the years due to global processes and policy changes beyond the control of those hoping to migrate. These processes are classed and gendered and affect people differently depending on their social location. These systems of oppression also affect one's access to social networks that form both inside and outside the church. Although this study identified this as a reality, further study would bring these issues more to the fore.

Another important area for study in Jamaica is return migration. Jamaica has a very long history of involvement in migration by its citizens. Many of these people are making decisions to return to their country of origin. This process and these decisions are gendered and classed.

Age is also a factor that intersects with gender and class and affects one's decision to return; further study of the intersections of class, gender and age would add to an understanding of migration processes and how these systems affect decisions to migrate as well as return migration. A study that more specifically includes these systems of difference and oppression should take account of how they affect those who remain in the home country. A study that included these subjects would enhance an understanding of intersectionality and migration from the country of origin.

The focus of my study as to whether individuals choose a church based on their desire to connect to networks for migration could also be expanded to explore in more detail and with more depth, the ways that these support networks support individuals and families more broadly. Findings suggested that individuals and families do rely on these networks for support but I believe further examination of these networks that take into consideration class, gender and age will add to the existing knowledge in the Sociology of migration, Sociology of the Family and Intersectionality. Research in this area will also help in understanding how the church in Jamaica defines and understands the Jamaican family and how the services and programs offered in churches include the various forms of family that can be found in Jamaica.

Lastly, an area of interest for future research that is born out of my experience as a social worker, should include the role of the church in Jamaica in the provision of social services, particularly in light of structural adjustment programs that have severely limited, and in some cases, eliminated important programs that target the most vulnerable populations in Jamaica. In addition to a study of the role of the church in Jamaica, a comparative study that considered the increasing role of faith based organizations in the United States as well would enhance our

understanding of the provision of social services in an international context. This work is important for international development efforts as well as international social work.

Conclusion

I began this examination with a sense that migration in Jamaica is very influential in the lives of those who live in Jamaica; it is part of the Jamaican landscape. It is from this foundation that I began to explore in more detail how migration interacted with other systems and structure in Jamaica, most notably the church and the family. Furthermore, I was interested in how these three structures, migration, the church and the family, interacted with and influenced one another and the individuals that occupy them.

My primary research question examined whether individuals and families in Jamaica choose church in order to connect to social networks that aid in the migration process. In exploring this question, I also examined how the churches in this study support or constrain migration efforts of their members and the relationship between migration, church and family. Understanding that individuals within these churches are differentially situated, I also considered how systems of oppression such as class, gender and age both influence and are influenced by these systems. Findings suggest that although desire to migrate is not a factor in church choice, churches are a site for the development and maintenance of support networks relied on by individuals and families. Some of these individuals and families are directly involved in migration themselves and some are supporting others who are migrating. Results from my interviews find that the church is not always aware of people involved in migration and they do not provide specific programming that speaks to migration and its effects on the community. Although this is the case, respondents at all three churches agree that they do provide such

support, even though it is not intentionally the focus of the programs and services offered with the church. Although decisions to migrate are made within households and families, the three churches in this study support these decisions through the existing programming designed to support individuals and families in their communities.

This dissertation adds to the sociological literature by considering the role of migration processes in the country of origin. It also adds to the understanding of the role of the church in the sending country in supporting individuals and families involved in the migration process. In Jamaica, the effects of migration on society are far reaching, if not always acknowledged. The church plays an important role in the provision of services and programs for individuals who remain in the home country. It is also a site for the building and maintaining of important social networks. Although the study is limited to only three churches, the inclusion of protestant churches and their role in migration processes adds to the literature as well. Mooney (2009) focuses on how Haitian immigrants utilize the Catholic Church in the receiving country for support and Hagan (2008) examines the role of religion and identifies the ways that Latin American immigrants rely on their faith to inform their migration decisions as well as protect their journeys. This study also adds to a growing literature about the role of religion and migration by focusing on religion in the home country. Although, as discussed above, scholarly work has included the role of religious practices and faith, this study adds to the work done by Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) that focuses more on the organizational structures of churches and congregations. The three churches in my study and the roles that they play in their communities suggest that the model used to understand immigrant churches in Houston, Texas can also be applied in the country of origin. This also adds to the literature on international development and international social work as comparisons for how faith based organizations in the United States

have been called upon to fill in the gaps left by a declining social safety net can be compared to the impact of structural adjustment programs in developing countries. In this way, these findings also provide insight to the churches in Jamaica seeking to support individuals and families in their communities. Staff members at Swallowfield Chapel and members at North Street United Church commented on how participation in the interviews has expanded their understanding of the ways that their church can provide support to those in their communities.

Migration will continue to be an influential system in Jamaican society. Further research into the ways that migration, the church and the family interact could reveal new understandings about how these systems support one another and the people who occupy them.

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Interview Schedule

Gathering together: The role of church in Jamaica in developing and maintaining migrant social networks

Interview ID: _____

1. Male _____ Female _____
2. Age _____
3. Church affiliation,

   _____
4. What is the level of your formal education? _____

- Describe your family for me.
- Do men and women have different definitions of families? If yes, describe.
- Do men and women function differently in families? If yes, how and why?
- Are men or women responsible for providing (financially) for the family?
- Are men or women responsible for the care giving in the family?
- How would you describe your economic class?
- Can you describe what that means to you? (ie. What does it mean in Jamaica to be working class/middle class/upper class?)
- Why did you choose this church?
- Does your family attend this church together? (ask follow up questions such as why or why not? Do they attend other churches? Etc.)
- What kinds of programs and services does your church have?
- Which programs and services do you participate in?
- How would you describe the people who come to your church?

- Would most people who attend your church be considered members? For those not considered members, how would you describe them (regular attenders, guests, visitors?)
- Why do you think people choose this church?
- How would you describe the economic class of people who come to your church?
- Is there a difference between those people who attend your church that would be considered members or attenders/guests?
- How would you describe the neighborhood where your church is located?
- Do most people who go to your church live in the neighborhood?
- Are individuals and families in your church involved in migration off the island? In what ways?
- Do people think about migration when they are choosing a church? Why or why not?
- For people who migrate, where is the primary destination? Why do you think people choose that location?
- Have you been involved with migration? How?
- Do you know people who have been involved with migration? Who and how?
- Describe your involvement in this church.
- Do men and women have different roles/involvement in the church? Describe.
- Describe how your church supports families.
- Talk about the church, family and migration. Are they connected? How?
- How does your church manage migration? Does the church provide support to family members who stay behind? If yes, how?
- Do people involved in migration support the church? If yes, how?
- Do men and women view migration differently? If yes, how and why?

- What types of migration do your church members participate in? Student, seasonal, permanent?
- What role does migration play in the life of your church?
- Do you think migration of your members benefits or hurts families?
- Do you think migration of your members benefits or hurts the church?
- Do you think migration influences the church and family? How?
- What roles do men and women play in the migration process?
- In your opinion who in families makes the decision to migrate?
- Does the church support these decisions? How?
- Do you have any other thoughts on the Jamaican family, church, or migration

Appendix B

Table 1: Respondents Demographics

Gender	Age	Education	Employment	Involvement in Migration
1. Male	52	Graduate	Employed Professional	Migrated for Education
2. Female	62	Graduate	Employed Professional	Migrated for Education
3. Male	30	College	Employed Professional	Mother Migrated
4. Male	51	College	Employed Professional	Sibling Migrated
5. Male	41	College	Employed Professional	Sibling Migrated
6. Female	50	Graduate	Employed Professional	Migrated for Education
7. Female	26	College	Employed Professional	Migrated for Education
8. Female	23	College	Unemployed	Migrated for Education
9. Female	49	High School	Unemployed	Child Migrated
10. Female	26	Trade School	Self-Employed	Uncle and other family
11. Female	21	In College	Student	Sibling
12. Male	28	Tech School	Unemployed	Father Migrated
13. Male	84	High School	Retired	Children
14. Female	83	High School	Retired	Children
15. Male	48	College	Employed Professional	Migrated himself to U.S.
16. Male	45	Graduate	Employed Professional	Migrated himself to U.S.
17. Female	49	Graduate	Employed Professional	Spouse/Sibling
18. Female	42	Graduate	Employed Professional	Sibling
19. Male	40	Graduate	Employed Professional	Sibling
20. Female	82	Grade School	Retired	Migrated for Work
21. Female	87	High School	Retired	Migrated for Work
22. Female	70	High School	Retired	Migrated for Work
23. Female	62	Trade School	Employed Professional	Migrated for Work
24. Female	67	High School	Retired	Migrated for Work
25. Male	71	Graduate	Employed Professional	Migrated for Education / Child Migrated
26. Female	66	College	Employed Professional	Children

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

Abrego, L. (2009). "Economic Well-Being in Salvadoran Transnational Families: How Gender Affects Remittance Practices". *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *71*(4), 1070–1085. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00653.x.

Alba, R. & V. Nee. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review* 31 (4):826-874.

Ali, Syed. (2007). "'Go West young man': The culture of migration among Muslims in Hyderabad, India". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 33(1), 37-58.

Alicea, M. (1997). "A chambered nautilus": The contradictory nature of Puerto Rican women's role in the social construction of a transnational community. *Gender & Society*, *11*(5), 597–626. doi:10.1177/089124397011005005.

.Atkinson, P., & Hammersley, M. (1994). Ethnographyand participant observation. *Handbook of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Atkinson, P., & Hammersley, M. (1998). Ethnography and Participant Observation. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.) Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry. London: Sage.

Austin-Broos, D. J. (1997). *Jamaica genesis: religion and the politics of moral orders*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Barrow, C. (1996). *Family in the Caribbean: themes and perspectives*. Kingston [Jamaica]; Oxford: I. Randle ; J. Currey.

Basch, L., Schiller, N. G., & Blanc, C. S. (1994). Transnational projects: A new perspective. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, 1-20.

Bashi, V. (2007). *Survival of the knitted: immigrant social networks in a stratified world*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Bauer, E., & Thompson, P. R. (2006). *Jamaican hands across the Atlantic*. Kingston; Miami: I. Randle Publishers.

Benson, J. E. (2006a). Exploring the Racial Identities of Black Immigrants in the United States. *Sociological Forum*, *21*(2), 219–247. doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/10.1007/s11206-006-9013-7.

Benson, J. E. (2006b). Exploring the Racial Identities of Black Immigrants in the United States. *Sociological Forum*, *21*(2), 219–247. doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/10.1007/s11206-006-9013-7

Berg, B. L. (2004). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Boston; Montreal: Pearson.

Bernardi, L. (2011). A Mixed-Methods Social Networks Study Design for Research on Transnational Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *73*(4), 788–803. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2011.00845.x.

Boyd, M. (1989). Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas. *International Migration Review*, *23*(3), 638–670. doi:10.2307/2546433.

Brown, D.A. (1997). Workforce losses and return migration to the Caribbean. In P. Pessar Editor, *Caribbean circuits: New directions in the study of Caribbean migration.* (pp. 197-223). New York: Center for Migration Studies.

Bryce-Laporte, Roy Simon. (1972). Black Immigrants: The Experience of Invisibility and Inequality. *Journal of Black Studies*, *3*(1), 29–56.

Bryce-Laporte, Roy Simón. (1979). Introduction: New York City and the New Caribbean Immigration: A Contextual Statement. *International Migration Review*, *13*(2), 214–234. doi:10.2307/2545029

Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (1998). The Age of Migration, International Population Movements in the Modern World, New York: The Guilford Press.

Castles, S. (2000). International migration at the beginning of the twenty-first century: Global trends and issues. *International Social Science Journal*, *52*(165), 269–281. doi:10.1111/1468-2451.00258.

Cervantes-Rodríguez, A. M., Grosfoguel, R., & Mielants, E. (2009). *Caribbean migration to Western Europe and the United States essays on incorporation, identity, and citizenship*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Chamberlain, M. (1995). Family narratives and migration dynamics: Barbadians to Britain. *Immigrants & Minorities*, *14*(2), 153-169.

Chamberlain, M. (1998). *Caribbean migration: globalised identities*. London; New York: Routledge.

Chamberlain, M. (2006). *Family love in the diaspora: migration and the Anglo-Caribbean experience*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

Chevannes, B. & Ricketts, H. (1997). Return migration and small business development in Jamaica. In P. Pessar Editor, *Caribbean circuits: New directions in the study of Caribbean migration.* (pp. 161-195). New York: Center for Migration Studies.

Clarke, E. (1957). *My mother who fathered me; a study of the family in three selected communities in Jamaica.* London: G. Allen & Unwin.

Clarke, C., & Howard, D. (2006). Contradictory socio-economic consequences of structural adjustment in Kingston, Jamaica. *The Geographical Journal*, *172*(2), 106-129.

Cohen, Jeffrey, H. (2004). *The culture of migration in Southern Mexico*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Collins, P. H. (2000). Gender, black feminism, and black political economy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *568*(1), 41-53.

Conway, D., & Cohen, J. H. (1998). Consequences of Migration and Remittances for Mexican Transnational Communities*. *Economic Geography*, *74*(1), 26–44. doi:10.1111/j.1944-8287.1998.tb00103.x.

Conway, D., Potter, R. B., & Phillips, J. (2005). The experience of return: Caribbean return migrants. *The experience of return migration: Caribbean perspectives*, 1-25.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Crowder, K. D. (1999). Residential Segregation of West Indians in the New York/New Jersey Metropolitan Area: The Roles of Race and Ethnicity. *International Migration Review*, *33*(1), 79–113. doi:10.2307/2547323.

Davis, J. M. (1942). *The Church in the new Jamaica: a study of the economic and social basis of the Evangelical Church tn Jamaica.* New York, London.

Dayfoot, A. C. (1999). *The shaping of the West Indian church, 1492-1962*. Barbados; Gainesville, Fla.: The Press University of the West Indies ; University Press of Florida.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Ebaugh, H. R. F., & Chafetz, J. S. (2000). *Religion and the new immigrants: continuities and adaptations in immigrant congregations*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Ebaugh, H. R. F., & Chafetz, J. S. (2002). *Religion across borders: transnational immigrant networks*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Fitzgerald, D. (2002). Rethinking the "Local" and "Transnational": Cross-Border Politics and Hometown Networks in an Immigrant Union. Retrieved from http://www.escholarship.org/ uc/item/5g04260w

Foley, M. W., & Hoge. (2007). *Religion and the new immigrants: how faith communities form our newest citizens*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Foner, N. (1979). West Indians in New York City and London: A Comparative Analysis. *International Migration Review*, 284-297.

Foner, N. (1997). What's new about transnationalism?: New York immigrants today and at the turn of the century. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, *6*(3), 355-375.

Foner, N. (1987). The Jamaicans: race and ethnicity among migrants in New York City. In Foner, N. (Ed.). (2001). *New Immigrants in New York*. Columbia University Press.

Foner, N. (1998). West Indian Identity in the Diaspora: Comparative and Historical Perspectives. *Latin American Perspectives*, *25*(3), 173–188. doi:10.2307/2634172

Foner, N. (2000). *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's two great waves of immigration*. New Haven; New York: Yale University Press ; Russell Sage Foundation.

Foner, N. (2001). *Islands in the city West Indian migration to New York*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Foner, N. (2001b). *New immigrants in New York*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Foner, N. (2005). *In a new land: a comparative view of immigration*. New York: New York University Press.

Foner, N., & Dreby, J. (2011). Relations Between the Generations in Immigrant Families. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *37*(1), 545–564. doi:10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150030

Foner, N., & Fredrickson, G. M. (2004). *Not just black and white: historical and contemporary perspectives on immigration, race, and ethnicity in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Fouron, G., & Schiller, N. G. (2001). All in the family: Gender, transnational migration, and the nation-state. *Identities*, *7*(4), 539–582. doi:10.1080/1070289X.2001.9962678

Fouron, G.E. & N.Glick-Schiller. (2002). "The generation of identity: Redefining the second generation within a transnational social field." In *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*, edited by P. Levitt & M.C. Waters. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Freeman, C. (2001). Is Local: Global as Feminine: Masculine? Rethinking the Gender of Globalization. *Signs*, *26*(4), 1007–1037. doi:10.2307/3175355.

Gans, H. J. (1997). Toward a reconciliation of" assimilation" and" pluralism": The interplay of acculturation and ethnic retention. *International migration review*, 875-892.

George, S. M. (2005). *When women come first gender and class in transnational migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gilkes, A. D. (2007). *The West Indian diaspora experiences in the United States and Canada*. New York: LFB Scholarly Pub. Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/id/10225147

Glenn, E. N. (2002). *Unequal freedom: how race and gender shaped American citizenship and labor*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Glennie, A., & Chappell, L. (2010, June). Jamaica: From Diverse Beginning to Diaspora in the Developed World . In *Migration Information Source*. Retrieved June 10, 2013.

Gmelch, G. (1980). Return Migration. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *9*, 135–159. doi:10.2307/2155732.

Gold, S.J. (1997). Transnationalism and vocabularies of motive in international migration: The case of Israelis in the United States. *Sociological Perspectives* 40 (3):409-427.

Gold, S. J. (2005). Migrant networks: A summary and critique of relational approaches to international migration. *The Blackwell companion to social inequalities*, 257-285.

Gold, S. J. (2010). *The store in the hood: A century of ethnic business and conflict*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Gold, S. J., & Nawyn, S. J. (Eds.). (2013). *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*. Routledge.

Gordon, Milton. (1964). *Assimilation in America life*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gordon, S. C. (1996). *God Almighty, make me free Christianity in preemancipation Jamaica*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gordon, S. C. (1998). *Our cause for his glory Christianisation and emancipation in Jamaica*. Barbados; Kingston, Jamaica: Press, University of the West Indies.

Grasmuck, S., & Pessar, P. R. (1991). *Between two islands Dominican international migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Grasmuck, S. & R. Grosfoguel. 1997. Geopolitics, economic niches, and gendered social capital among recent Caribbean immigrants in New York City. *Sociological Perspectives* 40 (3):339-363.

Green, C. (1995). Gender, Race and Class in the Social Economy of the English-Speaking Caribbean. *Social and Economic Studies*, *44*(2/3), 65–102. doi:10.2307/27866027

Guano, E. (1994). Revival Zion: an Afro-Christian religion in Jamaica. *Anthropos : International review of Anthropology and linguistics* (89), 517–528.

Gu, Chien-Ju. (2012). Interviews. In Gold, S. J., & Nawyn, S. J. (Eds.). (2013). *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*. (pp. 506-520). New York: Routledge Press.

Hagan, J. M. (1998). Social Networks, Gender, and Immigrant Incorporation: Resources and Constraints. *American Sociological Review*, *63*(1), 55–67. doi:10.2307/2657477

Hagan, J. M. (2008). *Migration miracle faith, hope, and meaning on the undocumented journey*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Hall, Stuart. (1997). Pluralism, race, and class in Caribbean society in *Race and class in post-Colonial society*. UNESCO.

Handlin, O. (1973). *The uprooted: The epic story of the great migrations that made the American people*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Henry, D. C. (2007). *The role of the church in rebuilding families in my church fellowship and community* (Master's thesis).

Henry-Lee, A. (2002). Economic deprivation and private adjustments: The case of security guards in Jamaica. *Social and Economic Studies, 51*(4), 181–209. doi:10.2307/27865307

Herberg, W. (1960). *Protestant Catholic Jew: An essay in American religious Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hilaire, D. H.-S. (2006). Immigrant West Indian Families and Their Struggles with Racism in America. *Journal of Emotional Abuse, 6*(2-3), 47–60. doi:10.1300/J135v06n02_04

Hirschman, C., Kasinitz, P., & DeWind, J. (1999). *The handbook of international migration: the American experience*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (1994). *Gendered transitions Mexican experiences of immigration*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., & Avila, E. (1997). "I'm Here, but I'm There" The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood. *Gender & Society, 11*(5), 548-571.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2001). *Doméstica: immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2003). *Gender and U.S. immigration contemporary trends*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2007). *Religion and Social Justice for Immigrants*. Rutgers University Press.

Houstoun, M. F., Kramer, R. G., & Barrett, J. M. (1984). Female predominance in immigration to the United States since 1930: A first look. *International Migration Review*, 908-963.

Isbister, J. (1991). *Promises not kept: the betrayal of social change in the Third World*. West Hartford, CT, USA: Kumarian Press.

Jones-Correa, M. (2002). "The study of transnationalism among the children of immigrants: Where we are and where we should be headed." In *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*, edited by P. Levitt & M.C. Waters. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Jones, T.-A. (2008). *Jamaican immigrants in the United States and Canada race, transnationalism, and social capital*. New York: LFB Scholarly Pub.

Kandel, W., & Massey, D. S. (2002). The Culture of Mexican Migration: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis. *Social Forces, 80*(3), 981–1004. doi:10.2307/3086463

Kane, A. (2010). Charity and self-help: Migrants' social networks and health care in the homeland (Respond to this article at http://www.therai.org.uk/at/debate). *Anthropology Today, 26*(4), 8–12. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8322.2010.00746.x

Kasinitz, P., & Vickerman, M. (2001). Ethnic niches and racial traps: Jamaicans in the New York regional economy. In *Migration, transnationalism, and race in a changing New York*, edited by H. Cordero-Guzman, R. Smith, and R. Grosfoguel. Temple University Press, 191-211.

Kasinitz, P., M. Waters, J. Mollenkopf & M. Anil. (2002). "Transnationalism and the children of immigrants in contemporary New York." In *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*, edited by P. Levitt & M.C. Waters. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Kibria, N. (1995). *Family tightrope: The changing lives of Vietnamese Americans*. Princeton University Press.

Kniss, F. L., & Numrich, P. D. (2007). *Sacred assemblies and civic engagement how religion matters for America's newest immigrants*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/id/10206181

Lampe, A. (2001). *Christianity in the Caribbean: essays on church history*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

Espiritu, Y. L. (1994). The intersection of race, ethnicity, and class: The multiple identities of second-generation Filipinos. *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power*, *1*(2-3), 249-273.

Espiritu, Y. L. (2001). " We Don't Sleep Around Like White Girls Do": Family, Culture, and Gender in Filipina American Lives. *SIGNS-CHICAGO-*, *26*(2), 415-440.

Levitt, P. (1998a). Local-Level Global Religion: The Case of U.S.-Dominican Migration. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *37*(1), 74–89. doi:10.2307/1388030

Levitt, P. (1998b). Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion. *International Migration Review*, *32*(4), 926–948. doi:10.2307/2547666

Levitt, P. (2001). Transnational migration: taking stock and future directions. *Global Networks*, *1*(3), 195-216.

Levitt, P. (2003). "You Know, Abraham Was Really the First Immigrant": Religion and Transnational Migration. *International Migration Review*, *37*(3), 847–873. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00160.x

Levitt, P. (2004). Redefining the Boundaries of Belonging: The Institutional Character of Transnational Religious Life. *Sociology of Religion*, *65*(1), 1–18. doi:10.2307/3712504

Levitt, P., & Schiller, N. G. (2004). Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society1. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 1002–1039. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00227.x

Levitt, P., & Waters, M. C. (Eds.). (2006). *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Levitt, P. (2007). *God needs no passport: immigrants and the changing American religious landscape*. New York: New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton & Co.

Levitt, P., & Jaworsky, B. N. (2007). Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *33*, 129–156. doi:10.2307/29737757

Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour. *The Manchester School*, *22*(2), 139–191. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9957.1954.tb00021.x

Light, I., G. Sabagh, M. Bozorgmehr, & C. Del-Martirosian. (1994). "Beyond the ethnic enclave economy." *Social Problems*. 41(1): 65-80.

Light, I. H., & Gold, S. J. (2000). *Ethnic economies*. San Diego: Academic.

MacDonald, J. S., & MacDonald, L. D. (1964). Chain Migration Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks. *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, *42*(1), 82–97. doi:10.2307/3348581

Mahler, S. J. (1999). Engendering Transnational Migration A Case Study Of Salvadorans. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *42*(4), 690-719.

Mahler, S. J., & Pessar, P. R. (2006). Gender matters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies. *International Migration Review*, *40*(1), 27-63.

Maignot, Anthony P. "Political Implications of Migration in a Socio-Cultural Area" in *Migration and Development in the Caribbean: The Unexplored Connection*. Robert A. Pastor, editor. (1985). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Massey, D. S. (1981). Dimensions of the New Immigration to the United States and the Prospects for Assimilation. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *7*, 57–85. doi:10.2307/2946022

Massey, D. S. (1987). Understanding Mexican Migration to the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1372-1403.

Massey, D. S. (1990). Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration. *Population Index*, *56*(1), 3–26. doi:10.2307/3644186

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, *19*(3), 431–466. doi:10.2307/2938462

Massey, D. S., Goldring, L., & Durand, J. (1994). Continuities in Transnational Migration: An Analysis of Nineteen Mexican Communities. *American Journal of Sociology*, *99*(6), 1492–1533. doi:10.2307/2782582

Massey, D. S., & Fischer, M. J. (1999). Does rising income bring integration? New results for blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in 1990. *Social Science Research*, *28*(3), 316-326.

Maxwell, J. A. (1996). *Qualitative research design: an interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

McGavran, D. A. (1962). *Church growth in Jamaica: a preview of things to come in many lands*. Lucknow, India: Lucknow Publ. House.

Menjívar, C. (1999). Religious institutions and transnationalism: A case study of Catholic and Evangelical Salvadoran immigrants. *International journal of politics, culture, and society*, *12*(4), 589-612.

Menjivar, C. (2000). *Fragmented ties: Salvadoran immigrant networks in America*. Berkeley: University of California.

Mohammed, P. (1988). The Caribbean family revisited. *Gender in Caribbean Development*.

Mooney, M. A. (2009). *Faith makes us live: surviving and thriving in the Haitian diaspora*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Morokvasic, M. (1984). Birds of passage are also women. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4, Special Issue: Women in Migration (Winter, 1984), pp. 886-907

Muller, T. & T.J. Espenshade. (1985). *The fourth wave: California's newest immigrants*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Olwig, K. 2001. New York as a locality in a global family network. In i*slands in the city: West Indian migration to New York*, edited by N. Foner. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Olwig, K. F. (2003). "Transnational" Socio-Cultural Systems and Ethnographic Research: Views from an Extended Field Site. *International Migration Review*, *37*(3), 787–811. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00158.x

Parreñas, R. S. (2001). *Servants of globalization: women, migration and domestic work*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Parreñas, R. S. (2005). *Children of global migration: transnational families and gendered woes*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Parreñas, R. S. (2008). *The force of domesticity: Filipina migrants and globalization*. New York: New York University Press.

Pedraza, S. (1991). Women and migration: The social consequences of gender. *Annual review of sociology*, 303-325.

Pedraza, S. (1994). Introduction from the special issue editor: The sociology of immigration, race, and ethnicity in America. *Soc. Probs.*, *41*, 1.

Pedraza, S. (2002). Democratization and Migration: Cuba's Exodus and the Development of Civil Society-Hindrance or Help. *Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (ASCE)(ed.): Cuba in Transition*, *12*, 247-261.

Pedraza, S. (2006). Assimilation or transnationalism? Conceptual models of the immigrant experience in America. *Cultural psychology of immigrants*, 33-54.

Pessar, P. R. (1997). *Caribbean circuits: new directions in the study of Caribbean migration*. New York: Center for Migration Studies.

Pessar, P. R., & Mahler, S. J. (2003). Transnational Migration: Bringing Gender in. *International Migration Review*, *37*(3), 812–846. doi:10.2307/30037758

Philpott, S. B. (1973). *West Indian migration; the Montserrat case,*. London; New York: Athlone Press; Humanities Press.

Piotrowski, M. (2006). The Effect of Social Networks at Origin Communities on Migrant Remittances: Evidence from Nang Rong District. *European Journal of Population / Revue Européenne de Démographie*, *22*(1), 67–94. doi:10.2307/20164325

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2006). *Immigrant America: a portrait*. Univ of California Press.

Portes, A. (1997). Immigration theory for a new century: Some problems and opportunities. *International migration review*, 799-825.

Portes, A., & Sensenbrenner, J. (1998). Embeddedness and immigration: Notes on the social determinants of economic action. *The new institutionalism in sociology*, 127-49.

Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, *530*(1), 74-96.

Potter, R. B., Conway, D., & Phillips, J. (2005). *The experience of return migration: Caribbean perspectives*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, Vt., USA: Ashgate.

Richards, L. (2008). *Making room for the Caribbean family in the church*. Kingston, Jamaica: Arawak Publications.

Rumbaut, Ruben G. (1997). Assimilation and Its Discontents: Between Rhetoric and Reality. *International Migration Review*, *31*(4), 923–960. doi:10.2307/2547419

Rumbaut, Rubén G. (1997). Paradoxes (And Orthodoxies) of Assimilation. *Sociological Perspectives*, *40*(3), 483–511. doi:10.2307/1389453

Rumbaut, R. G., & Portes, A. (Eds.). (2001). *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America*. Univ of California Press.

Salaff, J. W., Wong, S., & Greve, A. (2010). *Hong Kong movers and stayers: narratives of family migration*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Salaff, J.W. (2013). Return migration. In Gold, S. J., & Nawyn, S. J. (Eds.). (2013). *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*. (pp. 460-467). New York: Routledge.

Sana, M. (2005). Buying membership in the transnational community: migrant remittances, social status, and assimilation. *Population Research and Policy Review*, *24*(3), 231-261.

Sassen-Koob, S. (1984). Notes on the incorporation of Third World women into wage-labor through immigration and off-shore production. *International Migration Review*, 1144-1167.

Sassen, S. (1998). *Globalization and its discontents: Essays on the new mobility of people and money* (p. xxxvi). New York: New Press.

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 645*(1), 1-24.

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton C. (1995). From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological quarterly, 68*(1).

Schiller, N. G. (1999). Transmigrants and nation-states: Something old and something new in the US immigrant experience. *The handbook of international migration: The American experience*, 94-119.

Schmidt, B. E. (2008). *Caribbean diaspora in USA diversity of Caribbean religions in New York City*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate. Retrieved from http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=438910

Smith, R. T. (1957). The family in the Caribbean. In *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium* (p. 64). University College of the West Indies, Jamaica.

Smith, R. T. (1973). The matrifocal family. *The character of kinship*, 121-144.

Smith, R.C. (2002). "Life course, generation, and social location as factors shaping second-generation transnational life." In *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*, edited by P. Levitt & M.C. Waters. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Smith, R. C. (2006). *Mexican New York transnational lives of new immigrants*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Social Development Commission. (2008). *Community Profile: Central*. Kingston, Jamaica: Jamaican Social Development Commission.

Stack, C. B. (1974). *All our kin: strategies for survival in a Black community*. New York: Harper & Row.

Stake, R. E. (1995). The art of case study. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stake, R. E. (2003). Chapter 5: Case studies. In *Strategies of qualitative enquiry*. Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2003). *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (Vol. 2). Sage.

Stark, O., & Lucas, R. E. B. (1988). Migration, Remittances, and the Family. *Economic Development and Cultural Change, 36*(3), 465–481. doi:10.2307/1153807

Stark, O., & Levhari, D. (1982). On migration and risk in LDCs. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *31*(1), 191-6.

Stewart, R. J. (1992). *Religion and society in post-emancipation Jamaica*. Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press.

Swallowfield Chapel growing from strength. *Jamaica Gleaner*. Retrieved from http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20031104/mind/mind1.html

Thomas-Hope, E. M. (1992). Explanation in Caribbean migration. Perception and the image: Jamaica Barbados St. Vincent.

Thomas-Hope, E. M. (2002). *Caribbean migration*. Barbados: University of the West Indies Press.

Todaro, M. P. (1969). A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries. *The American Economic Review*, *59*(1), 138–148. doi:10.2307/1811100

Vertovec, S. (2004). Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation1. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 970–1001. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00226.x

Vickerman, M. (1994). The Responses of West Indians to African-Americans: Distancing and Identification. *Research in Race and Ethnic Relations*, *7*, 83–128.

Warner, R. S., & Wittner, J. G. (1998). *Gatherings in diaspora: religious communities and the new immigration*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1974). The rise and future demise of the world capitalist system: concepts for comparative analysis. *Comparative studies in society and history*, *16*(04), 387-415.

Waters, M. C. (1994). Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-Generation Black Immigrants in New York City. *International Migration Review*, *28*(4), 795–820. doi:10.2307/2547158.

Waters, M.C. (1999). *Black identities: West Indian immigrant dreams and American realities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Waters, M.C. (2002). "Introduction". In *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*, edited by P. Levitt & M.C. Waters. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Watkins-Owens, I. (2001). Early twentieth-century Caribbean women: Migration and social networks in New York City. In *Islands in the city: West Indian migration to New York*, edited by N. Foner. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wiltshire, R. (1992). Implications of transnational migration for nationalism: The Caribbean example. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, *645*(1), 175–187. doi:10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33491.x

Zentgraf, K. M. (2002). Immigration and Women's Empowerment Salvadorans in Los Angeles. *Gender & Society*, *16*(5), 625-646.

Zinn, Maxine Baca. (1978). Field Research in Minority Communities: Ethical, Methodological, and Political Observations by an Insider. *Social Problems.* 27(2), 209-219.

Zolberg, A. R., Suhrke, A., & Aguayo, S. (1992). *Escape from violence: Conflict and the refugee crisis in the developing world*. Oxford University Press.