Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration. Edited by R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998. Pp. vi+409. $59.95 (cloth); $24.95 (paper).

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Religion's most important role in Stephen Warner's "New Paradigm for the Sociological Study of Religion" (*American Journal of Sociology* 98: 1044–93) is as a medium for expressing identity. Past waves of immigrants used religious communities to adapt and maintain their identities in the United States, and the situation is no different for those who have arrived since the 1965 Immigration Act. Yet "the religious presence of these groups, some 15 percent of the American population, has been ignored by scholars" (p. 6). This volume delivers 10 ethnographic studies of religious communities formed in America by new immigrant groups.

These immigrant groups left behind societies that maintained identity-producing differences and entered one where the stereotypes they are tossed into may not be to their liking. Some groups studied here use religious practices to resist these new distinctions. Catholic Mayan immigrants, for example, fled oppression by Hispanic people in Guatemala but must worship by their sides in American Catholic churches (Wellmeier). In consequence, they have formed intense parachurch groups that sustain their old ethnic bonds. Haitians in New York mark their differences from American blacks by publicly celebrating their Vodou-Catholic devotions (McAlister), while many Jamaicans do it in Rastafarian mode (Hepner). Affluent Iranian Jews give primacy to a Jewish identity over an "Arab" one (Feher). On the other hand, to form a numerically significant identity group at all, South Asian Hindus (Kurien) downplay caste divisions by raising caste- and location-neutral gods to greater prominence.

Religiously mobilized identity negotiations occur not only between immigrant groups and the host society but also within the immigrant groups themselves. Generation and gender roles are the chief constructions in question here, as six of the 10 essays demonstrate. As the second generation becomes Americanized and raises its status expectations, generational strains threaten congregational unity among Korean (Chai), Chinese (Yang), and Chicano-Mexican (Leon) Evangelical churches. The U.S. gender system has forced change in Rastafarian doctrine (Hepner) and Muslim worship practices (Abusharaf). And generational and gender struggles are compounded for Orthodox Christians from India's Kerala province (George). Men in these patriarchal immigrant families have lost economic status to wives recruited from India as nurses, but they find substitute status in church positions. Second-generation daughters—the essay's author among them—upset this balance by struggling for equality in church roles. Fengang Yang brings into sharpest relief the multiple

simmering tensions that threaten to divide the ethnic, linguistic, and generational factions in a Chinese congregation.

The race, class, and gender environment in America affects every group, but other changes arise from the institutional context of American religion. In some cases (Rastafarians, Hindus, Yemeni Muslims), a congregational structure and professional clergy are adopted where none existed in the home country. In other cases (Korean, Chinese, Chicano-Mexican), immigrants adopt American Evangelical practices more often than they would at home. In the "new paradigm," this is not surprising: in the religious marketplace, entrepreneurs who adapt to the needs of constituents are more likely to win adherents, and in America the entrepreneurs are likely to be Evangelical.

Though the essays in this volume were commissioned by Warner to advance his "new paradigm," he gave the authors the freedom to address issues that arose from their research and in the literatures of their respective immigrant groups. This makes specific essays attractive to particular audiences, but it also promotes variability in the kinds of information each author reports. What is most lacking is attention to the wider context in which each community finds itself. Some essays benefit from additional research in their group's home countries (Wellmeier, McAlister, Hepner). But most pay insufficient attention to wider institutional contexts even in the United States (Kurien, Wellmeier, and Hepner are partial exceptions). If the competitive context is the cornerstone of the "new paradigm" (Warner 1993), then the reader would like to know about competing religious organizations that may serve these groups, as well as secular ethnic associations. Warner's introduction to the volume provides some of this contextual information and compares the religious activities of past waves of immigrants to this one. He also provides an overview of the research project and its aims. Judith Wittner's conclusion draws out the sociological significance of themes that arise in individual essays and in the collection as a whole.

This volume provides a set of fine-grained ethnographic studies of immigrant identity strategies mobilized in a religious medium. Those interested in ethnic identity, and identity construction more generally, will find the collection valuable. Sociologists of religion will be interested in the novelty of some of the groups described, as well as the novel uses of religious traditions they think they know well.