

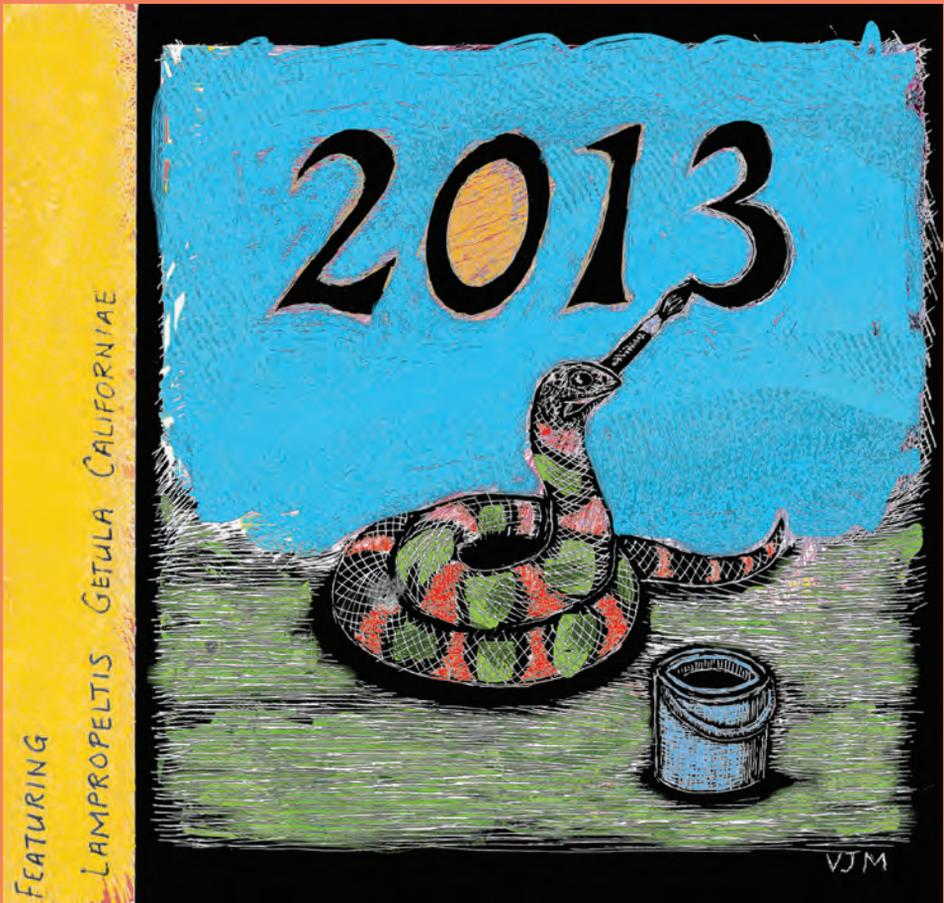
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asian american  
folklore:

Passages & Practices



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## Asian American Folklore: Passages and Practices

GUEST CO-EDITORS:

Jonathan H. X. Lee and Kathleen M. Nadeau

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COVER ARTWORK: Valerie J. Matsumoto, *Amerasia Journal* Editorial Board Member, has been creating the lunar new year animals on scratchboard for the last fifteen years. She is Professor of History at UCLA.

# Asian American Folklore: Disciplinary Fissions and Fusions

Jonathan H. X. Lee and Kathleen M. Nadeau

## Asian American Studies and Folklore

In an essay on the future of the discipline of folklore studies in the United States, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett notes, “disciplines are not forever.”<sup>1</sup> As an academic discipline, folklore and folkloristic studies still bears traces of its early origins in philology, anthropology, and literature.<sup>2</sup> During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the discipline of folklore split away from its forebears to become an autonomous academic craft. According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, folklorists “collected and interpreted texts identified with a lost and recovered national heritage in the service of a politically unified nation.”<sup>3</sup> However, folklore has always served multiple purposes: Individuals and small groups use and re-invent folklore as a way to celebrate and re-shape their cultural and gender identities or, conversely, subtly critique corrupt and inept authority figures, and redress felt wrongs. Ritual cultural practices can be considered folklore, such as those that are acted out at births, marriages, or during religious festivals that are performed within the context of a family or community setting. Folklore can be used to transmit values or defuse the stress and pressure that can build up from overbearing demands. It refers to the ways in which people make meaning of their lives. Folklore has always flourished in festivities, rumbled

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underground, and constantly transformed itself in the culturally diverse communities of the United States. Asian American folklore, in this context, is distinctly different from Asian folklore.

American Folklore was first institutionalized as a separate discipline in 1940 at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter, folklore programs were established at Indiana University in 1942 and UCLA in 1954. By 1986, there were over five hundred institutions offering concentrations, minors, majors, and graduate degrees in folklore studies.<sup>5</sup> Even though folklore studies achieved disciplinary autonomy and institutional security, it still had to continuously fight for respectability, according to Kishenblatt-Gimblett, in relation to the more “prestigious fields with which it was allied—literature, linguistics, anthropology, and history.”<sup>6</sup>

Asian American Studies was born of a social movement in 1968, in tandem with the rise of the Third World Liberation Strike at San Francisco State University. It was fueled by the civil rights movements of the 1960s and rejected the assimilation paradigm of American national identity. The institutionalization of Asian American Studies began in 1969 with the establishment of the first, and still only, College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University. Soon after, programs in Asian American Studies were set up at the University of California, Berkeley and UCLA. As a field of study born of a social movement, Asian American Studies scholars are still actively engaged with artists, activists, and members of their communities. Asian American Studies scholars are tied to and responsible to their communities—locally and globally—not the state. Rather than making assumptions about the local, Asian American Studies questions and examines the ways in which locality is produced in the contexts of global diasporas, transnationalism, and postcolonialism.<sup>7</sup>

Both Asian American Studies and folklore studies are often forced to operate in a defensive mode—inside and outside—of the academy. Since the 1990s, folklore programs have been displaced in the name of economic strain and college-wide restructuring. For instance, UCLA’s Department of Dance has become the Department of World Arts and Cultures, which absorbed the Interdisciplinary Program in Folklore and Mythology.<sup>8</sup> Today, Asian American Studies continues to fight for its legitimacy in academia. Sometimes, it is either subsumed by American Studies or placed in with area Asian Studies, two disciplines that have been historically associated with the state. In the spring of 2011, ten students at the

University of California, Berkeley engaged in a hunger strike, sacrificing their bodies for over 140 hours to defend against the attack on Ethnic Studies, which again employed the economic crisis as an excuse.<sup>9</sup> Early in 2011, James Henderson, Dean of College of Natural and Social Sciences at California State University, Los Angeles, eliminated the Asian/Asian American Studies program amidst protest by students and support from other Asian American Studies programs and departments.<sup>10</sup> Invoking the current economic crisis, the University of Texas at Austin and San Jose State University are considering the elimination of their Asian American Studies programs.<sup>11</sup> Thirty-two years after the 1981 Student Hunger Strike for Third World and Native American Studies, the University of California, Santa Cruz remains the only University of California campus without an Ethnic Studies program.<sup>12</sup> Receiving national attention is Arizona's attack on Ethnic Studies, with the passage of HB 2281 that bans Ethnic Studies curricula at all grade levels in the state of Arizona on the grounds that it espouses anti-American ethnic and cultural nationalism.<sup>13</sup>

The fusion of Asian American Studies and folklore studies is complex and inherently political. Today, folklorists and folklore studies are generally viewed as conservative and must buttress themselves against proposals and plans for disciplinary mergers. Disciplinary and programmatic lives are threatened during a period in which diminishing financial support renders the vulnerability of the humanities more acute. Both disciplines are being attacked institutionally, as they must legitimate their own existence.<sup>14</sup> For instance, Asian American Studies is considered by many within and outside of academia to be radical. To their critics, both folklore studies and Asian American Studies are deemed as programmatically and problematically guilty of promoting ethnic culture and solidarity at the expense of national identity. Instead, the two fields contribute to increasing the public's awareness of the rich and culturally diverse heritages of the United States. While folklore studies had been an instrument of state making, it, like Asian American Studies, can be used to critique the state.

### Asian American Folklore

Before the 2011 publication of the *Encyclopedia of Asian American Folklore and Folklife*, which we co-edited, anyone interested in Asian American folklore would find a dearth of scholarly publications.<sup>15</sup> William J. Hoy's examination of Chinatown streets

names in Chinese is one of the earliest articles on Chinese American folklore published in the *California Folklore Quarterly* in 1943.<sup>16</sup> Nearly forty years later, the first Asian Americanist to publish on folklore was Marlon K. Hom, who studied Cantonese folk-songs that documented the early nineteenth century experiences of Chinese immigrants on the American frontier.<sup>17</sup> Appearing in the same journal, *Western Folklore*, 16 years later, Timothy Tangherlini examined the interplay between riot narratives of Korean Americans who experienced the Los Angeles uprising in 1992, and multiple ethnic communities' claims to Koreatown, in particular Korean Americans.<sup>18</sup> In 2000 anthropologist Linda Sun Crowder published an article in the *Journal of American Folklore* that examined Chinese funeral rituals and performances in San Francisco's Chinatown.<sup>19</sup> Appearing in *Western Folklore* in 2011, Christine Garlough documents folkloric representations of India among Indian Americans at the Minnesota Festival of Nations.<sup>20</sup>

This special issue will be the first full-length study of Asian American folklore as an emerging field of study. The unfolding of Asian American folklore is similar to the experience of Asian American religious studies. Back in 1996 *Amerasia Journal* published the first special issue on Asian American religions.<sup>21</sup> Seventeen years later, the legacy of that first special issue is incontestable, as the field of Asian American religious studies has grown as indicated by the permanent status of the Asian North American Religion and Society Group at the American Academy of Religion, and the development of Asian Pacific American Religions Research Initiative (APARRI).<sup>22</sup>

The combination of folklore studies and Asian American Studies, as two disciplines that are marginalized in academia, is at once a contradiction and yet potentially symbiotic. Asian and Asian American folklore are the cultural building blocks of, invoking Pierre Bourdieu, an Asian American *habitus*.<sup>23</sup> It is the social, historical, and structural world that informs Asian American subjectivities. Asian and Asian American folklore would be, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett says of folklore in general, a field of inquiry that "continues to be in the present without being fully of the present, in part because folklore, understood as oral tradition, tends to be defined over and against technology."<sup>24</sup> Appropriating Alan Dundes's definition of "American folklore," we suggest that Asian American folklore is equally focused on Asian and Asian American "folks" and their vicissitudes, and varieties of "lore."<sup>25</sup> As such, we reject the traditional taxonomic classi-

fication of Asian American folklore as “immigrant traditions,” which can perpetuate the Orientalization of Asian American alterity apropos of perpetual foreigner status.<sup>26</sup> Accordingly, Asian American folklore studies is not only a cultural category, but also a cultural practice.

Although we offer a definition of Asian American folklore here, we want to stress that it is a working definition that is informed by our interests and biases. As such, we encourage and welcome debate on the dimensions and characteristics of our definition. For us, Asian American folklore encompasses the narrative history of those of Asian origin in the United States. Asian American folklore is part and parcel of the interplay of Asian material cultures, religious traditions, performances, celebrations, healing techniques, superstitions, taboos, and cultural understandings employed to produce individual and collective Asian American identities and communities. Asian American folklore exists in a pulley: On the one hand, it may be preoccupied with ethnic- and culturally-specific social diversity, and, on the other hand, be anchored simultaneously in a culturally-unified ideological conception of Asian America as real and imaginary.

Folklorists are interested in oral and print cultures, that is to say, in orality and visuality. Vernacular prints and oral lore (i.e., folk songs, oral histories) allow viewers to see and hear themselves as real people as folklore provides windows into the process of meaning making in everyday activities—consciously and unintentionally. Words and visual artifacts of the self are embodied, and Asian American oral and visual productions produce Asian American subjectivities: This act of production is purposeful and meaningful. Folklorists take for granted the dialectical relationship between folklore and place, as Tangherlini notes: “While the study of folklore has long been connected to the study of place, it has primarily been concerned with revealing how place affects folklore—or how place is expressed in folklore—and not the inverse process of how folklore affects place.”<sup>27</sup> Asian American places and spaces are informed by folklore that is Asian in origin as well as uniquely Asian American, influenced as well as by popular culture and individual existential experiences of social and historical life. In this study of Asian American folklore, we wish to highlight that Asian American folkloric expressions are not just re-active, but pro-active; not just invented in Asia, but within and among Asian American social bodies; not just imagined, but real; not just ideological, but material; not

just abstract conceptions, but somatic experiences. Asian American experiences, locally and transnationally, historically and in the present, influence the production of Asian American cultures and agents. The folkloric experiences and knowledge of Asian Americans influence social relations as well as exert a profound effect on subsequent interpretations of histories, cultural and ethnic identities, and communities. These hermeneutics impact relationships between people and among social groups, both synchronically and diachronically.

Asian American folklore studies must acknowledge that Asian American Studies and its scholars-activists are cultural advocates. It is as cultural advocates and producers of folklore in all of its emergent and contemporary expressions in communities, virtually online, and physically in real time and space, that Asian American Studies and its advocates are able to build a bridge that connects the academy with the community. On campuses across the United States, Asian American student associations put on cultural performances to increase the public's awareness about matters pertaining to cultural pluralism and the rich contributions of Asian Americans. These celebrations of youthful expression and cultural pride showcase the importance of remembering and learning from the past, as well as giving respect to elder keepers of tradition and knowledge, by mastering traditional musical pieces, dances, and songs, while presenting new creations of popular art, music, and dance that boldly and vigorously speak to current issues and concerns. It is as cultural advocates that Asian American Studies and its constituents are able to build a bridge that connects the academy with the community. It is as cultural advocates for social justice that Asian American Studies and its supporters are able to produce knowledge that is meaningful, relevant, empowering, and academically rigorous.

Besides laying the foundation for the present and future study of Asian American folklore, we hope this special issue will preserve and enlarge our knowledge of the deep tapestry of Asian American folklore. Asian American folklore studies as a discipline must draw on Asian American history, yet not ignore its Asian origins. Transnational Asian American folklore, thus, reveals that Asian American folklore can originate from two places: Asia or America. Marlon K. Hom's recent work on Cantonese folksongs produced from the Pearl River Delta region and Chinatowns in America, illustrates this point well.<sup>28</sup> Hom analyzes folksongs produced during the early nineteenth century that were

collected in China and published by the Chinese government, but kept out of public circulation. The folksongs Hom documents reveal the anxiety, frustration, and love of the families and wives of Chinese Gold Mountain seekers left behind. It squarely articulates Chinese women's agency as expressed in the folksongs that reveal their protests and complaints of injustice. Hom's work is an example of what the possibility of Asian American folklore studies can reveal: The impact of global migration not on those in the U.S., but in the lives of Chinese subjects who stayed behind. Additionally, it reveals the different and individual subjectivities and agencies of Chinese women, as expressed in the folksongs in which they decried and cursed their husbands.

Asian American folklore studies offers an alternative interpretation of cultural encounters that does not view Asians or Asian Americans as subjects of domination, but, rather, as creative agents and cultural producers cum translators. For instance, Filipino American folktales trace back the impact of Spanish and, by extension, Anglo-European colonization on Philippine and Filipino American witchlores and shamanic practices. According to this tradition, there are restless and unappeased spirits (*anitos*) of deceased ancestors and nature-spirits (*diwatas*) afloat in Filipino American communities. In addition, Filipino Americans continue to share some rich cultural ties with ancient India and China; for example, some of their ancient mythological spirits and deities bear resemblance to Hindu gods and goddesses such as Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of wealth and prosperity, referred to in the Philippines as Lakambini, which translates as noble princess of honor and fame. Among some Filipino American communities, *aswang* lore continues to proliferate in meaningful ways. Early Filipino sailors, who jumped ship to make their homes in America's Louisianan bayous are said to have intermarried with local women to break the *aswang* cycle, since non-Filipinas are considered to be immune to carrying the *aswang* family line.<sup>29</sup> Many of them, even those who are practicing Catholics, Protestants, or Muslims, still perform ritual offerings in various religious guises for the peaceful repose of departed souls and to appease restless ghosts who might, otherwise, hover to haunt the living.

Asian American folklore studies can re-define the contours and cultural production of transnational studies, revealing complex iterations of cultural influence and encounter that are not embedded in the lineal trajectory of Asia to America, but rath-

er, embedded in history and intertwined, capillary-like. For instance, Jonathan H. X. Lee devised the concept of “culture work”—the explicit production of local and cultural identity through a variety of activities, including the publication of historical, folkloric, and archeological research by amateurs and professionals—to explicate the folkloric production of a Chinese American deity, “Bok Kai,” who is housed at the Bok Kai Temple in the historic gold mining town of Marysville, CA.

Early Chinese immigrants to northern California, who came largely from Cantonese-speaking regions, built the North Creek Temple [*Beichi miao*, 北溪廟] in 1879, seeking divine protection from floods while hoping as well for the provision of bountiful water for farming. Today, among the descendants of first-generation Chinese immigrants to Marysville and larger non-Chinese local populations, the commonly used unofficial English designation is the Bok Kai Temple. Understanding the meaning(s) of Bok Kai, however, is not a straightforward endeavor. In standardized Cantonese romanization, *bok* (北) should be pronounced and spelled *bak*, meaning north; *kai* (溪) refers to a creek or mountain stream. Hence, one very probable meaning of Bok Kai reflects its actual location—at the northern end of a creek (now the northern bank of the Yuba River)—as implied by the official written Chinese name of the temple, *Beichi miao*. Naming their communal temple in generic and location-specific terms would have given the Chinese immigrant population in Marysville an uncontroversial space for devotion, serving also to bind them as a new community despite differences of geographical origin, clan affiliation, or dialect. The Bok Kai Temple itself, although largely conforming to traditional Chinese architectural requirements for construction and decoration—and thus resisting assimilation and accommodation—is nonetheless a new hybrid, offering an innovative material expression of localized religious concerns.

There is, however, another possible explanation for the name Bok Kai: It may have come from *Beidi* (北帝), where *di* is pronounced in Cantonese as *dai*, meaning emperor. In this case, Bok Kai could possibly refer to the Cantonese pronunciation of *Beidi* as *Bak dai*, meaning Emperor of the North, a deity widely known and worshipped in China as both Beidi and Zhenwu (賑務), translated as True Warrior.<sup>30</sup> If, in Marysville, the *Beichi miao* were explicitly dedicated to the Emperor of the North, it might have been called informally *Bakdai miu*—a sound combination

in Cantonese that is easily misheard by non-Cantonese speakers due to the glottal stop *k* followed immediately by the initial consonant *d*. The result: *Bakdai* eventually becomes *Bokkai*. The temple, sited on the riverbank, is understood to house the Emperor of the North, a.k.a. Bok Kai, renowned for his ability to control dangerous waters and thus, by extension, to quell floods. Bok Kai, therefore, would have offered the Chinese community protection of various and particular sorts, as well as serving symbolically to reaffirm their shared values of compassion and filiality. The process whereby Bok Kai, a constructed designation for temple and deity, has been absorbed into the fabric of the Marysville Chinese/American cultural sphere can be explained through localized Chinese American innovation, or Chinese American “culture work.”

Rather than focusing on loss, Lee posits that the study of Chinese American folkloric practice can illuminate a process of innovation and gain, a process of continued cultural production wherein traditional objects can not only be repurposed within the Chinese American community, but also appropriated by non-heritage populations as well. By examining local religion and its material representations, this study of Bok Kai reveals that the Chinese god of the North was symbolically and socially made into a Chinese American god of water and flood—and shows how this refigured god and his temple have affected social relationships between the Chinese and non-Chinese communities in Marysville as well.<sup>31</sup>

### Methodological and Theoretical Scope

Each of the following four articles is guided by two overarching themes: *patterns* and *practices*. Examining patterns focuses on the making and remaking of Asian American communities and identity through historical and folkloric patterns. Examining practices identifies specific scenarios and agents that actively produce and employ Asian American folklore as a source of socio-cultural, ethnic, political, artistic, and religious resources. These two themes, in our thinking for this special issue, were inspired by Benedict Anderson concept of “imagined community” and Sue Tuohy’s application of it in her concept of “imagined tradition.”<sup>32</sup> Anderson suggests that readers of print vernacular fashioned embryonic national communities and his notion of “imagined community” critiqued the dichotomous debate of the nation as either natural or invented. Tuohy extends “imagined

communities” to imagined traditions and cultures, arguing that “the versions or visions of this culture that are accepted are those that have the most persuasive or persistent expressions.”<sup>33</sup> Although we agree with Touhy, we want to extend the possibility not only to the most persuasive or persistent expressions of folklore within Asian American communities, but also the quotidian, the invisible, the not so overtly folkloric expressions of Asian Americans everywhere, real and imagined.

Each of the authors draws upon an interdisciplinary approach for the study of folklore, as topical issues are anchored in the dynamics of real social life in relation to historical and ideological formations of power and dominance. Using a creative and non-dogmatic Marxist approach, Cathy Schlund-Vials interrogates and uncovers how racial stereotypes are embedded in comic books for popular consumption. While comic book heroes like Superman, Spider-Man, Batman, Wonder Woman, Iron Man, and the X-Men are seemingly descended from the collage of ancient Greek and Egyptian gods and goddesses, they compose what Schlund-Vials explains is a collection of history, legend, and folklore that reflect U.S. social formations and political institutions from the post-World War II period onward. Using an Althusserian approach to ideology, Schlund-Vials focuses on *Secret Identities: The Asian American Superhero Anthology* to show how stereotypes can be revealed and critiqued when they are exaggerated through folklore. Schlund-Vials’s analysis examines how the graphic narratives in *Secret Identities* counter stereotypes from the perspectives of the voiceless, foregrounding how these Asian American superheroes and heroines who set into motion “a corrective quest” to rectify historical inaccuracies and wrongs.

In “Electronic Pagodas and Hyphenate Gates: Folklore, Folklife, and the Architecture of Chinatown,” Winston Kyan investigates the relationship between San Francisco’s architectural forms and community history and the history of the United States. Taking an inside-out perspective that interrogates history from the bottom up, Kyan’s critical examination of Chinatown’s architecture shows how it reflected changing U.S.-China relations. Kyan demonstrates how Asian American folklore, through architecture, articulates the shifting historical and geographical terrain of diaspora and immigration in a globalized world where boundaries, both real and imaginary, are constantly redrawn and manipulated. Kyan examines Chinatown folklore and visual culture as a site of racialized representation, Orientalist projection, and transnation-

al discourse, by comparing three major periods in the changing landscape of San Francisco's Chinatown. Kyan, retrospectively and substantively, critiques early Orientalist misrepresentations of Chinatown as being a den of iniquity and darkness, and, after the 1906 earthquake, as a site of hybridity and fantasy, then counterpoises the two earlier periods against the backdrop of the visual culture of today's Chinatown.

Using a critical and historically grounded approach, Lorraine Dong surveys and analyzes folklore in Chinese American children's literature. Dong finds that Chinese American folktales written in English for children in North America, until recently, derived mainly from Chinese stories, although there is a small but growing body of published folklore that specifically speaks to Chinese American experiences. Her analysis looks at children's books from an insider-outsider perspective, touching matters pertaining to authenticity. Early Sinologists and non-Chinese authors of Chinese folktale books for children in North America, for example, often failed to acknowledge their sources and their stories, leaving open-ended questions about how Chinese and Chinese American culture were being presented. But the main point of Dong's study is that there exists a distinctively Chinese American folklore conveyed in these children's stories that shows how deeply rooted that community is.

Brett Esaki's article, "Embodied Performance of Folklore in Japanese American Origami," considers how folklore and art are tactile, existential, and interactive forms that are experienced by the body and come to life in community. Through intensive fieldwork, Esaki documents how origami is a living folkloric art form in which the artist's practices interact with the audience's reactions. The making of art forms and the experience of art can lead to a heightened spiritual and somatic experience, as Esaki suggests can occur with origami. This is certainly the case for origami master artists and disciples, who together enter the process of making origami as a form of deep meditation and thoughtful action.

Overall, the articles collected in this issue illustrate that Asian American folklore and folklife are interwoven with social relationships, as they help forge various types of ethnic, cultural, and national identities, as well as adaptive strategies for communities within particular historical periods. The global context of Asian American folklore and folklife, especially in racially charged, post-9/11 contexts, speaks to how Asians and Asian

Americans, new and old, maneuver cultural spaces and traditions to create sites and opportunities for cultural folkloric production and expression.

## Notes

1. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Folklore's Crisis," *The Journal of American Folklore* 111:441 (Summer 1998): 285. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett narrates the rise and fall of geography as a discipline that was once a mainstay of higher education during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the latter half of the twentieth century, geography was relegated to urban planning and tourism studies because throughout the nineteenth century, geography's subfields (i.e., botany, geology, anthropology, and so on) defected and became established as autonomous disciplines.
2. *Ibid.*, 286. Folklore is still considered, by some, to be a subfield of cultural anthropology.
3. *Ibid.*, 285.
4. Today, UNC's folklore program is part of the Department of American Studies (information available online at: <http://folklore.unc.edu/>).
5. The first doctoral program in folklore studies was established in 1949 at Indiana University, followed by the University of Pennsylvania in 1959.
6. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 293.
7. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
8. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 294.
9. Letter to Chancellor Birgeneau, available online at: <http://www.ipetitions.com/petition/hungryforjustice/> (last accessed May 6, 2011).
10. See Angry Asian Man, available online at: <http://blog.angryasianman.com/2011/01/save-asian-asian-american-studies-at.html> (last accessed May 6, 2011).
11. Christine McFadden, "Asian American Studies on the Chopping Block," *Pacific Citizen: News and Information for the Asian American Community* (March 18, 2011); Defend Ethnic Studies Across the CSU on Facebook (see: <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Defend-Ethnic-Studies-across-the-CSU/154903193127?sk=wall>, last accessed May 7, 2011).
12. Erin Pangilinan, "Ethnic Studies Crisis at UCSC: No Asian American Studies," *Azine: Asian American Movement Ezine* (December 21, 2005) (available online at: <http://www.apimovement.com/students/ethnic-studies-crisis-ucsc-no-asian-american-studies>, last accessed May 7, 2011).
13. Jessica Calefati, "Arizona Bans Ethnic Studies," *Mother Jones* (May 12, 2010) (available online at: <http://motherjones.com/mojo/2010/05/ethnic-studies-banned-arizona>, last accessed May 7, 2011).
14. They must resist the temptation of being absorbed and usurped by the growing popularity of Cultural Studies and Performance Studies as well.
15. Jonathan H. X. Lee and Kathleen M. Nadeau, eds., *Encyclopedia of Asian*

- American Folklore and Folklife* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2011). This Encyclopedia contains over six hundred entries on Asian American folklore and folklife written by 179 expert contributors.
16. William J. Hoy, "Chinatown Devises Its Own Street Names," *California Folklore Quarterly* 2:2 (April 1943): 71-75. The *California Folklore Quarterly* was established in 1942 and became the Western States Folklore Society in 1947.
  17. Marlon K. Hom, "Some Cantonese Folksongs on the American Experience," *Western Folklore* 42:2 (April 1983): 126-139.
  18. Timothy R. Tangherlini, "Remapping Koreatown: Folklore, Narrative and the Los Angeles Riots" *Western Folklore* 58:2 (Winter 1999): 149-173.
  19. Linda Sun Crowder, "Chinese Funerals in San Francisco Chinatown: American Chinese Experiences in Mortuary Ritual Performances," *The Journal of American Folklore* 113:450 (Autumn 2000): 451-463.
  20. Christine Garlough, "Folklore and the Potential of Acknowledgement: Representing 'India' at the Minnesota Festival of Nations," *Western Folklore* 70:1 (Winter, 2011): 69-98.
  21. *Amerasia Journal* 22:1 (1996).
  22. Information on APAARI available online at: <http://aparri.wordpress.com/> (last accessed April 23, 2013).
  23. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 72-95.
  24. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 283.
  25. Alan Dundes, "The American Concept of Folklore," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3:3 (December 1966): 227.
  26. Richard M. Dorson, "The Shaping of Folklore Traditions in the United States," *Folklore* 78:3 (Autumn 1967): 168-170.
  27. Tangherlini, 100.
  28. 谭雅伦 Tan Yanlun (Marlon K. Hom), "Voices of Resistance and Subversion: Folksongs on Emigration and Family in the Pearl River Delta," *Zhongguo huaqiao huaren lishi yanjiu* 4 (2010).
  29. Kathleen Nadeau, "Aswangs and Other Kinds of Witches," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 39 (2011): 250-266.
  30. According to legend, Zhenwu was, in a previous existence, a butcher who was also a very filial son. In that life, the burden of having killed and butchered so many living things began to weigh heavily upon the butcher's conscience as he aged, and he wished to put down his cleaver and quit his grisly trade. He cut open his own stomach, pulled out his bowels, and used them to wrap up his cleaver, which he then threw into the river where it could not again be used to harm any living thing. The Bodhisattva Guanyin (观音), observing this behavior and moved by the butcher's compassion, led his soul to the Western Paradise. His stomach and bowels that he had cast into the river turned into monsters: his stomach became a great black turtle, and his bowels turned into a huge black snake, which sank many boats and drowned many people. When the butcher, now en-

titled the Emperor of the Dark [North] Heavens, heard what was going on, he descended to earth and conquered the turtle and the snake, which is why he is always depicted with his feet trampling a turtle and a snake. Traditionally, the Emperor of the North was venerated as a powerful exorcist, superior military general, and protector of the state. For more about this legend, see Gray Seaman, *Journey to the North: An Ethnohistorical Analysis and Annotated Translation of the Chinese Folk Novel Pei-yu-chi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Ma Shutian, *Zhongguo Daojiao zhu shen / Daoist Divinities of China* (Beijing: Tuanjie Press, 1996. Reprinted in Taiwan, 2003); Hong Xingrong, ed., *Quanguo foshu daoguan zonglan: Xuantian Shangdi / Taiwan's Buddhist and Daoist Temples: Xuantian Shangdi* (Taipei: privately printed, 1987); and Zhiwei Liu, "Beyond the Imperial Metaphor: A Local History of the Beidi (Northern Emperor) Cult in the Pearl River Delta," *Chinese Studies in History* 35: 1 (Fall 2001): 12-30.

31. Jonathan H. X. Lee, "Creating a Transnational Religious Community: The Empress of Heaven, Goddess of the Sea Tianhou/Mazu, from Beigang, Taiwan to San Francisco U.S.A.," Lois Ann Lorenten, Joaquin Jay Gonzalez III, Kevin M. Chun, and Hien Duc Do, eds., *On the Corner of Bliss and Nirvana: Politics, Identity, and Faith in New Migrant Communities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009): 166-183.
32. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); Sue Tuohy, *Imagining the Chinese Tradition: The Case of Hua'er Songs, Festivals, and Scholarship* (Doctoral Dissertation, Indiana University, 1988).
33. Sue Tuohy, "Cultural Metaphors and Reasoning: Folklore Scholarship and Ideology in Contemporary China," *Asian Folklore Studies* 50 (1991): 213.