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# **Transnational ritual practices among Chinese migrants in Spain**

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## **Introduction**

In their research about Fujianese migrants in Europe, Pieke et al (2004) point out how popular religion and ancestor worship are crucial elements in cementing transnational ties between the village and the migrant populations abroad. The aim of this chapter is to illustrate how popular rituals and local temples play an important role in the reinforcement of transnational links between Chinese migrants in Spain and their hometowns. In particular, this article focuses on Qingtian County, which is located at the southeast of Zhejiang province where a high percentage of Chinese migrants in Spain come from<sup>i</sup>.

The ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Qingtian has shown how religious links between Qingtianeses migrants in Spain and their hometowns are cemented through regular involvement in rituals and everyday religious practices that are strongly related to the local temples. Therefore, local temples in Qingtian County are social spaces where significant transnational links are condensed.

Concretely, this chapter explores and analyzes the participation of Qingtianeses migrants in Spain with the temple called Qingzhen Chansi (清真禪寺), which is considered by the locals and the migrants as one of the most important religious site in Qingtian County. As we will see throughout the article, international migrants reach out and participate regularly in the social life of Qingzhen Chansi without physically moving from the countries where they have migrated, using long-distance communication systems such as phone calls and internet hand-held devices.

Research on transnational religious practices has previously focused mainly on the role of donations, which are well-known transnational practices through which overseas Chinese manifest their attachment and involvement with their respective hometowns. However, in this chapter we will specially focus on two other relevant transnational practices beyond donations that imply bi-directional influences and effects between Spain and Qingtian.

First, we will present the long-distance divination practices, which are conducted using phone calls and Internet videoconferences. These invisible transnational links have a strong character of simultaneity and imply bidirectional flows of information from and to Qingtian. Secondly, we will address a more corporeal transnational involvement, which is symbolically embodied by the large candles that migrants donate to the local god. The analysis of the candles in their materiality reveals how they express and convey ideas about multiple identities of Qingtianese migrants.

The analysis of the two ritual practices performed by the migrants from Spain, reveals how religious transnational links are localized in the temple and are significant transnational practices that keep migrants linked with the community in their hometown. As we will see, by the virtue of these transnational practices the Qingzhen Chansi has become a *translocality* (Appadurai, 1996), a local place filled with social realities and networks that take place across different countries in Europe and divers localities in Qingtian.

### **Contextual Background: Qingtian Transnational Space**

Qingtian is a rural county with a strong migration culture<sup>ii</sup>. People who have not migrated and have no intentions to do so are involved in some ways in the social lives of their relatives and friends living mostly in European countries, which have been the

main destination of international migration from the area of Qingtian-Wenzhou since the 1980s (Pieke, 2006; Beltrán, 2003, 1998; Li Minghuan, 1999; Thuno, 1999). Even if in the last decade, new migration flows towards Africa (Haugen and Carling, 2005) and Latin America are strongly emerging, the main international connections are still framed in the Qingtian-Europe scope, and are specially concentrated in Italy and Spain. According to the Qingtian Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (*qiaoban*), at the end of 2011 there were over 250,000 Qingtianese living in more than 120 countries, and 68 per cent of them were residing in Spain and Italy<sup>iii</sup>.

Migration values and behaviours are deeply embedded in Qingtian society and the connections with the international migrant community pervade the social life of the region. What makes Qingtian a significant transnational space is the continuous flow of diverse and bidirectional movements of information, objects, money and people that take place from and to Qingtian. Therefore, this rural area, traditionally isolated and geographically surrounded by mountains along the Ou River (瓯江), has become the node of bidirectional movements and influences, and a place of encounter between different socio-cultural realities and networks.

Transnational practices are especially conspicuous in the main town of the county, Hecheng Township (鹤成镇), where imported products shops and cafés run by returnee or migrants' relatives emerge one after the other, giving the town a special "European flavour" (*ozhou tese*) as described by the locals.

However, the connections with migrant communities are also embodied in the social structure of the small villages located along the Ou River, where the hallmark of migration is materialized mainly in temples and family halls. In the villages of Qingtian County where the international migration originally started, local temples have become significant manifestations of migrant's transnational ties. The Qingchen Chansi that we

will discuss in this article is located in the heart of the Fushan rural district (阜山乡), which is one of the earliest and most relevant areas with migration tradition in Qingtian County along with Youzhu (油竹), Shankou (山口) and Fangshan (方山) (Thuno, 1996).

Even if we can find some early and pioneering cases of migration before the 1970s the starting point of the relevant international migration from Fushan and other rural areas of Qingtian to Spain can be traced to the opening up policies in the early 1980s (Beltrán, 2003; Thuno, 1996, 1999). During the last twenty years the communication and transportation between Fushan and Hecheng have greatly improved thanks mainly to the donations for infrastructures from overseas Chinese. Thus the narrow mountain path that once used to connect Fushan with the town of Hecheng - keeping the area rather isolated - is nowadays a paved road that facilitates the influx of an increasing number of visitors from Qingtian town and other close cities of Zhejiang province to the temple.

As we will see in the following sections, Qingzhen Chansi is a relational place located in a transnational social space, and a central node in the transnational religious links between the Qingitanes living overseas and their hometown society.

### **The Qingzhen Chansi and Its Area of Influence: Beyond the Local**

Qingzhen Chansi was the first temple in Qingtian County to be rebuilt and re-established after the Cultural Revolution and it was also one of the first in Zhejiang province (Yuan 1996)<sup>iv</sup>. Originally the temple was named Qingzhen Tang (清真堂) and it was a Daoist temple devoted mainly to the worship of the local god Li Mi (李

泌), also known as “the white clothes prime minister” (白衣丞相). When the temple was rebuilt and officially registered in 1984, the name was changed, removing the word *tang* (堂) that is usually associated with non-Buddhist Chinese temples, and adding the character *chan* (禪) which linked it to Buddhism. This name changing and the introduction of Buddhist images reproduce the standards of the official recuperation of the religious sites and practices in China during the 1980s.

Beginning in the late 1970s, China's state policies shifted from suppressing religion to recognizing its legitimacy (Ashiwa 2000; Potter 2003; Feuchtwang 2010; Dean 1995). However, these new policies were grounded in a highly evolutionistic perspective and thereby excluded from the category of religion, those activities related with local gods, fortune tellers, and spirit mediums, which were devalued under the term “superstition” (*mixin*) (Ashiwa 2000: 21). The changing attitudes towards religion were first officially manifested in the document issued in 1982 by the Communist Party declaring the protection of the five religions allowed in China: Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism (Potter, 2003, Feuchtwang, 2010). However, the Daoist association was the last to be formed and recognized because of its close links to the local ritual activities that were referred to as “superstition” and “popular beliefs” (Feuchtwang 2010: 180).

Consequently the introduction of Buddhist gods, and applying to Buddhist affiliation has been a common strategy to skip the official prohibitions to worship local divinities and perform popular rituals in the local temples of southeast China (Yang Mayfair; 2004; Feuchtwang, 2010). Thus although Qingzhenchan was officially registered as a Buddhist temple we find a coexistence of Daoism and Buddhist images

around the local divinity Li Mi, which is the central and most worshiped god of the temple.

The present structure of the Qingzheng Chansi is the result of the rebuilding process started in 1980 that has enlarged the temple to more than two times the original size. As is the case for other temples of the southeast China, the funds for the rebuilding came mainly from the donations of overseas migrants (Ashiwa 2000; Tan Chee-Beng 2007; Dean, 1993). It is important to note that the first donations for the restoration of the temple coincided with the first relevant flows of new migration from Qingtian to Europe. Thus, donations to the temple were the first contribution of the new migrants to their hometown, along with the funding for the renovation of the Fushan Middle School (阜山中学).

Even after the temple has been completely restored the donations continue to increase and every year new plaques listing the name and the amount of each donation are included on the walls of the temple. The donations are grouped according to the countries from where they are sent and, not surprisingly, Spain and Italy are the top two points of origin.

Nowadays overseas donations are the main economic source for new local government plans to increase tourism in Fushan. In the last few years, the donations have been used to recover the surroundings of the temple, which includes a recently built square with relieves of the life of Li Mi, and a large canteen attached to a reception office. These new constructions, which are being carried out with a strong cooperation between the temple and the local government, reveal how transnational donations to improve and embellish the hometown are still channeled mainly through the

Qingzhenchan temple, which has been historically the main institution for collecting overseas donations intended to develop the area.

It is important to note that the area of influence of Qingzhen Chansi is not limited to the geographical boundaries of Fushan. Although local divinities are considered the protectors of a concrete geographical territory - in this case the villages forming Fushan district - and have the power to protect all the domestic groups of a given area (Feuchtwang 2000: 190), it is not uncommon to find people from other localities of Qingtian County or from the relatively close area of Wenzhou going to the temple to give donations and ask for protection and guidance from the main divinity: the local god Li Mi. When I asked these people about their reasons for making the journey to Fushan instead of going to the local temples in their respective areas, I received the same answer: “Li Mi has a very strong *ling*”. In this context the concept *ling* refers to the capacity of the divinity for effective responses to the prayers for protection and guidance (Feuchtwang 1991: 190). According to Feuchtwang (2010: 82), a divinity that is considered to be efficaciously responsive has obtained “local following after being proved over the years.” Feuchtwang’s analysis of local temples gives important insight to the social and historical construction of the *ling* concept, which has a major influence, along with the notion of reputation, in the construction and vicissitudes of a given temple.

Li Mi and Qingzhen Chansi are surrounded by a special efficacy response (*ling*) and reputation respectively, and therefore are emerging as a major local deity and temple in the Wenzhou-Qingtian area. This reputation persists among the diaspora, and the area of influence of the temple goes beyond the local and the provincial level, effectively encompassing transnational involvement from the migration countries including Spain.



During the visits to their hometown, some migrants go to the temple individually to worship the local god and practice divination rituals, while others organize longer and more elaborate family rituals that can last all day. However, migrants' links and participation with the temple are not restricted to occasional physical visits. The ethnographic fieldwork has revealed other kinds of transnational practices that don't require any physical movement, and are performed from a physical distance.

### **Religious Ties Localized: Reaching and Participating in the Local Temple from Spain.**

While discussing the role of overseas Qingtianese in the present activity of the Qingzhen Chansi, the manager of the temple, with a daughter in Madrid, told me the following:

We receive more and more visits of *huaqiao* (overseas Chinese). Now it's more convenient to come back than before, it's cheaper and faster. Nowadays a lot of *huaqiao* come back for New Year and also during summer holidays. I am too old to travel, if not I will also easily go to Spain and stay with my daughter and grandson for a while. But anyway nowadays... now it is different, I talk and see them every night using my laptop.

This eighty-year old man's response illustrates two basic points regarding the current transnational links between the hometown and the migrant communities abroad that are crucial in the transnational religious links. Firstly, the facilities for regular return trips to Qingtian imply occasional religious involvement of the migrants with the local temple during their return visits. Furthermore, the temple manager reference to the daily communication with his relatives in Spain using the Internet finds its counterpart in the regular participation of the migrants in the temple despite the geographical distance.

We are talking about a participation that does not require any physical displacement and that is performed between Spain and Qingtian through the kinship network, using traditional communication systems such as long-distance phone calls, as well as on-line technology. The development and widespread use of Internet imply changes in the magnitude of overseas participation in their society of origin (Chen Wenhong, 2006; Cheong and Poon, 2009, Hiller and Franz, 2004) that finds its repercussion also in the transnational religious activities undertaken by migrants.

In the following sections, the transnational religious links and practices originating from Spain and addressed to the local god Li Mi in Fushan will be discussed. First we will present and analyze the invisible links mediated by kinship networks, and articulated through the long-distance divination practices. Secondly, we will address the transnational involvement symbolically embodied by the donation of large candles to the local god Li Mi.

### **Invisible Religious Links: Kinship Mediated Long-distance Divination Practices**

The religious links originating in Spain and reaching Fushan temple through regular contacts with relatives are directed mainly towards the goal of the migrants seeking guidance from the local God Li Mi in their daily lives.

The ritual of divination executed by the method of bamboo drawing rods (*qiuqian* 求签) in front of the altar of Li Mi is strongly integrated in the Fushan temple, like in other local temples in southeast China. Not only do the local people go to the temple to inquire about their future, the Qingtian migrants from Spain do so as well. Even if Buddhist and Daoist temples have been built in the cities in Spain where more Chinese people live, they would rather prefer to look for the guidance and protection of

the local gods in Qingtian because their power has already been proven, and their effectiveness has garnered them a strong reputation over the years.

The conventional performance of the ritual implies the communication between the person who requests the divination service and the divinity, normally mediated by a ritual specialist who interprets the answer of the god. The questions to the divinity include personal issues of the everyday life, and for this reason, even though the migrants take the opportunity of their return visits to address some questions to the god, the divinatory practices are mostly performed from Spain, where they face the everyday situations that require seeking advice from the divinity. According to Feuchtwang (1991), this divination practice implies a normalization and externalization of the uncertainty about the future of the person who is making the question.

During the fieldwork I encountered different cases of long-distance divination practices whereby migrants sought the guidance of the local god in Fushan through their kinship network. The Qingtian migrants use the divinatory practices to inquire about their daily lives in Spain whenever they face difficulties or have to take important decisions, mostly regarding business and financial matters such as starting, changing, expanding or closing a business. The migrants consider that the local gods and temples, and especially the Qingzhen Chansi, have a strong spiritual power (*ling*) to solve these practical and quotidian matters. The broad reach of long-distance communication systems based on the Internet (chat and videoconferences programs) makes it easier and quicker to address the questions to the local god Li Mi in Fushan by contacting the relatives in Qingtian. Through this process, migrants regularly reach out to the local temple without travelling or changing their physical location. Thus, the impact of new technology of communication on the transnational links plays a central role in the participation of Qingtianese migrants in the temple.

An example of this transnational divinatory practice will elucidate the logic and process of this transnational involvement. A 35-year old woman born in Fushan who works as a teacher in a primary school in Hecheng town explained to me how her cousin had recently contacted her from Madrid to ask for divination mediation before making the last decision about his business change. The young man was planning to close the small bar where he had been working for the previous seven years, to open a wholesale shop in an industrial area at the outskirts of the city. Even though the woman stressed that she did not believe in the gods and the divinatory practices, she agreed to ask the question on behalf of her cousin. The answer was positive, but the woman tried to dissuade him because she was aware of another close relative having a similar business in the same area and did not want them to compete with each other.

This example shows how the transnational divination ritual encompasses a bidirectional flow of information that is illustrated in Figure 1. The first flow of communication, originated in Spain, is addressed to the God Li Mi through the relatives who will mediate the divinatory practice. The question it is supposed to be as concrete as possible, and thus through this first step the relatives in Qingtian expand their knowledge about the Qingtianese life in Spain, acquiring information about their business activities and economic situation. The second flow of information goes from Fushan temple to Spain through, again, the relatives' contact. In this second and final step of the circulatory flow of information, the migrants get the answer of the divinity as well as the advice and comments of their relatives who act as mediators in the ritual. These transnational divinatory practices add at least one step of intervention to the conventional execution of the ritual, which is usually mediated only by the religious specialist who interprets the answer of the divinity.

Through the mediation of the divinatory ritual, the woman in the aforementioned example obtains information about the business situation of his cousin in Spain, and at the same time uses her role as a mediator to convey her opinions and point of views based on her previous knowledge about other relatives' business activities in Madrid. Therefore, these transnational ritual practices originating from Spain and addressed to the Qingcheng Chansi in Fushan involve a bidirectional flow of information and knowledge that affects both the migrants and the relatives that stayed behind. The two-way flow of information not only implies the involvement of Qingtianese migrants in the hometown, but also generates the participation of Qingtianese who stayed behind in the daily life of their relatives in Spain. In this sense the divinatory practices imply the “simultaneously aspect of transnationalism” as referred to by Tsuda (2012), or the “simultaneous engagement of migrants towards home and host country” as expressed by Levitt and Schiller (2004).

The transnational divinatory practices, articulated through these invisible and circular links between Qingtian and Spain, illustrate the relevance of the local temples as a powerful spiritual sites for the Qingtianses living abroad, and shows how the area of influence of Qingzhen Chansi temple extends beyond the local and the provincial level and embraces the social realities and networks related to the countries where Qingtianese migrants live. The involvement of migrants is mediated by new means of communication and technology that open up this local place, which is filled by networks, experiences, and social realities associated with different localities.

Through these divinatory rituals the Qingchen Chansi meets the second dimension of “migrant places” as defined by Gielies, who suggests a methodological approach to transnational links through a space lens (Gielis 2009). Based on Appaduaris' concept of translocality, Gielis defines migrant places as sites in which

“transmigrants reach out to (people in) other places without corporally changing location” by virtue of new communication systems (Gielis 2009: 280)<sup>v</sup>. In his definition of “migrant places” the author refers to the impact of new technology of communication in the local places, which plays a central role in the participation of Qingtianese migrants in the lives of their relatives overseas.

In the next section we will see that the membership of the overseas migrants in the temple can also be traced by a more corporal means, through the donation of the monumental candles called *qianjin zhu* (千斤烛).

### **Candles Donations: Symbolical Materialization of Transnational Belongings**

The covered area in the courtyard situated in front of the Li Mi’s altar holds the monumental candles that can weigh between 300 and 500 kilograms and can reach almost two meters high. Although the candles are normally acquired for New Year, to ask for general protection including health, business as well as kinship and emotional matters, whenever people meet specific problems, they will also buy and donate a candle to ask for the intercession of the god on their behalf.

The overseas migrants are highly involved in the local tradition of purchasing large candles to seek protection from the divinity. Some candles are bought and donated to the local divinity during the return visits. There are also migrants who do not go back to Qingtian regularly, but continue to annually purchase a candle through their kinship networks to be placed in front of Li Mi’s altar. A close examination of the candles in their materiality reveals the involvement of overseas Qingtianese with the temple.

The design of the candles is divided in two parts (see figures 2 and 3). On the right side, the candles are personalized with gold color calligraphy including the name of the benefactor and the relatives he or she desires to receive the protection of the

divinity. Next to the names, the country where they reside is introduced by the verb *lǚjū* (旅居) that has the meaning of “living away from one’s native place” and is generally translated as “sojourn”. The personalized part of the candle is accompanied by conventional sentences inscribed with bigger characters that express the request to the God (“all in the family respectfully pray” 合家敬拜).

A detailed observation of the courtyard where the candles are located reveals how these rituals objects map the Qingtianese migration to Europe. The main countries of migration are represented in the different candles, mostly from Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Holland, Poland and Bulgaria. According to the information of the list that registers the candle’s donations every year, almost all the candles are donated from abroad by people born in Fushan that have migrated to different European countries.

Each candle expresses the involvement of the overseas Qingtianses to the temple, and gives us rich information about migration journeys, settlement and connections in multiple locations, as well as transnational belongings. The following two examples illustrated the symbolic presence of a nuclear and an extended family in the temple through the candles.

*Example one: Candle representing a nuclear transnational family.*

The first example materializes the symbolic presence in the temple of a nuclear family (see figure 2). We can see the characters referring to Spain as the place of residence, and the names and kinship relationship between the relatives included in the protection petition: the donor, his wife and two sons.

The candle was acquired during New Year’s festival by a 43-year old man from Fushan who migrated to Spain with his family when he was twelve years old. Mr Chen grew up in Spain where all his relatives still live. However, for the last five years he has

been living and doing business in Jiangxi province while his whole family remains in Madrid. He goes back to Spain once a year only for Christmas holiday, and travels regularly from Jiangxi to Fushan during Chinese holidays and festivals. I met him in Fushan during the Qingming festival (Tomb-sweeping day) when he went to visit his ancestor's grave in his hometown. Even though during the interview Mr. Chen localized his home in Jiangxi arguing that it is the place where he works and has daily social relations, in the candle he states his belonging to his nuclear family in Spain.

Thus, the complementary analysis of both the interview and the information inscribed in the candle express the dynamism and multiple dimensionality of home in Mr Chen transnational life between different localities in China (Jiangxi and Fushan), and the place where he grew up and where his family currently resides in Spain.

*Example 2: Candle of extended transnational family.*

In contrast to the previous candle the second example includes an extended and transnational family spread across three different countries (see figure 3). As we can see from the calligraphy, the donor of the candle and his wife reside in Poland, their three sons live in Germany, and his elder brother settled down in France with his nuclear family comprising the wife and two sons. The names of the benefactor's parents are written without specifying the place of residence. Even though the candle does not reveal their location, a staff member of the temple informed me that the old couple lives in Fushan and travels occasionally to Poland and France to visit their sons.

This candle physically manifests the essential transnational links in the Qingitanese international migration: the links between different nodes of the diaspora and the links with the hometown. While the inscription of the relative's names and countries of residence represents the transnational ties between the family members spread in three different countries, the desire to acquire and place the candle in front of



the local divinity Li Mi shows the whole family's transnational links with their hometown.

The two candles materialize the symbolic presence of transnational families in the temple, and by extension, in their hometown. The overseas migrants who regularly acquire and place the monumental candles to seek protection from the god, regard the temple as a central religious node, and a place to express their symbolical presence in the hometown. Thus, candles become a proxy presence of the migrants and a physical manifestation of their connections with Fushan. Furthermore, the candles are also a symbol identifying the Fushan close relationship with the countries where Qingtianese people have settle down.

The analysis of candles reveals how multiple belongings and localities are interrelated in the local temple of Qingchen Chansi. The presence of this ritual objects meets the first dimension of migrant places according to Gielis (2009), which highlights how migrant places are inhabited by objects and symbols that refer to various practices and social networks undertaken "beyond the local".

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has shown how Qingtianese overseas are engaged in popular religious activities that are closely related and oriented to the local temples and divinities in Qingtian. It illustrates how Qingtianese migrants in Spain stay connected to their hometown through the ritual activities addressed to seek guidance and protection from the local God Li Mi of Qingzhen Chansi.

Firstly, the religious involvement of overseas migrants with the Qingzhen Chansi encompasses regular contacts with the relatives who stay in Qingtian by use of modern technology like long-distances phone calls and Internet tools. As we have seen

from the examination of the divinatory practices, this regular contact reinforces the transnational links and implies a bidirectional flow of information between Spain and Qingtian. It is normally assumed that the transnational links and networks entail the participation of the migrants in the society of origin, but less attention has been paid to the other direction of this circular flow of objects and information. The examination of transnational divinatory practices has shown how the two-way flow of information implies not only the involvement of Qingtianese migrants in the hometown but generate also the participation of Qingtianese who stayed behind in the daily life of their relatives in Spain.

Secondly, the temple-related activities of the Qingtianese overseas migrants imply a symbolic presence of transnational families in the hometown. The overseas migrants reinforce and highlight the hometown ties and transnational belonging through the candles offered to the local god Li Mi. The analysis of the candles in their materiality has revealed how they express and convey ideas about multiple identities of Qingtian migrants.

While the divination rituals imply private and invisible links with the local temple, the practice of offering candles entails a public manifestation of these hometown ties. Even though migrants do not come back or do that occasionally, they express and materialize their hometown belonging by acquiring the large candles that are placed in the center of the temple. In this sense, the candles are emblems of specific overseas experiences and agents of the rising social status of the families who purchase and donate them. Therefore the donation of candles is a form of “public ritual expenditure” (Yang, 2000) deeply related to the overseas phenomenon.

Finally the analysis of both the transnational divinatory practices and the long-distance candle offering illustrates the relevance of Qingzhen Chansi as a powerful

spiritual site for the overseas Qingtianese. The temple becomes a *translocality* and central node for the Qingtianese diaspora where both the invisible and the materialized transnational religious links are localized. Thus, keeping a perspective on the space as a point of reference, Qingchen Chansi can truly be grasped as a “migrant place” (Gielies 2009) where transnational networks, products, and symbols are condensed.

## Notes

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<sup>i</sup> It is assumed that approximately 70% of the 176,335 Chinese migrants residing in Spain at the end of September of 2012 (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, Government of Spain) come from Qingtian County and Wenzhou municipality.

<sup>ii</sup> Massey explains that migration culture appears when “migration becomes deeply ingrained into the repertoire of people’s behaviors, and values associated with migration become part of the community’s values” (Massey et al, 1993: 452).

<sup>iii</sup> These specific characteristics are reflected in the administrative classification of Qingtian as a *qiaoxiang*, which refers to an area with a high rate of migrants or sojourners (*huaqiao*), returnees (*guiguo huaqiao*), and migrants’ relatives depending on remittances from abroad (*qiaojuan*).

<sup>iv</sup> In his research about the revival of temples in Fujian, Guangdong and Zhejiang provinces during the decade of 1980’s, Yuan (1996) lists Qingzhen Chansi among the eight temples rebuilt between 1984 and 1987 in Zhejiang province. Except from the Qingzhen Chansi of Qingtian and the Wanshou Temple of Changshan, the other six temples belong to Yiwu.

<sup>v</sup> Appadurai’s concept of translocality that refers to the open-up and mediated presence of multiples localities in one physical place by means of the new communication systems (Appadurai 1994) is the main analytical tool of the second characteristic of migrant places presented by Gielis.

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