

Fighting the Good Fight: The Return of Hong Kong and the Catholic Church in China

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Postcolonial shifts of sovereignty have greatly changed the local practices of transnational organizations like the Catholic Church. For the Hong Kong Catholic Church, the postcolonial process has manifested itself in the indigenization of the Church leadership and in the structural changes that reflect the shift from a church serving as a base for foreign missionary groups working in China to one more concerned with its own local needs. For the Chinese Catholic Church, the postcolonial process has manifested itself largely in terms of the Chinese state's drive to maintain its own sovereignty. Both local Churches have also been shaped by the response of the transnational Catholic Church to postcolonialism — namely, the structural changes resulting from Vatican II. As a result, transnational processes¹ in Hong Kong and China reflect postcolonial preoccupations. In this paper, I will examine how the return of Hong Kong to China influences the lives of rural Chinese Catholics. Based on fieldwork conducted between 1993-1997, I will describe how the practices of two local Catholic churches, parts of a transnational organization, have changed with postcolonialism. The link between a local Chinese Catholic community and the universal Roman Catholic Church, through the Hong Kong Church, has fundamentally shaped the experiences of the Catholic Church in both China and Hong Kong. I will do this by describing two diagnostic events² (one in Hong Kong, and the other in a south Chinese village) and analyzing the links between the two events.

¹ I define transnational processes as the social and cultural practices associated with the flows of ideas, products, people, capital, and technologies across national boundaries.

² The analytical perspective used in this paper, centered on the "diagnostic event," follows the processual framework delineated by Sally Falk Moore (1987, 1989, 1994).

A Diagnostic Event: Governor Patten attends his last Mass in Hong Kong.

9:25 am, Sunday, 29 June 1997. Hong Kong is a madhouse. Reporters from every possible news organization have descended like locusts on the tiny territory, competing with tourists and dignitaries for hotel rooms. They have been busy running from event to event - the day before Prince Charles arrived on the *Britannia*, alas without Camilla Bowen-Hughes (sp?) - and Sunday is not a day of rest for them. At the Catholic cathedral (Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception) this morning, the news crews have been herded to one side of the Church entrance, to allow Mass attendees entrance into the Church. Signs have been posted, however, that no photography is allowed during Mass (but one television camera has been set up unobtrusively in the choir loft), so the reporters are out in force outside the church.

The church parking lot is also a madhouse, more than the usual chaos universal in parking lots of Catholic churches throughout the world. Road guards are deftly squeezing cars in, but this Sunday there are extra HK security personnel scattered throughout the grounds. Everyone is waiting for the black Rolls-Royce carrying Hong Kong's royal family, for their last Mass in Hong Kong. At last, the motorcycle escort enters the compound, and the limousine pulls up to the entrance. Bishop Zen (Chen),³ the successor to the soon-retiring Cardinal Wu (Hu), and other priests gather at entrance to greet Governor Chris Patten, Hong Kong's First Lady Lavender Patten, and their three daughters. They shake hands with the bishop and priests, but hug one (their former parish priest), and make their way to the front pew. The reporters discreetly fade into the background, and the organ starts with the entrance hymn, "The Church's One Foundation."⁴

The scheduled "13th Sunday in Ordinary Time" Mass has been replaced by the cathedral with the "Feast of Saints Peter and Paul" to honor and say farewell the governor and

³ For proper names, I will be using the romanization used in Hong Kong publications, with the correct *pinyin* following in parentheses.

his family. The Mass proceeds through the greeting, penitential rite, *gloria*, and opening prayer as usual, but when the Liturgy of the Word starts, it is the Governor himself who comes up to the altar as lector, reading the First Reading.⁵ After the responsorial psalm, Lavender Patten comes up to the altar to read the Second Readings, which I will cite in full below (my italics):⁶

I am already being poured out like a libation.
The time of my dissolution is near.
I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race,
I have kept the faith.
From now on a merited crown awaits me;
on that Day the Lord, just judge that he is,
will award it to me - and not only to me
but to all who have looked for his appearing with eager longing.
But the Lord stood by my side and gave me strength,
so that through me the preaching task might be
completed and all the nations might hear the gospel.

That is how I was saved from the lion's jaws.
The Lord will continue to rescue me from all attempts
to do me harm and will bring me safe to his heavenly kingdom.
To him be glory forever and ever. Amen.

The gospel is then read by the main celebrant, and he delivers a homily on the social responsibility as Catholic Christians depicted in the readings that avoids the political issue on everyone's mind, namely the future of postcolonial Hong Kong.

The Mass continues as usual, with the Liturgy of the Eucharist. During communion, the crowd politely waits for the Governor and his family to first have communion (since they're in the front pew). Just after the announcements and before the Final Blessing, Bishop Zen comes to the lectern to say some words about the turnover and introduce the Governor, who comes up to the podium. People have been waiting for this, and this is the expected time

⁴ Note, the second verse starts "Elect from every nation, yet one o'er all the earth," and ends with "And to one hope she presses, with every grace endured."

⁵ Acts 3, 1-10.

⁶ 2 Timothy 4, 6-8, 17-18.

in the Mass ritual for such events to take place. The Governor first jokingly tells the crowd that he apologizes that he won't be able to attend the coffee hour following Mass (as mentioned in the earlier announcements) because Prince Charles requires his presence at the final bestowing of knighthood in Hong Kong taking place right after Mass. Promising to keep his remarks short, he thanks the community for the moral support that they provided him and his family during this difficult but most rewarding tenure as Hong Kong governor. The main thrust of his speech is to reassure the community about the bright future of Hong Kong, and that the democratic principles that were developed during the British rule of Hong Kong have been firmly planted, and with perseverance, Hong Kong will continue to flourish. This is the clip that makes it on CNN's coverage of the turnover.

Bishop Zen then presents the Governor with a gift — an icon made in Europe, and the community gives the Governor a standing ovation. In his tenure as governor, as can be seen in his active attendance of Masses in the cathedral and in Catholic Churches throughout the territory, he has made many ties in the Catholic community. He has also been represented as the champion of democracy in Hong Kong, much to the ire of the PRC government who repeatedly criticized the governor and Britain for violating the specifications of the Joint Agreement — a trend that Hong Kongers fear will be reversed on July 1 and the swearing in of the Provisional Legislature. And as the second reading suggests, the Governor has done all this because “the Lord stood by my side and gave me strength.”⁷ As expressed by the Catholic community in this Mass (and by the Hong Kong community in general, as his popularity in this months' polls indicate), the last British governor of Hong Kong has indeed fought the good fight, finished the race.

⁷ When asked how his Catholic faith has influenced his decisions as Governor of Hong Kong, Patten replied: "I have never done a job before (being governor of Hong Kong) in which I've been so aware of the difference between right and wrong. I've never done a job before where I've so often had to say to people, 'Look, we must do this or that, not because it's expedient to do it, but because it's right to do it.' And I think that is a reflection, I hope, of my moral beliefs, my religious beliefs." (Barry 1997:52).

Background of the Event. **Which fight is the good fight?** The Church's honoring of Governor Patten at his final Mass begs the question: which fight is the good fight? Is the Governor being honored for furthering the interests of the powers-that-be (i.e., the government and business elite of Hong Kong), the powers-that-used-to-be (the British colonial government), the powerless of Hong Kong, or the powers-above (the interests of the Church)? It's clear, from the critique heaped upon him by the Chinese government, that Governor Patten has not been championing the cause of the powers-that-will-be. Where does the Hong Kong church stand in all of this? Before addressing these issues, I will first describe the historical and contemporary social context in which the Hong Kong Catholic Church organized this send-off of the Governor.

Since its establishment as a British territory following the First Opium War, Hong Kong has been a stronghold for foreign Catholic groups conducting missions in China. Prior to its elevation to a diocese in 1946, at least 15 missionary groups (including the American Maryknoll Fathers and Sisters, to be discussed below) from different countries throughout the world had established a presence in Hong Kong. Hong Kong served as a launching point and haven for missionaries entering China: missionaries would be trained in languages and other mission skills in Hong Kong; if they became ill in China and needed hospitalization, they would often return to Hong Kong for hospitalization or await transfer home from Hong Kong; and money and mission supplies were stored and distributed in Hong Kong. Most importantly for the present situation of the Hong Kong Catholic Church, they established many schools and hospitals.

However, with Hong Kong's elevation to a diocese in 1946, the restructuring of Vatican II, and the simultaneous growth of the Hong Kong economy, Hong Kong's Catholic Church shifted in the post World War II period from a mission church (run by foreign missionaries) to an indigenous church (run by Hong Kong people). The first Hong Kong

bishop ordained was Bishop Francis Hsu (Xu Chengbin) in 1967, long after the first Chinese bishop had been ordained (1674).⁸ As a result, the administration of the schools, hospitals, and other social organizations sponsored by the Catholic Church gradually became a Hong Kong affair. Today, these social organizations are largely supported by government subsidies and private charitable organizations (Kwok 1997).

As is readily apparent in seeing the hordes of uniformed children on the subway system, the Catholic community's most visible and most important social influence in Hong Kong are the schools, hospitals, and other arenas of social services sponsored by the Church. In 1997, Christian churches administer 40% of Hong Kong's schools (Kwok 1997); the Catholic Church itself administers 39 kindergardens, 154 primary schools, 77 secondary schools, and 34 adult education and other special schools (Charbonnier 1997). The period of greatest growth in the number of Christian institutions occurred during the massive influx of refugees from China following liberation and the Cultural Revolution, when government facilities could not handle the strain of demands placed on the system by the almost quadrupling of the Hong Kong population. Prior to the 1960s, these social services were largely administered and financially supported by foreign missionary groups.

The link between the Hong Kong Catholic Church and the Hong Kong elite is most pervasive through the Church's administration of social service organizations. Because some of the Church's schools were among the top-ranked schools in Hong Kong (such as St. Joseph's, La Salle, Wah Yan, and Sacred Heart Canossian), they provided the education for some of Hong Kong's present government and business elite, as seen in their continued support today. These elite are mostly not included in the scant 3.7 % of Catholics in Hong

⁸ Bishop Luo Wenzao was appointed Bishop of Nanjing in 1674, but was not consecrated until 1685 (Lam 1985).

Kong (in fact, there are more students in Catholic schools than total Catholics).⁹ Of the 290,000 students attending Hong Kong Catholic schools, only 7.4% are Catholic (while among teachers, 30% are Catholic). However, alumni continue to support and provide access to Catholics, and Hong Kong Catholics are publicly reminded of these links in church publications.¹⁰

There are other ways in which the Hong Kong Catholic Church has historically, and perhaps up to the present day according to some analysts (i.e., Xue 1996, Kwok 1997), been closely associated with the colonial hegemony and the Hong Kong elite. Before World War II, churches received favorable land grants; today, the property owned by churches would yield fortunes. The relationship between church and state is made most explicit in Hong Kong colonial ceremonial protocol: the Catholic bishop is accorded a status just below the Governor, Chief of the Armed Forces, the Executive Secretary and Chief Justice in official functions (Kwok 1997:8; note that Cardinal Wu was also present at the official turnover ceremonies on 30 June 1997). Christians as a whole are over-represented in politics: while Christians comprise only 10% of the population, they occupy 22.5% of the seats in government agencies (Xue 1996:??). However, it is in the area of education where the Church can be most closely associated with the colonial hegemony. Schools administered by the Church, in their preparation of young people into the government and business elite, maintain colonial hegemonic practices. Kwok concludes: “. . . while the churches do a lot of good for society, and are also aware of the faults and failures of the colonial system, yet by maintaining vested interests and social privileges, they also play a part in supporting and preserving the status quo. For most, ‘Don’t rock the boat’ has become the 11th Commandment” (Kwok

⁹ All Hong Kong Catholic population statistics from Charbonnier 1997.

¹⁰ For example, an interview in the Hong Kong Catholic newspaper Sunday Examiner with SAR Secretary of Justice Elsie Leung Oi-sie first noted that she was a graduate of Sacred Heart Canossian College (Sunday Examiner 24 August 1997).

1997:11). However, it is also the same schools that are host to a group, that with the opportunities provided by the democratization of the Hong Kong system under Governor Patten and the return to China, are clearly counter-hegemonic.

Becoming postcolonial. The Hong Kong Catholic Church, driven by the changing wind of Vatican II, became more local with the appointment of Chinese bishops as leaders of the Hong Kong diocese starting with Bishop Hsu in 1969. Because of the short tenure of these Chinese bishops, changes to the organizational structure of the Hong Kong Catholic were not implemented until after the election of then Bishop Wu in 1975. The Hong Kong Church was restructured to meet the new demands faced by the Church with the rapid increase of population during the post-war period, with a special emphasis on the localization of the leadership and staff (Ticozzi 1997) and decentralization of financial and operational authority (Lee 1997). This re-structuring included the elevation of Catholic lay leaders into various positions of authority and the expansion of leadership committees.

With the signing of the Joint Declaration in 1984, and Bishop Wu's elevation to Cardinal in 1988, the Hong Kong Church prepared for its special role as a "bridge church," linking the Chinese Catholic Church with the Church in the rest of the world. In addition to the missionary groups and individuals that maintain informal contact with Churches in their former mission territories, many other Catholic organizations (such as the Holy Spirit Study Centre and the magazine *Yi*) have been established to foster exchange between Hong Kong and mainland Catholics. The 1996 appointment of two other Hong Kong bishops, Bishop Zen mentioned above and Bishop John Tong (director of the Holy Spirit Study Centre) further reinforced the presence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in preparation for the reunification of Hong Kong. However, this bridge mission is fundamentally different from Hong Kong's earlier service as a foreign missionary center. The bridge today is between the universal

Church and the Chinese Church, represented by Chinese Hong Kong Catholics, and not the earlier role as administrative center for foreign missionaries working in China.

However, with the upcoming uncertainty of 1997 felt by Hong Kong Catholics, the bridge mission was not the only concern of the Church. The Hong Kong Catholic Church also sought to strengthen its presence in local communities by fostering greater social activism by Catholics — the Hong Kong Church as a “prophetic” church. In a qualitative survey conducted among a key segment of the Hong Kong Catholic leadership, Sze (1996) found that this group intended to increase their social activism both within and without the Church in ways that would promote what he refers to as post-materialistic values: “a gradual shift from emphasis on economic and physical security above all, toward greater emphasis on belonging, self-expression, and the quality of life . . . , and to accord a high priority to self-expression both in their work and in political life” (Inglehart 1990, quoted in Sze 1996:157). As a whole, this group welcomed the postcolonial shift as beneficial to Hong Kong in the long run, with reservations about the intentions of the PRC government, and were dissatisfied with the colonial legacy of the Catholic Church. They believed that the postcolonial Church should remain outside of direct political involvement (unlike the PRC Church), and instead should promote issues of social justice in Hong Kong society.

Fighting for the powers above. Based on the context of the Hong Kong Catholic Church leading up to the reunification of Hong Kong, I suggest that the laying of the groundwork for this prophetic mission by Governor Patten and other Hong Kong Catholic leaders is the good fight referred to in the readings. Due to changes in the Hong Kong social context and changes in the culture and structure of the Catholic Church, however, the Hong Kong Catholic Church has also shifted towards a counter-hegemonic position, as seen in its prophetic role in society. Although the space for exercising this prophetic role was created through its partnership with the Hong Kong elite, the Catholic Church's promotion of what

Sze calls “post-materialist values” results in divergences with the practices of the Hong Kong elite. This counter-hegemonic tension is brought into the forefront in its bridge mission, in its links with the Chinese Catholic Church.

A Diagnostic Event: Building a village Church in Guangdong

7:30 am, Sunday 6 April 1997. Unlike most Sundays, the people living in a farming village in Jiaoling County have put away their farming tools (I will refer to this village as “Little Rome”). They have dressed in their Sunday best to welcome the hundreds of guests who have come to celebrate the opening of a new Catholic Church. The whole county has been welcoming guests; the day before was Qingming, when people from all over the world have returned to their *laojia* (hometown) to participate in ancestral worship. According to my neighbor, who had to help his brother living in Taiwan get airplane tickets for the church opening, and the village priest, who arranged tickets for many other visiting overseas donors, it has been extremely difficult to get tickets on the thrice weekly flights to and from Hong Kong.

The Catholics in Little Rome have been preparing for the church opening for many months now. When the county building inspectors determined that the church structure was unsafe for public use during the winter of 1995, the pastor and the parish council (*jiaotang guanli weiyuanhui*), with the approval of the bishop, decided to build a new church. In February 1996, the church building committee published an appeal for capital contributions from friends, relatives, and other Catholics, both inside China and overseas; the cost of building a new church was estimated at 1 million yuan (around US \$120,000). The ground was broken in June 1996, and after speedy construction, the church structure was completed by December 1996, and approved for public use by the county inspectors in January 1997. Over 200 people from overseas and within China were invited as “honored guests” (*jia bin*) -

overseas Catholics who contributed over 3,000 yuan and mainlanders who contributed over 100 yuan.

The Mass was scheduled to start at 8:30 am, but by 7:30 the church was already crowded with honored guests, other Catholics from the region, and villagers. Villagers (mostly women), wearing red badges with ribbons that marked them as ceremonial assistants, were posted at the gate to the church and throughout the church compound to help the police keep order. 3 red placards were set up by the church to wish a warm welcome to: visiting provincial, prefectural, and county cadres; Bishop Zhong and other visiting priests and sisters; and overseas guests. Inside the church compound, a member of the Parish Council had set up a table, and was taking last-minute donations that he carefully noted in a church ledger. Many people were milling around a stone monument that listed the donations for the building of the new church. Most people gathered in groups, to chat with visiting friends and relatives. Another crowd gathered around a little girl in a white dress, who danced to the singing of hymns by choir members from the nearby Jiaoling City church.

Inside the old church, the priests and altar boys were preparing for Mass; the sisters were doing the same in the convent, and as they finished preparations, joined the priests in the old Church. 11 priests had gathered to concelebrate Mass, with Bishop Zhong as the principal celebrant, including an American Maryknoll priest working in Hong Kong, a Taiwanese priest originally from this area, and other priests from Hong Kong, Indonesia, and other regions in Guangdong. 10 village altar boys were helping the priests prepare. There were also 12 sisters and 3 novices from the diocese present (including Sister Maria C., who is from this village). Some of the younger sisters and novices were inside the crowded church, distributing memorial cards with a picture of Mary to the guests already seated in the church, while ushers danced around them trying to seat more guests. The choir had already assembled in the

second floor choir loft of the new church. Government cadres and honored guests were gathered in the rectory drinking tea, waiting for the Mass to begin.

The Mass begins with a procession from the old church, where the clergy has gathered, to the altar of the new church. An altar boy carrying a cross leads the procession, followed by pairs of altar boys with incense, the sisters in black habit, the concelebrating priests, and Bishop Zhong who is carrying the bishop's staff. The choir sings the entrance hymn, and the procession wiggles through the crowds of people to the altar. There are about fifteen hundred people around the church compound, and there is not enough room for everyone to even find standing room inside - many remain outside the church throughout the celebration. There is a camera crew videotaping the event that was arranged by the village priest. After blessing the laity and altar with holy water, the Mass continues following the usual order of Mass. The readings, responsorial psalm, and gospel¹¹ stress how the building of a new church will help the Catholics live out a Christian life. The gospel, in particular, describes how the generosity of the contributors to the building of the church are fulfilling God's will with their philanthropy:

At that time, Jesus entered and was passing through Jericho. And behold, there was a man called by the name of Zaccheus; and he was a chief tax-gatherer, and he was rich. And he was trying to see who Jesus was, and he was unable because of the crowd, for he was small in stature. And he ran on ahead and climbed up into a sycamore tree in order to see Him, for He was about to pass through that way. And when Jesus came to the place, He looked up and said to him, "Zaccheus, hurry and come down, for today I must stay at your house." And he hurried and came down, and received him gladly. And when they saw it, they all began to grumble, saying, "He has gone to be the guest of a man who is a sinner." And Zaccheus stopped and said to the Lord, "Behold, Lord, half of my possessions I will give to the poor, and if I have defrauded anyone of anything, I will give back four times as much." And Jesus said to him, "Today salvation has come to this house, because he, too, is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man has come to seek and to save that which was lost." (Luke 19:1-10)

¹¹ The first reading was from 1 Kings 8:54-61; the responsorial psalm was from Psalm 84, the gospel acclamation was Matthew 7:8, and the gospel was from Luke 19:1-10.

These themes were reiterated by the bishop in his homily, as he welcomed and thanked all the people who participated in the church building process. The bishop also stressed how the church was an important place for Catholics to pray and learn about God and Mary's love for humanity, so that villagers can live in society according to God's will.

The Mass continued following the usual order of Mass. Following the homily, four village girls with veils presented the offering. After the liturgy of the Eucharist, communion was distributed, followed by a closing prayer. The procession reformed to leave the church, with a stop at the main door for a group picture. The clergy then changed out of their vestments, in preparation for the remainder of the ceremony. Helpers then descended upon the front of the church, to set up tables for honored guests and government cadres. Other helpers prepared for the lunch banquet that was being held in the old church. The host was taken out of the (tabernacle), signifying the more secular nature of the remainder of the proceedings.

The village priest started the ceremony by introducing the 18 people sitting at the podium that included government representatives and honored guests from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Indonesia, and pointed out other honored guests sitting in the pews. He then played the Chinese national anthem, followed by a group prayer of the "Hail Mary." Seven speeches were given, which largely stressed the resulting glory brought to China and/or the Catholic Church (depending on whether the speaker was a government cadre or overseas Catholic) from the achievement of building this church. The order of speeches was as follows:

1. Township Chief
2. Chair of the Guangdong Patriotic Church Association
3. The Bishop of the diocese
4. A priest from Taiwan active in village philanthropy
5. The Chair of the Jiaoling County United Front
6. A lay Catholic (surgeon) from the United States, active in village philanthropy
7. The Chief of the Jiaoling County Religious Affairs Bureau

The speeches lasted for about an hour and a half, and then the village priest closed the ceremony with an invitation for the honored guests to attend the lunch banquet.

Other volunteers had spent the entire morning preparing for the lunch, consisting of the typical Hakka banquet dishes.¹² 40 banquet tables of 8 people each had been prepared complete with white table cloth and drinks in the old church, following the completion of the Mass. The people who had set up the tables and were responsible for bringing out the food as they were prepared were all women from the village, with men in the kitchen preparing the food. The cadres were mixed together with many of the clergy at different banquet tables, while the honored guests were seated with friends and relatives from the village. The atmosphere was free and easy, and many older Catholics who normally do not drink alcohol became tipsy.

Following the banquet, two of the honored guests (both speakers — the priest from Taiwan and the surgeon from New York) were taken to the village elementary school for a meeting with the principal, the school chair (*xiaoxue dongshizhang*), and the county school supervisor. These two had contributed greatly to the school in the past, whose names were engraved on a stone monument at the entrance to the school (except the priest from Taiwan was not listed as a Catholic priest). They were taken to a meeting room to have tea and discuss further projects for the school. The two guests listened to reports about the school and future plans. They also shared ideas with the local educators, such as the expansion of the school library and the possibilities of computer education.

Background of the Event. A transnational village community. Little Rome is about an hour's bus ride north of Meizhou City, the prefectural capital of what is known as the “Hakka homeland.” The Hakka (“guest people”) are a diaspora ethnic group, considered by

¹² These include dishes such as *meicai kourou*, *rouyuan tang*, *jiangyou ji*, *chao yaoguo jiding*, *niang doufu bo*, *chao migaoban*.

most scholars and Chinese people to be a sub-group of the dominant Han ethnic group of China.¹³ Chen and Xu (1987) report that there are 40 million Hakka scattered throughout China and many more in over 50 other countries. The village is called Little Rome by other Chinese Catholics and missionaries because nearly all the people living here are Catholic. They are not just Catholic, but fervently Catholic: the many young men and women who sought vocations in the Catholic Church, especially before “liberation,” have been the vanguard of the Church in Guangdong. Throughout its turbulent history in China, the Catholic Church has survived many movements of persecution, including the latest during the Cultural Revolution, because of the persistent faith of these Catholic villagers. In good times, the Chinese Catholic Church flourishes politically and intellectually in the cities; but in bad times, which has often been the case since the Nestorian Christians first showed up in the Tang courts, the Church has maintained continuity through its rural strongholds.

Rice fields surround the village, spatially separating Little Rome from other villages in the Jiaoling valley. Nearly all of the 1,000 people (from over 30 different surname groups) whose household registration is recorded as part of Little Rome have a family member actively farming (and also a family member actively Catholic, meaning weekly attendance at Mass). Nearly all of the households also have major non-agricultural sources of income, whether through collective ventures (such as a distilling company) or private ventures (such as a roadside restaurant, goods store, or motorcycle repair shop). Most young adults from the village have left the area for work in more developed areas of Guangdong such as Shenzhen or Zhuhai, as factory workers, drivers, or hotel staff. On the eastern face of the village (the side facing the main highway), there is a large elementary school (the biggest in the township) called Fudan Elementary school, that originally was established during the Republican period.

¹³ Luo Xianglin, writer of the seminal works on the Hakka, asserts that they are the descendants of northern Han Chinese who emigrated south following dynastic collapses, warfare, and other disasters (c.f. Luo 1933,

Although it has always been a state-run school, the school, named after the Shanghai university founded by Chinese Jesuit priest Ma Xiangbo, reflects the dominant Catholic character of its community, its students (and, in Republican times, its teachers).

Little Rome is less than 5 kilometers south of the county seat, Jiaoling City. In one of the least well-off parts of Guangdong (according to Vogel 1989), this county seat during the mid-1990s was continually under construction, a sign of its growth (albeit slower than Shenzhen or the Pearl River Delta). Little Rome wasn't always Little Rome, but before 1850 had been a two-surname village more typical of the villages in Jiaoling County.¹⁴ No one in Little Rome (or in Jiaoling County) knows what the village was called back then, although descendants from the original two surnames (Xie and Li) are still here. The two surnames are reportedly to have moved into Jiaoling two to three hundred years ago, when the area as described by a local historian was "a desolate area, overgrown with brambles, weeds, and graves" (Jiaoling xiuzhi tongxun). One man (surnamed Xie), who sojourned in Guangxi, came back in the 1850s a converted Catholic. He built a chapel in part of his house, and invited French missionaries (Mission Etrangeres de Paris, MEP) from Meixian to do missionary work. The MEP, based in Hong Kong and Shantou, initially didn't assign a permanent priest to Jiaoling, but gradually built up their presence, buying land from the Xu lineage in the more established village of Dalubei (just to the north of the village, across a creek). As the MEP increased their landholdings (in the end buying about 100 mu of land around Little Rome), poor Hakka families, who were either already Catholic from MEP areas in the seven counties of the now Meizhou Prefecture (mostly from Wuhua and Meixian) or new converts (so-called "rice Christians"), gradually moved into land given to them or rented at a very low price by the MEP priests.

Constable 1994). Others contend that the Hakka are a sinified southern indigenous peoples (c.f. Fang 1994).
¹⁴ At the time of the village's establishment, the county was called Zhenping County.

A Catholic presence was already established by the time the Christianity-inspired Taiping armies swept through the area (they retreated out of Jiaoling in 1866). MEP Fr. Peng (Chinese name) started with two churches operating out of houses, a man's church and a woman's church. By 1872, a large Church with a capacity of over 1,000 people was in operation. Because of bandits and tension between locals, a wall was built encircling the village, complete with cannons, gun ports, and four large gates (the cardinal directions), sometime before 1887, and the skyline was dominated by a multi-storied Church and other church buildings. Other mission stations were set up throughout the county, with Little Rome serving as the focus of Catholic activities

After World War I, the French reduced the scale of their mission activities in China and ceded the mission territory of Jiaying (the old name for Meizhou prefecture) to the newly-formed "Catholic Foreign Missionary Society of America" or Maryknoll.¹⁵ Maryknoll first arrived in China in 1925, and these priests and sisters were very active in building schools, hospitals, and especially in expanding the Chinese clergy.¹⁶ The minor seminary in Meixian, the diocesan center under Bishop Ford, was especially important as an educational resource for Little Rome villagers. St. Joseph's Minor Seminary (later, shortly before liberation, St. Joseph's Middle School) prepared many young men for vocations as priests and for further education outside the region or overseas (including overseas PhD's).¹⁷

With "liberation," however, the expanding American missionary presence in the Meixian area came to an abrupt halt, marked by the arrest of Bishop Francis Ford and Sister Joan Marie Ryan, along with the deportation of American priests and nuns, in 1950. As he

¹⁵ China was the first mission site of this now international mission society.

¹⁶ It is of historical note that Maryknoll nuns, some educated with MD's in the 1930s and 1940s, were among the first women to leave the cloister of a convent or hospital and engage in full-time, peripatetic missionary work similar to their male counterparts (see Grondin 1956).

¹⁷ The legacy of St. Joseph's is symbolically made clear in Fudan Elementary, where the library is named after the last Chinese principal of the school Fr. Zhang; the buildings of the minor seminary are still used as a

was being arrested, Bishop Ford entrusted the diocese to Little Rome's "Bishop" Lan (as he is referred to by the Catholics here, but he was never consecrated as a bishop), who himself was confined to house arrest, with intermittent assignments to labor reform camps, until the Deng period (Bishop Ford died in a prison in Guangzhou). Other Chinese priests (especially those from the famous Hong Kong Holy Spirit Seminary "Class of 52," including such priests as the Wuhua-born HK Cardinal Wu) and Chinese sisters were sent back to their homes for either house arrest or labor reform. Many Catholics from Little Rome were also persecuted by the CCP, and Church property was seized and all public activities ceased.

Throughout the various movements in the Maoist period, Catholics were targeted because of their long-time association with foreigners, and as a result, their kin ties overseas (especially Taiwan). By the time of the Cultural Revolution, many Catholics were already marked as unreliable during the earlier anti-rightist campaign, and those that had been repatriated home after imprisonment or labor camp early on returned to labor camps. (An informant told me that it was lucky for the Catholics that the priests, especially Bishop Lan, was kept away from the chaos of the Cultural Revolution by being safely tucked away in a controlled labor reform camp). However, while public Catholic activities had already been banned, with the fervor of the Cultural Revolution, private activities (i.e., prayer, possession of Catholic books and icons, etc.) were further curtailed. (Officially, the churches were not considered closed until 1964, but without their clergy, the Catholics considered the churches closed from the time of the arrests of their priests during liberation.) Little Rome residents reported that the Cultural Revolution wasn't as severe here in the countryside as it was in more urban areas like Meizhou City, but that it was still a very difficult period.

middle school in Meixian and have not been returned to the Church despite the regulations of 1982 Document 19, returning confiscated property to recognized religious organizations.

The ascension of Deng Xiaoping, however, marked a vast change in the life of Little Rome. In 1980, Bishop Lan participated in a national meeting of Catholics in Beijing, where the new line of “freedom of religious belief” was introduced. When Bishop Lan returned from his trip to Beijing, local authorities resisted the shift in policy, but were divided, so Bishop Lan was able to begin re-organizing public Catholic activities. The first public activity held in 1981 was the funeral of a 100 year old woman; Masses were conducted in various large houses, tentatively, since the villagers of Little Rome (especially the men) were still suspicious of the party's true intentions. However, with the return of church property, and the re-opening of the Church on 14 August 1983 (Ascension Day), the ritual life of Little Rome gradually came back to life. Two sisters from Little Rome, trained under Maryknoll, and various lay leaders helped Bishop Lan reorganize the Church in Little Rome. Bishop Lan, recognized as the successor to Bishop Ford, also was a key leader in the reorganization of the Meizhou diocese. Because of his age and political considerations, Bishop Lan confirmed the selection by the Catholic community of Bishop Zhong, who continues to head the diocese today. When Bishop Lan died in 1991, the Little Rome Church did not have a pastor (Bishop Zhong presided over the diocese in Meixian), and the 4 remaining priests rotated through the seven counties of the diocese. With the reopening of the seminaries, the first priest from Meizhou to graduate from the Wuhan regional seminary (ordained in 1991) was assigned to Little Rome. With the re-establishment of the diocesan convent in the late 1980s, the first sister from Little Rome, the above-mentioned Sister Maria C., took her final vows in 1996.

Raising money locally and globally. The church opening ceremony, as seen by the geographical representation of the people participating, clearly manifests the transnational nature of Little Rome. However, it also depicts the structural tension between local leadership and administration of the project with the overwhelming need for overseas support. If the selection of speakers is taken an indicator, then what is represented by their regional

association is the local-ness of the event: 3 of the speakers were county cadres; 1 was from the prefecture; 1 was a provincial cadre; and the other 2 were from overseas (Taiwan and the US). The representation by region of the celebrating clergy also stresses the local nature of the event (compare the Figures in Appendix 1). What they do not represent, however, are the contribution amounts divided by region (see Figure 2). The result instead is an emphasis on the local aspect of the church construction project, but with a clear recognition of the necessity of overseas community members. From the very beginning of this project, the reliance on community members both local and abroad, with a stress on the local leadership and participation, was at the heart of the project.

After consultation with the parish council and the diocese, the first group organized in February 1996 was the “Little Rome Church Construction Committee.” The 13 formal members of the group (except for the sisters, all men) were largely leaders in the community, members of the parish council, and also had ties to overseas family and friends. This group served at the head of all the groups involved in raising money for the church construction. After a visit by a priest from Taiwan originally from the area, another group was established in Taiwan called the “Jiaoling County Church Construction Capital Development Committee.” This committee was further divided into 5 regional sections that focused on raising money in their specific areas: Hong Kong, Nanyang (Southeast Asia), Africa, US and Canada, and Taiwan.¹⁸

Enough money was pledged by villagers and committee members abroad to begin construction in June, and by the time of the church opening, there was enough money that the village committee discussed the possibility of also building a new convent.¹⁹ The results of

¹⁸ Africa was included because of the number of village members and other Hakka who live in Mauritius.

¹⁹ Actually, the parish committee was about to start construction of the convent with the promise of a large donation (100,000 RMB) from the American Maryknoll superior who visited the village in March 1997. However, the actual check was given to the bishop of the Meizhou diocese, and was diverted for other uses since more than enough money was to build the church.

this development campaign are tabulated in Appendix 2; they reveal a number of key characteristics of the campaign participants.

First, although the overwhelming majority of donors are from the mainland (84%), most of the money was raised from overseas donors (79%). This pattern is characteristic of fund raising projects in the Meizhou area and throughout South China where there historically has been large-scale migration overseas. From at least the time of Sun Yatsen's cultivation of overseas Chinese for economic and political support for the rebellion against the Qing government, local activists have sought out their friends and relatives overseas. Today, local extensions of the Chinese nation-state are also working hard to attract overseas supports for local development projects, with government offices (i.e., *zhengxiehui* and *lianyihui*) providing contacts for visiting relatives (c.f. Wang 1991, Yen 1995) and producing large quantities of publications for consumption by overseas Chinese. Large community efforts, like paving a road or building an ancestral hall, cannot be accomplished here without the participation and philanthropy of overseas friends and kin.

Second, the majority of funds raised are not from organizations (i.e., missionary groups or regional churches), but from individuals (76%). These individuals, like the surgeon from New York or the priest from Taiwan discussed above, and others like the son of the high school principal from Indonesia, the government clerk from Hong Kong, or the wife of a banker from Malaysia, all have connections to the village that are confirmed and renewed at specially-charged ritual events like the church opening ceremony. The inclusion of such non-local persons in the village community is also renewed through more mundane events throughout the year of visits to the ancestral homeland/natal home, telephone calls, letters, and remittances (*tan qin*, the visiting of relatives back home in China is an official category for Chinese immigration and public security bureaus' dealing with visiting foreigners). In other words, although transnational organizations facilitate and give cultural form to the linkages

between localities, it is individuals like Hannerz's "cosmopolitans" (Hannerz 1996, 1992) who embody the connection.

Third, the majority of donors and the management and leadership of the church construction project was local, despite the strong support and involvement of foreign friends, relatives, and Catholics. As is clear in the administrative regulations governing foreign involvement in Chinese religious activities, the government clearly recognizes the importance of foreign philanthropy for the conduct of various religious activities. According to the 1994 State Council Documents 144 (Administrative Regulations for the Management of Foreigners Participating in Domestic Religious Activities) and 145 (Administrative Regulations for the Management of Places of Religious Worship), foreign organizations and individuals are allowed to participate and support activities of recognized religious organizations in China, as determined by the appropriate-level religious affairs bureaus (county level and above). Guangdong provincial regulations further specify actions to be taken when given substantial donations by visiting foreign Catholics that include reports to the provincial Patriotic Church Association and provincial Bishop's Conference. The underlying principle behind these regulations is the maintenance of domestic control of religious organizations. This situation clearly goes against the model described by Hannerz (1992), where locals maintain a more passive role because they are more territorially-bound, resulting in local social asymmetries with transnational organizations and cosmopolitans. What is missing from Hannerz' model is the involvement of the state as mediator of transnational processes. For transnational processes, Sassen (1996) concludes that arenas for transnational processes exists only because of the complicity of states. The participation of different levels of government cadres in the opening ceremony symbolically highlights the state involvement and the local control of the event.

Fourth, the importance of the Hong Kong Church in the fund raising project illustrates the special link between the local Church in Jiaoling county and the Hong Kong Church. Money donated from Hong Kong comprised the largest percentage of gifts, and over half (56%) of that amount from Hong Kong was institutional.²⁰ In other words, as an institution, the Hong Kong Church was deeply involved in the support of the Jiaoling church. The presence of the Hong Kong church in Jiaoling county is also evident in other domains of church activity. For example, the liturgical texts used by clergy and lay readers are from books brought in from Hong Kong; when lay women were being recruited to serve as lectors, one of the criteria that they had to meet was the ability to read traditional characters. Hong Kong Catholics, as individuals or as representatives of organizations such as Maryknoll, often visit the church, reinforcing the link from the shared Catholic tradition with a personal relationship. Members of the Hong Kong Church were integral in the re-opening of the Little Rome Church in 1983, and were present in the re-opening ceremonies. Cardinal Wu of Hong Kong himself was the first Chinese bishop from Hong Kong to officially visit the mainland in 1985, and in 1986 he came back home to visit his home diocese of Meizhou. His visit to Little Rome in 1986 personified the growing bridge relationship that he foresaw for the Hong Kong Church.

The Return of Hong Kong and the Chinese Catholic Church: Official policies

The linchpin to the successful transfer of Hong Kong sovereignty from Britain to the China was the Chinese state's promise to maintain "one country, two systems" for 50 years after 1997. The structure of this promise was codified in the Basic Law: the first draft was published in 1988, the second draft in 1989, and the final version published in 1991. Prior to the signing of the Joint Declaration in December 1984 that announced the return of Hong

²⁰ The gift was made from the Hong Kong branch of a world-wide Catholic charity organization in Hong Kong that is very visible in Hong Kong society.

Kong, then Bishop Wu issued a statement to the Chinese government asserting their intention to maintain religious freedoms which include:

- 1) The right to have or to adopt a religion or belief of one's choice, and to manifest it in worship, observance, practice and teaching.
- 2) The right of the individual to worship in private and public, alone and with fellow believers.
- 3) The right to make one's religion known to others, and to instruct those who are interested in this religion by the spoken and written word.
- 4) The right of parents to provide religious instruction in bringing up their children.
- 5) The right of religious communities and associations to hold meetings and to promote educational, cultural, charitable and social activities.
- 6) The right to appoint personnel, to train them and to send them abroad for specialized studies and at the same time the right to utilize, if and when necessary, the services of personnel from abroad.
- 7) The right to erect and/or use buildings for religious purposes and to acquire such property if necessary.
- 8) For the Catholics, in particular, the right to maintain their existing links and their existing unity with the universal Church, through union with the Pope and also with the Bishops and Catholic communities in other parts of the world. This unity is basic to the Catholic Church's belief. (Wu 1984(1997)).

These points largely made it into the Basic Law, but with less specificity. The articles relevant to Catholic practices are:

Article 32: Hong Kong residents shall have freedom of conscience. Hong Kong residents shall have freedom of religious belief and freedom to preach and to conduct and participate in religious activities in public.

Article 137: Educational institutions of all kinds may retain their autonomy and enjoy academic freedom. They may continue to recruit staff and use teaching materials from outside the Hong Kong SAR. Schools run by religious organizations may continue to provide religious education, including courses in religion. Students shall enjoy freedom of choice of educational institutions and freedom to pursue their education outside the Hong Kong SAR.

Article 141: The Government of the Hong Kong SAR shall not restrict the freedom of religious belief, interfere in the internal affairs of religious organizations or restrict religious activities which do not contravene the laws of the Region. Religious organizations shall, in accordance with law, enjoy the rights to acquire, use, dispose of and inherit property and the right to receive financial assistance. Their previous property rights and interests shall be maintained and protected. Religious organizations may, according to their previous practice, continue to run seminaries and other schools, hospitals and welfare institutions and to provide social services. *Religious organizations and believers in the Hong Kong SAR may maintain and develop their relations with religious organizations and believers elsewhere.* (my italics, from Basic Law 1991)

Catholic links to the universal Catholic Church remain classified as “non-governmental organizations,” a classification that avoid the complications of official Sino-Vatican relations (see Leung 1992). As a result, the Hong Kong Catholic Church is in a unique position, with one foot in China and one foot in communion with the universal Church. In other words, as has been expressed by Cardinal Wu and his successor Bishop Zen, the Hong Kong Church is in a unique position to serve as a bridge between the universal Church and the Chinese Catholic Church. Bishop Zen further adds that the Hong Kong Church can serve as a bridge also between the official Church and the underground Church in China (Zen 1997:11).²¹

The Chinese Catholic policy on the relations with the Hong Kong Church after the return of Hong Kong is summarized by the slogan “the three mutuals” (*san hu*): mutually be non-subordinate to each other (*hu bu lishu*); mutually not interfere (*hu bu ganshe*); and mutually respect each other (*huxiang zunzhong*) (*Zhongguo tianzhujiao* 1997:5). These three mutuals were not specially formulated for the return of Hong Kong. Rather, they have been the official policy regarding relations with the universal Catholic Church (and other transnational religious organizations) since the re-organization of the official Catholic Church following the *kaifang* policies of Deng Xiaoping. This line has also allowed for renewed contact between Chinese Catholic churches and Catholic organizations outside, including the Hong Kong Church. As long as administrative control is maintained by Chinese clergy and lay leaders recognized by the state, then (at least in Guangdong) exchanges between Catholics inside and outside the mainland are permitted.

What then is the perception of Catholics in Little Rome as to how the return of Hong Kong will affect their lives? Surprisingly, people largely reported that they foresaw little changes resulting from the 1997 turnover. For the Catholic leadership in Little Rome, they

²¹ In this paper, I have not addressed the issue of “official” vs. “underground” Church in China, because the underground Church is not active in the northern Guangdong area where I conducted fieldwork. For more

could not see how relations could be any closer as long as the “one country, two systems” approach is maintained — the three mutuals policy, while safeguarding the Hong Kong Catholic Church, also maintains the *status quo* regarding relations between the Chinese and Hong Kong Church. They contend that it is the internal processes of the Chinese state which most greatly affects their practices, and that their greatest hope for even closer relations with the universal Church lies with the expected turnover of local cadres. As leadership positions within the prefectural and county religious affairs bureau is transferred from older, less educated cadres to younger, more outward-looking cadres, the Catholics of Little Rome believe that restrictions on their relations with the universal Church will gradually lessen.

For lay Catholics, not much has changed with the return of Hong Kong because travel restrictions into Hong Kong are as strict as ever; Hong Kong remains an untouchable place for them, though they can experience its traces in Shenzhen, Guangzhou, Zhuhai, and other areas of the Pearl River Delta. Although the prefectural government had organized various activities celebrating the return of Hong Kong (and in the year before had maintained a large billboard counting down the time to 1 July 1997), residents of Little Rome did not participate in many events, other than watching the extensive coverage from Chinese Central TV. In fact, one mother of a teenage daughter entering the top high school in the county complained of an added fee (50 yuan, or US\$ 6) that students had to pay for “fees for the celebration of the return of HK to China.” She complained that she had not seen one special event that the high school organized, nor did her daughter participate in anything. She cynically saw the fee as another example of how cadres milk the people for money.

Conclusion: Postcolonial shifts in transnational practices

The transfer of sovereignty from Britain to China is one example of how postcolonialism has changed transnational processes. Examination of the two diagnostic

events above reveals the tensions in the process that Moore describes as “the ongoing dismantling of structures [or] attempts to create new ones” (1987:729). The tensions that resulted in (1) the changes in the structure of the Hong Kong Catholic Church, and (2) the structure of the official Chinese Catholic Church that re-emerged with *kaiifang* are both revealed in the diagnostic events described above. In conclusion, I will discuss how transnational processes have changed with postcolonialism, how states are complicit in transnational processes, and how distinct transnational processes overlap.

It is clear from the literature that the shift in sovereignty that defines postcolonialism has resulted in changes in the international arena (the relationships between states). With sovereignty transferred to more local groups — in Hong Kong, the Chinese Hong Kong elite — the structure and content of local branches of transnational organizations have fundamentally changed. This process, of course, has been decades in the making; it began with neither the signing of the 1984 Joint Agreement nor the symbolic events of 1997. This process is reflected in the drive, started in the global wake of post-World War II postcolonialism, to indigenize the leadership and structure of the Hong Kong Catholic Church. In addition to postcolonialism, changes in Hong Kong society (especially the tremendous population growth and economic success), in the structure of the Catholic Church (resulting from Vatican II, the Church’s response to postcolonialism), and the development of the PRC state have also greatly affected the Hong Kong Catholic Church, leading to the present structural and ideological emphasis on its bridge and prophetic mission.

Postcolonialism is most evident in Little Rome in the Chinese state’s goal to maintain exclusive sovereignty over its territory, a major guiding principle in the development of the Chinese state. However, such efforts are constrained by the diffusion of Little Rome community members all over the world and their uneven prosperity. The balancing of these two poles — the exclusive maintenance of local sovereignty and the inclusive reaching out to

overseas Chinese and organizations — seen in the church opening ceremony lies at the heart of all transnational processes in China. The experiences of Kentucky Fried Chicken in Beijing (Lozada, forthcoming), the diffusion of Chinese laborers and capitalists throughout the Pacific Rim (Ong and Nonini 1997), or mass media in Shanghai (Yang 1997) all reflect the Chinese state's conundrum and their complicity in transnational processes.

Therefore, the impact of the state and of state-to-state relations must necessarily be incorporated into the analysis of any transnational process. Transnational processes, while making national borders less of a factor, do not make nations wither away. This is the weakest link in Appadurai's otherwise excellent model of transnational processes and modernity (1996, 1995). In today's world, the production of locality, a key social process in Appadurai's model, takes place only within the boundaries of a sovereign state. While the "work of the imagination" is not constrained by state hegemonic apparatus like passports, visas, national currency, customs, airport taxes, etc., the person is. In fact, as I discussed above and elsewhere, states are necessarily complicit in not just allowing but promoting transnational processes (as long as they do not go against state agendas). To make matters more complex, the state itself cannot be seen as a unitary actor (c.f. Herzfeld 1997, Ferguson 1990, Shirk 1993), but must be included in its multiple layers and competing parties. As various levels of the Chinese state were given a voice at the church opening ceremony, different levels of the state must be compared to fully contextualize the local transformation of transnational processes.

Moreover, there are multiple transnational processes intertwined in any social event. In focusing on the Catholic link between Hong Kong, Little Rome, and the regions where the other key actors are from, I have not discussed the other transnational processes going on. Because of space, I can only mention some other avenues that must be included. First, there is the previously mentioned migration of laborers and students, that is both regional and

international (Hong Kong is a special case, now, with the return of sovereignty to China but with the tight control of mainlanders' flooding the gates of Hong Kong). Second, there is the unceasing flow of media that feeds into the "works of the imagination" of villagers in Little Rome: VCD's, music CD's, television, etc. Third, there is the realm of consumption — XO, Quaker Oatmeal, Tang, Motorola cellular telephones, Japanese motorcycles, and other goods that are part of the transnational experiences of villagers. In other words, although I have emphasized the Catholic part of these villagers' identity, they are much more multi-faceted and more connected to the outside than I have portrayed in this paper.

Lastly, there is a question of what drives the responses of both the Hong Kong and Little Rome Catholic Church. I have not explained why the bridge or prophetic mission is important enough for Hong Kong Catholics to spend significant resources of money and time on, or why Little Rome Catholics persistently clung to their Catholic identity, weathering persecution campaigns, imprisonment, and discrimination. Herein lies the question of understanding religious faith, and in sociological terms, understanding the relationship between superstructure and infrastructure. The source of legitimacy and the grounding principles for the structures and practices of both the Hong Kong and Little Rome Catholic Church can be found in the Bible and other texts of the Catholic tradition. Without adhering to the admonitions and calls for action in Catholic scriptures, the structure would lose its coherence — people would not bother going to Church, let alone committing time and money to Church activities. Such questions go beyond the scope of this analysis, but must be raised to understand what links Hong Kong and Little Rome Catholics together to fight the good fight.

Appendix 1: Figures

Figure 1: Breakdown of Donors, by Region

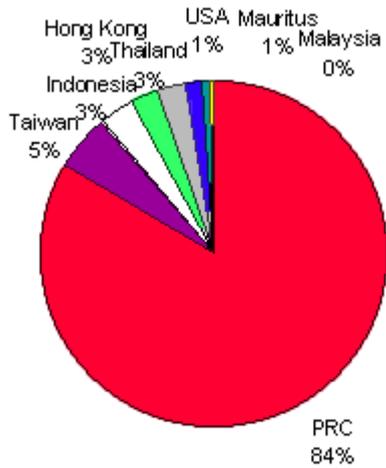


Figure 2: Breakdown of Contributions, by Region

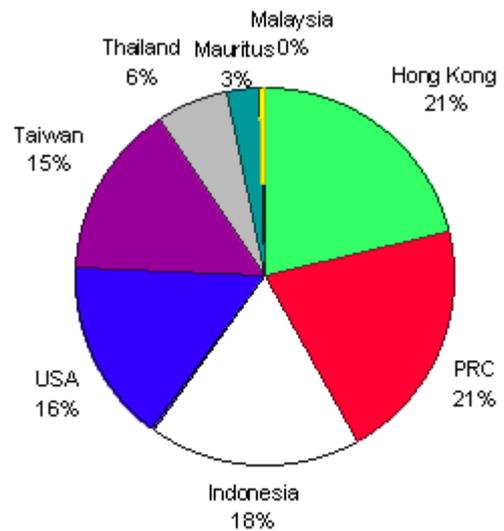


Figure 3: Breakdown of Contributions, by Source

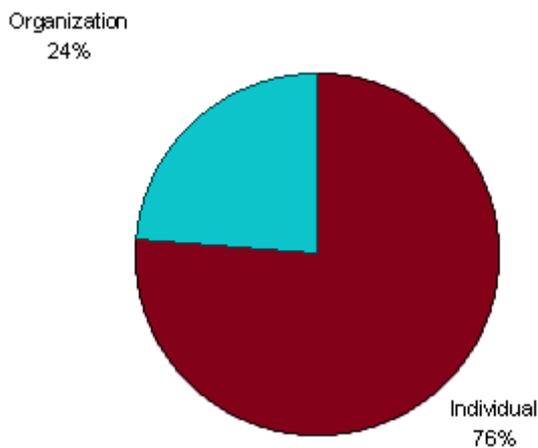
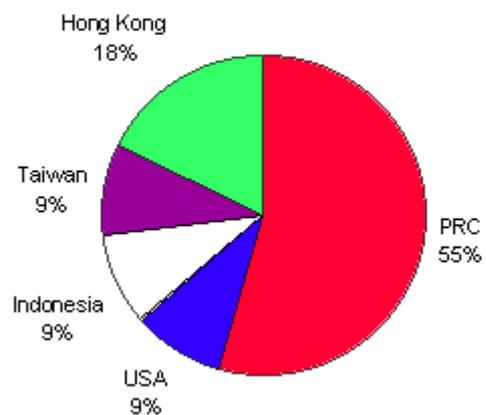


Figure 4: Breakdown of Celebrating Clergy, by Region



Appendix 2: Tables

Table 1: Church Construction Donor Participation, by Region²²

Region	No. of Donors
China	225
Taiwan	14
Indonesia	9
Hong Kong	7
Thailand	7
United States	4
Mauritus	2
Malaysia	1

Table 2: Church Construction Donations, by Region

Region	Amount Donated, in RMB
Hong Kong	152,378
China	151,990
Indonesia	130,708
United States	115,092
Taiwan	107,448
Thailand	44,217
Mauritus	21,420
Malaysia	3,240

Table 3: Church Construction Donations, by Source

Source	Amount Donated, in RMB
Individual	555,570
Organization	170,923

²² This list only includes overseas donors who gave at least 3,000 RMB (US\$ 360) and mainland donors who gave at least 100 RMB (US\$ 12). This amount was discussed and agreed to at a Church Construction Committee Meeting, when determining who to invite as honored guests and who to list on the Donor Monument. As a result, some donors, especially overseas donors, are not included in the tabulation.

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