



Center on Religion and Chinese Society
中國宗教與社會研究中心

中國宗教深度(進深)研究：
社會科學理論和研究方法的(新)探索

在國立政治大學的系列講座

2019年6月

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Center on Religion and Chinese Society

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解題

- 對於中國宗教以往研究的一個總結: Religion in China: Survival and Revival under Communist Rule (2012 Oxford University Press)
 - 中國宗教的特殊性和普遍性
 - 接續韋伯的社會學研究: 比較的方法
 - 接續楊慶堃的社會學研究: 實證的或經驗的(empirical)方法
 - 宗教的定義
 - 接續塗爾幹／德克海姆(Durkheim)的研究
 - 宗教變遷的理論
 - 宗教復興的實證事實與世俗化諸種理論的不足
 - 接續宗教社會學新範式的研究: 伯格、沃訥、斯達克和芬克、戴維、等等
 - 歷史的研究: 中華人民共和國宗教政策演變歷史和階段
 - 觀念的研究: 中華人民共和國宗教政策的意識形態基礎
 - 三色市場理論、短缺經濟理論、寡頭壟斷理論: 2012年4月政大系列講座
- 接續進深研究: 理論和方法新探索種種



1. 中國民間宗教研究的梳理、分析、對比研究

- 民間宗教：建議使用 folk religion
- 民間宗教的分類
 - 個體性的民間宗教
 - 社區性的民間宗教
 - 宗派性的民間宗教
- 民間宗教的量化研究
 - 在中國大陸和台灣，具有民間宗教信仰和實踐的人口比例非常高
 - 民間宗教在中國大陸人口中的比例遠遠低於台灣人口中的比例
 - 在台灣，社區性的民間宗教有一定的衰落
 - 在台灣，個體性的民間宗教比較穩定，在有些人群中，包括年青人中，甚至有所增長
- 未來的問卷調查，應該恢復一些在2000年以前使用過的問題



2.如何測量多元社會中的宗教性？以中國為例

- 在歐美社會中，多元宗教並存的現象日趨普遍，並且出現了一些新的宗教性的型態，比如，“希拉主義”、“有靈性但無宗教”、“相信但不歸屬”、“歸屬但不相信”、兼具兩個或更多宗教的混合信仰和實踐，等等。然而，宗教社會科學問卷調查對於人們宗教性的測量，卻是以理想化了的猶太教基督教為標準進行設計的，已經不足以準確測量社會大眾整體的宗教性，有些學者卻依據這樣的片面測量斷言宗教走向衰落是現代化的必然趨勢。
- 中國一向是多元宗教並存，很多人兼具多種宗教，而且幾個主要宗教異質性很強。如果能夠準確測量中國社會中的宗教性，必將有助於改進宗教社會科學研究的方法和理論。對此，我們進行了一些嘗試，希望建構一套測量多元社會中宗教性的更加準確的量度。



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有關測量宗教性的近期論文 Measurement studies

- L.Luke Chao and Fenggang Yang. 2018. [“Measuring religiosity in a religiously diverse society: The China case”](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2018.04.001), *Social Science Research* 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2018.04.001>.
- Yang, Xiaozhao Yousef and Fenggang Yang. 2018. [“Estimating Religious Populations with the Network Scale-Up Method: A Practical Alternative to Self-Report”](#). *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 56 (4): 703-719.
- *Tong, Yunping and Fenggang Yang. 2018. “Internal Diversity Among ‘Spiritual But Not Religious’ Adolescents in the United States: A Person-Centered Examination Using Latent Class Analysis.” *Review of Religious Research*, 60(4):435-453. [DOI 10.1007/s13644-018-0350-9](https://doi.org/10.1007/s13644-018-0350-9).



Measuring religiosity in surveys 問卷調查對於宗教性的測量

- 3 B's:
 - Belief 信仰
 - Belonging 歸屬 or identity 自我認同
 - Behavior 行為
- Increase of “Sheilaism”, “spiritual but not religious”, “nones”, etc. 希拉主義、有靈性但無宗教性、無宗教者
- Converging changes of religion in the East and West?
東方和西方社會中宗教性正在相向而行嗎？



Data and method 數據與方法

- Chinese Spiritual Life Survey 2007 零點調查
 - Questions tailored for Christians, Buddhists, folk religious adherents 問卷針對不同宗教設計了不同的問題
- Structural Equation Modeling 結構方程模型 with latent constructs 潛在概念 (factor analysis 因素分析 and multiple regression 多元回归)

Table 1
 Summary of belief items (N = 7021).
 Source: Chinese Spiritual Life Survey (CSLS) 2007

<i>Buddhism</i>	Category	Percent
b1: Do you believe in the existence of Buddha/Bodhisattva? 你相信佛祖/菩萨的存在么?	No	75.84
	Hard to say	7.95
	Yes	16.21
b2: Do you believe in the existence of Karma? 你相信因果报应的存在么?	No	69.56
	Hard to say	9.26
	Yes	21.18
b3: Do you believe in the existence of Afterlife? 你相信来世的存在么?	No	84.95
	Hard to say	9.00
	Yes	6.05
b4: Do you believe in the existence of Reincarnation? 你相信轮回的存在么?	No	85.94
	Hard to say	9.14
	Yes	4.91
<i>Christianity</i>		
c1: Do you believe in the existence of Jesus Christ? 你相信耶稣基督的存在么?	No	86.13
	Hard to say	9.03
	Yes	4.84
<i>Folk religion</i>		
f1: Do you believe in the existence of god of heaven? 你相信老天/老天爷/天老爷的存在么?	No	82.10
	Hard to say	8.15
	Yes	9.76
f2: Do you believe in the existence of Ghosts? 你相信鬼的存在么?	No	87.12
	Hard to say	7.49
	Yes	5.38
f3: Do you believe in the existence of god of wealth? 你相信财神的存在么?	No	79.53
	Hard to say	8.13
	Yes	12.33
f4: Do you believe in the existence of ancestral spirits? 你相信祖宗神灵的存在么?	No	75.63
	Hard to say	8.35
	Yes	16.02



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Table 2
Summary of practice items (N = 7021).
Source: Chinese Spiritual Life Survey (CSLS) 2007

Buddhism	Percent
b5: Organizational practices (attend formal services, pray, worship, and/or burn incense in Buddhist temples 去佛寺里做法会, 祈求, 拜神, 烧香)	11.67
b6: Individual practices (recite Buddhist prayers念佛, worship the Buddha 拜佛/礼佛, and/or read Buddhist texts 念佛经)	6.42
b7: Have Buddhist objects at home 在家中保留佛教物品	10.34
b8: Have Buddhist objects in workplace 在工作场所保留佛教物品	1.47
b9: Wear Buddhist objects 随身佩戴佛教物品	6.91
b10: Pray to Buddha(s) 向佛祖/菩萨祷告	6.99
<i>Christianity</i>	
c2: Organizational practice (attend church services 上教堂做礼拜)	1.97
c3: Individual practice (read the Bible 读圣经)	1.37
c4: Have Christian objects at home在家中保留基督教物品	2.05
c5: Have Christian object in workplace在工作场所保留基督教物品	0.63
c6: Wear Christian objects随身佩戴基督教物品	1.32
c7: Pray to God/Jesus Christ 向上帝/耶稣基督祷告	2.39
<i>Folk religion</i>	
f5: Pray, worship and/or burn incense in ancestral or other temples 去祠堂或其他庙 (比如关公庙, 土地庙, 妈祖庙等, 祈求, 拜神, 烧香)	4.44
f6: Venerate ancestors or recall the soul 敬拜祖先/祖宗/去世的亲人或收惊, 收魂, 叫魂	29.01
f7: Practice other folk religious activities (see note 1 for detailed description)	29.70
f8: Have ancestral tablets or the statue or portrait of local deity at home 在家中保留祖宗牌位或者神像 (土地爷像, 灶神像, 关公像, 或者门神像) 等	11.94
f9: Pray to local deity or ancestral spirits 向财神, 土地爷, 灶神, 或祖宗神灵祷告	3.85

(擺放)



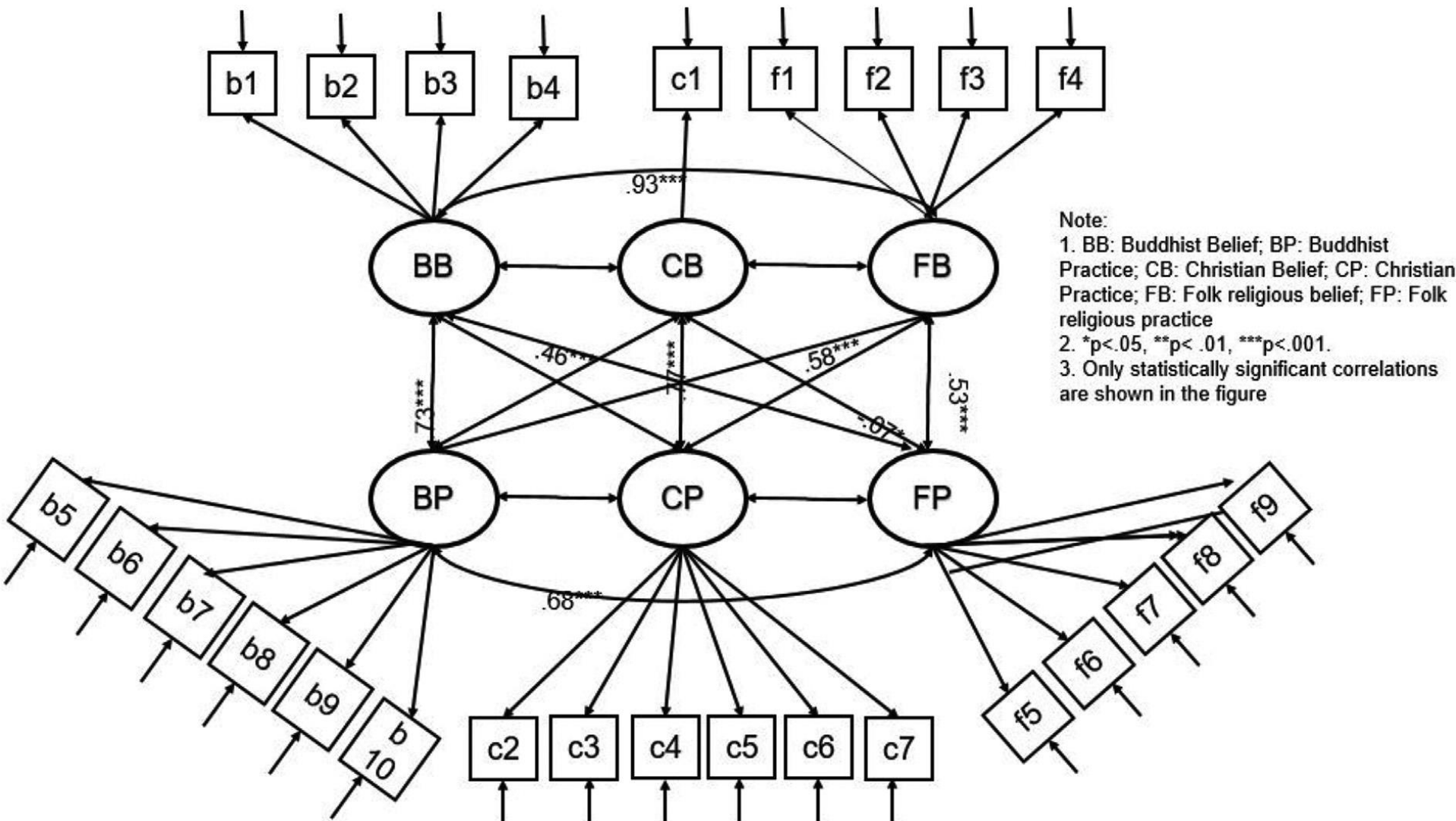
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Table 3
Measurement model (N = 7021).
Source: Chinese Spiritual Life Survey (CSLS) 2007.

	Buddhist belief		Buddhist practice		Christian practice		Folk religious belief		Folk religious practice	
Standard Factor Loadings	b1	0.77	b5	0.85	c2	0.96	f1	0.76	f5	0.47
	b2	0.73	b6	0.86	c3	0.87	f2	0.81	f6	0.64
	b3	0.96	b7	0.76	c4	0.96	f3	0.93	f7	0.49
	b4	0.96	b8	0.63	c5	0.90	f4	0.89	f8	0.59
			b9	0.67	c6	0.83			f9	0.62
			b10	0.80	c7	0.90				
Model fit										
χ^2	19.83 (df = 2,P = .00)		56.38 (df = 9, P = .00)		20.08 (df = 9, p = .02)		50.37 (df = 2,p = .00)		23.79 (df = 5,p = .00)	
RMSEA	0.04; [0.02,0.05]		0.03; [0.02,0.03]		0.01; [0.01,0.02]		0.06; [0.05,0.07]		0.02; [0.01,0.03]	
CFI	1		0.99		1.00		1.00		0.99	
TLI	1		0.99		1.00		0.99		0.97	

Fig. 1. Structural equation model for correlations among Buddhism, Christianity, and folk religion





結論

- 佛教與民間宗教信仰重疊度非常高
- 佛教與民間宗教實踐相關性很高
- 中國傳統宗教的核心在於信仰而非實踐
- 現代正信佛教運動，對於佛教信眾影響有限
- 基督宗教信徒的信仰和實踐一致性很高
- 佛教信徒的信仰和實踐有一定的一致性
- 民間宗教的信仰和實踐一致性較低
- 基督宗教信仰和實踐與民間宗教的信仰和實踐並不完全彼此排斥（並非負相關）
- 宗教性的測量，不能單單用已有常用問題，需要有針對非基督教的特有問題：非寺廟行為，多種宗教的信仰和實踐、信仰的程度，等等



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Purdue Survey of Chinese Students in the United States 北美中國留學生的問卷調查

A Big Ten University,
Spring semester 2016, 2018
after Spring Break



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Sample and Population

	In the sample (%)			In the population (%)		
	Undergraduate	Graduate	Total	Undergraduate	Graduate	Total
Agriculture	2.7	3.5	6	2.9	2.2	5
Education	.7	1.6	2	.3	.7	1
Engineering	18.4	21.5	40	19.2	14.0	35
Human & Health Science	3.8	1.8	6	5.1	1.2	7
Liberal Arts	6.3	3.5	10	7.3	1.4	9
Pharmacy	.4	.5	1	.2	.3	1
Science	8.7	7.7	16	12.4	6.2	19
Polytech	3.8	2.6	6	3.6	1.6	5
Veterinary	0	.3	.3	0	.01	.2
Business	9.5	2.7	12	14.5	2.5	18
Total	54	46	100	58	42	100

Total sample size: 960, which is 23.3% of the total population: 4,117.

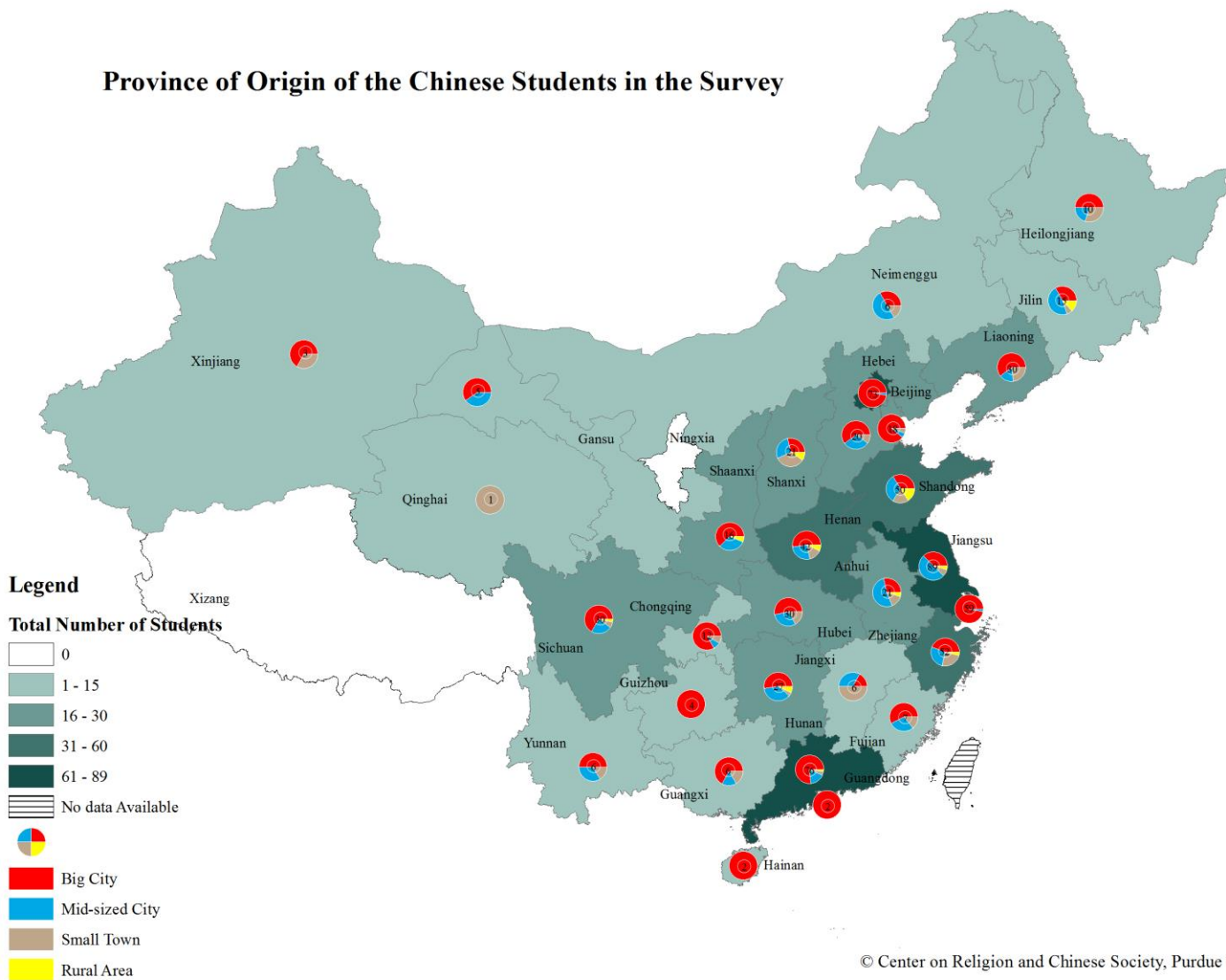
The average length of staying in the U.S. is 3.8 years; female respondents 44%.



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Province of Origin of the Chinese Students in the Survey



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*Note: The pie charts depict the percentage of the type of area the respondents are from. The numbers in the pie charts are the total number of cases.



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Table 5.1: Belief in religions before and after coming to the U.S. (%)

	Do not believe	Somewhat do not believe	Somewhat believe	Completely Believe	Total	N
Belief in Buddhism						
Before coming to the U.S.	54.2	23.0	21.3	1.5	100	736
After coming to the U.S.	57.2	22.2	19.1	1.5	100	729
Belief in Daoism						
Before coming to the U.S.	62.1	24.3	13.2	0.4	100	729
After coming to the U.S.	65.2	21.3	12.2	0.8	100	727
Belief in Protestantism						
Before coming to the U.S.	68.4	23.0	7.4	1.2	100	730
After coming to the U.S.	64.7	21.2	9.9	4.3	100	727
Belief in Catholicism						
Before coming to the U.S.	74.1	22.2	3.3	0.4	100	726
After coming to the U.S.	75.7	19.4	4.0	0.8	100	721
Belief in Islam						
Before coming to the U.S.	80.5	17.4	1.8	0.3	100	724
After coming to the U.S.	81.7	16.2	1.9	0.1	100	722
Belief in Folk religion						
Before coming to the U.S.	79.1	18.4	2.2	0.3	100	722
After coming to the U.S.	80.9	16.9	2.2	0.0	100	718

Figure 5.2: “Completely believing” in religions before and after coming to the U.S.

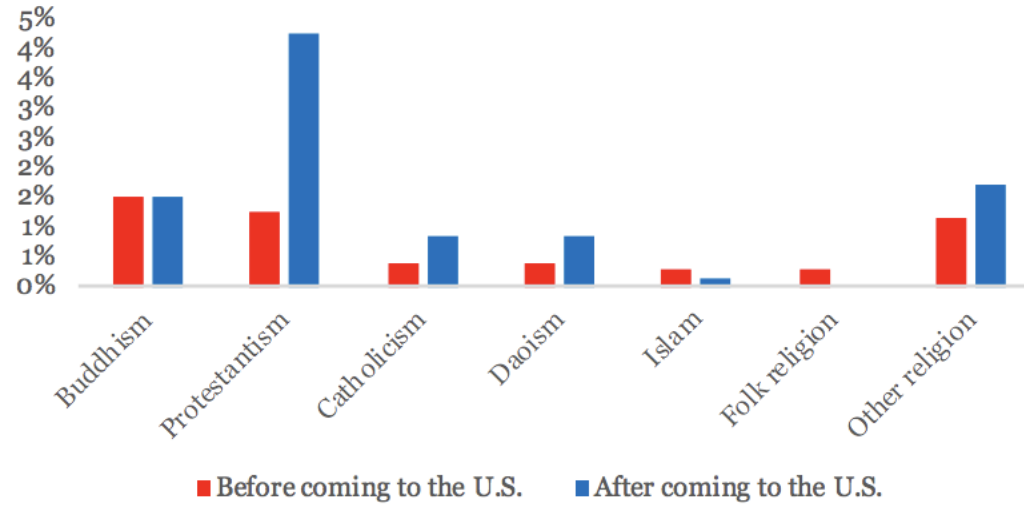
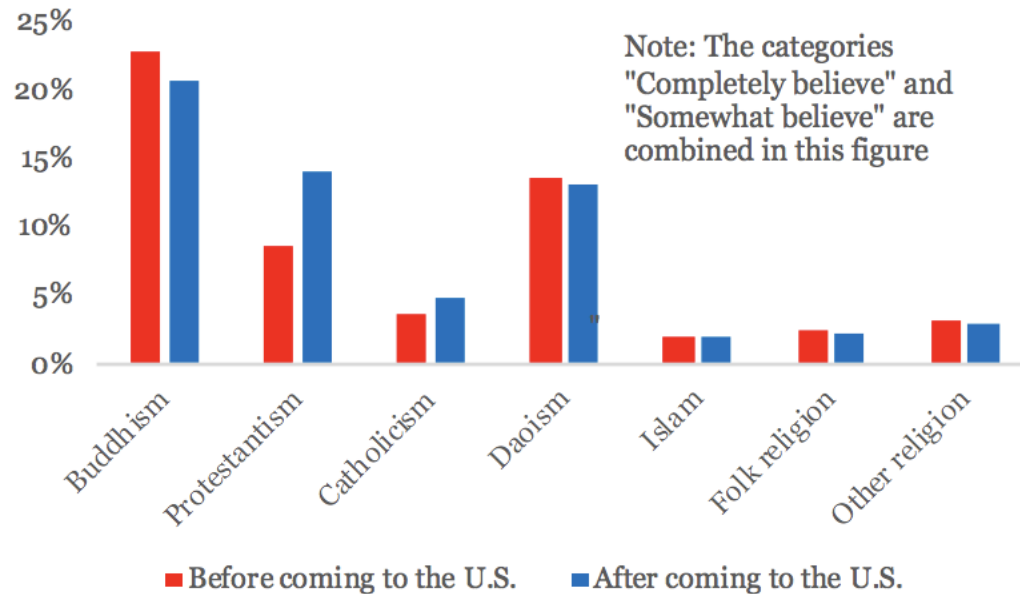


Figure 5.3: Belief in religions before and after coming to the U.S.

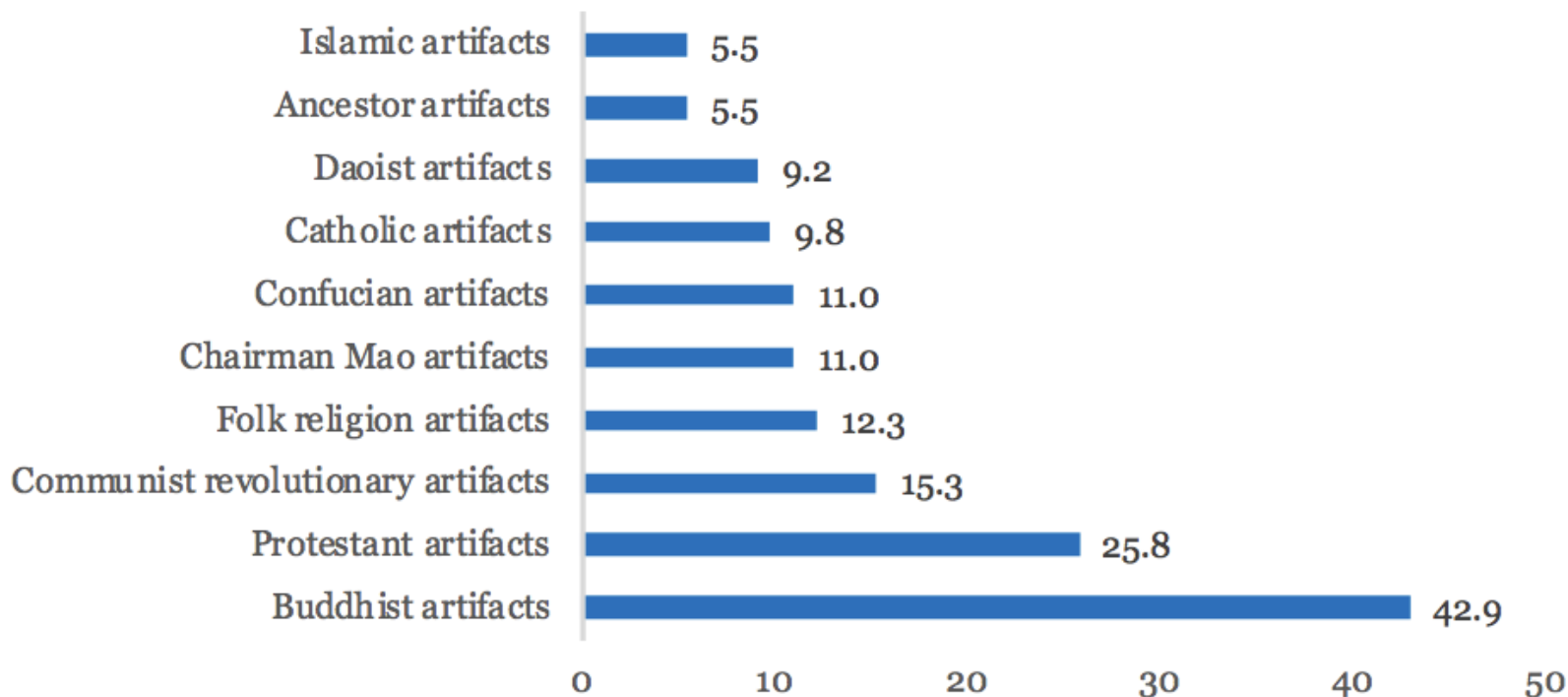




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Figure 5.4: Do you wear or keep any of the following items? (%)

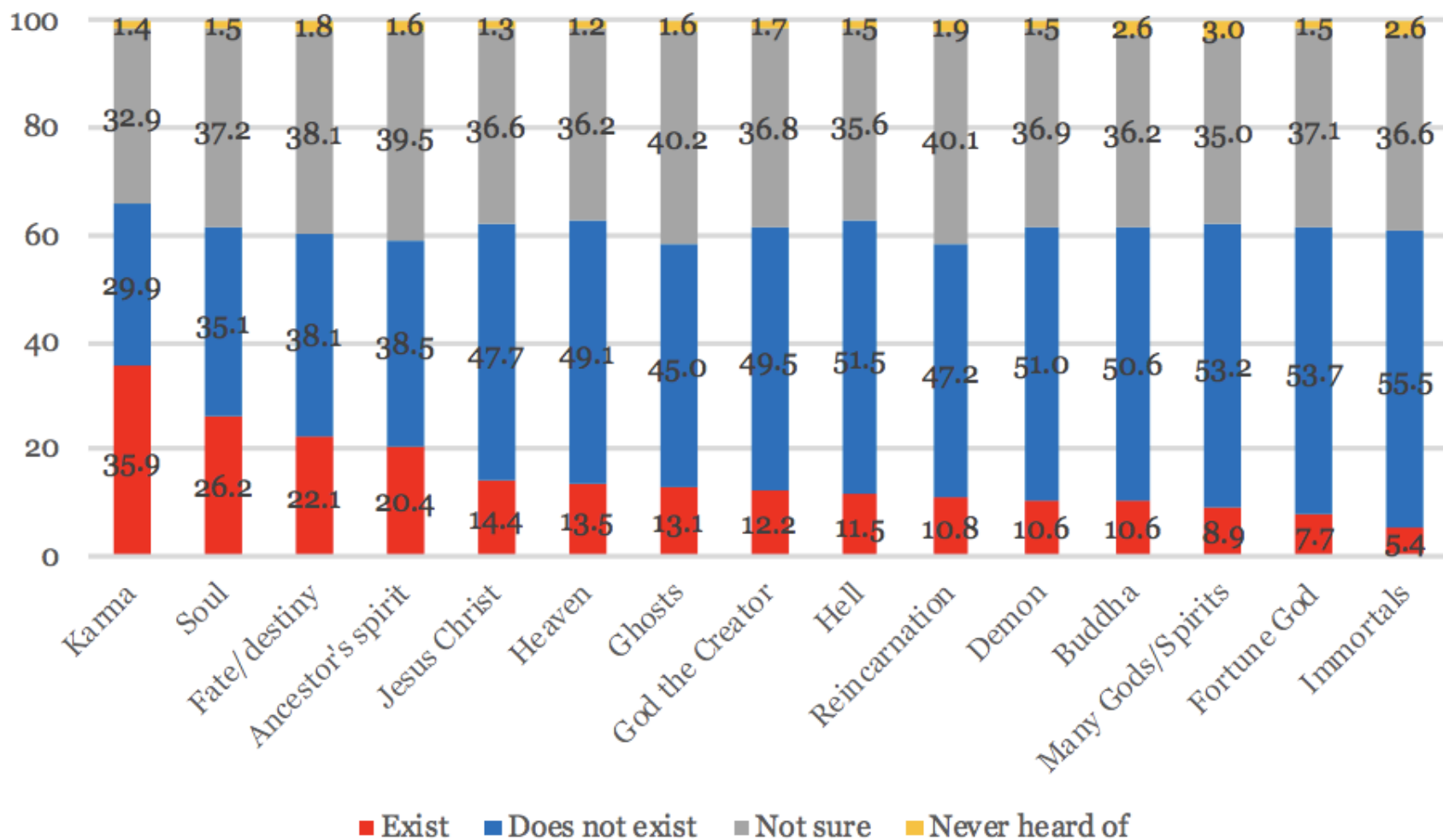




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Figure 5.6: Belief in supernatural power/being (%)





少數宗教的信徒人數比例推算方法

- 自我報告的誇大與掩藏
- 宗教機構或政府統計數字的問題
- 人際網絡推算法 network scale-up method: the priority is given to the question how are religious believers perceived by their network alters, rather than how do religious believers define themselves.
- 過去兩三個月你當面交談過的人中 the number of Chinese people you “have talked to face-to-face in the past 2–3 months at this University” — the criteria to define acquaintance—from the following categories: 有多少人是這些姓氏的、基督徒、佛教徒、考試作弊的、與其他族裔交友或結婚的、有豪車的 people with surnames as Zhu, Wu, Liu, Sun, Yang, Zhou, Zheng; Chinese who are Christians; Chinese who are Buddhists; Chinese who cheated in an exam; Chinese who have dated or married to a non-Chinese; Chinese who own a luxury car.



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Table 3: Classic and generalized network scale-up estimates of Buddhist and Christian Chinese in the target population, mean and standard deviation estimated with 300 bootstrap resampling

	Buddhists (Percentage of Population)		Christians (Percentage of Population)	
	Mean	<i>SD</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>
Classic estimate	71 (1.7%)	6.6 (.2%)	219 (5.3%)	17 (.4%)
Estimate with sampling weights	70 (1.7%)	7.5 (.2%)	194 (4.7%)	16 (.4%)
Estimate with sampling weights and adjustment for δ_f	63.9 (1.6%)	7.0 (.2%)	183 (4.4%)	15 (.4%)
Estimate with sampling weights and adjustment for τ_f	195.5 (4.7%)	20.6 (.5%)	372.8 (9.1%)	31.09 (.8%)
Estimate with sampling weights and adjustment for δ_f , τ_f	176.1 (4.3%)	18 (.4%)	253.8 (8.6%)	27.9 (.7%)
Self-reported from the sample (more believing)	.094 (9.4%)	.011 (1.1%)	.092 (9.2%)	.011(1.1%)
Self-reported from the sample (totally believing)	.012 (1.2%)	.004 (.4%)	.047 (4.7%)	.008(.8%)



估算宗教信徒在人口中的比例

- 既需要問他們自己的宗教認同
- 也需要用人際網絡關係進行推算
- 基督徒的實際比例在4.7%至8.6%之間
- 佛教徒的實際比例在1.2%至4.3%之間
- 如果採用“比較相信”，則有更多的信徒



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Internal Diversity Among “Spiritual But Not Religious” Adolescents in the United States: A Person-Centered Examination Using Latent Class Analysis

- Americans who self-identify as spiritual but not religious (SBNR) have increased in recent years. Existing studies of American religion often assume the SBNR as a homogeneous group. Recently some scholars suggest they are not all the same. Instead, SBNR people may differ in the pattern of religious practice, attitude, and affection. This study examines the heterogeneity of the SBNR using a person-centered approach of latent class analysis. We first identified four distinct types of SBNR adolescents in the Wave 2 data of the National Survey of Youth and Religion. Then, we explored how subgroups changed their religious identity over time by tracking them in Wave 3 data.

Table 3 Proportions and conditional probabilities of responses for four latent classes

	Conventionally religious	Moderately religious	Spiritual seekers	Religiously indifferent
Proportion of sample in class	0.26	0.41	0.08	0.25
Average probabilities for being in this class	0.92	0.88	0.84	0.90
Attending religious services				
Never/a few times a year	0.20	0.51	0.70	0.89
Many times a year/once a month	0.09	0.21	0.13	0.07
2–3 times a month/once a week	0.48	0.25	0.17	0.03
More than once a week	0.23	0.03	0.00	0.00
Pray				
Never/less than once a month	0.02	0.18	0.37	0.74
One to two times a month/about once a week	0.15	0.50	0.37	0.23
A few times a week/about once a day	0.57	0.30	0.23	0.03
Many times a day	0.26	0.02	0.03	0.00
Meditate				
No	0.86	0.93	0.07	0.92
Yes	0.14	0.07	0.93	0.08
Practice more than one religion				
No	0.84	0.83	0.09	0.71
Yes	0.16	0.17	0.91	0.29
Okay to pick and choose				
No	0.63	0.46	0.14	0.30
Yes	0.37	0.54	0.86	0.70
Importance of faith				
Not important at all/not very important	0.00	0.08	0.49	0.84
Somewhat important	0.07	0.66	0.39	0.16
Very important/extremely important	0.93	0.27	0.12	0.00
Interest in learning religion				
Not at all interested	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.23
Not very interested	0.01	0.21	0.18	0.48
Somewhat interested	0.34	0.71	0.44	0.26
Very interested	0.65	0.06	0.34	0.03
Closeness to God				
Extremely distant/very distant	0.02	0.05	0.31	0.46
Somewhat distant	0.06	0.32	0.28	0.39
Somewhat close	0.31	0.53	0.34	0.14
Very close/extremely close	0.61	0.10	0.07	0.01
Meaning of life				
Rarely/never	0.13	0.23	0.17	0.48



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Table 4 Change of religious identity from Wave-2 to Wave-3, by class membership. *Source:* Wave-2 data from the National Survey of Youth and Religion

Class membership	Religious affiliation		
	No	Yes	Total
Conventionally religious	7 (1.84)	373 (98.16)	380 100
Moderately religious	68 (10.74)	565 (89.26)	633 100
Spiritual seekers	37 (31.62)	80 (68.38)	117 100
Religiously indifferent	163 (43.58)	211 (56.42)	374 100
Total	275 (18.28)	1229 (81.72)	1504 100



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Table 5 Change of religious identity from Wave-2 to Wave-3, by class membership. *Source:* Wave-2 and Wave-3 data from the National Survey of Youth and Religion

Class membership	Change of religious identity			
	Maintain SBNR	To R&S	To neither	Total
Conventionally religious	229 (69.39)	99 (30)	2 (0.61)	330 (100.00)
Moderately religious	396 (73.61)	117 (21.75)	25 (4.65)	538 (100.00)
Spiritual seekers	87 (86.14)	5 (4.95)	9 (8.91)	101 (100.00)
Religiously indifferent	235 (71.87)	37 (11.31)	55 (16.82)	327 (100.00)
Total	947	258	91	1296