



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



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系列講座總序

- 宗教在當代中國社會表現出旺盛的生命力，這一事實挑戰了近現代以來曾經流行的世俗化範式(paradigm)及其諸種理論，對此，楊鳳崗在其著作*Religion in China: Survival and Revival under Communist Rule* (中國宗教在共產黨統治下的存活與復興)中提出了獨特的理論闡述，在東西方學術界引發很多討論和研究(此書英文原著已被翻譯成韓文出版，義大利文即將出版，希望將來有中文版)。
- 本系列講座，則是對當代中國一些宗教現象進行更加深度的研究，運用多種社會科學研究方法，涉及民間宗教、佛教、基督教、伊斯蘭教和政教關係等問題，從微觀、中觀和宏觀多個層面，分析和總結中國宗教所具有的獨特性和普遍性，深入探索宗教社會科學方法論和基本理論。這些探索，打破基於歐美主流宗教的預定模式，其理論和方法工具，或許可以更加準確地把握當今世界各地的宗教變遷趨勢。



中國民間宗教研究的梳理、分析、對比研究

- 民間宗教的是是非非
 - 英語世界的缺憾和視角盲點 Popular religion, commoners religion, primitive religion? Indigenous religion, folk religion?
 - Diffused religion? 制度性宗教與非制度性宗教, 嵌入其它社會制度中的宗教元素?
 - 民間信仰與民間宗教的特定話語系統
- 宗教定義的必要性與局限性
 - 韋伯迴避定義, 帶來更多問題
 - 政界、教界、媒界等不同社會群體話語的互動
 - 學界的責任, 接續塗爾幹, 糾正其偏差



Yang's Definition

- A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices about life and the world relative to the supernatural that unite the believers or followers into a social organization or moral community (Yang 2012, 36).
- Four components of a religion:
 - (1) a belief in the supernatural;
 - (2) a set of beliefs regarding life and the world in relation to the supernatural;
 - (3) a set of ritual practices manifesting the beliefs; and
 - (4) a distinct social organization or moral community of the believers and practitioners.
 - Each component may vary in form or degree.



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Table 2 Definition and Classification of Religion for the SSSR 宗教的定義與分類

	Supernatural 超自然	Beliefs 信仰	Practices 實踐	Organization 組織	Examples 舉例
Full religion 完備宗教	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Christianity, Buddhism, Islam
Semi-religion 半宗教	Yes	Under-developed 發育不足的	Yes	Under-developed 發育不足的	Folk or popular religion, magic, spiritualities
Quasi-religion 準宗教	Yes	Yes	Yes	Diffused / embedded 依附 / 嵌入其它社會制度的	Civil religion, Ancestor worship, Guild cult
Pseudo-religion 偽宗教	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	atheism, Communism, fetishism



Why Folk Religion?

- Large Numbers
 - Putian City
 - 2,586 local temples housing 10,433 deity statues
 - 1.62 temples per square kilometer
- Social and political functions in China's transition
 - moral framework to sanction officials for their performance
 - local solidarity



Chinese folk religion

- Yang, Fenggang and Anning Hu. 2012. [“Mapping Chinese Folk Religion in Mainland China and Taiwan.”](#) *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* Vol. 51, Issue 3 (September 2012), pp. 505-521.
- Hu, Anning and Fenggang Yang. 2014. [“Trajectories of Folk Religion in Deregulated Taiwan: An Age-Period-Cohort Analysis.”](#) *Chinese Sociological Review* 46(3): 80-100.
- Yang, Fenggang and Anning Hu. 2018. [“Folk Religion in Contemporary China”](#) in Oxford Bibliographies in Chinese Studies. Edited by Tim Wright. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yang, Fenggang. 2016. [“Exceptionalism or Chinamerica: Measuring Religious Change in the Globalizing World Today.”](#) *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* Volume 55, Issue 1, pp7-22.

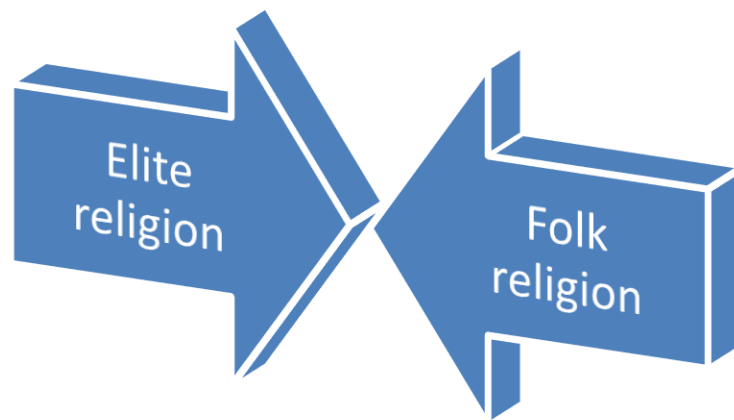
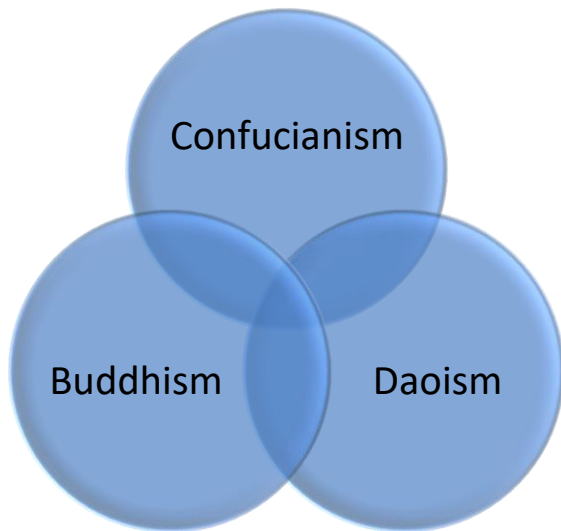


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What is Folk Religion?

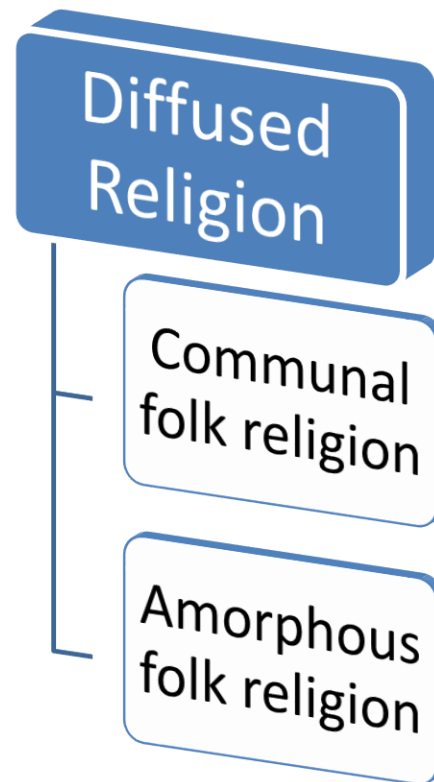
- In the early twentieth century until the 1970s, folk religion refers to the religious beliefs and practices of common folks in contrast to and beyond the three teachings of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism.
- 高延 Jan Jakob Maria de Groot (1854-1921) *The Religious System of China*, Brill, Leiden, 1892-1910. *The Religion of the Chinese* (The Hartford-Lamson Lectures on the Religions of the World). Macmillan 1910.





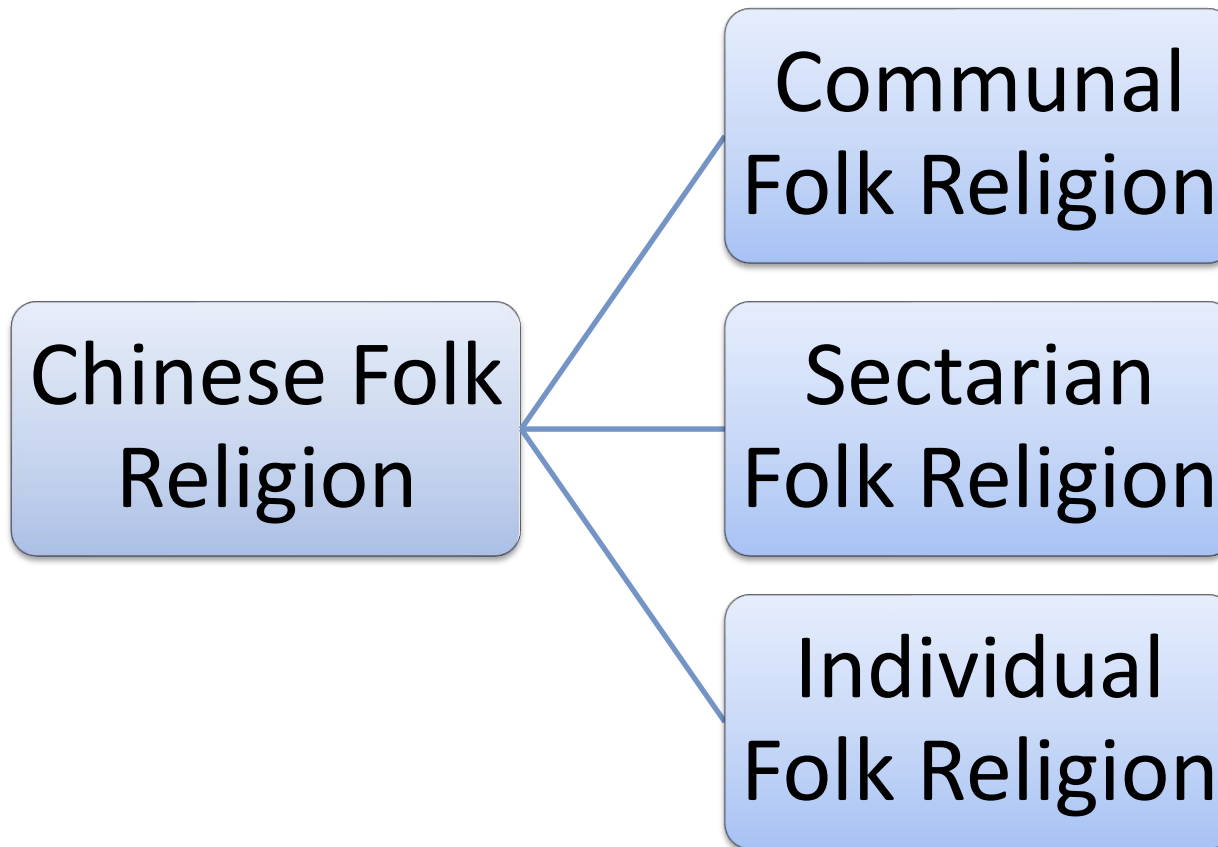
What is Folk Religion?

- Maurice Freedman: There is the common “Chinese religion”
 - Today: 中華教
- C. K. Yang
 - institutional religion vs. “diffused religion”
 - two understandings:
 - the communal functions of Chinese folk religion
 - the amorphous nature of diffused religion



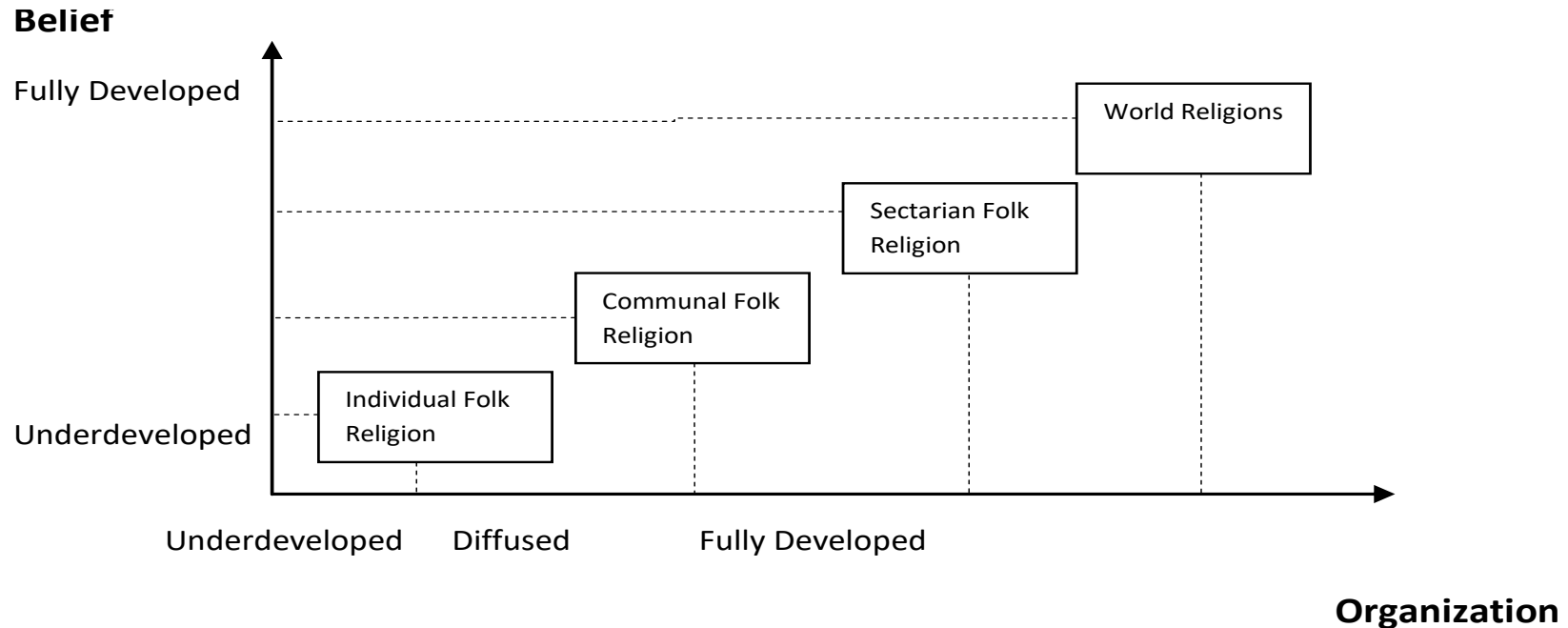


Three Types of Folk Religion





Three Types of Folk Religion



Note: all religions include ritual practices which are related to the beliefs.



Measures of Chinese Folk Religion

	Mainland China	Taiwan
Self-Identity	Believing in gods without formal identity	Folk belief
Communal folk religion	Local deity worship	Local deity worship
	Ancestor worship	Ancestor worship
Individual folk religion	Fengshui	Fengshui
	Fortune-telling	Fortune-Telling
	Amuletic practices	Amuletic practices
	God of wealth	
Sectarian folk religion		Sect

Data and Variables 数据和变量

- **2007 CHINESE SPIRITUAL LIFE SURVEY (CSLS)**
- **SAMPLE SIZE: 7313 (7021 USED)**
- **VARIABLES**
 - Folk religious identity 民间宗教认同
 - compilation of family genealogy/renovation ancestral temple 续家谱, 修祠堂
 - Shangfen 上坟
 - Ancestor tablet at home 家里供奉祖宗牌位
 - Ancestor tablet in workplace 单位供奉祖宗牌位
 - Believe in the existence of ancestral spirits 相信祖宗神灵存在
 - Pray to ancestral spirits, including deceased family members 向祖宗神灵包括死去的亲人祈祷
 - Watching fengshui 看风水
 - Consulting fengshui master 咨询风水先生
 - Practice of god of wealth 财神相关的实践
 - Belief of god of wealth 财神相关的信仰
 - Individualistic folk religious practices 个人性的民间宗教实践
 - Taoist Beliefs 道教信仰
 - Taoist Practices 道教实践

Major Findings

	Mainland China(%)	Taiwan (%)
Self-Identity of Folk Religion	11.8	42.7
Believing in Gods without Formal Identity	11.8	-
Folk Belief	-	42.7
Communal Folk Religion	19.9	87.9
Local Deity Worship	4.1	82.5
Ancestor Worship	17.5	87.4
Individual Folk Religion	51.9	84.7
Fengshui	18.2	25.4
Fortune Telling	9.8	34
The God of Wealth	22.1	-
Amuletic Practices	30.2	74.4
Sectarian Folk Religion	-	1.8

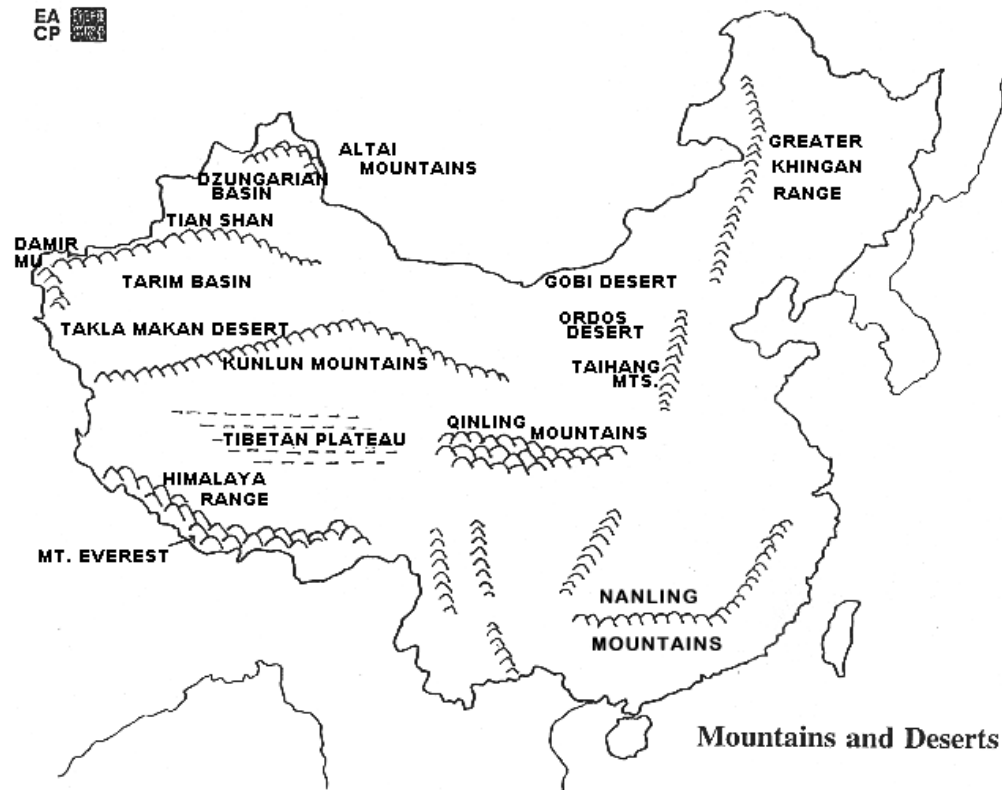
Major Findings

		Mainland		Taiwan	
		communal folk religion adherents (%)	individual folk religion adherents (%)	communal folk religion adherents (%)	individual folk religion adherents (%)
Gender	Male	17.8 (A)	48.8 (A)		
	Female	21.9 (B)	54.7 (B)		
Age	≤ 29	17.8 (B)		93.3 (A)	
	30-39	19.1 (B)		93.1 (A)	
	40-49	18.1 (B)		84.9 (B)	
	50-59	23.8 (A)		87.2 (B)	
	≥ 60	23.3 (A)		83.8 (B)	
Education	≤ primary school	25.2 (A)			88.9 (A)
	middle school	18.0 (B)			89.1 (A)
	high school	20.2 (B)			82.3 (B)
	≥ college	13.5 (C)			82.2 (B)
Household income	1st quartile		53.7 (A)		
	2nd quartile		43.2 (B)		
	3rd quartile		43.8 (B)		
	4th quartile		49.2 (A)		

Categories with the same letter are not significantly different at the 0.05 level in the percentage. Omitted are the values not statistically significant across the categories.



a contour map of folk religion





Conclusion and Discussion

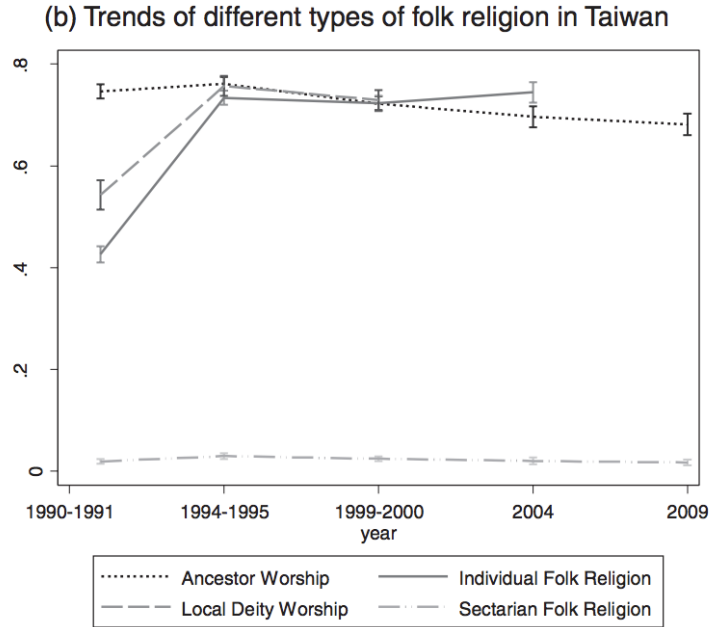
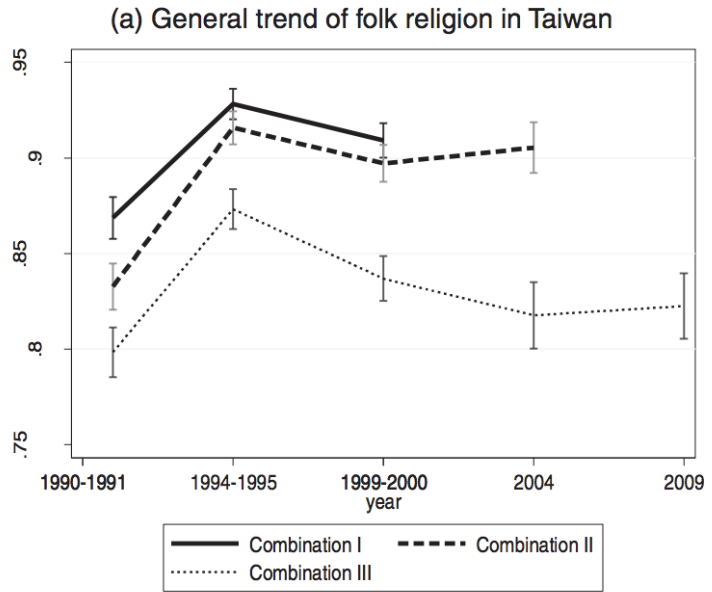
- folk religion remains large.
- more adherents in Taiwan, great potential in mainland China.
- The socio-demographic characteristics of adherents of folk religion show various patterns.
- future research
 - is there a decline of folk religion in the process of social modernization?
 - what are the social and political functions of folk religion?



Trajectories of Folk Religion in Deregulated Taiwan

- Drawing on pooled cross-sectional data collected in Taiwan, this research examines the age, period, and cohort effects on the trajectories of folk religions. We detect a temporal growth in Taiwanese folk religion from the early 1990s to the mid-1990s, followed by a downward trend in the 2000s. A slight decline of individual folk religion is confirmed across the life course among Taiwanese residents. The cohorts that experienced the martial law era in their formative stage are more likely to practice individual folk religion but less likely to get involved in communal folk religion. Finally, communal folk religion within Buddhism is falling, but individual folk religion has become increasingly popular within institutional religions. This research betters our understanding of Chinese folk religion and sheds light on the classic Weberian disenchantment thesis in the context of Chinese society.

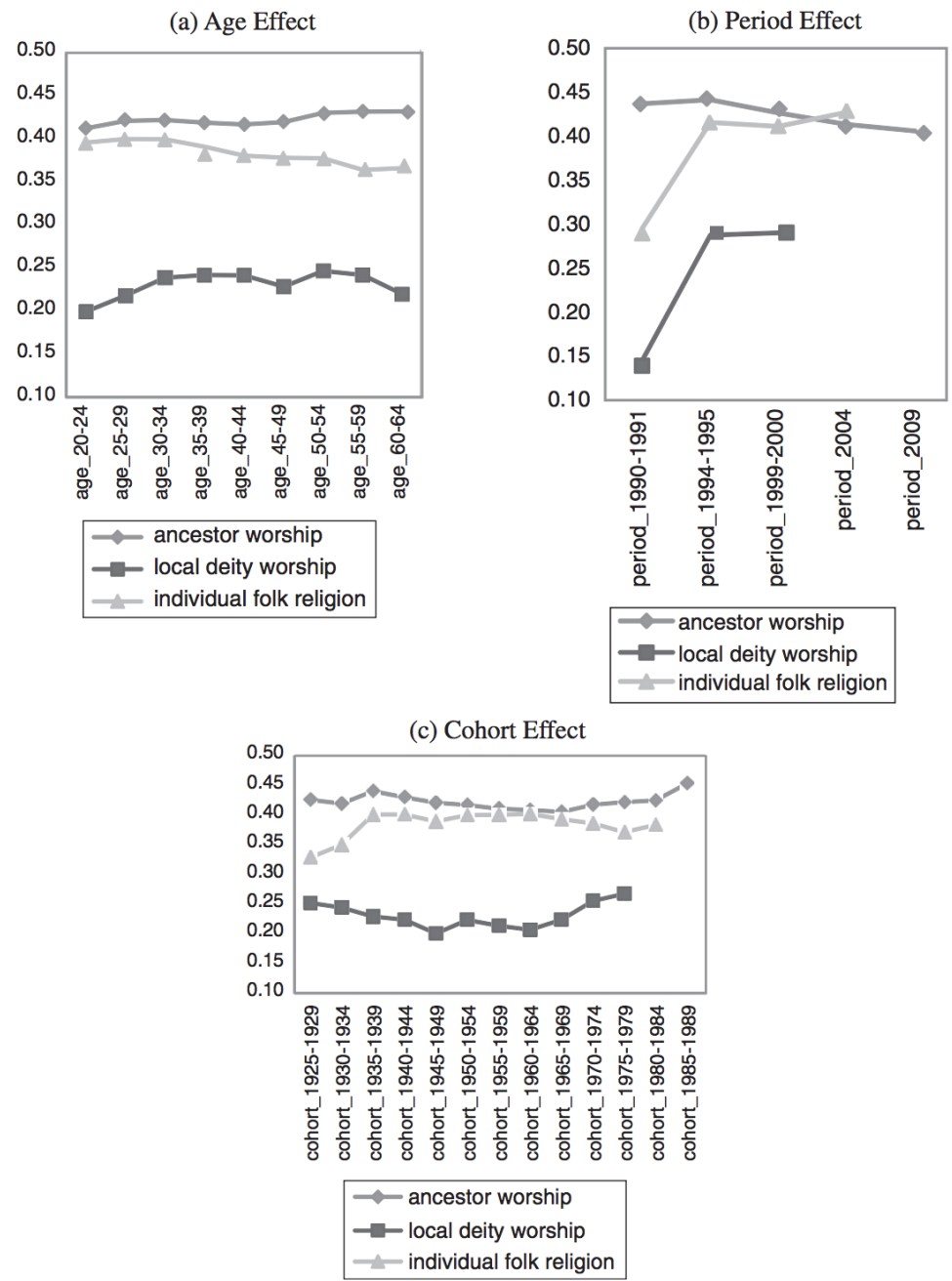
Figure 1. The Longitudinal Trends of Folk Religion in Taiwan: 1990–2009



Notes: The Y-axis represents the percentage of respective folk religious adherents in the population. In Figure 1a, three combinations of folk religious practices are examined. Because local deity worship is not measured after 2000 and amuletic practices are not measured in 2009, the combinations have different time spans. Combination I: ancestor worship, local deity worship, sectarian group participation, observing feng shui, fortune-telling, or amuletic practices; Combination II: ancestor worship, sectarian group participation, observing feng shui, fortune-telling, or amuletic practices; Combination III: ancestor worship, sectarian group participation, observing fengshui, or fortune-telling.

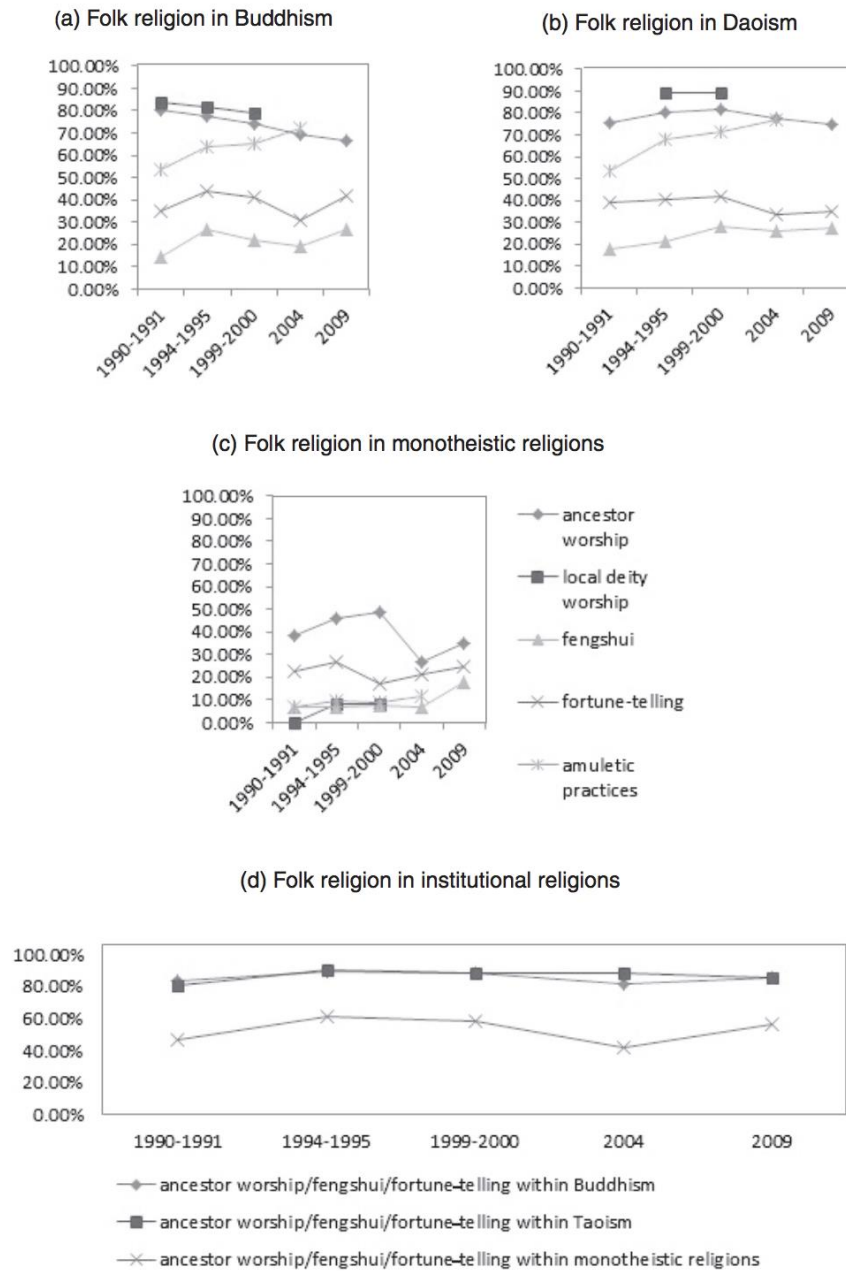
Sources: Taiwan Social Change Survey (1990, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2004, and 2009).

Figure 2. Results of Age, Period, Cohort Analysis



Sources: Taiwan Social Change Survey (1990, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2004, and 2009).

Figure 3. Percentages of Folk Religion in Institutional Religions: 1990–2009



Sources: Taiwan Social Change Survey (1990, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2004, and 2009).



Pew Research Center's report

- According to the Pew report: “Folk religions are closely tied to a particular people, ethnicity or tribe. In some cases, elements of other world religions are blended with local beliefs and customs. These faiths often have no formal creeds or sacred texts” (Pew Research Center [2015b](#):232). Examples of this category include “African traditional religions, Chinese folk religions, Native American religions, and Australian aboriginal religions” (Pew Research Center [2015b](#):232).
- Europeans and European-Americans
- Sheilism
- Nonexclusive characteristic



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Figure 1 of SSSR Presidential Address

Projected Cumulative Change Due to Religious Switching, 2010-2050

	Switching in	Switching out	Net change
Unaffiliated	97,080,000	35,590,000	+61,490,000
Muslims	12,620,000	9,400,000	+3,220,000
Folk Religions	5,460,000	2,850,000	+2,610,000
Other Religions	3,040,000	1,160,000	+1,880,000
Hindus	260,000	250,000	+10,000
Jews	320,000	630,000	-310,000
Buddhists	3,370,000	6,210,000	-2,850,000
Christians	40,060,000	106,110,000	-66,050,000

Source: The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050

PEW RESEARCH CENTER



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Major Findings 主要发现

statements	estimation
I don't believe in specific religion, but I believe there are gods, Buddha, ghost, etc 自称不信仰任何特定宗教，但是相信神灵，佛祖，鬼存在	120million (11.8) 1亿2000万
Believe in more than one institutional religions 相信不止一个制度性宗教	1 million (0.96) 100万

Categories	Subcategories	Estimation估计
类别	子类别	
Subcategories of Practices of ancestor worship 祖先崇拜的实践	compilation of family genealogy/renovation ancestral temple 参加了续家谱、修祠堂等活动	32 million (3.13) 3200万
	Shangfen 上坟	738 million (72.38) 7亿3200万
	Ancestor tablet at home	123million (12.07)
	家里供奉祖宗牌位	1亿2300万
	Ancestor tablet in workplace	7million (0.71)
	单位供奉祖宗牌位	700万
Subcategories of Beliefs of ancestor worship 祖先崇拜的信仰	Believe in the existence of ancestral spirits	206 million (20.25)
	相信祖宗神灵存在	2亿零600万
	Pray to ancestral spirits, including deceased family members	29million (2.88) 2900万
向祖宗神灵包括死去的亲人祈祷		
Practices of ancestor worship 祖先崇拜的实践		754million (73.96) 7亿5400万
Beliefs of ancestor worship 祖先崇拜的信仰		215million (21.14) 2亿1500万
Practices and Beliefs of ancestor worship 既有实践又有信仰		188million (18.44) 1亿8800万

Categories 类别	Subcategories 子类别	Estimation估计 估计的人数（比例）
Fengshui practices 风水方面的实践	Observing fengshui 看风水	31.9 million (3.13) 3190万
	Consulting a fengshui master 咨询风水先生	133million (13.03) 1亿3300万
	Either one of above two practices 上述任一项实践	145million (14.22) 1亿4500万
	God of Wealth 财神	Practices实践
Belief 信仰		141 million (13.84) 1亿4100万
Belief and practices 信仰和实践		35 million (3.44) 3500万

	Estimated Number (proportion) 估计的人数（比例）
Belief in Taoism 信仰道教	12million (1.2) 1200万
Practice of Taoism 实践道教	173million (17) 1亿7300万
Belief and practice of Taoism 同时信仰和实践道教	12million (1.2) 1200 万

	Gender 性别	Age 年龄	Ethnicity 民族	Education 教育	Economic status 经济地位
Belief in Taoism 信仰道教	0.023*	-0.012	0.016	0.024*	0.008
Practice of Taoism 实践道教	0.012	0.008	0.035**	-0.107**	-0.059**
Belief and practice of Taoism 同时信仰和实践道教	0.023*	-0.012	0.016	0.024*	0.008

**Significance level at 0.01 显著度0.01

* Significance level at 0.05显著度0.05



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Practices 实践	All respondents 所有受访者	Exclusion of adherents of five institutional religions 排除五大宗教	Exclusion of Buddhism 排除佛教	Exclusion of Taoism 排除道教	Exclusion of Protestantism 排除基督教	Exclusion of Catholicism 排除天主教	Exclusion of Islam 排除伊斯兰教
venerate ancestors (including deceased family member) 敬拜祖宗/祖先或去世的亲人	20.70	17.57	17.76	20.68	20.49	20.68	20.63
burn incense 进香	10.26	3.75	4.35	9.71	10.09	10.11	10.16
recall the soul 收惊, 收魂, 叫魂	0.56	0.34	0.34	0.49	0.55	0.56	0.56

* The denominators of these proportions are all 7021 这些比例的分母统一为7021

Believe in the existence of the following spirits 相信下述存在的比例	All respondents 所有受访者	Exclusion of adherents of five institutional religions 排除五大宗教	Exclusion of Buddhism 排除佛教	Exclusion of Taoism 排除道教	Exclusion of Protestantism 排除基督教	Exclusion of Catholicism 排除天主教	Exclusion of Islam 排除伊斯兰教
god of heaven 老天/老天爷/天老爷	1.27	1.23	1.23	1.27	1.26	1.27	1.26
evil forces, demons 妖魔	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
soul 灵魂	0.53	0.3	0.5	0.53	0.34	0.53	0.52
sages 圣贤	0.83	0.71	0.75	0.8	0.79	0.8	0.8
karma 因果报应	2.64	1.96	2.08	2.54	2.6	2.64	2.63
the afterlife 来世	6.4	2.55	2.94	6.24	6.05	6.35	6.32
reincarnation 轮回	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
gods, spirits 神仙	0.16	0.06	0.14	0.08	0.15	0.16	0.16
ghosts 鬼	0.25	0.17	0.21	0.24	0.21	0.25	0.25
fate, fortune 命、运	2.89	2.53	2.57	2.9	2.85	2.89	2.88
god of wealth 财神	1.19	0.69	0.77	1.17	1.17	1.18	1.19
ancestral spirits 祖宗神灵	5.06	3.44	3.78	4.86	4.84	5.02	5.04
karma in personal relationships 缘份	36.99	28.31	29.41	36.61	36.09	36.83	36.79

* The denominators of these proportions are all 7021 这些比例的分母统一为7021

Categories 类别	Subcategories 子类别	Estimation估计	
		Estimated Number (proportion)估计 的人数（比例）	Margin of error (±) 误差
Subcategories of Practices of ancestor worship 祖先崇拜的实践	compilation of family genealogy/renovation ancestral temple 参加了续家谱、修祠堂等活动	32 million (3.13) 3200万	0.004
	Shangfen 上坟	738 million (72.38) 7亿3200万	0.010
	Ancestor tablet at home 家里供奉祖宗牌位	123million (12.07) 1亿2300万	0.008
	Ancestor tablet in workplace 单位供奉祖宗牌位	7million (0.71) 700万	0.002
Subcategories of Beliefs of ancestor worship 祖先崇拜的信仰	Believe in the existence of ancestral spirits 相信祖宗神灵存在	206 million (20.25) 2亿零600万	0.009
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Practices of ancestor worship 祖先崇拜的实践		754million (73.96) 7亿5400万	0.010
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		Estimated Number (proportion) 估计的人数 (比例)	Margin of error (±) 误差
Fengshui practices 风水方面的实践	Watching fengshui 看风水	31.9 million (3.13) 3190万	0.004
	Consulting fengshui master 咨询风水先生	133million (13.03) 1亿3300万	0.008
	Either one of above two practices 上述任一项实践	145million (14.22) 1亿4500万	0.008
God of Wealth 财神	Practices 实践	119 million (11.71) 1亿1900万	0.008
	Belief 信仰	141 million (13.84) 1亿4100万	0.008
	Belief and practices 信仰和实践	35 million (3.44) 3500万	0.004
Individualistic folk religious practices 个人化的民间宗教实践		362 million (35.50) 3亿6200万	0.01



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	Gender 性别	Age 年齡	Education 教育	Ethnicity 民族	Economic status(poverty degree) 经济地位 (贫困度)
Practices and Beliefs of ancestor worship 同时信仰和实践祖先崇拜	-0.0507**	0.0525**	-0.0674**	0.0279*	0.0247*
Fengshui practices 风水方面的实践	-0.0078	0.0267*	-0.094**	-0.0363**	-0.0312*
Belief and practices of God of wealth 同时信仰和实践财神	-0.0309**	-0.0092	-0.0271*	0.0187	-0.0354**
Individualistic folk religious practices 个人化的民间宗教实践	-0.0762**	-0.0575**	0.0393**	-0.0625**	-0.0379**

**Significance level at 0.01 显著度0.01

* Significance level at 0.05 显著度0.05



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	Estimation 估计	
	Estimated Number (proportion) 估计的人数（比例）	Margin of error (±) 误差
Belief in Taoism 信仰道教	12million (1.2) 1200万	0.003
Practice of Taoism 实践道教	173million (17) 1亿7300万	0.009
Belief and practice of Taoism 同时信仰和实践道教	12million (1.2) 1200万	0.003



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	Gender 性別	Age 年齡	Ethnicity 民族	Education 教育	Economic status 经济地位
Belief in Taoism 信仰道教	0.023*	-0.012	0.016	0.024*	0.008
Practice of Taoism 实践道教	0.012	0.008	0.035**	-0.107**	-0.059**
Belief and practice of Taoism 同时信仰和实践 道教	0.023*	-0.012	0.016	0.024*	0.008

**Significance level at 0.01 显著度0.01

* Significance level at 0.05 显著度0.05