



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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### 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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1. 中國民間宗教研究的梳理、分析、對比研究：  
類型梳理、量化研究、對比研究
2. 如何測量多元社會中的宗教性？以中國為例：  
問卷調查設計中的新探索  
用統計模型檢驗新測量的信度與效度



### 3. 浙江強拆十字架運動的失敗： 一個時空分析

- 這項研究對於浙江強拆十字架進行時序和空間的分析，用時間發展的過程、教堂分佈以及被拆屋頂十字架的教堂的地理信息系統等事實說明，這場政治運動未能達成既定目標，既沒有拆除所有教堂屋頂的十字架，也未馴化基督徒。恰恰相反，引發了基督徒的廣泛抵抗，破壞了既有的管控宗教組織的機制，一些教會領袖出走，離開黨國認可的教會和三自愛國運動委員會，活躍於各地家庭教會之中。把一個失敗的政治運動的實驗推廣到其他省份，這意味著中國的政教平衡關係正在趨近一個拐點。



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# Emplacement of Religion: 回歸宗教應有的場所性質

Geographical Patterns of Religious Sites and  
Changing Dynamics in 21-century China  
宗教場所的地理模式及其變遷



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How to measure religion and religiosity?  
如何測量宗教和宗教性？

- 既有研究的個人主義取向 The individualistic approach has dominated the sociological study of religion
  - Surveys of individuals in a sample and 3B's 用抽樣調查的方式詢問個體的宗教歸屬、信仰、實踐
  - Theoretical constructs of secularization: the decline of 3B's or the declining significance of 3B's 世俗化理論建構：傳統三B的衰落
- 宗教的群體性、組織性、場所性、社會性



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### The Social Significance of Space and Religious Place

- Durkheim: Collective rituals expressing the beliefs of the sacred and profane
- Mircea Eliade: *The sacred and profane: The Nature of Religion* (1957):
  - Sacred space is a social and cultural construction through rituals, symbols, and relationships.
- Henri Lefebvre: *The Production of Space* ([1974]1991):
  - Space as a primary dimension of competition and conflict through production, appropriation, and redefinition.
- Yi-Fu Tuan 段義孚 : *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (1977):
  - Place: functional node in space
- Jonathan Z. Smith: *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (1987)
  - Sacred places often develop on social and geographic peripheries rather than at symbolic centers.



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### The Social Significance of Space and Religious Place

- Thomas Tweed: *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (2006):
  - Religion is a complex, dynamic, and fundamentally locative process “about **finding a place and moving across space.**”
- Roger Stump: *The Geography of Religion: Faith, Place, and Space* (2008):
  - The **inherent spatiality** and cultural contextuality of religious systems.
- Grace Davie: the vicarious religion in Europe
  - Religion as a public utility
  - The church as the landmark for orientation





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### Religious Place and Space in Contemporary China

- Early modern mentality of disenchantment
  - Hu Shi : the Chinese have never been religious
- C.K. Yang: *Religion in Chinese Society* (1961):
  - Myriad temples with gods of different social functions
- The Communist suppression of religion
  - Disenchantment of the space
  - Displacement of religions (freedom of religious beliefs)
- Survival and revival of religion
  - Tenacious Beliefs seeking embodiment and emplacement
  - To take place in any space: homes, offices, parks
  - To put in place: restoring and building new religious sites



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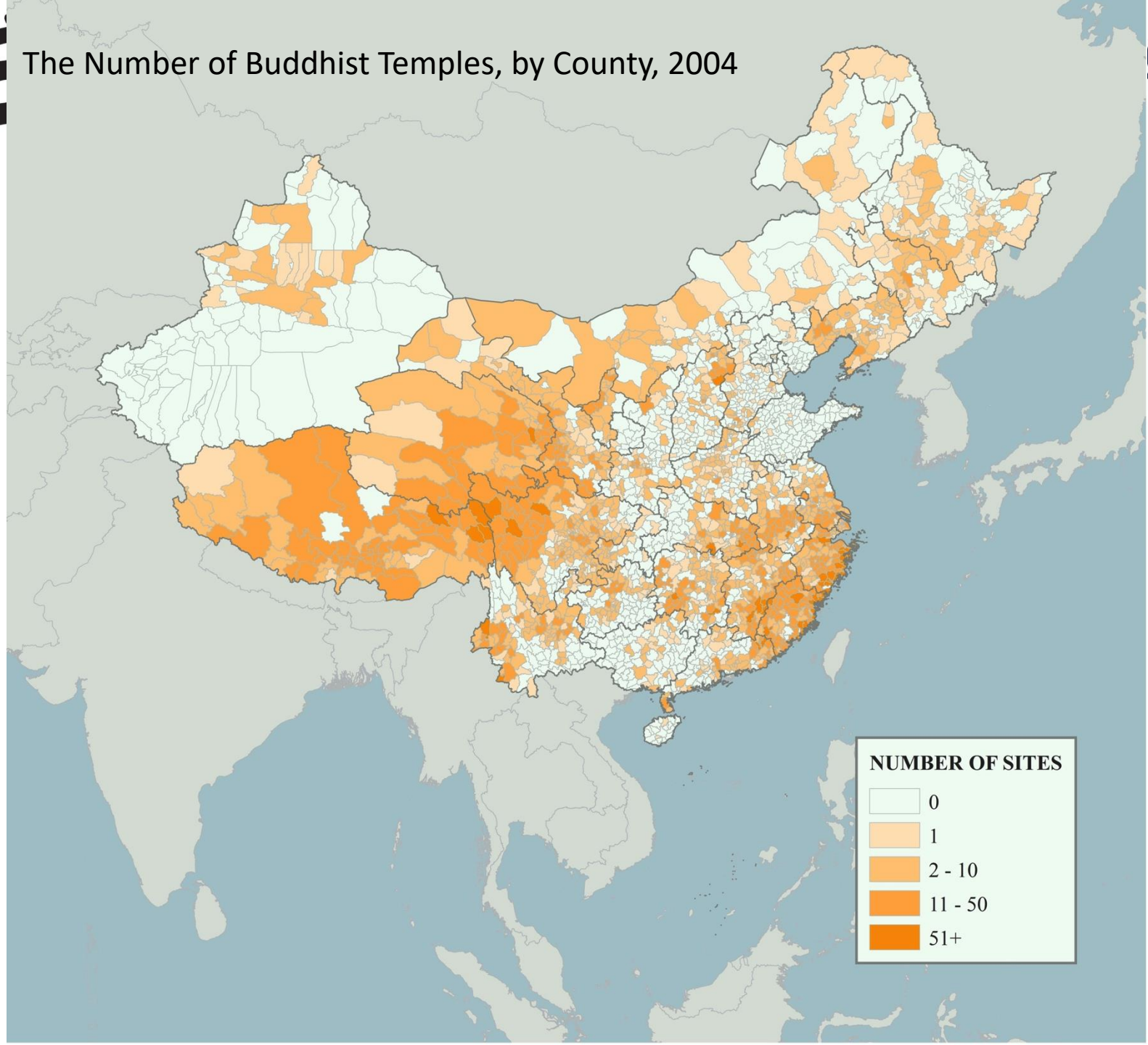
## 中國宗教與社會研究中心

Emplacement of Buddhism: From the atheist ideology to nationalist appropriation of Buddhism for political stability

- 1950s: disenchantment and Nationalization of temples
- 1960s: eradication of sites, beliefs and practices
- 1970s-1980s: restoration of temples & construction of outdoor Buddha statues
  - Contentions for historical sites: Kaifeng Daxiangguosi
- 1990s: Accommodation: atheistic Commodification
- 2000s: politicization, a Chinese religion?



# The Number of Buddhist Temples, by County, 2004





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### The emplacement of Protestantism



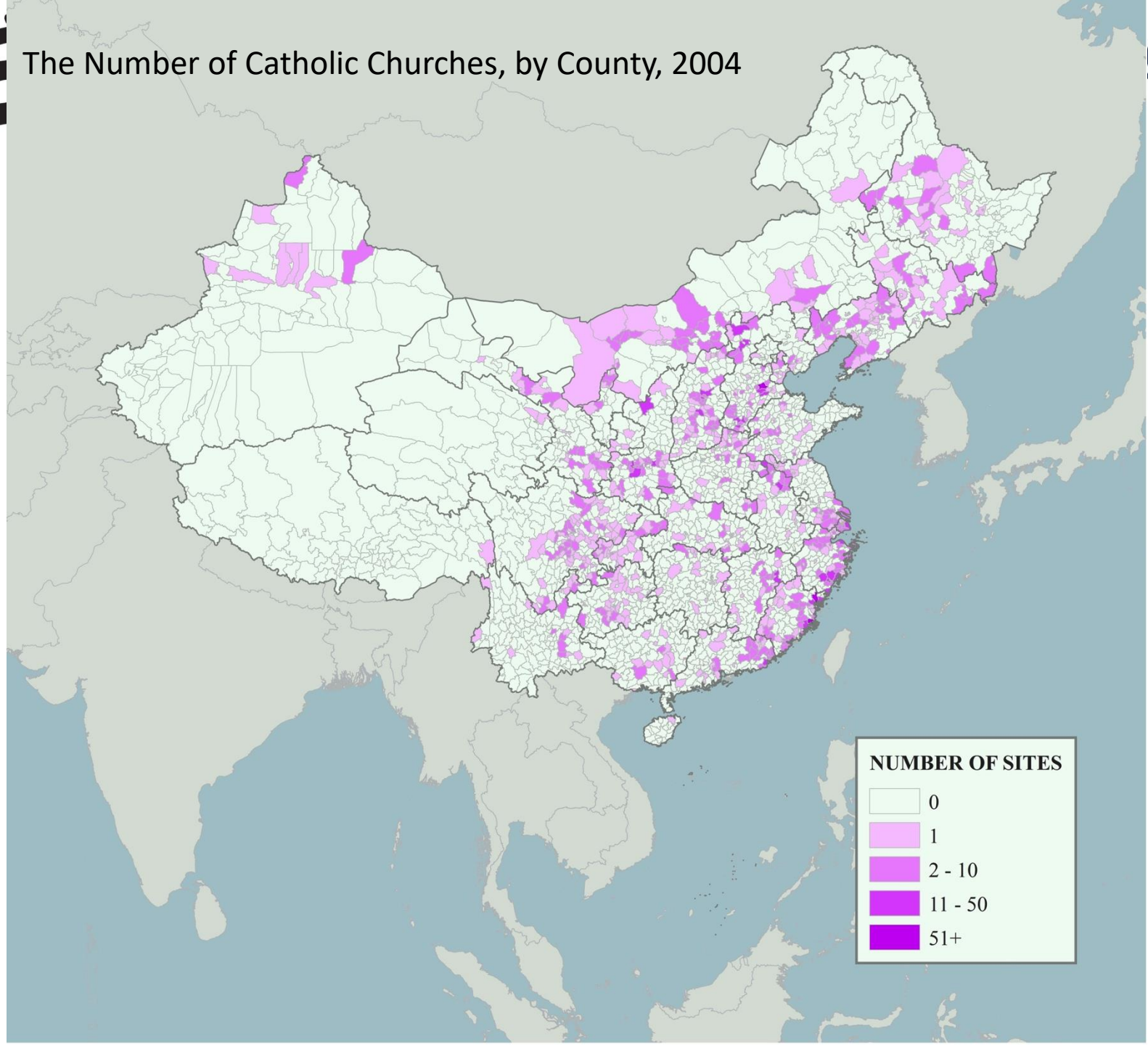
- 1950s:
  - Anti-imperialist influences
  - Collectivization of churches under the Three-Self Patriotic Association
- 1960s: eradication of churches and beliefs
- 1970s-1980s: contention
- 1990s: accommodation
  - Theological reconstruction
  - Charities and civic engagement
- 2000s: new contentions
  - Rapid rise of TSPM churches and house churches
  - “house churches” going public



# The Number of Christian Churches, by County, 2004

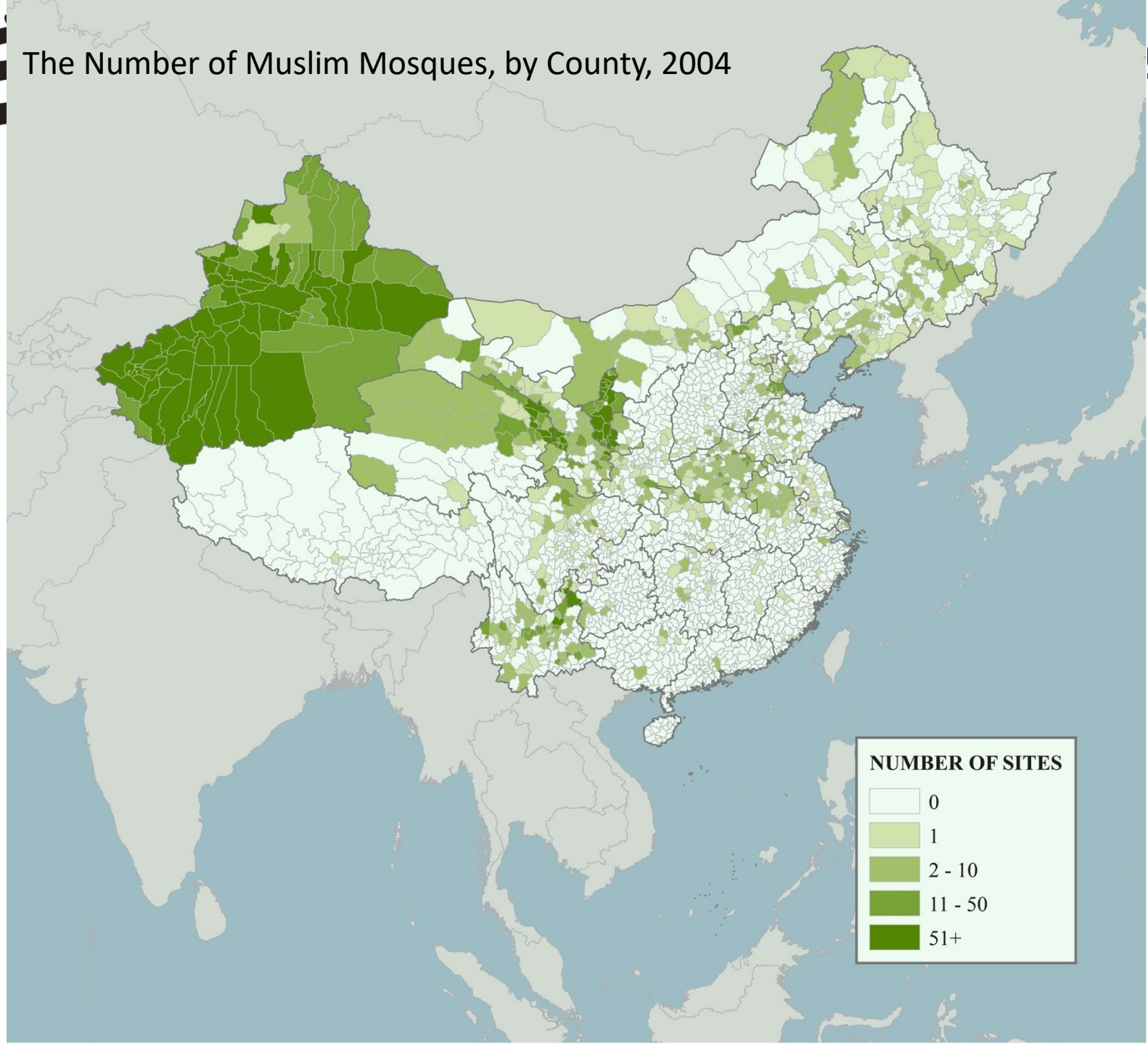


# The Number of Catholic Churches, by County, 2004

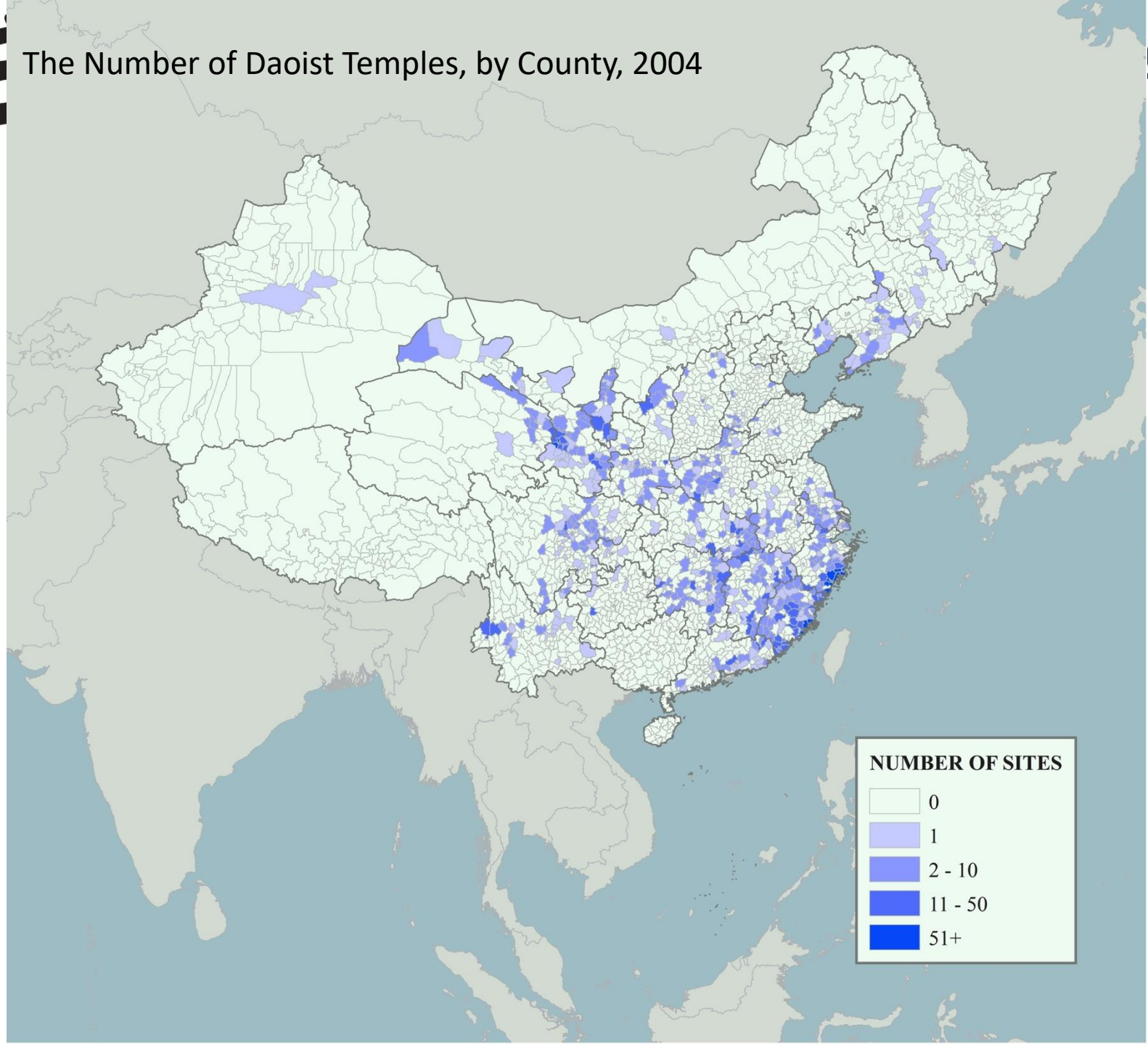




# The Number of Muslim Mosques, by County, 2004



# The Number of Daoist Temples, by County, 2004







# Christian Churches Concentrate in Eastern China







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## 摘要

- 自2013年底开始，浙江政府以美化环境的名义发动了拆除全省教堂十字架的运动。到2016年的4月，该运动悄然停止。这场运动之所以半途而终，主要是由于浙江基督徒坚持不懈的抵抗。本文通过对强拆教堂十字架运动的时间与空间分析，展示浙江政府在此运动中的多种失败，包括多次错过自定的拆除全省所有十字架的截止日期，各地在贯彻执行省政府命令中的力度差异，以及基督徒教会与党国沟通的桥梁机制遭到破坏。强拆十字架运动的失败是研究宗教与中国社会的一个重要的实证案例，该案例预示着中国的政教关系或许正在趋近一个动态平衡的临界点。

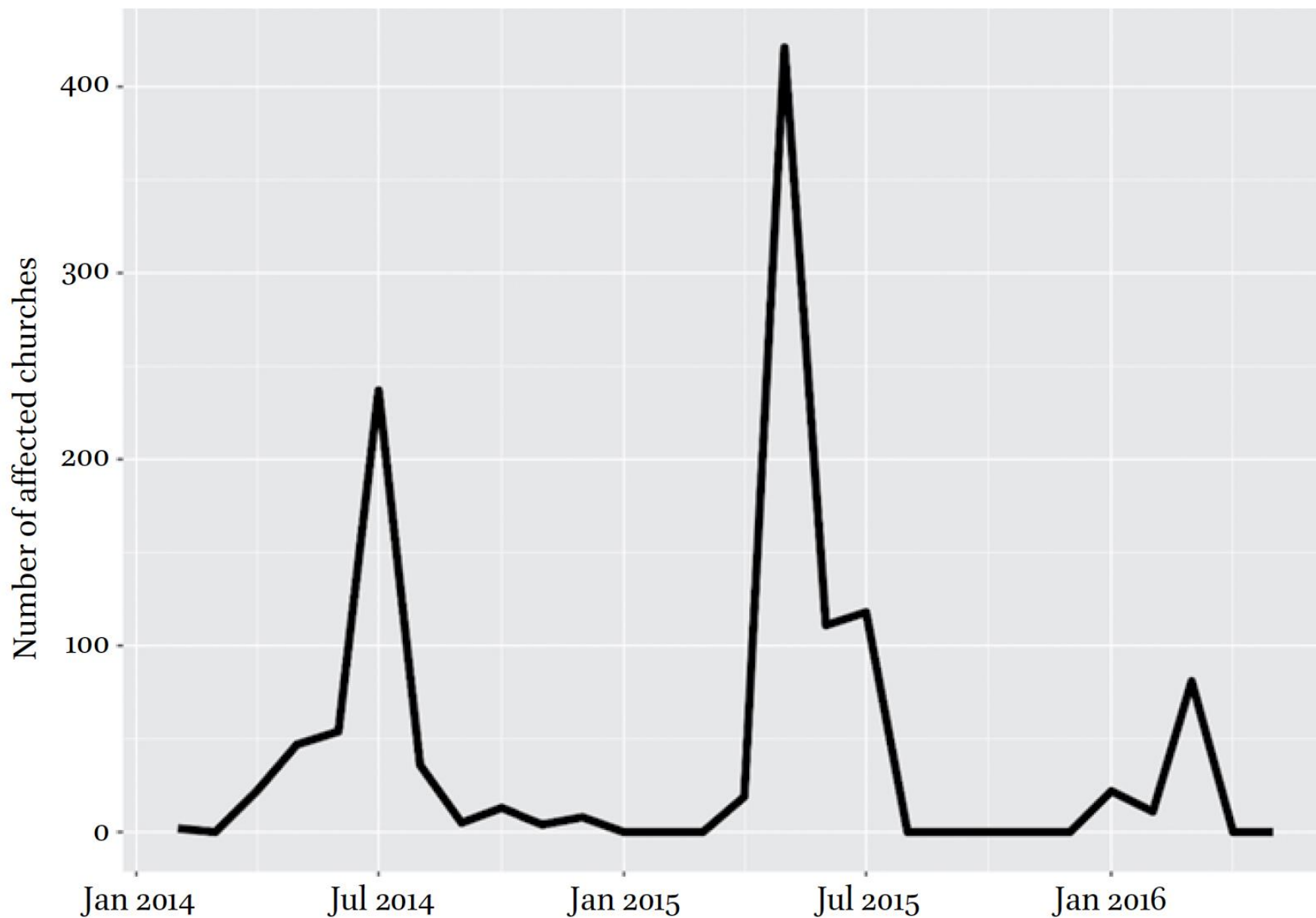
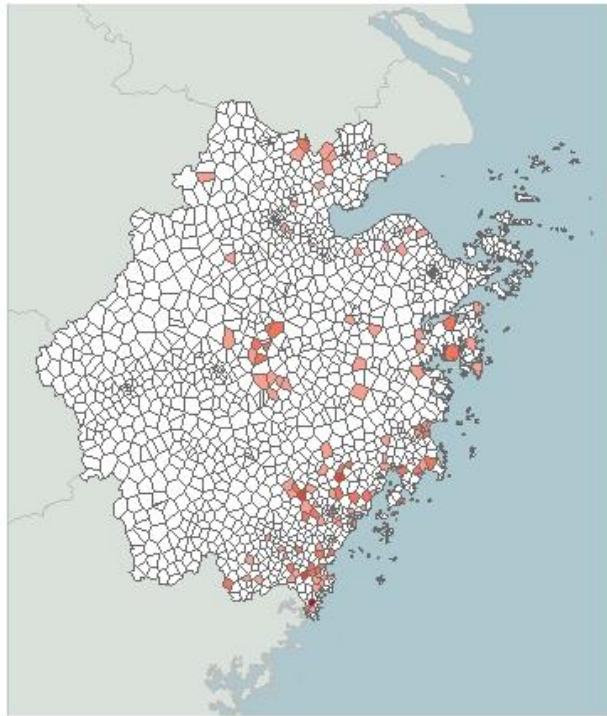


FIGURE 1 *The number of churches in Zhejiang Province affected by the campaign to demolish church crosses (February 2014–April 2016), by month.*

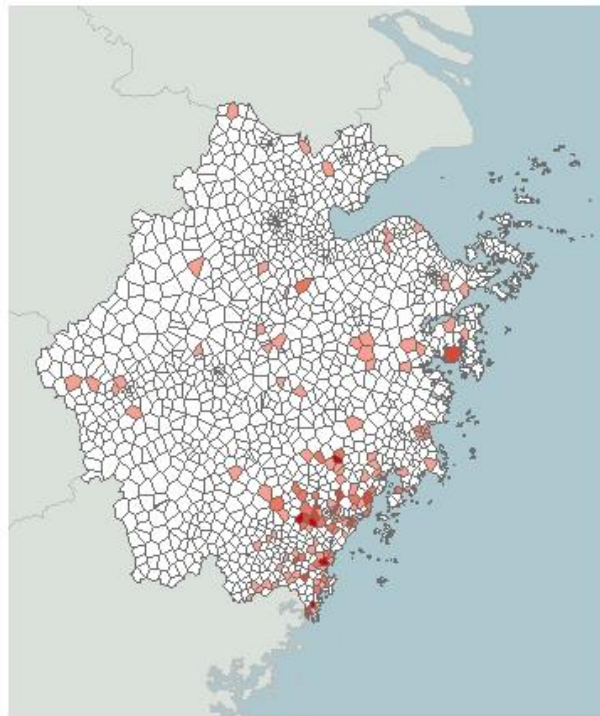


## 浙江各乡镇的基督教堂数 (2004年不完整数据)

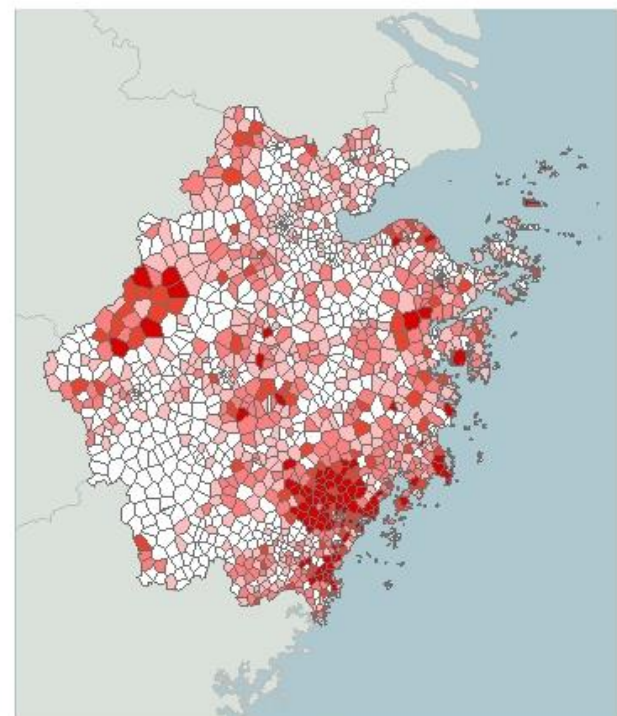
### The Development of Christian Churches in Zhejiang Over the Past Century



Before 1949



Between 1949 and 1978



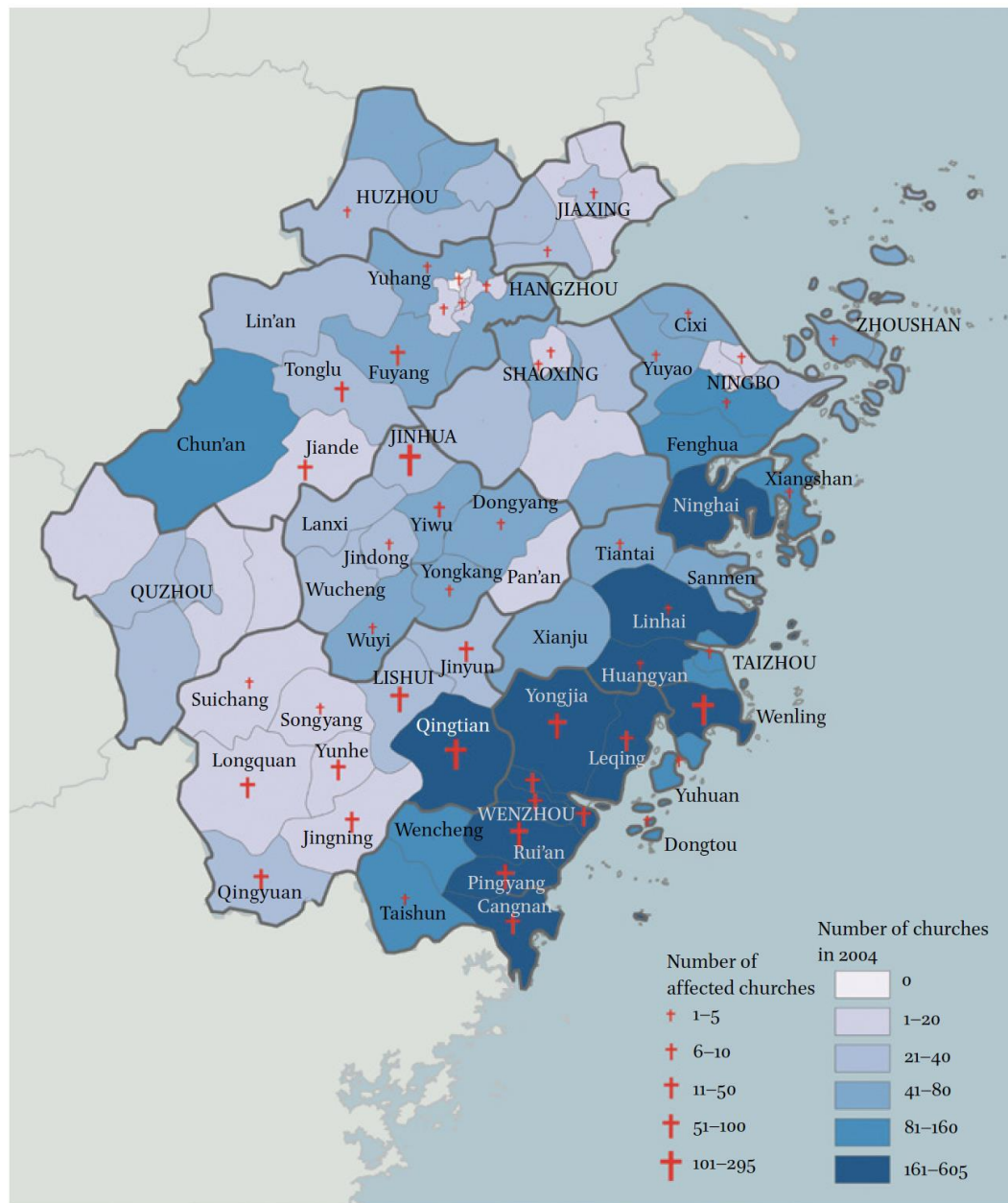
Between 1979 and 2004

#### Numbers of Churches



Data Source: China Economic Census (2004)

© CRCS at Purdue University. [www.purdue.edu/crcs](http://www.purdue.edu/crcs).



MAP 2

*Churches in Zhejiang Province affected by the campaign to demolish church crosses in 2014–2016, and the number of churches in 2004.*

DATA SOURCE: REVEREND ZHENG LEGUO AND CHINESE ECONOMIC CENSUS 2004 © CRCS.



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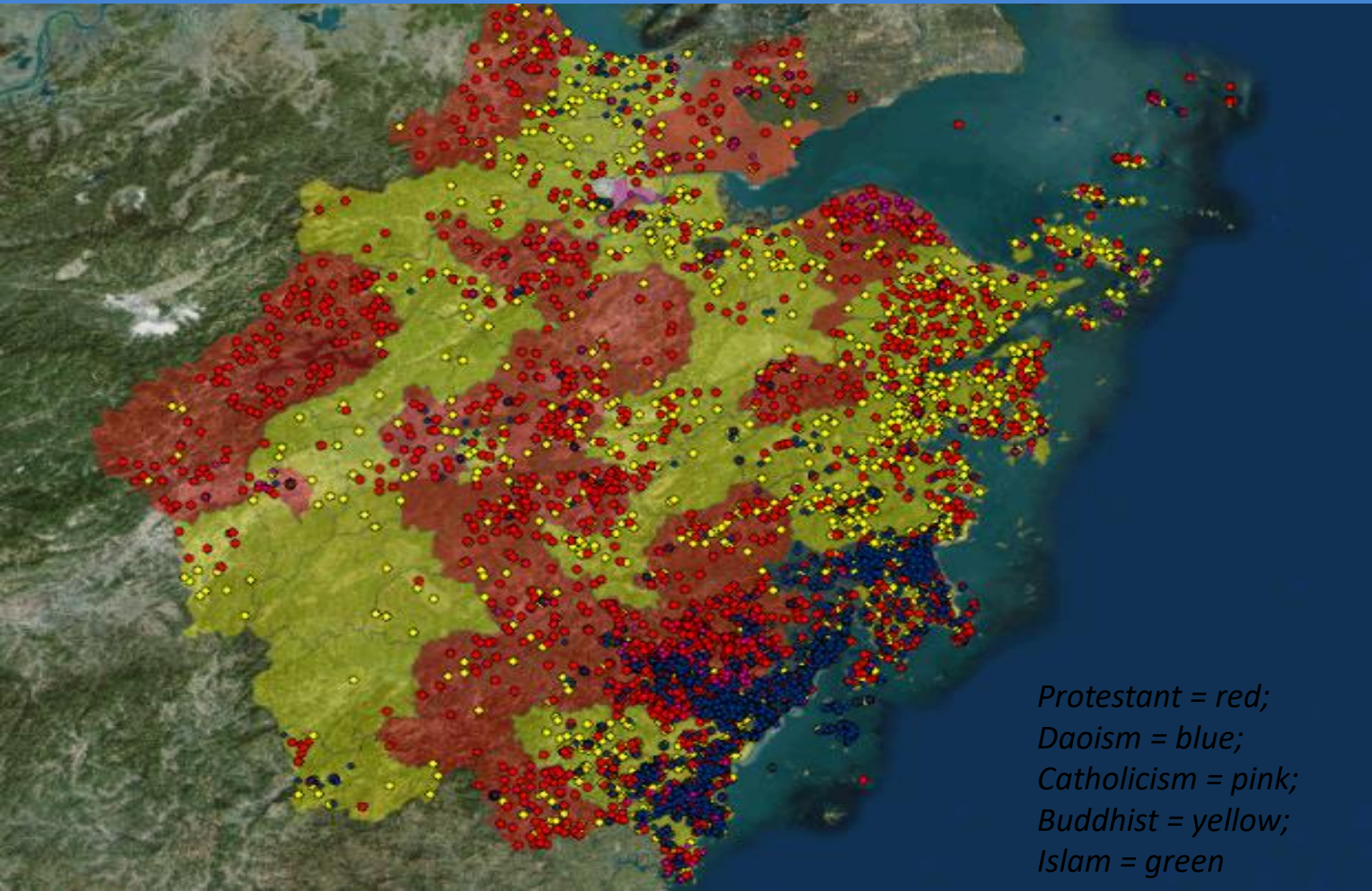
### Two Kinds of Religious Competitions

### 宗教競爭的兩重含義

- Communist atheism vs. all religions 無神論與所有宗教的競爭
  - Emplacement of five religions and folk religion
  - Re-enchantment of the land and corrupt officials
- Competitions among religions 各個宗教之間的競爭
  - Does it work to use certain “native” religions against other “foreign” religions?
  - Does it work to keep out other religious in certain religious territories?



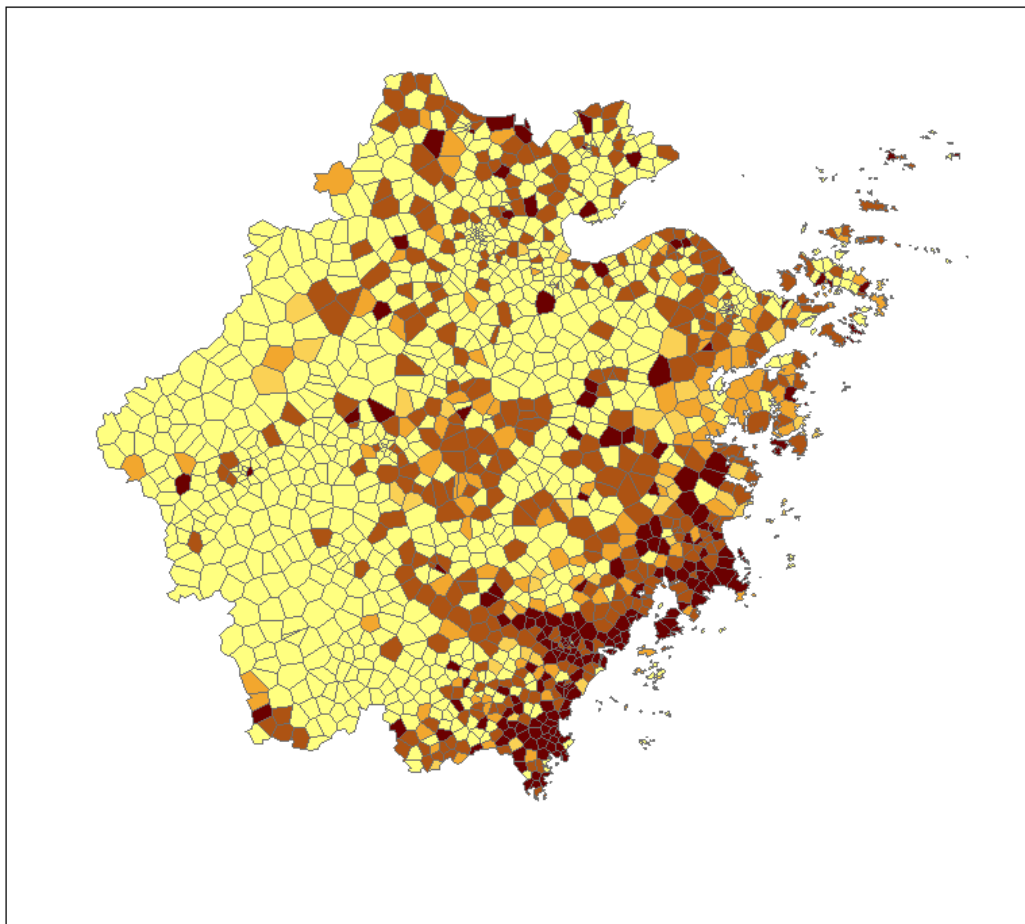
# Zhejiang: The Dominant Religion of Each County & The Location of Churches, Temples and Mosques



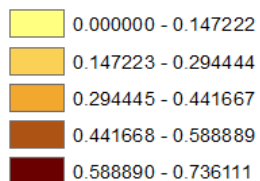




## Religious Diversity Index at Town Level in Zhejiang Province



### Religious Diversity Index



0 25 50 100 Miles

