



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

楊鳳崗



回顧

- 0. 對於中國宗教以往研究的一個總結：
 - 《中國宗教的存活與復興》(2012)
 - 宗教的定義、政教關係的意識形態基礎及其歷史階段
 - 三色市場理論、短缺經濟理論、寡頭壟斷理論
- 1. 中國民間宗教研究：
 - 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？
 - 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. 對宗教場所的時空分析：
 - 中國政教關係當下的一個重要維度：宗教空間爭奪戰



4. 環球東方的宗教： 宗教社會科學研究的挑戰和機遇

- 環球東方是個新的概念，藉以從環球南方中區分開來，它包括東亞諸社會和在世界各地的東亞人社區，以及進入到傳統東亞宗教或靈性中的其他族群的人。環球東方的宗教在傳統上具有一定的特殊性，東亞諸社會也正在經歷迅速的現代化，其中，宗教的變化未必與歐美現代化過程中的宗教變遷趨勢相同。已有的社會科學研究理論和方法源於歐美社會，用以研究東亞宗教出現諸多不適用與困難。另一方面，對於現代東亞宗教深入、細緻、全面的研究，也必將給宗教社會科學研究提供機遇，改進方法，提升理論。因應這樣的變化和需要，東亞宗教社會科學研究學會宣告成立，已於2018年7月在新加坡舉行了首次年會。年會上的會長講話，列舉了幾個主要的挑戰和機遇，以期與各國各地學者共同推進研究。



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East Asian Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (EASSSR)

- 2016年6月，韓國慶熙大學（Kyung Hee University）：初議
- 2017年7月，香港浸會大學：籌備會議
- 2018年7月3-5日，新加坡管理大學：EASSSR首屆年會
Inaugural Conference, July 3-5, 2018, Singapore
- Presidential Address Religion in the Global East: Challenges and Opportunities for the Social Scientific Study of Religion
- 已發表在 [Religions](#) 特刊：[Religiosity, Secularity and Pluralism in the Global East](#)
- 2019年7月27-28日，日本北海道大學：EASSSR 第二屆年會



環球東方概念定義

- 環球東方是個文化與社會概念，包括東亞社會和東亞人在世界各地的社區（特別是那些持有東亞文化傳統、保留與東亞連結、並且在東亞的發展中扮演重要角色的人們）。這些社會、社區和個人具有某些獨特的社會文化特徵
- The Global East is a cultural and social concept that includes East Asian societies and ethnic communities of East Asians around the world that maintain East Asian cultural traditions, are closely connected with East Asia, and play important roles in East Asian developments. These societies, communities, and individuals share distinct social and cultural characteristics.

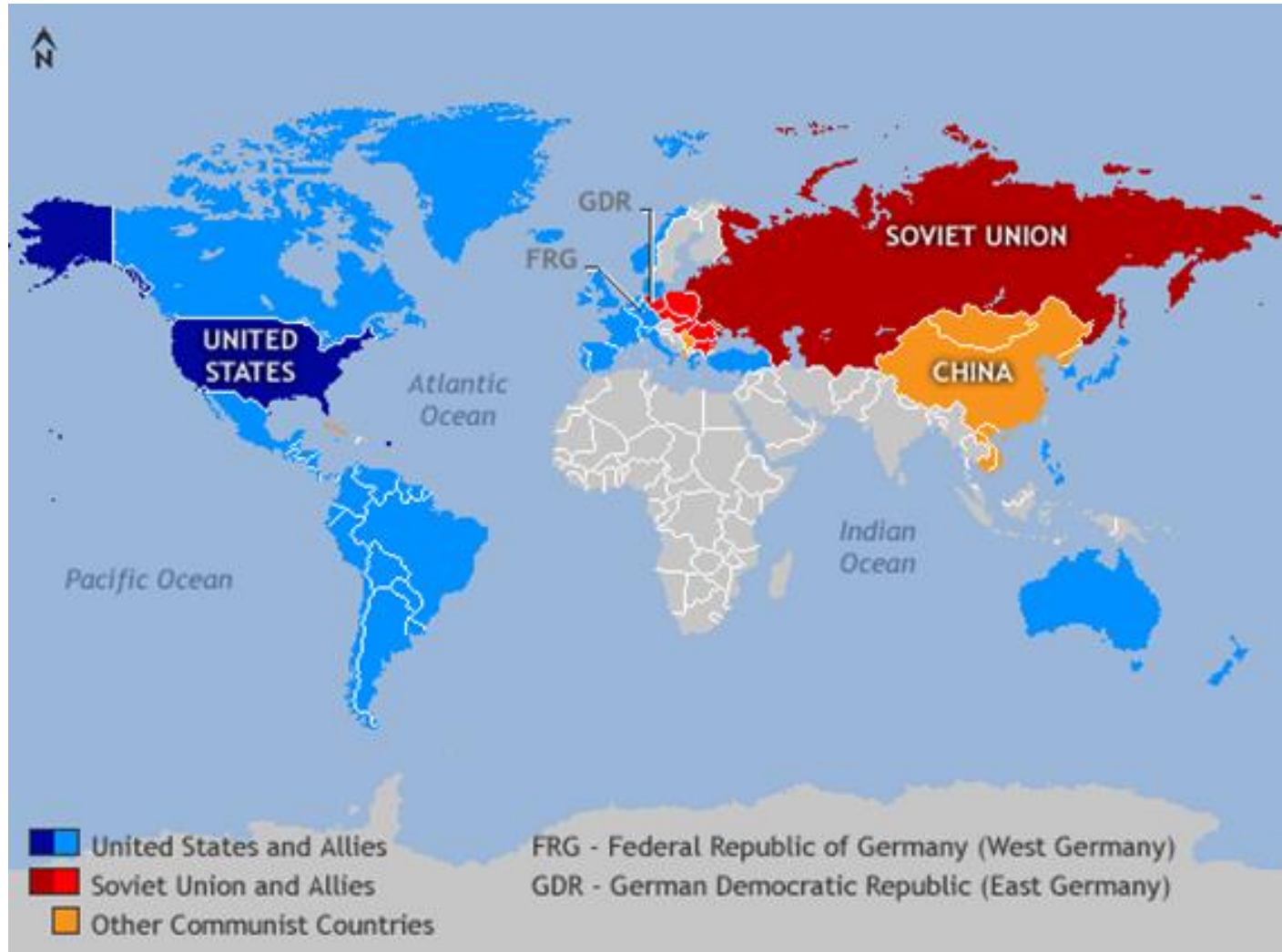


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Geographic Groupings of the World 世界的歸類劃分

East vs. West during the Cold War

冷戰時期的東方西方



1970年代以來的南半球北半球

THE NORTH SOUTH DIVIDE





Geographic Groupings of the World

- 東半球西半球：意識形態之分
- 南半球北半球：經濟發展之分
- 東亞諸國被邊緣化
 - 歐洲中心或北大西洋中心的東西或南北
 - 薩伊德的“東方主義” Edward Said's *Orientalism* 是被殖民地化的近東和遠東，歐洲諸國在遠東的殖民地化並未完成
 - 東亞意識形態的複雜性
 - 東亞經濟發展的多樣性
 - 東亞文化的多元性
 - 東亞文化主體性研究
- “The North-Atlantic world has a combined population of about 1.1 billion, whereas East and Southeast Asia have a combined population of 2.3 billion people, or 30 percent of the world population.”



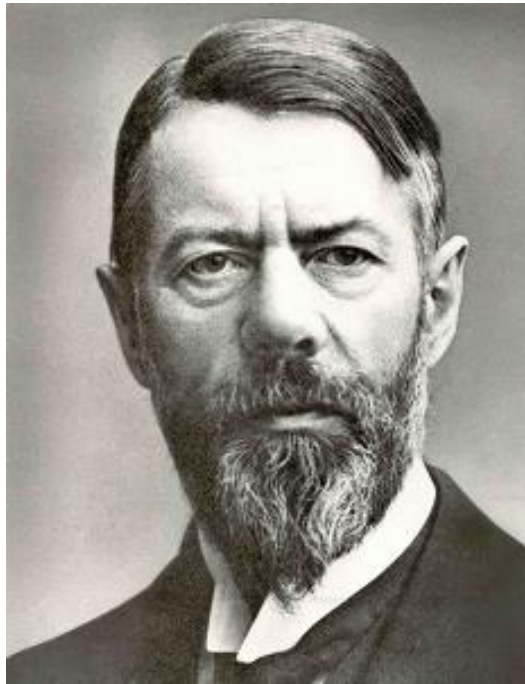
亞洲經濟的迅速發展

- 日本首先進入發達國家行列
- 亞洲四小龍：南韓、台灣、香港、新加坡
- 亞洲四小虎 Tiger Cubs: 印度尼西亞、馬來西亞、菲律賓、泰國
- 中國經濟的騰飛
- 越南經濟的崛起



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關於宗教與經濟的關係的系統研究



韋伯 Max Weber (1864-1920)



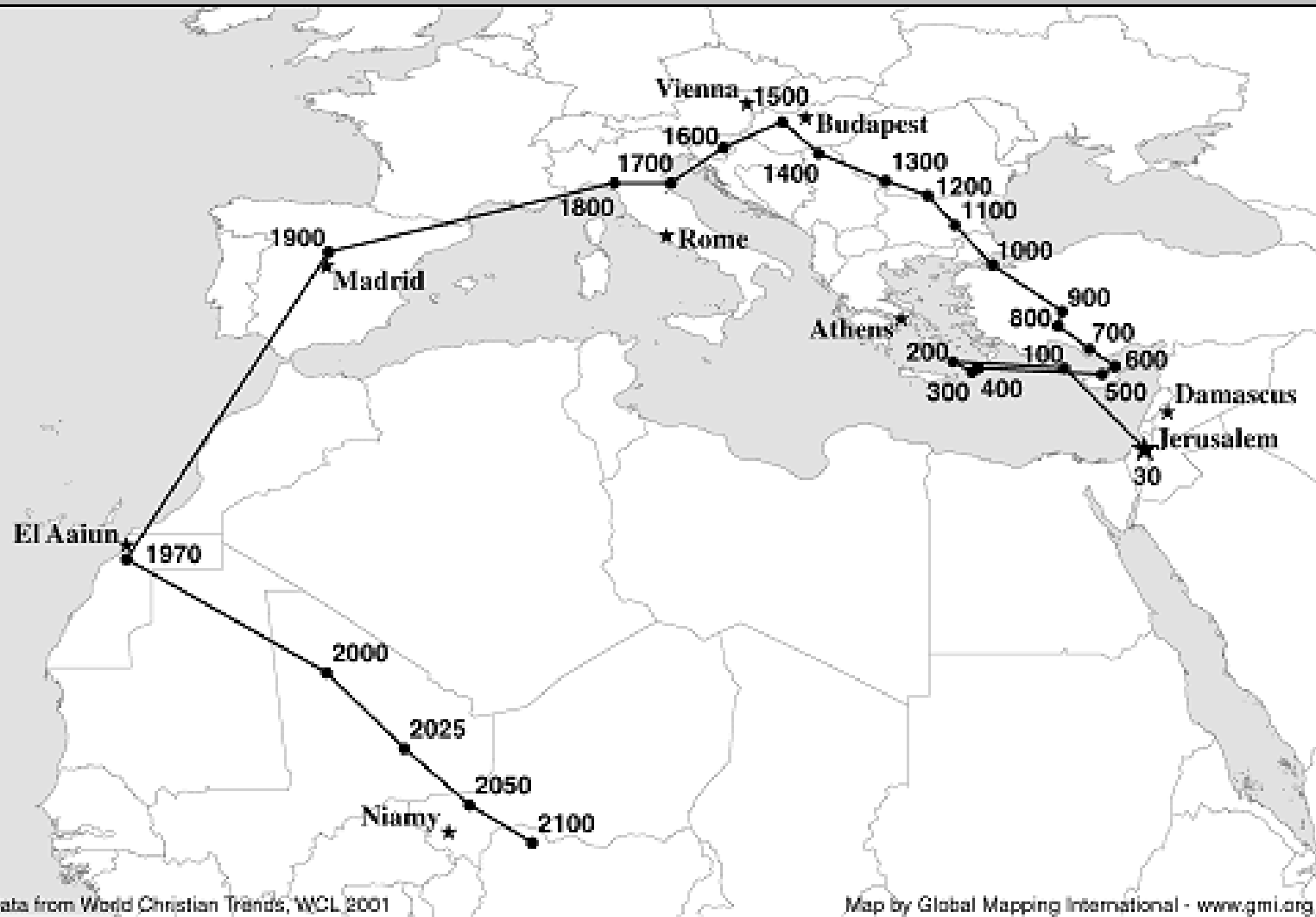
韋伯對於宗教與經濟的研究

- 基督新教倫理與資本主義精神 The Protestant Ethic (1905)
- 中國宗教：儒教與道教 The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism (1915)
- 印度宗教：印度教與佛教 The Religion of India: Hinduism and Buddhism (1915)
- 但是，韋伯論述的不當與未知
 - 佛教是東亞的主要宗教，在印度微乎其微
 - 民間宗教在東亞盛行 Shamanism/folk religions are prevalent
 - 多種宗教同時存在
 - 韋伯之後東亞的經濟發展
 - 韋伯之後基督教在東亞的發展

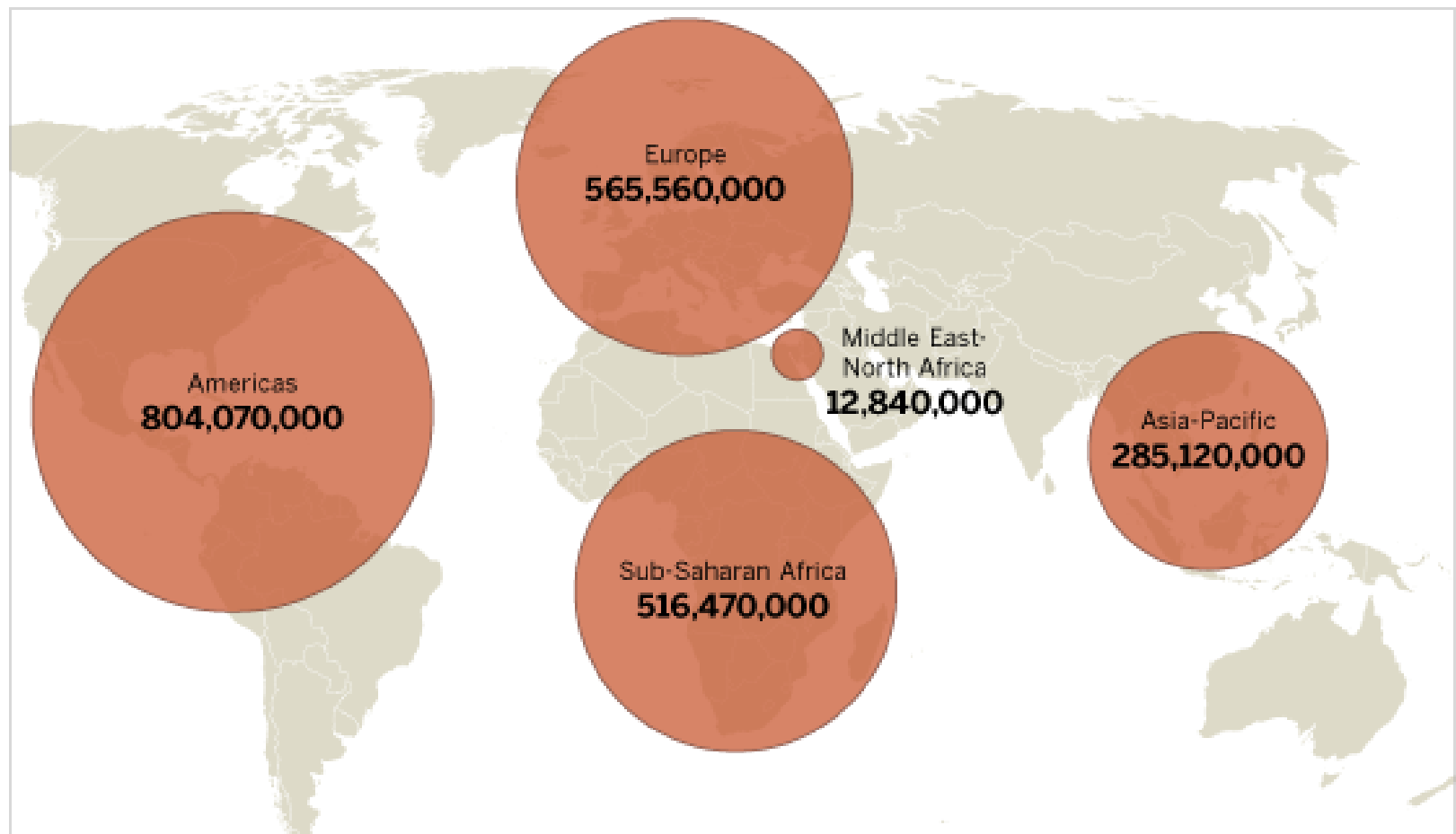
東亞基督教發展被國際學術論述所遮蔽

The Spread Christianity in East Asia is Invisible

Seismic Shift in the Center of Christian Gravity



Distribution of Christian Population by Region

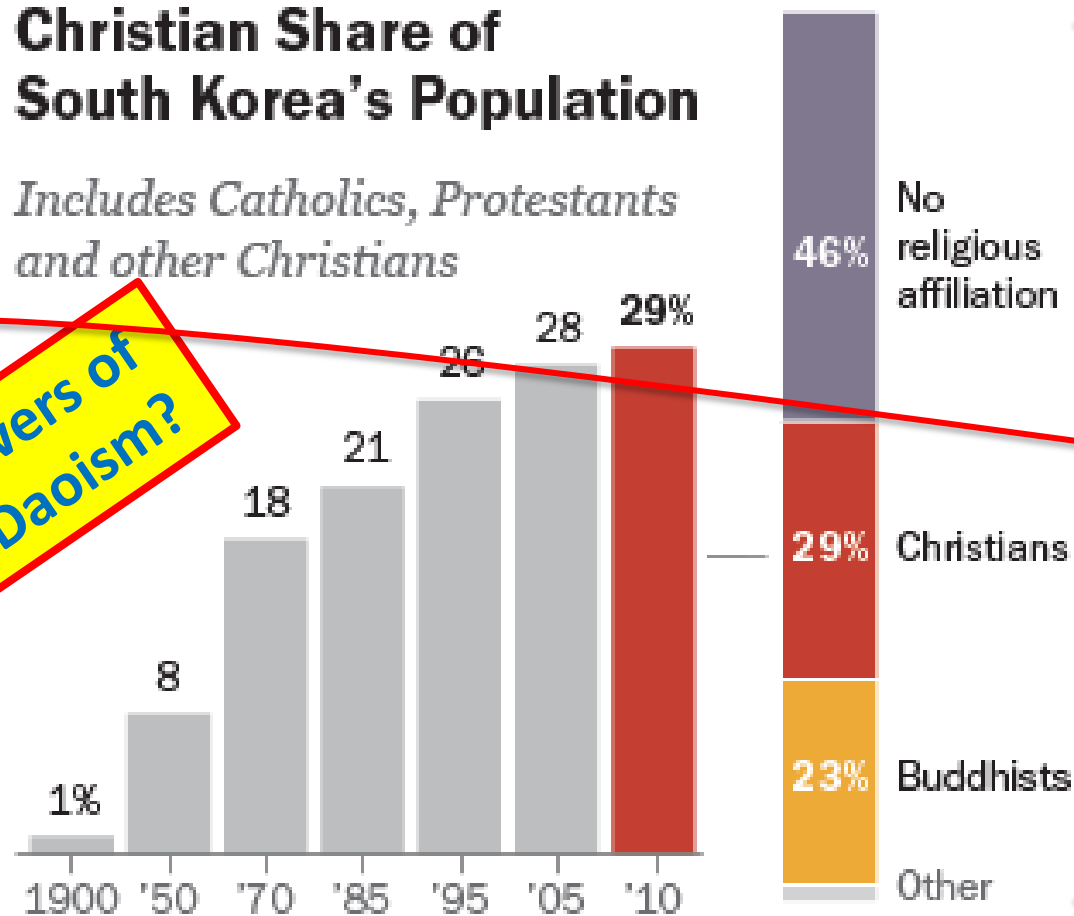


Christian Share of South Korea's Population

Includes Catholics, Protestants and other Christians

儒教道教：
不可測、測不準

Where are the followers of
Confucianism and Daoism?



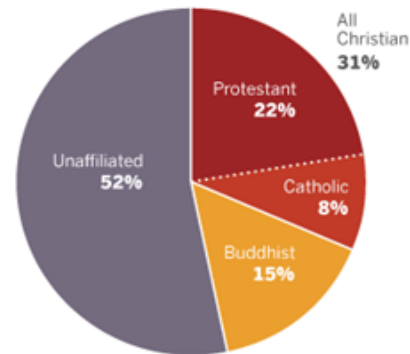
Sources: Estimates for 1900, 1950 and 1970 are from the World Religion Database. Estimates for 1985, 1995 and 2005 are from the South Korean Census. Estimate for 2010 is from the Pew Research Center's 2012 report "Global Religious Landscape."

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

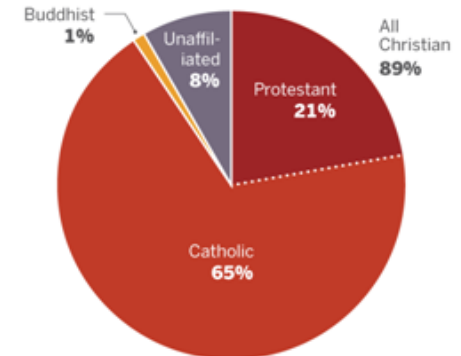
Religious Affiliation of Asian-American Subgroups

儒教道教：
不可測、測不準

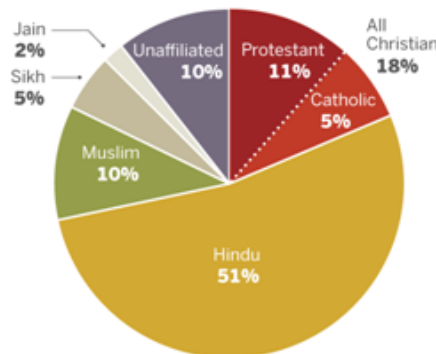
Chinese Americans



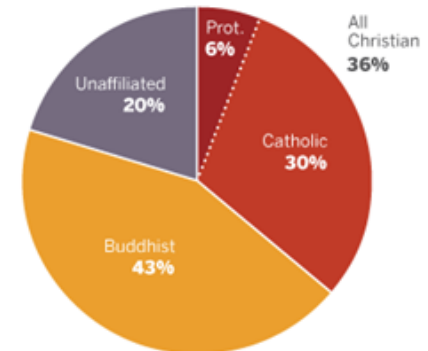
Filipino Americans



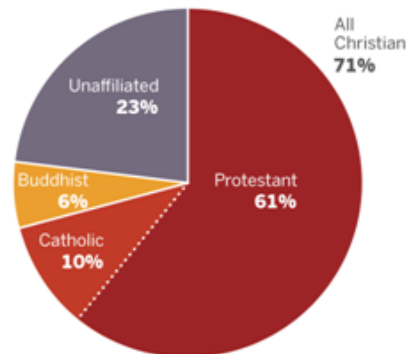
Indian Americans



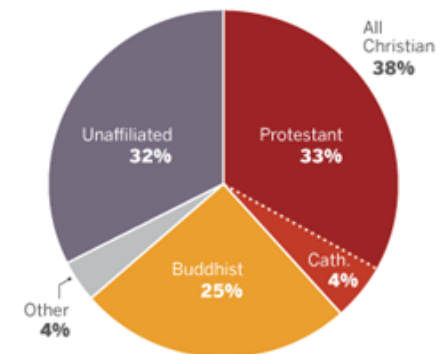
Vietnamese Americans



Korean Americans



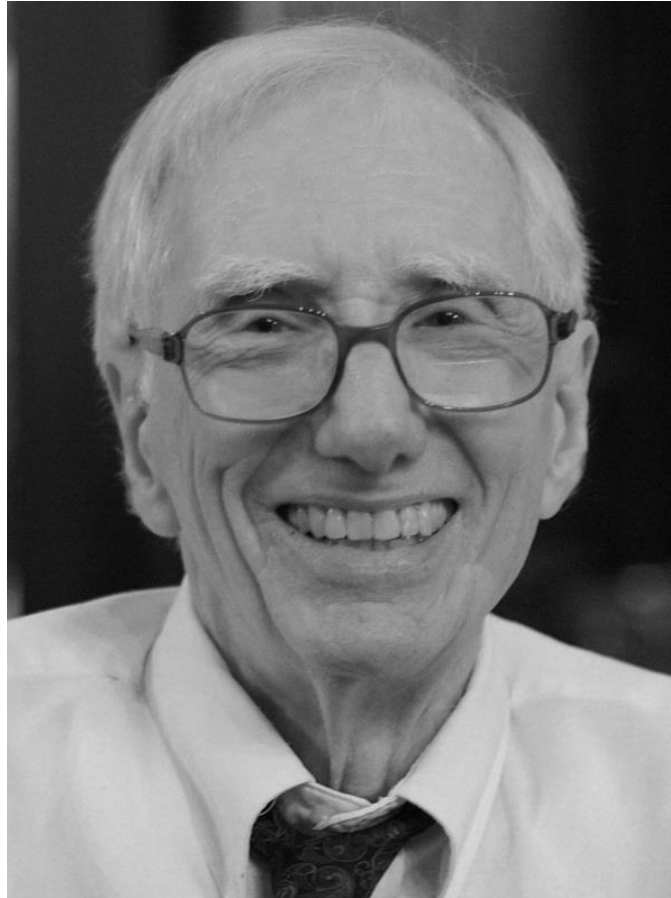
Japanese Americans



The "All Christian" category includes Protestants, Catholics and other Christians. Subgroups are listed in order of the size of the country-of-origin group in the total Asian-American population. Those who did not give an answer are not shown. Other religion, Hindu and Buddhist not shown for some subgroups. See topline in Appendix 4 for all responses.



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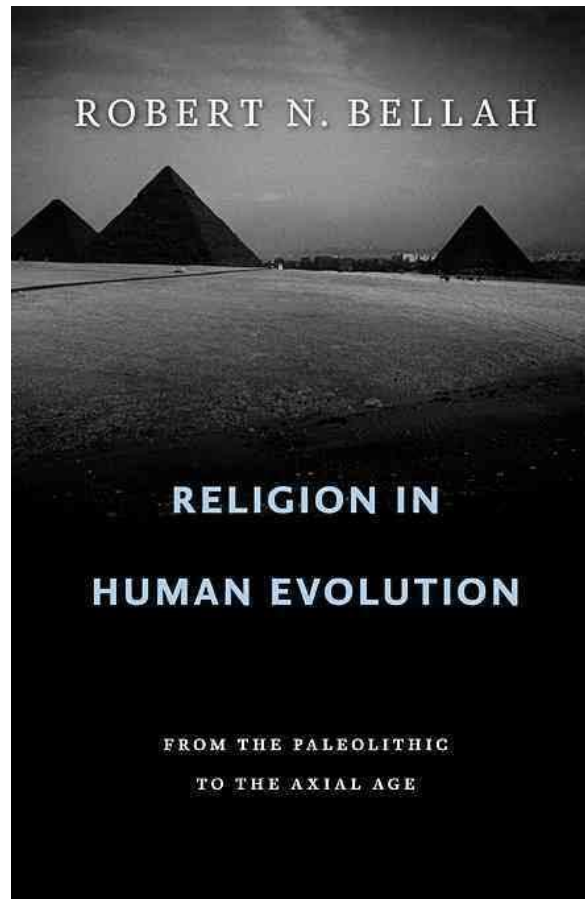


貝拉 Robert Bellah (1927-2013)



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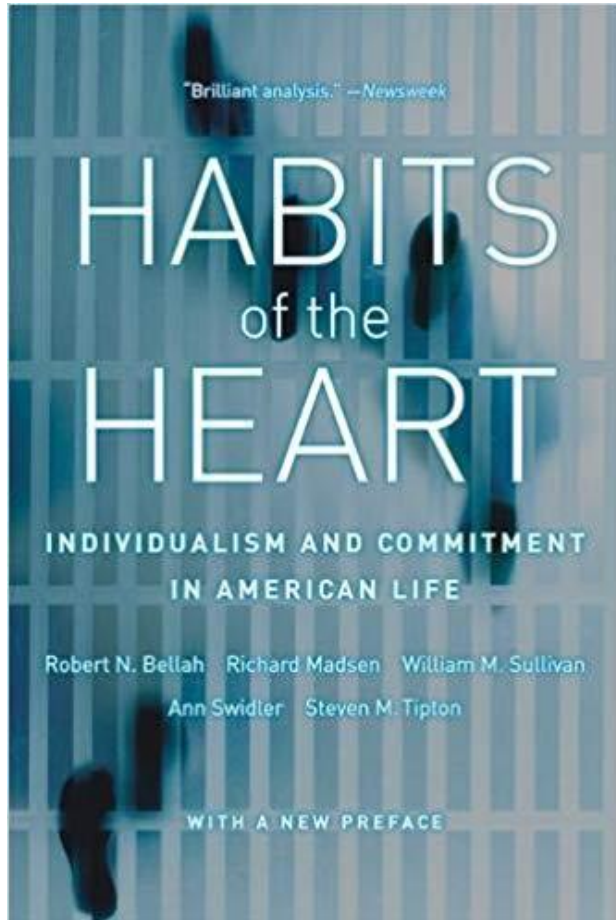


未完成的著作：中國近代宗教



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希拉教 Sheilaism: individualized eclecticism



Sheila: "I believe in God. I'm not a religious fanatic. I can't remember the last time I went to church. My faith has carried me a long way. It's Sheilaism. Just my own little voice...It's just try to love yourself and be gentle with yourself. You know, I guess, take care of each other. I think He would want us to take care of each other."

發現東亞的希拉？

Finding Sheila in East Asia?





美國的宗教變遷

- 希拉教的興起 The rise of Sheilaism
- 新紀元運動的興起 The rise of New Age spiritualities
- 有靈性而無宗教性的興起 The rise of “spiritual but not religious”
- 無宗教認同的興起 The rise of religious “nones”
- 新世界裡的老傳統 Old traditions in the new world:
- 美國宗教的東亞化？或者，後現代或晚期現代世界的民間宗教？ Folk religious expressions in the postmodern or late modern world



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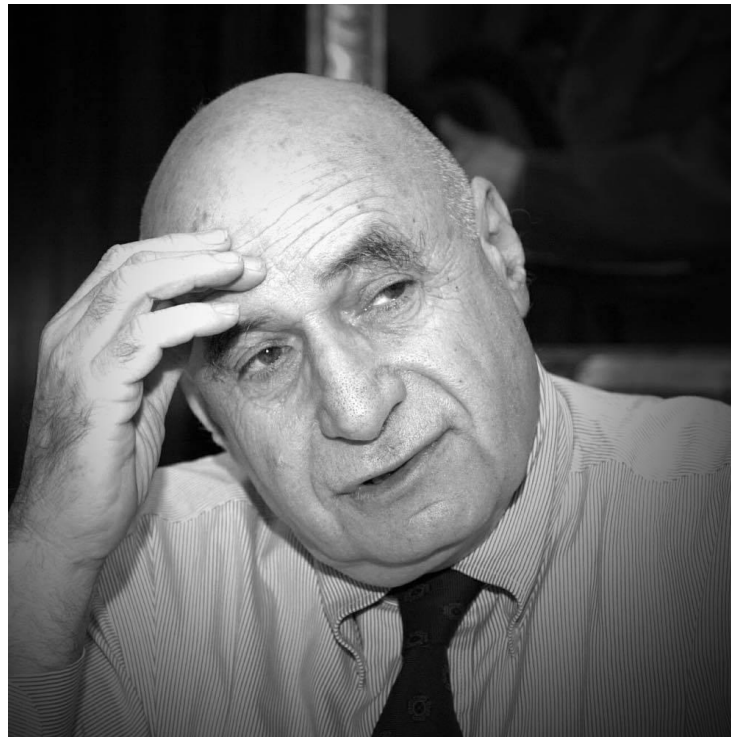
如何測量非制度化宗教的信徒
的宗教性？

How to measure religiosity of
adherents of
non-institutionalized religions?



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伯格 Peter Berger (1929-2017)



世界世俗化了？也許沒有？也許應該？

Secularization, or probably not, or ought to be?

東亞宗教變遷：宗教的重要性

Figure 1. Percentage of respondents with religious affiliation in East Asian societies (World Values Surveys, weighted)

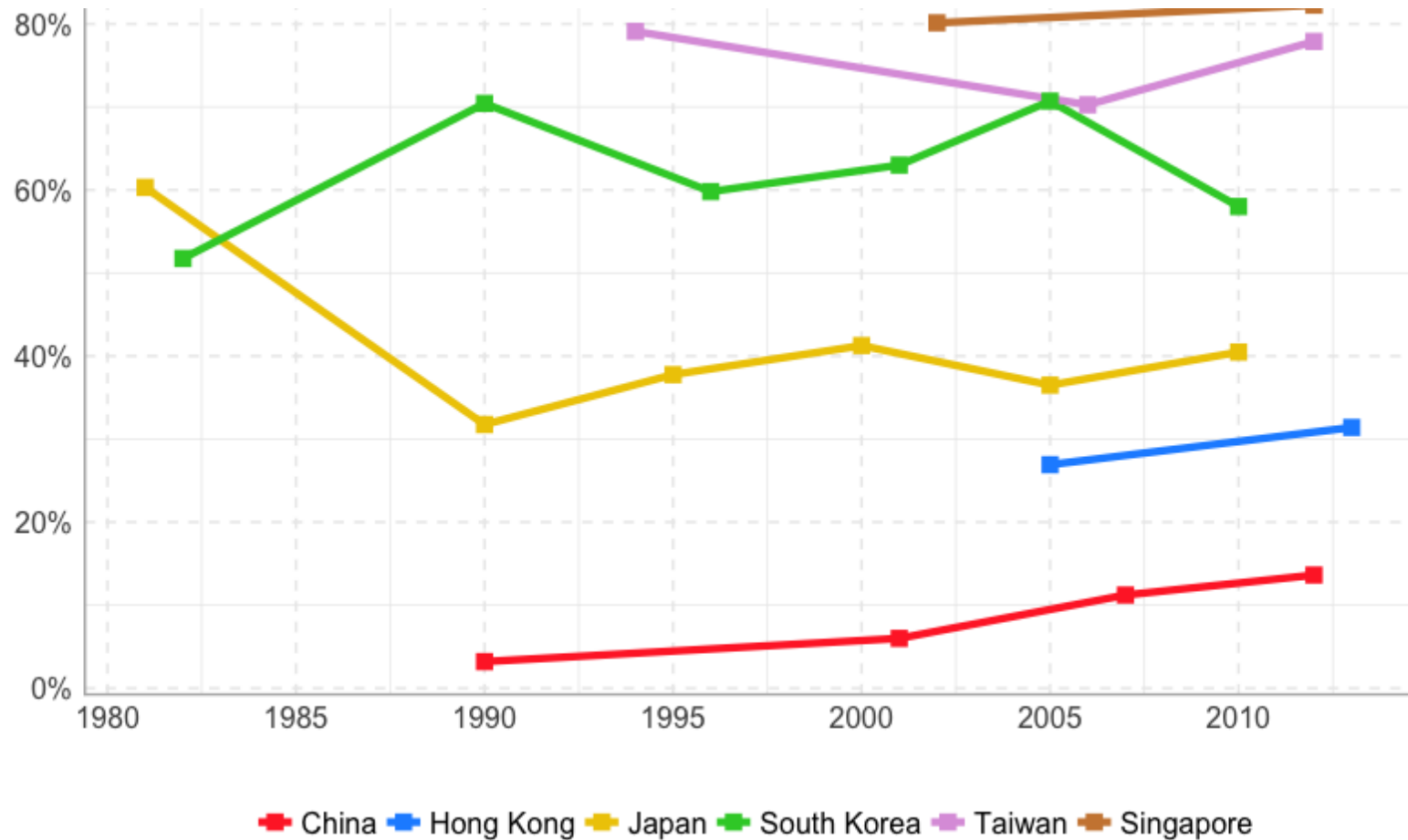
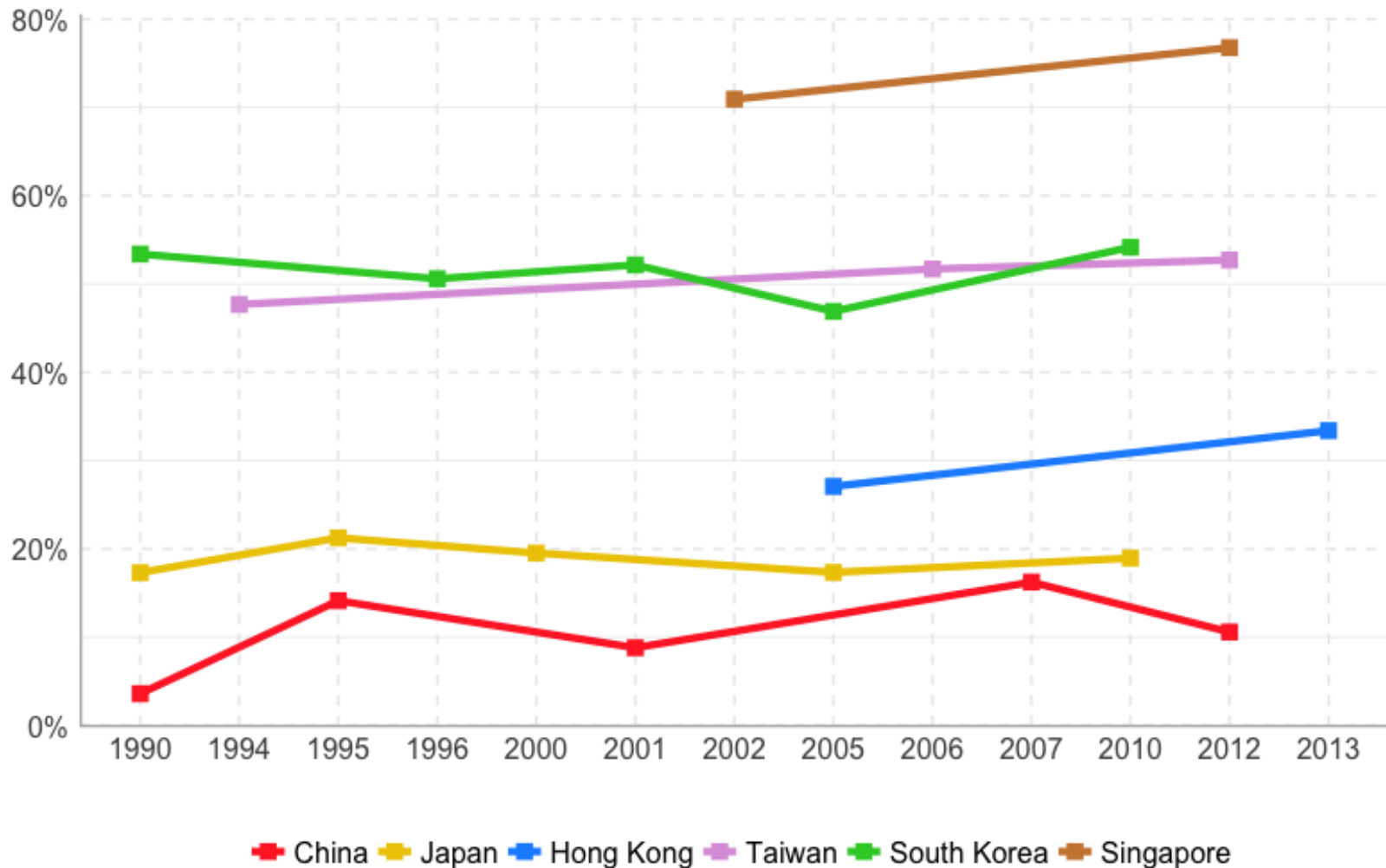


Figure 2. 宗教的重要性 Percentage of respondents who say religion is important in East Asian societies (World Values Surveys, weighted).



關鍵問題 The key: 如何測量東亞的宗教和宗教性？ How to Measure Religion and Religiosity in East Asia?

- 非排他性 Non-exclusive nature of religions in East Asia
- “宗教”概念的外來性 The imported nature of the term “religion” in modern East Asia
- 宗教與世俗的區分不清 The ambiguity of religiosity and secularity in the modern and modernizing East Asia
- 缺少宗教壟斷 The lack of religious monopoly in East Asia
- 多元壟斷、缺少多元主義 Religious Oligopoly vs. Religious Pluralism



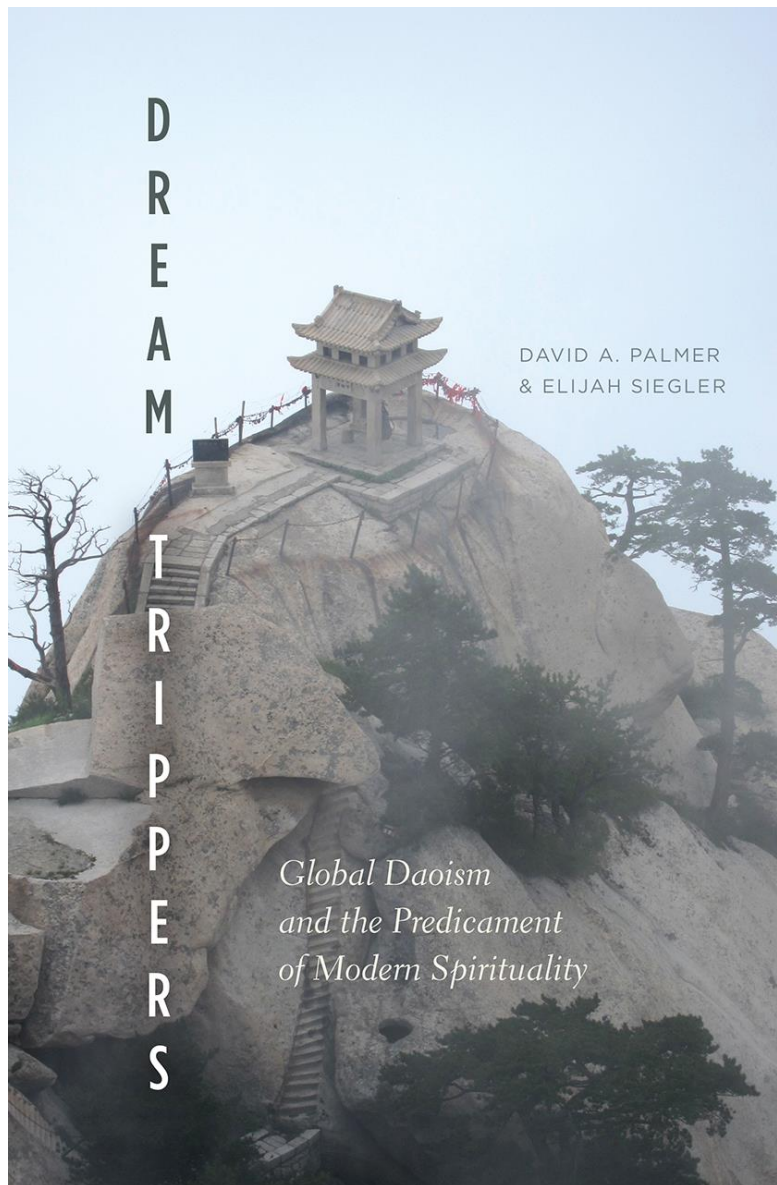
環球東方概念 The Concept of the Global East

- 東亞諸社會 East Asian societies
- 環球各地東亞人社區 East Asian diasporic communities around the globe
- 跨越社會和社區的網絡 Transnational networks across societies and communities
- 環球東亞也包括進入到東方宗教中的實踐者 The Global East among Westerners in the west or around the globe



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全球再調整方向／再東方化

The Global Re-Orient

環球東方的宗教和宗教變遷

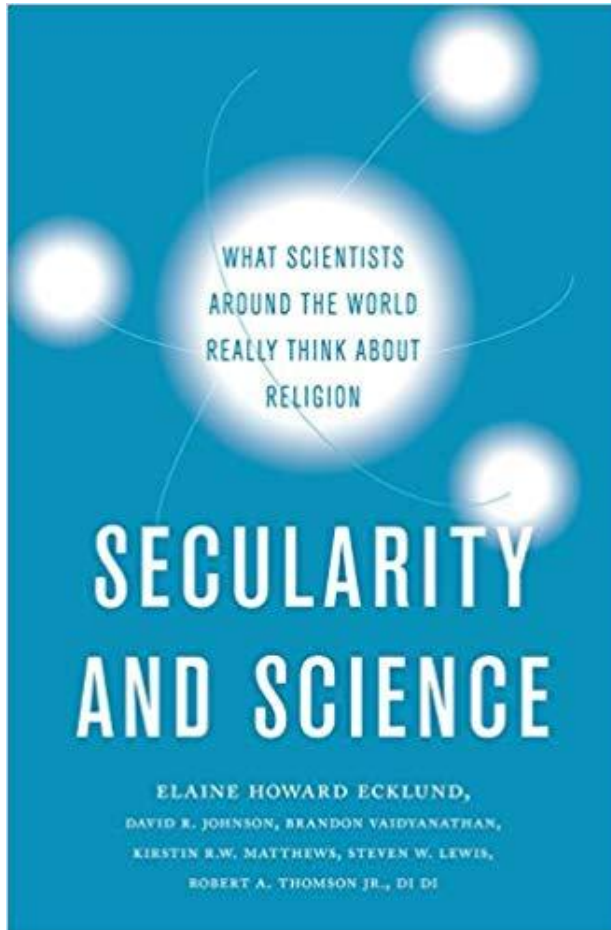
Religion and Religious Change
of the Global East



東方宗教之謎 Many More Puzzles

- 基督教在東亞的差異為什麼這麼大？ Why does the spread of Christianity varies dramatically in East Asia, from 1% in Japan to 30% in South Korea, and other societies in between? And, over 90% in the Philippines?
- 東亞共產黨為什麼保留奠基人遺體？ Why does the atheist regime in East Asia preserve the body of the founding leader of Communism? But not so in East European countries under Communism?

宗教與科學 Further thoughts:



- The most secular society:
 - France, assertive secularism
 - China?
- “In many national contexts, scientists are significantly less religious than the general population. Yet scientists are not less religious than the general population in Turkey, Taiwan, or Hong Kong, according to several measures” (2019:23)



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- “Perhaps most interestingly, our survey data suggest that East– West is the main divide in how scientists think about the relationship between science and religion, with the conflict view slightly more pronounced in Western countries and collaboration perspective more popular in Eastern regions” (Ecklund et al 2019:199)
- “Scientists who are atheist or agnostic, do not identify with a religion, or do not identify as religious or spiritual are located primarily in Western countries: France, the United Kingdom, and the United States” (ibid: 205)