Popularity of Occultism and Social Change in Taiwan

Abstract

There is a delicate relationship among religion, witchcraft and science and they wax and wane in the ever-changing, modern society. The rationality of science not only diminished the room for the development of occultism but also greatly impacted religion. However, science failed to solve many human problems. Moreover, changes in society created a sense of uncertainty, which gave rise to ideas that were fashioned out of the occult with mysticism. This tendency occurred in Europe and North America. In recent years, popularity of occultism has also been the rise in Taiwan.

In analysis of the Survey of Social Change in Taiwan, I pointed out that education, occupation, religious affiliation, age, and sex affected occult and sorcerous behaviors as well as related beliefs and ideas. In our explanation of the relationship between social change and the popularity of occultism, education represented the levels of rationality. Occupation was indicative of the level of rationality as well as the degree of uncertainty. Age represented change in and demand of a person's livelihood, while sex characterized a society that remained under a patriarchal system. More importantly, the results of the three surveys conducted in 1985, 1990, and 1995 clearly indicated that occult behaviors tended to increase over time. At the same time, modern education, which emphasized secular humanism and rationality, indeed, inhibited occult behaviors. People whose occupations were associated with higher levels of uncertainty were more likely to engage in occult practices. The present data could not be used to assess whether sensed structural uncertainty increased the sense of certainty at a personal level. The assessment of which could lead to direct evidence for whether sensed structural uncertainty facilitated frequent occult behaviors or not. For these reasons, further examination that focuses on the relationship between social psychological factors and occult behaviors is needed.

When reading newspapers and watching the television, one can see messages relating to fortune telling, horoscope and mysterious incidents relating to ghosts and spirits almost everyday. Once connected to the Internet, one can find many websites on fortune telling and horoscope. These websites even ranked in the top thirty most popular websites in Taiwan. In October 25, 1997, 79 websites on 'Yam.com', a popular website, were about horoscope. Shortly after the Bible Code became a bestseller in the United States, its Chinese translation was ranked number one among other 'non-literature'. A magazine, which claimed to be professional news magazine, featured an analysis of the horoscope of candidates running for county magistrates. When Zhang Yu Sheng, a very famous male singer in Taiwan, was in a serious coma after a car accident, the 'prince of star' (the pen name of a Taiwanese astrologist) boldly forecasted that Zhang could turn his bad luck into good fortune, because his lucky points were in Gemani, which indicated that good luck would follow. Unfortunately, Zhang died.

In recent years, the traditional Chinese calendar, which indicated the calamity and fortune of carrying out different kinds of actions, was printed in some local newspapers everyday. They also printed a daily horoscope or craved out a special column, or even a page, exclusively for fortune telling and horoscope. Based on our review, many newspapers, including China Times, China Times Express (evening news), United Daily News, Ming Sheng Daily, Independent Daily, Independent Evening News, Liberty Times, Common Daily, Taiwan Daily News, and Great Daily News, had special columns or even a special page, concerning fate, horoscope and geomancy. More importantly, these columns about fortune telling appeared after 1994 and they were printed, at most, once a week. What the newspapers printed daily was mostly the traditional Chinese calendar or simple discussion of horoscope. Some newspapers stopped printing these columns for a few months, but soon other special columns or special issues related to fortune telling and horoscope appeared. (See table 1). For these reasons, we can generally conclude that the trend of occultism emerged during the mid-90s. Newspapers could have been the leading cause of the popularity of occultism. Moreover, television programs were especially enthusiastic about publicizing horoscope, fortune telling, and mysterious incidents relating to ghosts and spirits. Looking at the television weekly magazine, we discovered that each issue of TTV weekly

magazine had a page on fortune telling from 1982. At present, two pages were devoted to weekly fortune and three pages on astrology. In June 1992, before CTS weekly magazine stopped, each issue devoted three pages on special columns of Chinese traditional astrology, called 'zi wei dou shu', and three pages of Buddhist teachings of 'Yun-Lin'. Before the astrologist, Chin-Yi Chen, got attacked and died, the United News had published many of her books on astrology. It indicated that the popularity of occultism was a new phenomenon in the media. Furthermore, the media broadcast facilitated this trend.

In recent years, different religions and mysterious incidents relating to ghosts and spirits arose in Taiwan. The development of Buddhism was very significant in the past few years. The emergence of new religions further engraved in people's mind after the Sung Chi Li incident. There were daily reports on strange events relating to ghosts and spirits. Thus, a thorough and comprehensive examination of the emergence of religion and occultism was warranted.

1. Introduction

The main trend of social change in modern society is the kind of rationalism that developed during the Enlightenment. Rationalism not only formed the basis on which science was founded but also posed a fundamental challenge to religion. Rationalism was laden with elements of secularism and modernism and this is why science clashed with witchcraft and occultism. The emergence of rationalism and secularism made the relationship between science and religion more complex and delicate. Because of the development of rationalism, many old religions gave up occult and mythical traditions and emphasized the value of the ultimate concern (Casanova 1994). Many religions, especially new religions, fought back against the scientific influence, while others sought to use science for their development (Ben-Yehuda 1989).

From his examination of the social change in the United States, Toffler (1989: 372-6) pointed out that the hippie movement was a force that countered the social change that rational ideas produced. He wrote, "With the long hair came a bitter technophobia and a widespread interest in mysticism, drugs, Eastern cults,

astrology, and off-brand religion. The movement looked at industrial society, hated what it saw, and urged a return to some haloed, mythical past." The spirits of the hippie culture, indeed, provided the basis for the 'New Age' movement in our contemporary world. New age culture involved numerous, unusual kinds of occultism and religious pursuits.

Table 1   **Newspaper publications related to fortune telling and other occultism in Taiwan**

	Start Date	End Date	Frequency	Content	Size of Article
China Times	1997. 4.20		Every Saturday Every Sunday	Weekly Horoscope Open to Fortune	
China Times Express (Evening News)	1995. 5. 7	1996. 2. 1	Every Sunday	Modern Psychology	Full Page
United News	1994. 8. 4		Everyday	Birthday Horoscope	Special Column
United Evening News	1996. 1.13 1996. 4. 3 1996. 9.27 1997. 2.16	1996.12. 7 1996. 7.28 1997. 2.16 1997.12.31	Every Saturday Every Sunday Daily Every Saturday	Life and Arragement Geomancy Update Horoscope and EQ Horoscope and EQ	Special Column Special Column Special Column Special Column
Ming Sheng Daily	1994. 4. 2		Every Saturday	Weekly Horoscope	Special Column
Independent Times	1995. 3 1997. 12. 9		Everyday Every Tuesday	Boys and Girls Philosophy of Astrology	Full Page Full Page
Independent Evening Times	1995. 2.28 1997. 4. 6	1998. 5.	Every Sunday Every Sunday	Wonderful Calculation Destiny Overview	Full Page

On the other hand, Toffler pointed out that Christian fundamentalism re-emerged. He wrote, "Outraged by the hippies' pagan rejection of traditional Christianity, upset by the break up of the familiar world, Christian fundamentalists also began a powerful counterattack on secularism that soon took the form of highly effective political action… Hippie and counterhippie, pagan and Christian, whatever their differences, joined in the assault on secular society."

According to Toffler, this kind of phenomena was not confined to America, but it also appeared in many places throughout the world. Following the emergence of religious fundamentalism was a revival of religions. A notable example is the Islamic revolution in Iran. Similar examples occurred in many places in the world.

Toffler believed that the industrial civilization and modernization produced many moral and social problems. "As the smokestack era ended, therefore, its reigning secular philosophy was attacked from within and without, from many sides at once, and fundamentalism and religion in general took wing." "What is happening is a sky-darkening attack on the ideas of the Enlightenment which helped usher in the industrial age." In other words, "while all these religious movements are, of course, different, and frequently clash with one another, and while some are extremist and others not, all of them, Christian or New Age, Judaic or Islamic – are united in one thing – their hostility to secularism, the philosophical base of mass democracy."

The theoretical stance of early research tended to consider that science was an antithesis of witchcraft and that science was sufficient to replace witchcraft. Moreover, due to scientific advancement, occult elements of traditional religions were gradually neglected, so that religions did not contradict with science (Malinovsky 1954, Thomas 1971). However, occultism was revived in human society and became more even popular than religions in some instances. This showed that the mutually exclusive relationship between science and occultism was not that simple (Tambiah 1990) On the one hand, scientific development and discovery was remarkable. The spreading of modern science and new technology in human societies effectively eliminated many occult and superstitious beliefs, which resulted in many people living by rational and secular principles. However, while scientific development seemed astonishing, it was not limitless and could not solve all kinds of human problems, especially personal, psychological, and social problems. On the other hand, although people accepted modern scientific beliefs and most people usually had an adequate amount of scientific knowledge to fulfil the demand of everyday life, their knowledge remained so limited that they did not really know or understand many phenomena. Therefore, they needed to rely on experts to solve problems. Besides, most people did not understand and did not need to understand. Even the so-called experts also did not possess comprehensive knowledge. They lacked adequate knowledge about things that were outside of their field of expertise. Experts relied on scientific, professional knowledge and, yet, not every expert had complete or adequate training in science. Because both ordinary people and experts lacked adequate scientific knowledge, occult and

mysterious knowledge might have served to fulfil some human needs.

In addition, since 1970, the occult became significantly popular in Europe, America and other places. Scholars called it the 'revival' or 'explosion' of the occult (Marty 1970, Truzzi 1974, Eliade 1976, Ben-Yehuda 1989, and Bruce, 1996). In the 1970s, Eliade pointed out that, at least, 5 million Americans organized their lives with the guidance of astrological forecast. In United States, 1200 out of 1750 newspapers had an astrology column. In terms of jobs, this created 10 000 full-time and 1 750 000 part-time positions for astrologists. The statistics indicated that about 4 million American generated a business revenue of 200 million from astrology. In August 1791, the first monthly astrology magazine was published in London, England. At present, there are of different thousands kinds of astrology magazines in the West. According to the Brierley survey concerning Christianity in 20th century England, the proportion of religious books that were about the occult topics rose from 3.3% in 1928 to 5.6% in 1960. The figure rose to 15% in 1980. It was estimated that this figure would reach 17.3 by 1990 (Cited from Bruce 1996: 199).

The revival of occultism in different countries, particularly in scientifically advanced countries, represented an approval of and a research interest in the mysterious, the unknown, and a branch of knowledge that had been purposely neglected in the past. This revival recreated a system of beliefs. On the one hand, this reflected an anti-scientific attitude; on the other, it was an attempt to use the scientific method to validate those beliefs. Modern occultism involved taking an initiative to conjecture and elucidate subject matter that could be readily answered in a rational manner. Many participants in modern occultism came from the middle-class and many of them did not have religious beliefs. In western societies, there was a deep-seated suspicion and vigilance surrounding witchcraft in the past. People identified as witches were commonly burned at the stake. However, in modern society, those who practiced witchcraft were not condemned, but rather were often respected by many people. Truzzi pointed out, "Claiming that you are a witch today is more likely to get you to be invited to a party than being burned at the stake." (Truzzi 1974:633). Placing it in a Chinese context, it was tantamount to praise and addressing people as 'teachers' or even 'masters' who would have been previously condemned for spreading lies and misleading others.

Occultism, particularly popular occultism – such as fate divination, horoscope and tarot – mainly appealed to white-collar workers and young people in Taiwan. A similar trend was observed in Europe and North America (Eliade 1976). On the other hand, blue-collar workers and people from a low socio-economic class, especially women, were drawn to traditional forms of occultism and often paid visits to fortune-tellers (Ji-qing Shi and Ye Chen 1997). What were the social factors that led occultism – both new and old, Chinese and foreign – to become popular in the 90s, especially in Taiwan? Generally speaking, scholars believed that the unpredictability inherent in the social structure created a sense of uncertainty on the socio-psychological level. Substantial social changes increased the degree of uncertainty within the structural arrangement of society. This kind of uncertainty would last for a certain amount of time and, at least, it would not be resolved within a short period of time. This created a general sense of uncertainty among individuals who lived in this social framework. The sense of uncertainty could be related or unrelated to the individual. As one lacked sufficient knowledge to resolve this ambiguity and because one could not rely on others, who also lacked relevant knowledge, one sought other ways to resolve their problems. Occultism, especially the complicated and mysterious kinds, provided one path for people to follow (Adorno 1974[1994], Ben-Yehuda, 1989), Chü Hai-yuan, 1993). Adopting occultism to resolve problems by nature involved relying on authority. People, who failed to resolve their feelings of uncertainty, tended to search for guidance in order to eliminate inner doubts and, ultimately, reduce the psychological burden that resulted from these doubts. Thus, occultism could help to alleviate uncertainty to a degree. The acceptance of irrational knowledge was caused by not only a need for a system of beliefs but also by a deficiency of rational knowledge (Adorno 1974[1994]).

Alienation was an important characteristic of an individualistic society in the modern time. This sense of alienation facilitated people to seek non-interpersonal method in order to solve some of their problems. As individuals became more independent, they became further alienated from not only people outside of their families but also their own family members. Many new religions as well as personal development groups provided a sense of familial closeness and warmth in order to help people to get rid of this sense of alienation (Jorgensen & Jorgensen 1982). However, some people who felt strongly alienated might be more

used to employing methods that did not involve any deep, interpersonal contact. The practice of the occult only required a short-term relationship between the consumers and the professionals. Because the solutions to some problems could be directly related to the sense of alienation, the reliance on occult methods might not be most effective. Nonetheless, the two important elements of the sense of alienation were of meaninglessness and normlessness. The occult explanations and solutions could be helpful for creating new meanings to believers. (Chiu 1989, Tiryakian 1972, and Eliade 1976).

Looking at the current situation in Taiwan, the question that we needed to address was why sorcerous and occult behavior continued to exist and became increasingly popular. Based on the three surveys on Taiwan Social Change that were conducted in 1985, 1990 and 1995, we attempted to analyze related questions.

2. Conceptualization and Research Data

Occultism (Shu-shu) is the main topic of discussion in this paper. The question of what Chinese 'shu-shu' is and how it compares to the English term 'occultism' will be explored. 'Shu-shu', has a long history in Chinese tradition. Hanshu Yiwen-zhi recorded the following six kinds of shu-shu – astrology, the calenrical calculations, five elements (Wuxing), tortoise divination, methods of prognostication, and physiognomy. The term, 'Shu-shu', itself, dates back to the Qin and Han dynasties. It was a general term for different kinds of occult arts and skills.

Traditionally, Shu-shu is divided into three types – arts of prediction, arts of longevity and miscellaneous arts. Arts of prediction include various kinds of divination methods, such as – oracle-bone inscription[1], oracle -bone scripture[2],

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1 This divination method was used in the Shang Dynasty (1766 BC – 1050 BC). Oracles about weather, hunting, warfare and sacrifices were engraved on animals' bones, i.e., ox scapulars and turtle shells. After the bones were heated, the diviners read the answers from the cracks in the bones.
2 See footnote 1.

yarrow[3], astrology, interpretation of dreams in the ancient times; and bei jiao[4], oracle-coin reading[5], birds' oracle[6], Chinese character reading[7], gua ying[8], mediumism , physiognomy, auspicious date, and kan-yu[9] in later periods. Arts of longevity include external Chi Gong, internal Chi Gong, self-healing Chi Gong, medication, pi-gu[10], and bedroom skills[11]. Miscellaneous arts include mu-yu (prayers) in Buddhism and charm, curse, and scorcery venom in Taoism. On the other hand, some people divide this into – vitality (yuan-qi), prediction, and worshipping. The system of vitality effects yin-yang five elements and an interaction between human and the divine. The theoretical foundation of the following occult methods – Chi Gong, Tradition Chinese medicine (TCM), physiognomy, 'kan-yu', witchcraft, interpretation of dreams, meditation, inner alchemy[12], methods of preserving health and supernatural skills – rests upon the system of vitality. On the other hand, the system of prediction includes divination and different kinds of occultism produced by the combination of yi and ying-yang five elements. The system of worship includes totem worship, nature worship, superstitions about gods and ghosts, legends and religious worship. If the system of worship was removed, the revised division would only consists of the arts of prediction and arts of longevity. Because the latter (the arts of longevity) is related to the system of vitality, they can be considered to be one and the same.

The above discussion indicated that the Chinese 'Shu-shu' was a general term for all kinds of divinations, fate, auspicious date, geomancy, interpretation of

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3 This numerological divination method, which involves the use of yarrow sticks, is found in I Ching.

4 'Bei jiou' was a fortune-telling tool, which was usually made of bamboo or wood. It came in a pair and has two sides. One side was flat which represented yang; the other was convex representing yin. A diviner dropped a 'bei jiou' on the floor to produce a reading. This method is still used in some temples in Taiwan today.

5 A divination method involving the use of coins.

6 A divination method involving the use of a 'supernatural' bird.

7 Fortune-telling through the study of Chinese characters written or chosen by the clients.

8 Fortune-telling through reading paintings and calligraphy.

9 A form of geomancy or "feng shui'.

10 A fasting method.

11 Methods to regulate the sex lives.

12 Taoism method that focused on one's spirits and breathing method for health purposes.

dreams, charms, and sorcery. It would even be broad enough to include methods to preserve health, chi gong, meditation, and Traditional Chinese Medicine. However, Chinese Medicine has already developed into an independent system and discipline. Despite the original, close connection between Chinese Medicine and 'shu-shu', the former should not be classified a kind of 'shu-shu'. The art of preserving health and chi gong, on the other hand, were often closely related to 'shu-shu'. Therefore, some methods of self-healing and chi gong could be considered as 'shu-shu', while other kinds of self-healing and chi gong were only remotely related to 'shu-shu'.

In English, according to the review of the Oxford dictionary, the term 'occult' had four meanings. Among them, two meanings were related to 'shu-shu'. The earliest meaning appeared in 1545. 'Occult' meant something that "has not been known by human thinking, or cannot be comprehended by human thinking; beyond rationality or the bound of ordinary knowledge." In 1633, 'occult' referred to "the kind of ancient and middle-age academic disciplines, which included the knowledge and application of mysterious power whose nature remained unknown. (i.e., witchcraft, alchemy, astrology, and Theosophy, etc."). A celebrated Frenchman, Constant, whose well-known pen name was Eliphas Level, employed the concept of occultism for the first time. In 1881, Sinnet first used this term in English. Since then, it has became common among the public and, in particular, among scholars.

Occultism, witchcraft, magic, and esotericism often had similar meanings and were often used interchangeably. For instance, while Truzzi used 'occultism' in the title of his paper, he used 'witchcraft' in the subtitle. While Tiryakian employed 'esoteric culture' in the title, he used 'occult' to refer to behavior and 'esotericism' to refer the religious, philosophical basis for occultism in his book. We employed the English terms, 'occult' and 'occultism' to refer to Chinese 'shu-shu', because these two English terms were most frequently used in papers since 1970s.

Shu-shu generally corresponded to occultism. However, the term 'shu-shu' appeared comparably early in Chinese society and could be traced back to Qin and Han dynasties. Thus, this term seemed not to correspond to modern terminologies.

Furthermore, the second word 'shu' in 'shu-shu' seemed to relate to calculation. For instance, what is called 'calculating with fingers' in Chinese referred to a kind of calculation that had a special, mystical basis. However, this particular kind of metaphysical characteristic seemed less common in Western societies. Therefore, people might feel uncomfortable about using this term to refer to a similar phenomenon in Chinese and Western societies. However, after further consideration, the author still thought that, at present, it seemed most appropriate to consider Western occultism as corresponding to Chinese 'shu-shu'.

In sociology as well as religious history, many scholars use Tiryakian's definition. He defined occultism as "intentional practices, techniques, or procedures which (a) draw upon hidden or concealed forces from nature or the cosmos; these forces cannot be measured or validated by modern scientific instruments; (b) have desired or intended consequences or empirical results, such as either obtaining knowledge of the course of physical events or altering their natural course of events." "Furthermore, we can consider certain practices as occult arts or sciences insofar as the a practitioner of the occult is not just any practitioner, but one who has acquired specialized knowledge and skills necessary for the practices in question, and insofar as these skills are learned and spread in social settings that are organized, ritualistic and systematic – but not available to the general public. On the other hand, esotericism refers to "the religious or philosophical belief system that underpins occult techniques and practices; i.e., it refers to the more comprehensive cognitive mapping of nature and the cosmos, the epistemological and ontological reflections of the ultimate reality. These mappings constitute a stock of knowledge that provides the ground for occult procedures. (Tiryakian, 1974: 498; Eliade, 1976: 48-49)

This paper is based the Surveys on Social Change in Taiwan, which were organized by the Institute of Sociology of Academia Sinica and supported by National Science Council. In this study, we used three survey data collected in 1985, 1990, and 1995 to analyze the development of 'shu-shu' and religions in Taiwan. We also used the data from research conducted on religion in 1994. The following will briefly explain the sources and content of data.

Survey Period and Number	Sample Size	Survey Date
First Period	4199	1984.10.1-11.30; 1985.8.4.-8.20
First Survey of the Second Period	2520	1990.2.1-2.20
Fifth Survey of the Second Period	1862	1994.7.16-8.31
First Survey of the Third Period	2081	1995.7.1.-7.31

Periods	Variables	The Content of the Variables
Survey in 1985, 1990, 1995		
	Sex	
	Age	Actual Age
	Education Levels	The highest education received, which was measured by educational levels
	Types of Religions	Recorded based on the kinds of religious affiliations. In regression analyses, people with no religion were used as the reference or control group, other religions were set as dummy variables.
	Occupations	Based on the DGBCS, we used the major categories as our categorical variables.
	Religious Attitudes	There were a total of four questions concerning religious attitudes, which appeared in the three surveys, were selected and combined into one factor. The measurement was based on the factor scores.
	Occult and Religious Behaviors	The categorization is based on whether the respondents exhibited the following occultism: fortune telling, An Tai Shui, changing one's fortune, geomancy, finding a healer, curing illnesses, services for fearful infants, services related to the god of pregnancy, communicating with the deceased, drawing lots, and pilgrimage.
Survey in 1994		
	Sex	
	Age	Actual Age
	Education levels	The highest educational level received
	Types of Religions	Based on types of religious affiliations. In regression analyses, people with no religion were used as the reference or control group, other religions were set as dummy variables.
	Occupations	Based on the DGBCS, we used the major categories as our categorical variables.
	Views about gods and ghosts	A group of five questions concerning belief or disbelief in gods: the existence of a supreme god, gods occupied different statuses, natural disasters were warnings from gods, the belief in heaven and hell, becoming a president depends on divine command. These questions were combined into one factor based on the results of factor analyses. The loading of different questions was between .61 to .77. The variance explained was 49.8%.

Belief in the existence of the soul	A group of five questions concerning various views about the soul: respondents belief in gods, reincarnation, the ghost of one's kin appearing in one's dream and making a request, possessing one's body, ancestors without someone worshiping them will wander. Based on the results of factor analyses, a single factor was extracted. The loading of the factor for each questions were between .77 to .85. The total explained variance was 67.3%.
Ancestor Worship	A group of three questions concerning ancestor worship and the effects of worshipping or not. Based on factor analyses, a single factor was extracted. The loading was in between .77 to .86. The variance explained was 68.3%.
Belief in 'Yuan'	A group of four questions examining whether respondents believe in yuan or not, including 'yuan' as determining by past life; married couples, one's children, as well as relatives and friends were determined by 'yuan'. Based on factor analyses, a single factor was extracted. The loading was in between .85 to .90, and the explained variance was 74.8%.
Belief in 'Chi'	A set of five questions concerning whether or not the respondent believe in the presence of chi, including the use of Chi Gong to cure illnesses, the working of chi in a body, the practice of chi, a strong chi can protect people from all evils, and the chi of earth. After conducting factor analyses, these were combined into a single factor. The loading of the factors in these questions was around .72 to .93. The explained variance was 61.7%.
Auspicious Dates	A set of five questions asking whether respondents need to choose an auspicious date for a wedding, moving, opening a shop, traveling, and a funeral. The factor analyses showed that, while the loading of traveling was low, the loading of other factors were in between .87 to .94. The explained variance was 67.1%.
Safety of Family Dwelling	A set of four questions concerning factors that affected the safety of home, including the layout, direction, the furniture's direction and the altar's position. After conducting factor analysis, a single factor was extracted. The loading was .77 to .89. the variance explained was 69.2%.
The Effects of Geomancy:	A set of five questions concerning the effects of geomancy on i.e, physical health, wealth, career, marital relationship, and the development of the offsprings. After conducting factor analysis, a single factor was extracted. The loading was in between .87 to .96. The variance explained was 84.6%.
The Effects of Rituals on business	A set of four questions concerning how the development of business and safety of employees were affected by factors, i.e., opening a shop in the first month of the year, the layout of the site, worship, end-of-the-year ceremony, and worship of the gods. The loading was in between .83 and .88. The variance explained was 74.7%.

Belief in Fortune Telling	A set of five questions concerning whether or not respondents believe in methods of fortune telling, including the eight characters, 'zi wei dou shu', hand and face physiogamy, magic bone touch, and astrology. After conducting factor analyses, a single factor was extracted. The loading was in between .86 to .91. The variance explained was 77.7%.
Belief in Changing One's Fortune	A set of six questions concerning whether or not the respondents believe in changing fortune through methods, i.e., praying to gods, burning incenses to worship gods, revamping ancestral tombs. After conducting factor analyses, a single factor was extracted. The loading was in between .55 to .82. The explained variance was 56.3%.

3. Change in Occult and Sorcerous Behavior (1985-1995)

Based on the research findings in the first and second Taiwan Social Change Survey (1985, 1990), my paper, "The Change and Variation of Occultism, Witchcraft and Religious Behavior" (1993), indicated that while occult behavior was on the rise in Taiwan, sorcerous behavior did not increase. The conclusion of the paper explained that some supernatural knowledge, i.e., fate, geomancy, were influenced by modern ideas technologies and, subsequently, developed anew in order to adapt to changes in modern times. These ideas appealed to people in modern society, especially people who had a strong sense of uncertainty. On the other hand, because some sorcerous methods may not have had a rich, solid basis of knowledge and because they remained uninfluenced by modern thoughts and technology, their new development, such as finding a shaman to cure disease, seeking religious services for fearful infant, and communicating with the deceased, failed to appeal and convince people today. A later passage of the paper pointed out that, while the increase in occult behaviors was related to the uncertainty of the political and economical situationl at the time, the change of sorcerous behavior was unrelated to politics. Our research analyses also discovered that the chance of executive managers seeking fortune telling and geomancy services – two kinds of occult behaviors – was significantly higher than people with other occupations. This showed that, because of their occupations, which were associated with high levels of uncertainty in terms of promotion and other changes, executive managers tended seek guidance through occult methods. In the research analyses, the author emphasized that rationality and uncertainty were key factors that affected occult

and sorcerous behavior in a changing society. The question of whether occultism and witchcraft have developed according to modern thoughts and technology in order to satisfy people's demands was another factor that influenced the behaviors in question.

Table 2 **Change in occult and sorcerous behaviors (1985-1990-1995)**

	1985	1990	1995
Fortune Telling	27.5	31.7	37.5
Drawing the Lots	34.1	27.6	31.3
Geomancy Services	11.9	13.0	13.1
Find shaman to Cure Disease	4.0	3.3	6.0
Services for Fearful Infants	23.6	22.6	32.7
Worshipping the God of Pregnancy	3.9	4.4	5.1
Communicating with the Deceased	1.8	2.0	2.2
An Tai Shui	21.3	35.0	51.4
Going on a Pilgrimage	30.9	26.6	31.7
Changing Fortune	10.5	12.1	15.5
Sample Size	4199	2531	2081

Based on the results of the three sample surveys conducted in Taiwan in 1985, 1990, and 1995, we analyzed the change in occult and sorcerous behaviors. Overall, comparing 1995 to the past five years, except for geomancy, communicating with the deceased, and drawing the lots, the other seven kinds of behaviors significantly increased. In 1990, four kinds of behaviors, including finding a shaman to cure illnesses, seeking services for fearful infants, communicating with the deceased, and going on pilgrimage, did not increase, while drawing the lots decreased significantly. The findings clearly showed that, in the two periods – from 1985 to 1990, and from 1990 to 1995 – the trend of occult behavior was different from that of sorcerous behavior. From 1985 to 1990, while occult behavior increased, sorcerous behavior remained unchanged. However, from 1990 to 1995, both occult and sorcerous behavior increased significantly. It is notable that, while the demand of finding a shaman and services for fearful infants increased significantly in the latter period, the demand for geomancy services decreased. It suggested that that the rationality of people was insufficient to adapt

to the pressure and problems that the social change created and that the ambiguity at the political and economical levels had spread to different levels of society; hence the development of occultism and witchcraft.

There was a significant difference between people from different age groups in terms of the kinds of occult and sorcerous behaviors in which they engaged. On the one hand, these behaviors were traditional practices. The younger the person, the less likely he or she would adopt these behaviors. However, if our questionnaire targeted new or foreign occults, like horoscope, the results might have been different. On the other hand, age represented practical needs. The younger the person, the less likely that he or she needed to rely on occultism for personal needs. In contrast, the older the person, the more he or she needed to rely on occultism for various kinds of needs. Overall, sex differences were only observed in fortune telling, geomancy, religious services for fearful infants, and pilgrimage. While the probability of women seeking fortune telling and religious services for infants were high, the probability of men seeking geomancy and pilgrimage was high. This generally indicated differences that were caused by different sex roles. In a patriarchal society, women tended to receive more unfair treatment. Under this system, women accepted ideas about predestination and fortune telling as they coped with difficulties by resigning to their fate. Moreover, because bringing up children still remained the most important duty for mothers, seeking religious services for infants became the main task for women. Conversely, men were more likely to seek geomancy services because of the importance of their careers as well as the fact that ancestor worship was a man's duty.

Modern education represented rational and secular humanist ideas, which tended to inhibit occult and sorcerous behaviors. It is notable that, although education inhibited many forms of occultism, especially sorcerous behaviors, it did not reduce the likelihood of seeking services, such as fortune telling, geomancy, and communicating with the deceased. While education did not affect behaviors relating to geomancy and communicating with the deceased, it encouraged behaviors relating to fortune telling. Because the probability of communicating with the deceased was very low, the influence of education was meaningless. However, the questions of why education increased the likelihood of fortune-telling services and why it had no influence on the likelihood of seeking geomancy were worth exploring. The kind of rationality cultivated by modern education,

which generally tended to counter occultism, might fall short in countering deep, profound methods of the occult and fortune-telling. Besides, the kinds of ancient metaphysics that were developed anew, or foreign mysticism tended to appeal to people with more education. Quite a number of scholars in science were immensely interested in horoscope and the eight characters. They believed in these ideas strongly. On the other hand, geomancy was a kind of occultism that had an ancient origin and was deeply rooted in the consciousness of Taiwanese people. People with more education were not able to free themselves from the grasp of these ancient ideas. Moreover, their demand for geomancy services was no less than that of people with less education, because not only had both the theory and practice of geomancy advanced, but also people with more education tended to have greater social opportunities and had a greater degree of uncertainty.

Occult and sorcerous behaviors were closely related to religions. In Taiwan, most people are believers of folk religion. Folk religion is so diffused that it was difficult to distinguish them from occultism and witchcraft. This point was illustrated in my 1993 paper, "The Change and Variation of Occultism, Witchcraft and Religious Behavior". Based on the analyses of new research data, the probability that folk religious believers would engage in occult and sorcercous behavior was high. The results for Taoists and 'mixed Buddhists' were the same. These three kinds of believers did not differ significantly. "Mixed Buddhist" referred to those who identified themselves as Buddhists. However, researchers classified them differently based on other measures, i.e., if the respondents had been formally converted to Buddhism and if they worshipped non-Buddhist deities. These respondents were classified as members of folk religion, not real Buddhists. In fact, Taoism in Taiwan was inseparable from folk religion. Many folk religious temples were registered under Taoism. For these reasons, three kinds of religious members were remarkably similar. There was no significant difference among their religious beliefs as well as their occult and sorcerous practices. The important point was that these religions supported and promoted behaviors relating to occultism and witchcraft. Because more than two-thirds of Taiwanese people were members of these religions, the popularity of occultism was definitely related to the religions. In other words, because religions in Taiwan tended to advocate folk religious beliefs, religion was an important factor for the popularity of occultism.

Table 3 Logistic analyses of occult behaviors

	Fortune Telling	An Tai Shui	Changing One's Fortune	Geomancy	Find a Shaman to Cure Disease
79	.1616**	.9138***	.4041***	.3134***	.0577
84	.4864***	1.7740***	.7674***	.1328	.7214***
Age	-.0093***	-.0133***	-.0152***	.0285***	-.0159**
Sex	-.1475*	-.0029	.1443	.3942***	.0893
Educational Level	.1800***	-.1303***	-.2417***	.0486	.4192***
Buddhism (Pure)	.1746	.3987***	.6105***	.3943*	.5551
Buddhism (Mixed)	.3810***	.9212***	.9461***	.6473***	.8397**
Taoism	.3381***	.7081***	1.0034***	.9339***	1.3964***
Folk Religion	.2735***	.8501***	.7316***	.7522***	.9650***
Christianity	-.7928***	-2.3277***	-1.31987**	-.9023**	-5.1157
Other Religions	-.0500	.1767	.3004	.3192	1.0018**
Professional, Skilled Workers	-.1250	-.1942	-.1785	.0266	-.0569
Executives and Managers	.3537*	-.3943*	-.2098	.5920**	.2728
Supervisors and Assistants	.1518	.0359	-.1855	.0346	-.9222*
Commercial Workers	.2089*	.0599	.0662	.36194**	-.2207
Service Industry Workers	.2223*	-.1531	.2835	.1916	-.1160
Farming and Fishing Industry Workers	-.2318*	-.3645***	-.0923	.3672**	.4853**
Unemployed	-.2007	-.3436***	.0433	-.0385	.2483
Military Personnel and Police Officers	-.5947**	-1.6289***	-1.4907*	-1.1424**	-1.3101
Students	-.4050*	-.3582	.1616	-1.2018*	-4.9567
Housewives	-.1055	.1116	.2246	-.0491	.0413
Religious Attitudes	-.2093***	-.2781***	-.3355***	-.3109***	-.4035***
Constant	-1.2784***	-1.0715***	-1.7912***	-4.3510***	-2.4728***

* p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

	Services for Fearful Infants	Worshipping the God of Pregnancy	Communicating With the Deceased	Drawing the Lots	Going on a Pilgrimage
79	-.0005	.3778**	.2578	-.2716***	.0961
84	.7029***	.5584***	.3058	-.0288	.3443***
Age	-.0275***	-.0155**	.0028	-.0095***	.0006
Sex	-.3162***	.1294	.1307	-.0874	.1464*
Education	-.1301***	-.1581**	-.1214	.0682**	-.3880***
Buddhist (Pure)	.1258	.0294	.8715*	.3424**	.0780
Buddhist (Mixed)	.7180***	.7356**	.7500	.7040***	.6921***
Taoism	.7344***	.4171	1.4440***	.7049***	.9609***
Folk Religion	.8752***	.4614*	1.0435**	.5784***	.8403***
Christianity	-1.9168***	-1.1966*	-1.0649	-1.3475***	-2.3974***
Other Religions	.4464**	.2315	.8371	.1018	.2975
Professional, Skilled Workers	-.1036	-.1633	.2353	.0205	-.1002
Executives and Managers	.0655	-.1604	.1629	.0235	-.3873*
Supervisors and Assistants	.0239	-.1746	.1323	.1592	-.1878
Commercial Workers	.0936	.1370	-.0342	.2167*	-.0554
Service Industry Workers	.1431	.0040	-.4006	.1924	-.1399
Farmers and Fishermen	.0387	-.1644	.0717	-.0620	.5412***
Unemployed	-.3150*	-.2765	-.0604	-.1668	.1191
Military Personnel and Police Officers	-.3987	-1.5309	-.8817	-.7016**	-1.5149***
Students	.0098	-1.7785	-4.6750	-.0025	-.2220
Housewives	.2062*	.4150**	.1145	-.0420	.0918
Religious Attitudes	-.2087***	-.3675***	-.3659***	-.2513***	-.3055***
Constant	-.2051	-2.8437***	-4.8265***	-.9573***	-.5426**

On the other hand, the behaviors of Buddhists were different from the aforementioned religious members; however, there were some subtle similarities. Buddhism emphasized that students seek to understand Buddhist teachings through practice and development under the guidance of their masters. Presumably, Buddhism should oppose to occultism and witchcraft. The latter relied on external

power. However, under the long-standing influence of other traditional religions in Taiwan, Buddhist also involved complicated, mystical forms of occultism. Based on the results of the analysis, the chance 'pure Buddhists' would practice in other occult behaviors tended to be higher than the chance non-religious members would engage in these behaviors, except for seeking fortune-telling services. On the other hand, the probability they would engage in sorcerous behaviors was not significantly high. Therefore, while the frequency of Buddhist members engaging in occult behaviors was high, the frequency of them exhibiting sorcerous behaviors was low. This is an important finding, because Buddhists' behaviors were different from not only those of folk religious members but also those of Christians, which will be discussed in the following. Overall, the traditional Chinese five occultisms were deeply rooted in peoples' consciousness and were highly influential. Throughout history, Buddhism did not reject these five arts or they even have integrated them into Buddhist beliefs and practise. The five arts and Buddhists practices were customarily combined. For most Buddhists, occultism did not contradict their beliefs. However, compared with folk religious believers, especially 'mixed Buddhists', the occult and sorcerous behaviour that 'pure Buddhists' engaged in were somewhat incompatible with their Buddhist's beliefs. Perhaps Buddhism in Taiwan had already integrated occultism into their teachings and organization. However, witchcraft directly opposed or contradicted with Buddhism. Buddhists would not find a shaman or spiritual medium to solve problems for them.

Christianity, which came from the West, had strong, rational elements and was integrated with modern technology, especially in terms of medicine. The probability Christians would engaged in different kinds of occult and sorcerous behaviors, was lower than people with no religion. Christianity was the only religion that significantly inhibited all kinds of occult and sorcerous behavior. The influence of Christianity was very similar to the influence of education, except related fortune telling and geomancy. It discouraged people from holding beliefs and performing behaviors that involved deep, profound ideas, like the principles of fate and geomancy.

Looking at how rationality and the sense of uncertainty related in different occupations, skilled workers, military personnel, and police officers should

have a high degree of rationality. Members who held executive or management position and employees who engaged in commerce should have a strong sense of uncertainty. On the other hand, farmers had some unique characteristics. They were conservative and traditional and had the least amount of resources to adapt to social changes. Professional, skilled workers received complete and the most amount of modern, technological training, which were loaded with rational elements. Military and police officers could actually be considered as a kind of professional, skilled workers. They were cultivated with the kind of trainings that involved modern technology. Sometimes, they were exposed to the most advanced technology. For these reasons, their rational attitudes would be strong. Because room for development and likelihood of promotion for executive members were increasingly narrow and often not under one's own control, their feelings of uncertainty would tend to be strong. Commerce was a kind of investment that was associated with risks, thus, workers in commerce would sense a greater amount of uncertainty.

The probability skilled workers, military personnel, and police officers would exhibit occult and sorcerous behaviors should be lower than other employers, because the formers' occupations were related to a high degree of rationality. However, the actual results showed that military personnel and police officers had the tendency to engage in these behavhiors while professional, skilled workers had no such tendency. Generally speaking, the probability of military and police officers seeking services, i.e., fortune telling, 'An Tai Shui', changing one's fortune, and geomancy, were lower than all other occupations. However, the likelihood of military and police officers engaging in sorcerous behaviors was not significantly lower than the other occupations. The probability executive members would engage in two kinds of occult behaviors, like fortune telling and geomancy tended to be significantly higher than other occupations; but the probability of them engaging in An Tai Shui was lower than other occupations, except military personnel and police officers. In terms of sorcerous behaviors, they were similar to other occupations. The probability employees in commerce, who engaged in occult and sorcerous behaviors, was similar to that of the executive, management members. In other words, their probability of them seeking fortune telling and geomancy services was relatively high, because these two types of occupations were associated with a high degree of uncertainty. On the other hand,

because farmers tended to maintain traditional practices, the probability of them seeking geomancy services was high. However, due to their lack of resources, the probability of them seeking fortune telling and 'An Tai Shui' services was relatively low.

The relationship between religion and occultism could be examined not only from the actual occult and sorcerous behaviors in which religious members engaged, but also from how strong a person's religious attitudes were. The research findings revealed that people who had stronger religious attitudes had a higher probability of engaging in occult and sorcerous behaviors. These results were found among all ten kinds of behaviors, with no exception. In the research analysis, religious attitudes were examined through four questionnaires, which appeared in the questionnaires in 1985, 1990, and 1995. The four questions that constructed the variable for religious attitudes were: 1) The continued existence of the soul after the body dies; 2) the importance of having male descendents to worship ancestors; 3) the society would be more peaceful if more people believed in gods; 4) people should depend on their own efforts, not on the god's. These questions did not involve attitudes towards occultism or witchcraft. The results showed that religiosity is related to occult and sorcerous attitudes. People who believed in the soul might seek fortune telling and geomancy services. In contrast, people who did not believe in the soul tended not to believe in physiognomy and geomancy. The significant correlation between religious attitudes and occultism and sorcery provided an important reference for the theoretical distinction between them. Religion and witchcraft were difficult to distinguish in folk religion, as it was suggested in various passages of this paper. The significant correlation between religious attitudes and sorcerous behaviors indicated that, at least, two important ideas – first, religiosity is the basis for sorcerous beliefs and behavior; and second, because folk religious beliefs are shared by many people in Taiwan, religious attitudes were associated with sorcerous behaviors.

From the findings of the three random sampling surveys in Taiwan conducted, we validated that the main kinds of occult behaviors tended to be more popular during this time period. In 1990 to 1995, even witchcraft behaviors increased significantly. In this process, the rational attitudes cultivated by education inhibited occult and sorcerous behaviors. However, the commitment to religious beliefs,

especially folk religious beliefs, facilitated the development of occultism and witchcraft. Christianity tended to have inhibitory effects. Because the proportion of Christians in Taiwan was small, about only 5 percent of the population, this did not affect the popularity of occultism in the society at large. In terms of the influence of rational elements in job training, the results showed that military and police officers had a significantly lower probability of engaging in related behaviors. However, the degree of uncertainty associated with executive and management occupations as well as jobs in the commercial sector, led people with these occupations to have a greater probability of seeking fortune telling and geomancy services. Finally, the influence of religious attitudes showed that, in Taiwan, it was difficult to separate folk religion from witchcraft because of the sorcerous characteristics in folk beliefs, witchcraft.

4. The People's Belief in 'Spirits' and the Occult Over Time

In drafting the questionnaire for the 1994 research conducted on Taiwan Social Change, anthropologists and sociologists believed that in Taiwan, there were a few deep-seated views about religion and occultism. They proposed that beliefs relating to gods, ghosts, spirits, ancestor worship, 'yuan', 'chi', auspicious date, geomancy, fortune telling, and changing fortune were the deep-seated beliefs held in Taiwan. The results of the pilot test were good. After some revision, the research was formally conducted in 1994. The research results, which were based on the distribution of the questions concerning the aforementioned beliefs, generally verified the original ideas the discussion group proposed. In other words, the aforementioned thoughts and beliefs were comparably popular, which formed the basis for the rising popularity of occultism in Taiwan in recent years.

1) The Belief in Gods and Ghosts

In Taiwan, many people tend to believe in the existence of gods and ghosts and various ideas about them. In our studies, people who believed that natural disasters was warning signs from gods were small, only 27%, while 54% of the people did not share this belief. About 52% of the respondents believed that becoming a president involved the mandate of heaven. On the other hand, 54% of respondents held that there were heaven and hell. 55% of the respondents believed

that there was a supreme god in the universe; while 55% of the respondents thought that the gods had different status. It is worth noting that these findings indicated that, in society at large, the proportion of people who held the aforementioned views was similar, about 50% to 57%. The proportion of disbelievers was about 30%. About 10% to 20% of the respondents answered that they did not know. The figures for different beliefs were similar. More than half of the respondents shared these kinds of beliefs. These findings had great significance. Perhaps, the questions were too similar; however, the first two questions were concerned with gods; the third was concerned with the existence of heaven and hell; and the last one asked about whether becoming a president involved a divine command. These showed that the scope of these questions was not too narrow. On the other hand, what seemed more important was that the beliefs with which these questions concerned were closely related. Factor analyses indicated a single variable behind these five questions and the loading were high, which was between .60 and .77. The total variance explained was about 50%. These showed that the belief in gods was, indeed, complicated. It did not only include a direct belief in gods but also beliefs concerning heaven and hell and divine command. These beliefs were not fragmented, but were a set of closely inter-connected beliefs.

People in Taiwan basically tend to believe in the existence of gods and ghosts. More than half of the respondents believed in gods. This showed that, first, the number of believers was high, which created a favourable condition for the rise in popularity of religions and occultism. Second, while more than half of the people believed, 30% of people did not believe. 10 to 20% of the people claimed that they did not know, which indicated a sense of uncertainty. This has shown that there was substantial room for development of religion and occultism. People, who were uncertain, might be attracted to religion because of popular religious trends and media broadcasts about related issues. When non-believers encountered difficulties or dangers, or were repeatedly exposed to religious messages about the supernatural and spirits, they would partially accept these ideas while retaining some doubts, or even change their attitudes.

These kinds of views about gods formed an important basis for the development of religion and occultism in Taiwan. Furthermore, we discovered that 71% of the public believed that they could receive protection from the gods

if they worship gods sincerely. While more than 50% of the people believed in the existence of gods, there were about 70% of people believed the effects of worshipping gods sincerely. The 15% difference indicated that those who claimed not to believe in gods or not to know, did not ultimately rejected the belief in the existence of gods. Likewise, Soong Wen Li's and Li Yih Yuan's research in the end of the 80s pointed out that non-religious people, in fact, retained strong religious beliefs in gods and karma. On the other hand, while 42% of people believed that burning paper money was a waste, 47% of people believed otherwise. This indicated that the basic beliefs were common among people, but not everyone strongly supported the rituals.

Table 4   Questions regarding beliefs and attitudes concerning spirits and the occultism

A. Views of Gods and Ghosts
    1. A highest god exists in the universe.
    2. Gods are different from one another in terms of their superior or inferior status.
    3. Natural disasters are warning signs from the gods.
    4. The existence of heaven and hell.
    5. Becoming the president involves mandate from heaven.

    1. 'Making vows'[13] to gods without thanking the gods will have bad consequences.
    2. One needs not to rely on gods, but on one's own efforts.
    3. Faithful worship of gods lead to protection.
    4. Burning paper money is a waste.

B. Soul
    1. The soul exists after the body dies.
    2. The soul will reincarnate.
    3. Souls that are not worshipped will wander.
    4. Spirit of the deceased can appear in dreams to give a message.
    5. Do you believe that souls can possess bodies?

C. Ancestor Worship
    1. It is important to have decedents to worship one.
    2. If ancestors are not worshipped, they will get angry.
    3. Worship ancestors timely can receive protection.

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13 'Making vows' is the practice that people make a wish in front of gods and promise to repay gods when their wish is fulfilled.

D. 'Yuan' and Debt
1. 'Yuan' is determined by one's past life or lives.
2. Being married to the wrong husband or wife is because of debt from past lives.
3. Because of debt from past lives, parents have to work like dogs to bring up their children.
4. Blood relations and friends are determined by 'yuan' from past lives.

E. Chi
1. Chi Gong can cure diseases.
2. Chi operates in a human body.
3. Chi in the body can be strengthened through practice.
4. A strong chi can protect one from all evils.
5. On a place that has strong chi, trees, flowers, and grass will grow healthily and the place will be eventful and lively.

F. Evaluation of Religion
1. Religious beliefs can improve the morality of society.
2. Religious beliefs make you think that life is meaningful and purposeful.
3. Religions advise people to do good.

G. Occultism and Sorcery
1. Wedding
2. Moving to a new home
3. Starting a business
4. Travelling
5. Funeral

1. The position of the home
2. The layout the home
3. The position of the furniture
4. The location and setup of the altar

In your view, how can geomancy affect the following? (Including geomancy of home and ancestral tombs.)
1. Physical health
2. Wealth
3. Career
4. Marital relationship
5. Development of the young

In your view, how do the following actions affect the development of a business establishment (i.e., stores or factories) and the safety of the employees?
1. Opening a shop on the first month of the year.
2. The layout, i.e., the seats of the boss and employees.
3. Worship at the door on the 1st and 15th (2nd, 16th) of the month (ceremonial activities).
4. Bowing to god statues, burning incense, and worshipping gods on set dates.

Do you believe that fate can be known from methods of fortune telling?
1. Eight characters.
2. "Zi Wei Dou Shu"
3. Magic bone touch
4. Astrology, horoscope.

Do you believe that fate can be changed with the following methods?
1. Praying to gods.
2. Burning incense and worshipping Buddha.
3. Doing good things to accumulate good Karma.
4. Changing one's fortune through the exercise of magical power.
5. Changing the geomancy at home.
6. Restoring ancestral tombs.

We further examined what kinds of factors affected people's beliefs in gods. Through regression analyses, we discovered that the main factors included education levels, the types of religions, sex, and race. Our examination also included economic status, i.e., whether or not the respondents or their fathers had been unemployed and whether or not their current economic situations were fine. We further considered the personal psychological state, i.e., if they claimed to be living happily and if they had any interpersonal problems. The question of whether they had experienced with religious organizations was also included, i.e., whether they watched or listened to religious programs on television or the radio, whether they read religious publications, religious books, or listened to religious tapes. Although the influences of these factors were not non-existent, they were not as important as the main factors. Based on statistical analyses, the influence of education was the greatest factor (beta =.23), the higher the levels of education, the less likely the belief in gods. However, this is not to say that people with more education did not believe in gods. Although the correlation coefficients were significant, it simply indicated that, when comparing people with less education, the chance people with more education would believe in gods was lower. These showed that modern education did, indeed, lean towards secular humanism, that is, rejecting the existence of gods and ghosts. On the other hand, people might also have beliefs in gods because of other reasons, particularly social reasons as well as the entire human cultural traditions. These reasons sufficiently explained why many people with more education were comparably enthusiastic about religion and the occult. Many religious people, people in the fields of the traditional occultism,

advocates of astrology who constantly talked about it were well-educated people. However, the significant influence of education on people was significant, which indicated the important tendency of the secular humanistic ideas and rational elements in modern education. If we considered, on the other hand, why less educated people were more likely to believe in gods, then the rational elements in modern education became very important.

In our analysis of how different religions affected the belief in gods or ghosts, we took non-religious belief as a reference. The findings showed that, except Taoists, all religious believers strongly believed in gods. Generally speaking, the belief in gods is rudimentary for all religions. Even though Buddhism emphasized the non-existence of gods, its members did not reject the belief in gods. In comparing the influence of different religions, the regression coefficients were between -.11 and -.18 and the difference was not substantial. In terms of sex differences, women had stronger beliefs in gods, which agreed with the findings that women had stronger religious beliefs. In terms of occupations, professional, skilled workers tended not to believe in gods, while military personnel and police officers were more likely to believe in gods. Other occupations did not have a significant influence on this belief. Professionals tended not to believe in gods. This was a concrete reflection of their modern, rational attitudes. On the other hand, presently we could not explain why military personnel and police officers were more likely to believe in gods than people in other occupations. Respondents whose fathers were Min Nan people were more likely to believe in gods. This belief was passed down from the entire local, cultural tradition. Finally, although reading religious books and listening to religious tapes reinforced people beliefs in gods; however, generally speaking, the exposure to religious propagation had no significant influence. This suggested that for adults, the belief in gods tended to form earlier on in their lives. Thus, the question of whether they came in contact with religions propagation later in life was not as important.

2) Belief in the Existence of the Soul

The questionnaire had a total of five questions concerning the existence of the soul. We discovered that about 70% people believed in the continued existence of the soul after the body died. The proportion of believers was comparably high.

In the survey on Taiwan Social Change conducted in 1985 about 53% of people agreed that the soul would continue to exist after the death of the body. In 1990, this figure dropped to 48%. In 1995, the figured rose to 58%. The data we used in this paper was from the 1994 survey. The questions in these questionnaires were the same, except that one questionnaire asked whether they agreed with it or not, the other asked whether they believed or not. The question as to whether 60% or 70% of the people believed in the continued existence of the soul needed to be examined further. However, loosely speaking, it was acceptable to say that about 70% of Taiwanese people believed in the existence of the soul. It is worth noting that, based on data from surveys that were conducted over a long period of time the number of people who believed in the continued existence of the soul increased from 1990 to 1995. However, the number decreased in the first five year period, between 1985 and 1990. This suggested that the recent development of religion and the emergence and dominance of occult and miraculous ideas were, indeed, an important trend.

In addition to the belief in the continued existence of the soul, 61% of people believed that the soul would appear in dreams. About 52% of people believed in reincarnation. 46% believed that the soul could possess bodies. 54% of people believed that a soul that was not worshipped would wander. The percentage of people who did not believe that the soul involved in any particular actions was around 20%. About 36% of people did not believe that the soul could possess bodies and about 20% claimed not to know. These findings were similar to early discussions about the belief in gods. In other words, more than half of the people held these beliefs. In an age in which religions were revived and occult ideas became increasingly popular, although some tended not to believe or to be unsure they did not claim that they would not change. To put it differently, the fact that many people in Taiwan believed in the existence of the soul provided another important basis for the emergence of religion and occult in recent years. More importantly, the aforementioned beliefs in the soul were not unrelated, independent beliefs. The factor analyses showed that these five different views about the soul could be combined into a single factor. The loading of the factor in each question was as high as 0.8. The variance explained reached 67%.

Table 5   **Regression analyses of beliefs and attitudes concerning spirits and attitudes**

	Belief in the Existence of Gods and Ghosts	Belief in the Soul's Existence	Belief in Ancestor Worship	Belief in 'Yuan'	Belief in the Presence of 'Chi'	Belief in Auspicious Dates
Age	.07	.20***	.06	-.02	-.06	.06
Sex	.13***	.06	.05	.19***	…	.02
Education	.23***	.20***	.19***	.15***	-.02	.20***
Buddhism (Pure)	-.11**	-.13***	-.03	-.12***	-.04	-.01
Buddhism (Mixed)	-.18***	-.18***	-.19***	-.07	-.03	.20***
Taoism	-.05	-.06	-.07*	.03	…	-.12***
Folk Religions	-.13**	-.14**	-.19***	-.05	-.06	-.22***
Christianity	-.11**	.08*	.19***	.15***	.07*	.26***
Other Religions	-.14***	-.10**	-.08**	-.09***	-.07*	-.08***
Executives and Managers	-.06	-.03	-.03	.04	-.06	-.04
Professional, Skilled Workers	.08*	.00	.07*	.09**	.03	.03
Supervisors and Assistants	.05	-.02	.05	.03	.01	.01
Commercial Workers	.05	.07*	.03	.02	.01	.05
Farmers and Fishermen	-.04	-.01	-.08**	-.05	-.02	-.04
Military Personnel and Police Officers	-.08*	-.00	-.05	-.05	-.04	-.03
One's Current Economic Status	-.07**					
Read Books about Religions	.10**	.06*	.11**			
Read Religious Publications	.09*					
Father is Fukien	-.14*					
R2 After Control	.14***	.13***	.17***	.17***	.06***	.25***

* p<.05   ** p<.01 *** p<.001

In the analysis, we included many variables relating to an individual's economic situation, psychological situation, had experience of the spread of religions. The table only showed variables that had significant influence. Variables that have been analyzed but are not shown in the table included – one's current economical status, if one had been unemployed, if one's father had been unemployed, interpersonal conflicts, happiness in life, watch television or listening to radio programs, read religious publications, if one's mother was from Fukien, if one's mother was from Fukien, if one's father was a Hakka person, and had thought about the meaning of life.

	Home Safety	Effects of Geomancy	Rituals of Opening a Business	Belief in Fortune Telling	Belief in Changing Fortune	Belief in Miracles
Age	.03	.02	.04	.17***	.05	.07*
Sex	-.01	.09*	.05	.00	.06	.06
Education	.05	.09*	.15***	-.05	.12**	.18***
Buddhism (Pure)	-.01	-.06	.00	-.11**	-.07	-.09**
Buddhism (Mixed)	-.17***	-.20***	-.13***	-.20***	-.24***	-.18***
Taoism	-.09*	-.13***	-.06	-.11**	-.10**	-.14***
Folk Religions	-.19***	-.22***	-.11*	-.25***		
Christianity	.17***	.10**	.19***	.15***	.08*	-.07*
Other Religions	-.03	-.09**	-.03	-.08*	-.08**	-.12***
Executive, Management Members	-.06*	-.09**	-.04	-.08*	-.01	-.02
Professional, Skilled Workers	.00	-.03	.10**	-.04	.03	-.02
Supervisors, Assistants	-.02	.01	.09*	-.06	.02	…
Commercial Workers	.06	…	.08*	.02	.07*	.02
Farmers and Fishermen	-.05	-.08*	-.04	.01	.02	-.04
Military Personnel and Police Officers	-.01	-.06*	-.01	-.04	-.01	-.04
Meaning of Life	.09**	.10**				
Current Economic Status	-.06*	-.08*	.08*	-.06*	-.06*	
Current Level of Happiness ness of life	.08*	.11**				
No Interpersonal Conflicts	.10**	.07*				
No Special Concern	.08*					
Read Books about Religions	.09*	.10**	.19***			
Read Religious Publications	.10**					
Watch or Listen to Programs about Religions	.07*					
R2 After Control	.09***	.08***	.12***	.14***	.10***	.13***

* p<.05   ** p<.01 *** p<.001

In the analysis, we included many variables relating to an individual's economic situation, psychological situation, had experience of the spread of religions. The table only showed variables that had significant influence. Variables that have been analyzed but are not shown in the table included– one's current economical status, if one had been unemployed, if one's father had been unemployed, interpersonal conflicts, happiness in life, watch television or listening to radio programs, read religious publications, if one's mother was from Fukien, if one's mother was from Fukien, if one's father was a Hakka person, and had thought about the meaning of life.

The belief in the soul was affected by, such as factors as, age, education, and religious beliefs. The influence of occupation was small. The younger a person, the less likely he or she would believe in the existence of the soul. Likewise, people with more education tended not to believe in these ideas about the soul. All religions, except Taoism, affirmed the existence of the soul. One reason why young people were significantly less likely to believe in different ideas about the soul was that they were less influenced by traditional beliefs. Moreover, in their practical lives, they were less likely to have encountered any life and death matters or other difficult situations. Thus young people neither knew much about the soul nor were they in need of this belief. On the other hand, older people were not only more influenced by traditions, but also they faced the problem of death. The latter reinforced the belief in the existence of the soul. It is important to note that this set of questions about the existence of the soul did not focus on what ordinary people said about whether there were souls or not; however, they referred to the ideas that the soul existed after death, that it continued functioning after leaving the body, and that the working of the soul was beyond time and space. In other words, the soul could reincarnate, appeared in dreams, and wander. These could be considered as supernatural beliefs about the soul. In the present discussion, the belief in the soul was closely related to religion and mysterious incidents relating to ghosts, fortune-telling, and supernatural powers.

Modern education had inhibitory effects on these kinds of beliefs in the soul. There was a lower probability of well-educated people holding beliefs, i.e., the continued existence of the soul after the body dies and the existence of the soul beyond time and space. These again highlighted the rational, secular humanist elements in modern education. However, the influence of modern education on the belief in the soul, like its influence on the belief of gods, was not absolute. There were times when well-educated people not only believed in the mysterious functioning of the soul, but also became the supporters of these views. Many books concerning the realm of spirits were written by people with good education. Many advocates of new religions devoted great effort to theories about spirits. In terms of the influence of different religions, members of 'pure' Buddhism, 'mixed' Buddhism, folk religion and other religions accepted the belief in the soul. Taoism was unique in that it did not particularly emphasize these beliefs, while Christians disbelieved these ideas about the soul more strongly than people with no religion.

Taking a closer look at the questions about the soul, as we mentioned before, the concepts of the soul that were concerned with here were mysterious and unknown. These could be considered as the remnants of enigmatic, ancient Chinese ideas, which were a world apart from Christian ideas. The results here did not suggest that Christians denied the existence of the soul; however, they did not believe in reincarnation or the wandering of the soul. However, the findings related to Taoism remained puzzling.

3) Belief in Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship is one of the main characteristics of Chinese religion and society. Ancestors are people from previous generations who have passed away. In order to show respect and reverence for ancestors, it was important to worship them. Attending the funeral and burial services were the first important steps of ancestor worship. The Survey on Taiwan Social Change conducted in 1985 asked about the importance of having offspring attend the ancestors' funeral and burial services. In 1985, 85% of people believed that this was important. The question was later revised to ask if it was important to have descendants worship the ancestors after they died. In 1990, 75% of the respondents gave an affirmative answer. This figure dropped to 73% in 1995. In the 1994 Survey on Religion, 79% of people gave an affirmative answer. Overall, more than 70% of people believed that worship was necessary after a person died, albeit the figure was greater in the 1994 survey. This was the core idea behind ancestor worship. People worshipped ancestors for different reasons. While 58% of the respondents believed that they could receive protection from ancestors if they worshipped timely, 43% agreed with the idea that ancestors, who were not worshipped, would get angry. The former reason involved praying for protection from ancestors; the latter involved preventing the ancestors from harming them. Whether the reason was positive or negative, both emphasized that ancestor worship related to one's benefits and harms to a person. Thus, thoroughgoing of funeral rites for parents and the worship of ancestors seemed to be about controlling the benefits and harms to the descendents through the manipulation of the ancestors' spirits. It could not be denied that ancestor worships served a utility purpose. Many services relating to the manipulation of supernatural powers were parasitic on these types of utilitarian thinking. Many traditional rituals and activities, i.e., communicating with the

deceased and running geomancy businesses, claimed to be taking care of ancestors, but the true purposes was to profit the descendents.

People with more education tended to disagree with these kinds of ancestor worship. One could say that well-educated people disapproved of worshipping ancestors for one's own benefit. This was hinted at by the findings showed that, while 80% of the respondents believed in the importance of having descendents worship ancestors, only 57% of people prayed for protection and 43% worried that the ancestors would get angry with them. In other words, people with more education did not oppose ancestor worships; however, they believed that the purpose was not for one's own benefit. In terms of different religions, members of 'mixed' Buddhism and folk religion strongly emphasized ancestor worship. Members of Taoism and other religions came next. Their belief was stronger than that of non-religious people and Christians. 'Pure' Buddhists did not focus on ancestor worship while Christians, as we expected, did not significantly support ancestor worship. The relationship between different religions and ancestor worship indicated the differences in terms of their religious teachings. Folk religious thoughts were closely related with the idea of worshipping ancestors, which, indeed, highlighted that ancestor worship was an important element in Taiwanese folk traditions. It is worth noting that 'pure' Buddhist and 'mixed' Buddhist were significantly different in terms of their views on ancestor worship. Buddhism held ideas about the detachment from family and the meaning of ancestor worship seemed clear. The fact that Buddhist monks and nuns do not have descendants seemed to contradict the idea of ancestor worship. Finally, in terms of occupations, the findings for professional, skilled workers were opposite to members of agricultural and fishing industries. This indicated the difference between their awareness about traditions.

4) Belief in 'Yuan' in the Past Life

'Yuan'[14] was also an important belief for people in Taiwan. The present study focused on the crucial effects of one's past life on one's 'yuan'. What seemed shocking was that 70% of the respondents believed that 'yuan' was determined by

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14 Yuan is a kind of fated relationship that is dependent upon past events, which sometimes include the events that happened in a person's past life.

one's previous life or even several previous lives. About 65% of the respondents believed that blood relations and friendships were determined by the 'yuan' that one formed with others in their past lives. 55% believed that being married to the wrong husband or wife was because of debt from the past life. Furthermore, 47% believed that parents had to work like dogs to bring up their children because of the debt from their past lives. Although less than 50% of respondents held this view, the figure was still higher than the percentage of disbelievers. These ideas about interpersonal relationships as being determined by one's previous lives were, indeed, beyond ordinary thinking. This certainly showed that many traditional, mysterious ideas were robust, resilient, and powerfully enduring. No wonder the book, Many Lives, Many Masters, by Brian L. Weiss, became bestsellers in Taiwan all of a sudden.

The statistical analyses showed that these ideas about how 'yuan' was determined by past lives were closely related. One factor was extracted through the use of four questions. The loading of each question was above 0.85. The total variance explained was as high as 75%. Multiple regressive analyses indicated that sex, education, different religious beliefs, and occupations all had significant effects. Men tended not to share these views about 'yuan', while women living in a patriarchal society were less advantageous in terms of their interpersonal relationships, in particular, familial relationships. Thus, women have for a long time tended to attribute the causes of their difficulties to the debt from their previous lives. Modern education further indicated its rational, secular humanist focus. Well-educated people tended not to believe in the cause and effect relationship between past lives and close relationship in the present life. The most important and special findings of different religious beliefs was that, while 'pure' Buddhists shared the ideas about past lives and 'yuan', Christians denied them. This highlighted the importance of the idea of karma in Buddhism. Although most of these questions employed many folk and colloquial sayings, members of folk religion were not particularly in favor of these ideas. Conversely, it was 'pure' Buddhists, not 'mixed' Buddhists – the latter were closer to folk religion – who tended to share these views about 'yuan'. Perhaps, it was members of folk religion who acquired these beliefs from Buddhism, but the beliefs were not central to folk religion. Another notable point about our analyses was that skilled workers tended to be more rational and less likely to believe in ideas about 'yuan' being

determined by past lives, which again indicated their rational attitudes.

5) The Belief in Chi

Chi and related ideas, like Chi Gong, was not only important in Taiwanese folk traditions but also the Chinese society as a whole. In recent years, Chi Gong became very popular. In China, scientists' involvement and interests in Chi Gong further boosted up its popularity, which subsequently led to the debate about pseudoscience. In Taiwan, the thoughts about chi became popular after the development of Chi Gong and the use of Chi Gong to cure illness and lengthen peoples' lives. In our study, 73% of the respondents believed that there was chi inside human bodies. Only 9% did not believe this. In addition, two-thirds of the people believed that chi could be strengthened through practice. In additions, in terms of the external environment, not the human body, two-thirds of people believed that if the chi of the earth was strong, trees, flowers, and grass would grow healthily and the location, itself, would be lively and eventful. About 56% of people believed that chi gong could heal illnesses. 51% believed that a strong chi could guard one from all evils.

Almost all social factors had no effect on the belief in chi. Only Christians tended not to believe in chi, while members of other religions were more likely to have such beliefs. Furthermore, those who read books about religions tended to believe in chi. Other variables, including age, sex, education, occupation, did not have any significant effects on these kinds of beliefs. The multiple regression coefficient of chi was the smallest in all the analyses. Taken together, people with different backgrounds did not differ significantly in terms of their belief in chi.

6) The Belief in the Occult

Our research had a set of questions examining the different kinds of occultism, including auspicious dates, the direction of a family dwelling, geomancy, the rituals for starting a business, fortune-telling, and changing one's fortune. In terms of the attitudes held by people, choosing an auspicious date was very common, except choosing a date for travelling. 80% believed that they needed to choose an auspicious date for weddings, moving to a new home, opening a business, and having a funeral. Travelling was frequent in the modern society; thus, it was almost impossible to choose an auspicious date to start the journey, albeit there were still 15% of people who believed in its importance. Furthermore, more than

50% of the people, or even close to 70%, believed that the layout of the home, its direction, and the position of the altar could affect the safety of the family. About 16% to 28% of people believed that these factors had no influence. These people did not focus on the direction of the furniture. While 41% of the people believed that it had an influence, 41% believed otherwise. Many people believed that geomancy could affect personal health, wealth, marital relationships, and the development of offspring. The number of people who believed in these kinds of geomancy was greater than the number of people who did not believe in them. About 50% believed in the effects of these kinds of geomancy, while only 23 to 24% believed that they were ineffective. In addition, 25% to26% indicated that they did not know. From the distribution of these figures, we could conclude that most people in Taiwan believed in the effects of geomancy. We could also consider that those who claimed not to know did not reject the effects of geomancy. This formed an important social, psychological basis for why geomancy continued to be popular in Taiwan. As for the question of whether or not some rituals needed to be carried out for the safety of a business as well as the employees, about 55% to 57% of the people believed that a business should be started on an auspicious date in January of the lunar calendar. Moreover, businesses needed to worship gods on the 1st or the 15th of January. The bowing, kneeling, and worshipping of gods were also important. Close to 50% of the people believed that the setup and layout of a business had an influence.

Factor analyses indicated a single factor behind these questions. The variance explained of this factor for all the questions was in between .77 to .96, with the exception of auspicious date and travelling, the loading of the variable was .24. The variance explained for different factors was around 41% to 85%. The explained variance for all other factors was higher than 67%, except for the factor of changing one's fortune. We used the aforementioned method to carry out further regression analyses. Because people had similar beliefs and views towards various kinds of the occult, the results of the regression analyses tended to be similar. Furthermore, based on the second order factor analysis, these five kinds of beliefs concerning occultism could be combined with ancestor worship and the 'yuan' of past lives into a single factor. On the other hand, factors related to gods and ghosts, souls, chi, the supernatural powers of gods and the evaluation of functions of religions could be combined into a single factor (See Table 6). This clearly showed

that beliefs about occultism were closely related to one another, albeit these beliefs also correlated with the belief in gods and ghosts, (correlation was .38). In order to reduce repetition, we will discuss the six kinds of factors concerning to occultism together in the following.

We will first discuss different religions. The overall results clearly indicated that 'pure' Buddhists did not believe in auspicious dates and geomancy. However, while 'pure' Buddhists were more likely to believe in fortune telling than people with no religion, the former did not believe in any other kinds of the occult more than the latter. On the other hand, 'mixed' Buddhists, members of folk religion, and Taoists had significantly strong beliefs in occultism. The differences between 'pure' Buddhists, on the one hand, and 'mixed' Buddhists, Taoists and members of folk religion, on the other, were important. In terms of various kinds of occultism, the standard regression coefficients for members of folk religion were the highest. With the exception of the coefficient for starting a business, their coefficients were about .20 or above. This showed that members of folk religion were most likely to believe in the occult; thus, this related to their focus on utilitarian purposes. Christians completely differed from members of folk religion as well as other

Table 6   **Second factor analysis for different beliefs in the occult and gods and ghosts**

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Rituals for Starting a Business	.82	.32
Belief in Geomancy	.81	.34
Position of a Family Dwelling	.77	.30
Belief in Changing Fortune	.73	.51
Belief in Auspicious Dates	.70	…
Ancestor Worship	.68	.33
Belief in Fortune Telling	.53	.48
Belief in 'Yuan'	.53	.51
Belief in Gods and Ghosts	.46	.76
Belief in the Soul's Existence	.53	.75
Belief in Special Power	.48	.68
Belief in Chi	.30	.67
	…	.64

Table 7 **Correlation among different religious beliefs and behaviors**

	Auspicious Dates	Position of Family Dwelling	Geo-mancy	Starting a Business	Fortune Telling	Changing One's Fortune
Buddhism (Pure)	-.01	-.01	-.06	.00	-.11**	-.07
Buddhism (Mixed)	-.20***	-.17***	-.20***	-.13***	-.20***	-.24***
Taoism	-.12***	-.09*	-.13***	-.06	-.11**	-.10**
Folk Religions	-.22***	-.19***	-.22***	-.11*	-.26***	-.25***
Christianity	.26***	.17***	.10**	.19***	.15***	.08*
Other Religions	-.08***	-.03	-.09**	-.03	-.08*	-.08**

religious members and people with no religions. The standard regression coefficients for Christians were positive and significantly large. Christians were less likely to believe in the occult, which indicated that the relationship between the rational culture in the West and mysterious occultism in Chinese tradition varied from smaller differences to direct opposites. Other religious members lay between 'pure' Buddhists and members of folk religion. These members were more likely to believe in auspicious dates, geomancy, fortune telling, and changing one's fortune, but they did not believe in the importance of the position of the family dwelling and the rituals for starting a business. From these findings, we could more or less conclude that 'other religions' in our study tended to be related to Chinese traditional religions and were far removed from Christianity.

Education had a significant influence on the belief in auspicious dates, geomancy, rituals for starting a business and changing one's fortune. Well-educated people were less likely to hold these beliefs. However, education did not significantly influence the belief in fortune telling and the importance of the position of the family dwelling. As this paper emphasized, education was loaded with rational and secular humanistic elements. Thus, educated people tended not to accept various kinds of occultism. However, even though this tendency was significant it was not strong. Education did not affect the belief in fortune telling as well as the importance of the position of the family dwelling. In other words, people with different levels of education shared similar beliefs. This perplexing finding was also one of the important reasons for the popularity of fortune telling in Taiwan at present. We will examine why education influenced some beliefs in the occult, but not others. Generally speaking, different kinds of fortune telling

– in particular those which based on teachings of Luo Tzu, Chuang Tzu, and Chou I. For example, zi wei dou shu – had always been the greatest complicated methods of fortune telling. Besides, well-educated people differed mysteries, which were difficult to reject. People with more education could not refute them either. Sometimes, well-educated people were even drawn to these in terms of their achievements, which was not often in their control. Therefore, fortune-telling might have offered some kinds of support for these people. As for the concern about the position of a family dwelling, because the hope for safety was primary to every family, people would, at least, care about the position of the dwelling, the layout of home, and the positioning of the furniture. If there were a statue of god at home, people would certainly be more meticulous about the position of the altar. Conversely, auspicious dates, geomancy, rituals of staring a business and the changing of one's fortune required some manipulation of supernatural power. People with more education did not see actual effects of these rituals and, thus, they tended not to believe in these kinds of the occult.

Age influenced the belief in auspicious dates and fortune telling. Older people were more likely to believe in auspicious dates and fortune telling. Age did not significantly affect other kinds of occult beliefs. Sex affected only the belief in geomancy. Men were more likely to believe in geomancy. Thus, age and sex affected a few beliefs in the occult, but its influences were not particularly great. In terms of occupation, people who held positions of executive management were more likely to believe in the influence of the positions of the family dwelling, geomancy, and fortune telling. Professionals, assistant supervisors and people who held positions in commerce tended not to believe in rituals for starting a business. As indicated by other findings in this research, the behaviors of executive, management workers contrasted those of professional, skilled workers. Professional workers represented rationalism that was inherent in modern technology; while executive, management members felt the sense of uncertainty in terms of their accomplishments. For these reasons, their needs for and beliefs in the occult differed significantly. Consider the case of a professional, skilled worker who becomes an executive or a manager – especially one who holds a high social position, in which the chance of promotion is not in their control. Because the rational characteristics of the professional conflict with the uncertainty that executives feel, it would be interesting to look at which of these characteristics would have greater influence. However, the hope to be promoted and a strong

sense of uncertainty might become more dominant might override their rational characteristics, because when one becomes an executive, manager, one's status as a professional member would became secondary.

5. Conclusion

Shih Chi Ching and Chen Yeh wrote a series of books that attempted to unravel the superstitions surrounding fortune telling. Shih even put a great deal of effort into promoting the unravelling of superstitions as a theme of a social movement. The actual effects could not be concretely evaluated at present. However, the effects were, perhaps, limited, as various kinds of fortune telling remained popular through different media sources, including the Internet. Why the actual effects were not substantial. Shih's efforts could be considered a driving force behind new knowledge, which furthered the rational development in society. However, the deep consciousness of the present society has been molded and cultivated by traditional beliefs relating to spirits and the occult for a long time. Furthermore, because of the dramatic changes in society, rational methods failed to solve problems for many people. In addition, the mass media was controlled by directors, who focused on commercial opportunities, as well as celebrities, who had little knowledge but were highly influential. Different kinds of occult ideas, regardless whether new or old, and Chinese or foreign, not only remained dominate, but also ideas 'slipped into every loophole' and entered into people's everyday lives.

Various datasets in the Surveys of Taiwan Social Change indicated that rationality could effectively inhibited behaviors and discouraged beliefs concerning the occult and witchcraft. However, even though these effects were significant, they were not substantial. The effects of education and occupation illustrated the case in point. Well-educated people tended not to exhibit most kinds of occult behaviors or hold related beliefs. Likewise, the two types of occupations that were loaded with rational elements – professional, skilled workers and police officers and military personnel – had inhibitory effects towards occult and witchcraft behaviors and related ideas. In contrast, the sense of uncertainty significantly reinforced the behaviors and beliefs in question. Executive, management members and sales workers had a significantly greater probability to exhibit occult behaviors

compared to other occupations, which indicated the sense of uncertainty in these occupations encourage occult behaviors and beliefs. Religious beliefs and attitudes formed the core support behind an individual behavior relating to the occult and witchcraft. Witchcraft and the focus of utility in folk religion facilitated its members to rely more on occultism and sorcerous behaviors as well as the related values and beliefs (Li Yih-yuan 1990). 'Pure' Buddhists rarely exhibited witchcraft behaviors; however, they were not immune to the influence of complicated occultism. Only Christians who had rational attitudes that originated from the West rejected different kinds of witchcraft and occultism behaviors and beliefs.

In our data analyses, we pointed out the effects of education, occupation, religious beliefs, and even age and sex, on occult and witchcraft bebaviors and the related ideas. This, in fact, explained the relationship between social change and the popularity of occultism. Education represented the degree of rationality; occupation was indicative of not only the degree of rationality but also the level of uncertainty; age represented the experience of change and the demand of a person's livelihood; sex characterized a society that remained under the patriarchal system. More importantly, the findings of the surveys conducted in 1985, 1990, and 1995 clearly indicated that occult and sorcerous behaviors tended to increase over time. The present data could not be used to assess whether sensed structural uncertainty increased the sense of uncertainty at a personal level. The assessment of which could lead to direct evidence for whether sensed structural uncertainty facilitated frequent occult behaviors or not. Furthermore, we could not examine the relationship between the popularity of occultism and other socio-psychological states that were brought about by the sense of alienation as well as other social changes. In order to have a more comprehensive analyses and a deeper understanding of the relationship between the popularity of occultism and social change, we need to not only examine correlated factors in this study but also to take a broader view of social change. Further studies related to these topics are needed.

There is a delicate relationship among religion, witchcraft and science and they wax and waned in the ever-changing, modern society. The rationality of science not only diminished the room for the development of occultism but also greatly impacted religion. However, science failed to solve many human problems. Philosophy, other humanities, as well as social sciences had not received adequate

and deserved recognition in society; thus, these disciplines had not yet managed to find solutions to human problems. These, ultimately, gave rise to mysterious ideas that had a long history, and complicated and deep metaphysical bases (Bell 1977), which provided authoritative methods and guidance for some people.

In Taiwan, there did not seem to be a profound, deep theology that was sufficient to challenge science. However, traditional, mysterious ideas emerged and developed. They further invaded science, which resulted in anti-scientific and anti-rational environment. Scientific development in Taiwan was comparably weak. It was still in a developing state, as one could say. If Taiwan's scientific achievement has been rated on an international scale, although it had made marked progress, it had not yet matured. Furthermore, the quality of science researcher was not ideal, because scientists, themselves, might not have been sufficiently rational. They further spoiled science becoming involved in pseudo-science. This is a situation that many developing countries encountered (Henry 1986; Chuang 1997).

In Taiwan's situation in which there is not deep, substantial dialogue or debate between religion and science, religious beliefs sometimes did not seriously or fundamentally contradict science. On the other hand, science and religion had an incompatible relationship. Both science and religion are immature and lack firm theoretical foundation. In this circumstance, there is not a mature integration between them. These reasons also explained why the kinds of occult, which had traditional mysterious ideas and solid sorcerous characteristics, could triumph over science and rationality. In recent years, scientific development further encountered challenges with many foreign religions and occultisms, because of horoscopes and fortune telling from abroad and pseudo science, such as the bestsellers books *Chian Shi Chin Sheng (Past and Present Lives), Nao Nei Ke Ming*[15]. The emergence of western horoscope was the newest and most important kind of occultism from abroad. We could see its popular characteristics in the mass media. However, because the Survey of the Social Change in 1994 only had a few questions concerning horoscope; we could not presently develop a deep understanding of this trend.

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15 This book is written by a Japanese Doctor, who argued that positive way of thinking can lead the brain to release morphine which leads to good health.

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