

Changes in Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors (1985-2005) Examining the Effects of Secularization

Drawing on the data from the five general surveys and three special surveys on religion from the Taiwan Social Change Survey Program, this paper will examine the changes in and characteristics of religious attitudes, occult attitudes and behavior in the process of secularization from 1985 to 2005.

The long history of the debate regarding the “theory” of secularization, which has been addressed by many scholars in Taiwan, will not be discussed in detail here. The main controversy continues to be centered around the decline of religion due to the process of secularization. Many critics of the theories of secularization based their views on the fact that religion has not declined. Moreover, not only has religion been revived and popularized, but new religions have also emerged in many societies. Nonetheless, most opponents of the “theory” of secularization recognized the existence of such process. Some opponents, who formulated theses against the theory of secularization, did not deny its existence. Some even examined the development of and change in religion within the context of secularization.

In Taiwan, quite a number of researchers studying religion work within the assumption of secularization. However, scholars rarely use secularization to analyze the phenomenon of religion directly. Critiques and reflections of the “theory” of secularization have not only generated a great deal of debate in academia internationally, but they have also led many local scholars to question the “theory”, due to the reemergence of religion and the development of new religions in Taiwan. Scholars in Taiwan have also emphasized that the changes in religions in Taiwan have their own unique characteristics. Theories about secularization are inadequate for understanding the phenomenon in Taiwan. (Cheng, Chih Ming, 1999, Soong, Wen Li, 1996, Ting, Jen Chieh, 2004)

In studying a few new religions in Taiwan, Chao Hsing-kuang (2003a, 2003b) pointed out that religion has not declined in the process of secularization. On the contrary, secularization creates opportunities for religions to develop. Because existing religions have become overly secularized, they can no longer satisfy the needs of their members. For these reasons, some new religions, which have insisted

on the return to older religious traditions, have sprung up. Moreover, Chao found that many new religions in Taiwan, whether local or from abroad, are products of secularization. Some religions are extremely commercialized. Chen Chia-luen's (2002) study on the new age movement in Taiwan stressed that the increased popularity of new age spiritual beliefs and alternative religious beliefs offered an important point in the theoretical battle of secularization. The study pointed out that theories about secularization do not hold up to the challenge of the rise of the new age movement. However, in her conclusion, Chen also pointed out that the democratization, economic growth and universalized education also facilitate the rise and development of new age movements.

In examining religious control on society, Lin Pen-hsuan (2000) conceded that some religions promoted secular ideas in order to gain legal status and increase the functioning of the religion. Furthermore, Lin questioned theories about secularization based on studies on new religions in Taiwan. For example, he pointed out that the development of new religions has led sociologists to reexamine theories regarding secularization. With respect to the rising trend of religion in the end of the 20th century, Lin (1998) criticized the ideas about the spiritual emptiness of the media, saying that these ideas "presupposed the 'theory of secularization' proposed by sociologists", when in fact "this 'theory', itself, is in need of examination". On the other hand, Lin believed that "a temporary trend of religion should be considered as evidence or counterevidence to the secularization of society." Lin was aware of the controversy about secularization, and he questioned the theories about secularization based on the changes in religions in Taiwan.

Ting Jen Chieh carried out a thorough examination of the theories regarding secularization and analyzed the research findings of the changes in religions in Taiwan. In Ting's views, "secularization has only taken place at the societal level, but not in the psychological level." Therefore, some traditional ideas, such as five elements, ancestors, ethics, karma, and reincarnation remain prevalent. In addition, Ting pointed out that the secularization process in Taiwan was not "initiated from within", nor has Taiwan completely been through the process". "One can say that Taiwan is situated in a long-term process of secularization." In his examination of theories about secularization, Ting seemed to have set out a comprehensive critique of theories of secularization. However, in the actual research on the changes in religions in Taiwan, he mentioned that theories about secularization are "indispensable, analytical tools for understanding the state of religion in every part of the contemporary world." In theory, Ting emphasized, "the contemporary phenomena of religion, which occurred within the networks of different places, are products of the struggle and integration between the culture of traditional society, and 'individualism'

and ‘secularism’ in the contemporary rational world, following the logical mechanism of development.” In terms of the changes in religions in Taiwan, Ting’s key point lies in the emergence of institutional religion; which is to say that, traditional, diffused religions substantially waned during the process of secularization.

Pas (1996, 2003) suggested that different types of religious expression seemed to indicate that the state of Taiwanese religion has changed during the past fifty years. On the other hand, he concluded that the question as to whether the changes were substantial or only superficial could not be answered easily. Then, Pas cited Jordan’s statement (1994), “It is my provisional guess that there has been little significant transformation in the moral or ‘theological’ basis of religious experience in Taiwan.” Pas observed that there was a substantial increase in the number pilgrimages and other ceremonies in temples, which are expressions of strong religious sentiment. However, Pas also believed that these activities are entertaining in nature, which indicate that religious beliefs are secularized. When he answered the question, “Has Taiwan become a secular society?”, he responded, “So far, it has not.” Nonetheless, Pas continued to argue that, “secularism does seem to be on the rise.”

Jordan pointed out that the changes in Taiwanese folk religions in the past decades are associated with four major transformations – the influence of increasing wealth, governmental policy, education, and greater mobility with the reduction of regionalism. These four factors, in fact, represented the important impact of the system of secular society on religion. In particular, the anti-religion and anti-tradition elements in the education in the public school system weakened religious influence. Universalizing education and making religious texts accessible to everyone has led many people to become critical consumers of religion. Jordan predicted religious knowledge would be increasingly democratized, meaning that more and more Taiwanese could read classics of Buddhism and Taoism.

In the lengthy introduction to “Democracy’s Dharma”, Madsen (2007) stressed, “Much that I learned in my academic career failed to prepare me for the religious transformations that I was seeing in Taiwan. Most scholars whose work I read in the 1970s assured me that modernization inevitably entailed secularization, which meant that traditional religions would decline as modernization proceeded. This set of assumptions, dressed up in the jargon of social science, has now fallen apart in the face of vigorous religious movements all over the world. The emperor of secular social science turned out to have no clothes.” In fact, Madsen showed that Chi-zi, Fu Guang Shan, Fai Gu Shan, Xin Tian Palace were progressive religions, in order to refute theories of secularization. Although the book did not directly argued against the theory of secularization and the process of

secularization, the stance he took in the book clearly indicated a strong objection to theories about secularization.

In 1980s, the author of this paper studied the development of Christianity in Taiwan and proposed to describe this development in the process of secularization. In subsequent studies of the changes in different religions, the author also proposed that the extent to which a religion is secularized can lead to different kinds of changes during secularization (Chiu Hei Yuan, and Yao, Li Hsiang, 1987) In the 1990s, based on the Taiwan's Social Change Survey, the author discussed the attitudes and behavior of Taiwanese people towards religion and occultism, and emphasized the importance of the effects of secularization. However, from the beginning, I have treated secularization and changes in religions as two variables, avoiding defining secularization in terms of the decline of religion. Even though I maintain that secularization has happened and that it has substantial influence on religion, I believe that religion exists insofar as human beings exist; and religion will not disappear. The rise and fall of religion is closely related to the process of secularization. Although the decline of some religions are caused by secularization; the rise of other religions are, in fact, the products of secularization. Sometimes, the decline of religion is not caused by secularization.

In Taiwan, ever since the Presbyterian Church introduced modern medicine and modern education – it was rather profound that a foreign “religious” organization set up the earliest basis for secularism in Taiwanese society. After going through a modernization period during the Ching Dynasty and a more systematic form of modernization during the Japanese colonial era, the Republic of China (Taiwan) galloped towards modernization. Basically, Taiwan already had in place a secularized political system, especially after the lift of the martial law. Taiwan also had a secular market system. In principle, religions could operate freely. Under martial law, although the governing party tended to maintain control over or even persecuted religious groups, religious freedom was generally upheld. (Chiu, 2000) Taiwan adopted the separation between church and state. In order to gain more political support, party members would participate in religious activities, worship gods or Buddha whenever the occasions arose; when they attended Christian gatherings they would recite passages from the Bible and ask Jesus Christ to protect Taiwan, the same way they asked for help from the Matsu, the Goddess of the Sea. However, these are only secular actions done by politicians solely for the sake of gaining political support, not genuine religious behaviors.

As martial law was lifted and authoritative power dissolved, religious freedoms were completely restored. This led to a surge in religions, which was the result of

increased political freedom and democratization. The Civil Organization Act was set up in 1989 and religious organizations rapidly developed in the 1990s. The Chinese Buddhist Association, which was once closely associated with the powerful government body, lost its privileges and religious monopoly (Jones, 1999; Laliberte, 2003). The rise of many Buddhist organizations was the direct result of secularization. In addition, other religions were affected by the secularization of the political body; in particular, the rise of new religions. Religious groups that developed also responded differently to these trends. Some tended to lean towards fundamentalism as opposed to secularization; others adopted secular elements and strategies, leading to the secularization of the religions, themselves. The emergence of “Humanistic Buddhism” was indicative of the integration between secularized religion and religious secularism.

Secularization affects society and individuals through various social rules and channels, such as education, family, labor market, economy, medicine, media, and social, regional organizations. Among them, modern education, which can be considered the main force of secularization, produces substantial effects. In other words, education significantly promotes secularized forms of social systems, because modern education is founded upon secular humanism. Educated people tend to adopt a rational way of living. Not only modern education, but also traditional forms of education that is based on Confucianism facilitates secularization; even non-formal education also contains secular elements. The root cause of this is the fact that modern education in secular countries operates under the principle of the separation between church and state, thus it focuses on facilitating secular rationalism as a basic policy. The Taiwanese education system does not only refrain from promoting religion but is somewhat anti-religion. It emphasizes the importance of breaking traditional forms of “superstition”. As for legislation regarding education, the constitution itself has clear expectations about and limitations on the secular nature of education. Both the Laws on Schools and the Education Basic Law that were developed recently are based on secular humanism. With respect to other legislation relating to education, Private School Law requires that there should be no religious activities and religious classes in private schools. Although schools that are set up by particular religious organizations offer some informal courses in order to strengthen religious education, these courses are not formal education aiming at spreading religious beliefs. Some universities established by religious organizations lean towards fostering religious habits. For example, Buddhist universities only provide vegetarian meals and require certain greeting etiquette; however, basically, they do not require the academic experience to be completely religious. Moreover, these schools do not focus on spreading religion as the purpose of education. Even though there is a religious

purpose for establishing the schools and they contain some non-secular elements, the education itself is still based on secular rationalism.

Education is the most important social system that promotes secular rationalism. It has not only a significant influence on religious values, attitudes and behavior of people, but it also affects people's occult beliefs and behavior. Nonetheless, these effects are not completely one-sided. Education, itself, does not consist solely of secular, rational knowledge. It also includes non-secular rationalism, or even religious beliefs and knowledge and traditional mysticism. People, who are educated and take up reading, do not only read publications consisting of secular knowledge. They may also read books relating to religious, mysterious, occult, and witchcraft material. People with higher levels of education have more opportunities to come across deep and sophisticated knowledge, which includes religion and occultism. In particular, many religious and occult texts which are complicated and difficult to understand appeal to educated and knowledgeable people. Because of the complexity and perplexity of the materials, people immerse themselves deeper in them and come to believe in them without the slightest doubt.

More importantly, depending on individual factors, while many people nowadays are educated, and many have received a good and formal education, this does not necessarily mean that everyone has received a 'comprehensive' education and gained an adequate amount secular knowledge. In fact, most people do not have such a degree of knowledge and many are only "semi-erudite". Even if people have been through a lot of schooling and have gained a great deal of the knowledge and critical thinking skills, their knowledge is far from comprehensive. Many people even lack the relevant knowledge that allows them to face life challenges and adapt to changes in their livelihoods. Many people remain in doubt when confronting sophisticated, secular knowledge, or theistic, metaphysical, mysterious, occult knowledge. Due to the rapid scientific advancement and increased specialization in knowledge, ordinary people with a good education cannot comprehend all branches of knowledge. Chomsky exclaimed that even though he had studied high school physics, it was difficult for him to understand complex physical theories in the modern day (Horgan, 1996). Physicists often proudly proclaim that not many people in this world can really understand the Theory of Relativity. After examining the rise of superstitions surrounding the number 13, and the evolvment of their popularity, Lachenmeyer (2004) concluded that perhaps the number 13 offered us a lesson that superstitions are not irrational, insane beliefs. It can at best be said that this belief lead to increased ignorance and fear among a group of believers. In the world of reason, the actual realm of understanding is, in fact, much smaller than what we think.

In addition to formal education, people have other sources of knowledge and information. Some of the most important sources of knowledge and information are the ones that people encounter in their daily lives, which include temples, neighborhoods, local or foreign religious and non-religious activities, routine family gatherings, and various ordinary religious and worshipping events. In modern society, mass media also has strong and long-term effects on people. In order to attract readers or an audience, media outlets report on or even exaggerate various ‘mysterious’ events. In particular, a number of people in the media are interested in producing news and programs relating to mysterious incidents due to their own beliefs and practices. Practices here refer to the ability to handle news and TV programs, including whether the media personnel have sufficient knowledge and hold objective attitudes in their handling of relevant information.

Basically education does not focus on the elimination of religion. Modern education that is based on secular humanism has significantly different effects on different religious values, attitudes, behaviors, and occult beliefs and behaviors:

- Beliefs about the ultimate reality, supernatural, and spirits are ideas that cannot be validated or rejected by secular knowledge, no matter how far human knowledge progresses. Therefore, modern education may not inhibit these beliefs, and, sometimes, it can even promote them.
- For occultism and religions that are associated with witchcraft, especially the kinds that can be directly explained or rejected by modern secular knowledge, modern education can have significant inhibitory effects.
- For fate and other unpredictable circumstances, which cannot be understood regardless of one’s depth of knowledge, education does not have substantial effects.
- Even though modern education is loaded with secular humanism, it still contains non-secular, humanist characteristics. Moreover, people who receive a modern education are not only affected by secular humanism. For these reasons, education does not completely inhibit religious and occult ideas.

The long traditions of religions remain influential during secularization. Different religions adopt different strategies in order to adapt to the process of secularization. People believe in or convert to a particular religion, and the religion, subsequently, influences their attitudes and behavior towards religion and occultism to various degrees. Religious influence on an individual’s attitudes and behaviors is restricted or even weakened in the process of secularization. However, religions energetically adapt to secularization, and maintain or strengthen people’s basic religious beliefs. Because of the unique teachings of different religions, believers will

have different religious attitudes and behaviors. Various religious and occult attitudes and behaviors are related to one another to various degrees. In Taiwan, traditional religious thoughts, including the beliefs related to folk religions, Buddhism, and Taoism, are held together by important religious values such as ancestor worship, the interaction between yin and yang and the five elements, karma, and the operation of chi. These kinds of religions are also closely related to traditional occultism, like fate and geomancy. On the contrary, foreign religions with rational elements, like Christianity, have different values and attitudes. Christianity not only rejects deep-seated Taiwanese values and attitudes, but it also tends to deny traditional occult beliefs and practices. On the other hand, Christianity is also being challenged by traditional Taiwanese beliefs. As for religious beliefs, because of the influence of modern education and other forces, the number of non-religious people has increased, which is an important phenomenon of secularization. Non-religious people tend to reject religion and occultism and adopt secular reason in life. Because of the influence of modernization, a large number of people have weak religious beliefs. They only perform habitual rituals and worshipping. Their religious and occult attitudes and beliefs suggest the effects of secularization. However, conversely, these people do not reject religion and occultism the way non-religious people do. Many of them continue to retain some religious and occult attitudes and behavior.

Since 1985, the Taiwan Social Change Survey has been conducted. It started several years before the lift of martial law. During the past 20 years, Taiwanese society has been through great political, economic, social, and cultural changes. Moving from authoritarian rule to free, democratic rule is, in itself, a process of secularization. As the divine rule of political authority ceased to exist, other related authorities gradually dissolved. Therefore, the secularizing tendency of the entire society has produced significant effects on religious and occult attitudes and behavior. These influences are independent from education and religious beliefs. Unlike education and religion, it does not directly influence an individual, but it affects us through the collective operation of education, religion, and other social policies.

Research Methods and Statistical Analysis

By analyzing the dataset from the Taiwan Social Change Survey, this study attempts to include as many variables of religious and occult attitudes and behaviors of Taiwanese as dependent variables. On the other hand, education, religious affiliation,, and the year the survey was conducted are considered the variables of secularization. Statistically, multiple regression analysis or logistic regression analysis

were adopted based on the nature of dependent variables. The study mainly examines whether education, religions, and time have net effects when other variables are controlled. This study considers education as the most important forces facilitating the process of secularization which greatly influences an individual's religious values, attitudes and behaviors. The influence of religion sometimes counteracts the influence of education, which shows the very subtle relationship between secularization and religion. Here, it also indicates that the author believes from the beginning that secularization should not be defined in terms of the decline of religion and emphasizes that different religions will adapt differently in the process of secularization. Thus, religions, themselves, can also affect the process of secularization. The survey years allow us to observe the tendency of change since 1985. After controlling education, religious variables and other background variables, the tendency of change among those years should indicate the secularization process of the entire society. In other words, the change produced solely by religious and occult attitudes and behavior indicates the process of secularization. In this paper, we can hypothesize that different kinds of religious and occult attitudes and behaviors can show different kinds of change. For example, the kind of occult behavior that can be directly deconstructed by secular rationalism will decrease over time, while some religious attitudes and values which cannot be explained by secular rationalism may not change.

All measures of the dependent variables are based on the design of the original surveys. Factorial analyses were conducted on some groups of questions in order to extract a number of factors. The estimated factor scores are used in the final analysis. Independent variables in this study include sex, birth date, ethnic group, education, occupation, religious affiliation, and the year of the survey. In the analysis, the measures of the variables are defined as follows:

Sex: This is a set of dummy variables. 0 represents males and 1 represents females.

Birth year: The variable is the birth year that respondents provided in the survey. The year is recorded according to the calendar of the Republic of China. The years prior to the founding of the Republic were assigned a negative value. The reason we do not convert the year of birth to age is so that the measurements in surveys of the different waves agree with one another.

Ethnic group: This is a set of dummy variables, including Minnan Taiwanese, Hakka Taiwanese, Aboriginal Taiwanese, and the Mainland Chinese. In our analysis, the group of Minnan Taiwanese, which has the greatest number, is used as a control.

Education: This is a set of dummy variables; using six levels of

education –no formal education, elementary, junior high school, senior high school, junior college, and university education. The group with no formal education is set as the comparison group in the analysis. In the study, we use these set of dummy variables instead of a interval scale of education for assuming the effects of education are not linear.

Occupation: Based on the interviews, occupations are divided into 12 categories and the category of administrative executive serves as a control in the study.

Religious affiliation: In principle, the data gathered from the questionnaires form the basis of the measures. However, the measures of followers of folk religions and Buddhists are defined by other variables – after 1990, the study distinguished between Buddhists and followers of folk religions based on whether the respondents had been through formal rituals. The survey done in 1985 distinguished them by whether the respondents had worshipped Tudi the God of Earth, Matsu the Goddess of the Sea, and Guan Kung the God of Justice. The line of differentiation in 1985 is imperfect but is still acceptable.

The year of survey: The years in which the general surveys were conducted, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, and 2005, were taken as a set of dummy variables, with the year 1985 as the control. The years in which the special surveys on religions were carried out, including 1994, 1999, and 2004, were dummy variables with the year 1994 as the control.

Because of the large amount of data, especially data from the special surveys on religions, the results, that were generated through a great deal of statistical analyses, cannot not be dealt with in the same manner as ordinary research papers. Thus, we adopted two methods to present the findings. First, this paper only presents the regression coefficients, standard errors or odd ratios of education, religious affiliations, and the years of the surveys. The statistics of other variables, including constants, will not be reported here. The reason is that this paper focuses on three variables, which are relevant to secularization, and uses these variables to evaluate the process of secularization. Other variables that have no clear relationship with secularization will generally be considered as control variables.

In addition to listing the statistics mentioned above, the entire results of statistical analyses will be posted on the author's website for further examination and reference. Moreover, if we use traditional methods to indicate the significance of the statistics, the indications will be repetitive and will take up too much space. Thus, this paper indicates the degree of significance by changing the stylization of the numbers; that is, we will italicize the figures with p-values smaller than 0.05; bold the figures

with the p-values that are smaller than 0.01; and bold and italicize figures to indicate p-values smaller than 0.001.

The Influence of Education on Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors

The findings concerning the influence of education on religious attitudes in the five general surveys will be discussed first. Generally, except for the belief of “the continued existence of the soul after death”, all the other religious and occult attitudes are significantly affected by education. In particular, education has cumulative effects on attitudes regarding auspicious dates, the importance of having male descendants worship one after one’s death, being wrong not worshipping one’s ancestors, and the cause of mental illness is the result of violation against divinities, which means that each level of education tends to significantly reduce the strength of these attitudes. On the contrary, for attitudes concerning the evaluation of the role of religions, such as the ideas that peace in society will be promoted if more people believe in gods; that one should rely on one’s efforts, not god’s help; and that religions are important for an individual, only education levels below junior high school have cumulative effects. Education beyond the level of high school has no further impact. The influence of education on the attitudes towards Feng Shui or geomancy is unique. Education before high school has no effects; senior high school education has inhibitory effects; junior college education does not have any effect; while university education again has inhibitory effects. For the most part, education has cumulative effects on the actual religious attitudes and behaviors. However, for peoples’ evaluation of the role of religion, only education levels below junior high school have cumulative effects.

We now turn to the findings of religious attitudes in the special surveys on religion. After a oblique rotated **factor analysis** was conducted on the 18 questions concerning religious attitudes, five factors were identified – “spirit”, “yuan”, “karma”, “chi”, and “gods and ghosts”. The results from the multiple regress analyses indicated that education has significant effects on these five factors. It is worth noting that, while education tends to strengthen the belief in “chi”, it inhibits the other religious attitudes. As a force facilitating secularization, education indeed weakens different kinds of religious attitudes. However, education affects different kinds of attitudes differently. Looking at each of the attitudes, we discover that elementary and junior high school education tend to have continuous and cumulative effects on attitudes relating to “the spirit”, “karma”, and “gods and ghosts”. Elementary education tends to strengthen the belief in “chi”. A junior high school education can affect people’s views towards karma, that is, people with junior high school education are more likely to disbelieve in the operation of karma compared to people without formal education

or with only an elementary school education. There is no difference between people without formal education or and those with only an elementary school education. With the exception of the belief in gods and ghosts, the higher the education, the greater the effects it has on attitudes towards “spirit”, “yuan”, “chi” and “karma”. In particular, the belief “yuan” is continuously weakened as we move up the levels of education.

Education tends to strengthen the belief in “chi”. Although “chi” does not seem to agree with modern secular knowledge, “chi” remains an important belief in Chinese tradition. Because many people practice “chikung” in society, the effects of “chikung” on mental and physical health are affirmed. More importantly, “chikung” treatment is frequently employed as a substitute when the effects of western medicine are limited or have no effects. During the past 20 years, “chikung” has developed in many new directions in Chinese societies, including Taiwan. There are even some “chikung” developments, analogous to religious movements, which have had a great impact on society. People who are influenced by these movements are mostly people from the middle class or with high levels of education.

Regarding the effects of education on various religious attitudes, an extremely important and meaningful discovery is that the influence of education is neither linear nor accumulative. The religious attitudes of people, who receive some form of education, usually a junior high school or senior high school education, are significantly affected by education. Further education does not have significant effects. It is often hypothesized that the higher level of the education, the weaker the religious attitudes will be, even though such a hypothesis is not based on evidence. For instance, the media often enjoys drawing attention to the strange phenomenon of religion by reporting that well-educated people are still drawn to religion.

In the special surveys on religion, one set of questions examines people beliefs in supernatural powers, asking whether or not respondents believe that supernatural powers can be acquired through religious practice, that gods, Buddha, or the Christian God can help believers escape calamity or disaster, and that wizards can purge evils and cure illnesses. The factor analysis indicates that one factor can be identified from these three sets of questions, which is the belief in supernatural power. The statistics show that education has significantly weakened the belief in supernatural powerw, which generally indicates the effects of rational, secular education. Its influence mainly occurs at the level of junior high school education. Education levels above junior high school do not further inhibit this belief.

If we hypothesize that education is the main force facilitating secular humanism, it should inhibit attitudes and beliefs regarding the occult. According to the statistical analyses, this study reveals that education generally does not significantly affect the

degree to which people believe in different forms of occultism; which means that education does not have significant inhibitory effects. One's levels of education seem to have no significant effects on beliefs concerning fortune-telling, which includes "patzu"(八字) which determines one's fate according to the hour, date, month and year of one's birth, face and palm readings, "moku"(摸骨) which determines one's fortune according to feeling one's bones, and horoscope. Education does not have any particularly significant effects on people's beliefs regarding the accuracy of fortune-telling or the usefulness of fortune-telling. Education even facilitates beliefs regarding the fortune-telling method "tzu wei tou shu"(紫微斗數). People with a high school education or above are more likely to believe that fortune can be calculated and told with the method of "tzu wei tou shu ". Although "tzu wei tou shu " is an ancient fortune-telling method, it regained its popularity in 1970s. Many well-educated people study this method; and more people actively seek this fortune-telling service. In 1990s, Western horoscope gained popularity in Taiwan, especially among younger people, and people with a senior high school education or above. Regression coefficients are unable to show that people with an education level above senior high school are significantly more likely to believe in horoscope or astrology; however, in a zero-order correlation, or when other variables are not controlled, a significant difference can be shown. If the two variables, sex and birth year, are included, the influence of education disappears. Because females and young people are more likely to believe in horoscope, the effects of education are not substantial in this study. Horoscope gained its popularity only after the 1990s and the main cause is that the media has contributed to and aggravated this popularity. Whether in print media or electronic media, horoscopes have come to be considered an important part of a person's identity. There are numerous occasions in which people attempt to discuss the personalities of public figures through examining their horoscopes, which is a common occurrence and is considered proper. These kinds of beliefs concerning fortune-telling are not inhibited by education, which is a unique phenomenon in the process of secularization. However, this phenomenon, especially the popularity of horoscope, does not occur only in Taiwan. Western horoscope gained popularity in Japan and Western societies before becoming popular in Taiwan. Adorno (1994[1974]) studied the horoscope column in the Los Angeles Times in an attempt to explain the cause of this non-rational behavior. He proposed a few structural factors, including capitalism and various socio-psychological factors. With respect to education, Adorno pointed out that people in the modern day appear to receive a great deal of education, even though their knowledge is actually limited and they can be very ignorant in some areas. As people encounter a combination of pseudo-astronomy and theories on personality traits, astrology being one example, many bow to these

beliefs easily, given that they have almost no basic knowledge of astronomy and psychology. Therefore, facing their own fate, even though various methods of fortune-telling are non-rational, the rationality cultivated by education is inadequate.

What is noteworthy is that the increasing popularity is a phenomenon of secularization. Horoscope, which is endorsed by the so-called 'experts', is in fact a secular practice, which involves using horoscope to predict fortune. The profession of horoscope is, in fact, a consumer product manufactured by the media, which only concerns the promotion of the trend for commercial profits. Reporters and editors who are determined to promote information concerning horoscope are secular themselves.

According to the above analysis, overall education has significant effects on religious attitudes, which indicates the influence of secularization. Nonetheless, education has no significant effects on beliefs about fortune-telling. We will further investigate whether education has a significant influence on religious and occult behavior. We generally assume that an attitude change can predict a behavioral change, even though attitudes and behavior may not agree. Sometimes, even when attitudes are reformed by education, behaviors remain the same due to various reasons; while at other times, education does not change attitudes, but affects behavior through other factors. We can examine these by looking into whether education has an influence on religious and occult attitudes and how substantial such effects are. This examination will also indicate the effects of secularization.

Increased levels of education tend to significantly reduce the frequency people visit temples and churches. Every level of education before university has significantly stronger effects on these behaviors than the previous level. These significant differences are confirmed by further statistical analysis. Although the table only lists the regression coefficients for people with different levels of education compared to people without formal education, this study has further conducted multiple regression analyses to compare the effects produced by each level of education and the preceding level. The results indicate that the effects of education levels below junior high school are the greatest, and that their effects greatly differ from the effects produced by the preceding levels. The p-value is smaller than 0.01. The effects of a senior high school and junior college education are still significantly greater than the preceding levels. However, the degree of influence is much smaller. Finally, although a university education is not significantly greater than a junior college education, it, at least, maintains the same degree of influence as a junior college education. Education has continuous and cumulative effects in terms of reducing the frequency people visit temples and churches, which indicate the substantial effects of secularization.

The second type of religious behavior is pilgrimages. The influence of education

on this behavior is similar to its influence on the frequency of visits to temples and churches. The group of people who have an elementary school education does not significantly differ from people without formal education. Junior high school, senior high school, and junior college education significantly inhibit behavior relating to pilgrimages, while university education does not further inhibit this behavior. The cumulative, continuous influence of education on pilgrimages has once again provided evidence for the existence of the secularization process.

Education does not significantly influence the behavior of ancestor worship. Worshipping ancestors is at the core of religious beliefs in Chinese society. In terms of attitudes, people seem to begin to have less regard for ancestor worship after being educated. For instance, this study reveals that not many well-educated people believe that it is important to have male offspring to worship one after one's death. However, in terms of behavior, because worshipping activities continue to exist, it seems difficult for an individual to refuse to participate. Moreover, there is no reason to refuse to participate, except in the case of people who have converted to religions that are against ancestor worships, such as some Christian sects. Otherwise, most people will follow the traditions. The question of the religious meaning of this kind of behavior is also difficult to determine.

Visiting a temple to pray and draw divination sticks is a very common behavior. According to the study, about 30% of the respondents have performed such behavior. After drawing divination sticks, people can go to the temple and ask the staff to interpret what is written on the lots. Thus, people themselves do not have to be literate, even though the number of literate people drawing the divination sticks is greater than the number of people who not literate. A significantly greater percentage of people with a elementary school education or above perform this behavior compared to people without formal education. After education was universalized, people were able to read the words on the lots themselves. Thus, significantly more people with education draw divination lots than people with no formal education. Overall, the number of people with a high school or college education performing this behavior is not greater than people with an elementary school education. However, people with a university education are most likely to engage in this behavior. The behavior of praying and drawing divination sticks is a kind of religious behavior, it seems somewhat strange that people with a university education tend to perform this behavior. The root cause of this phenomenon it that the behavior of praying and drawing divination sticks is a way to ask the gods for an oracle, which indicates one's fortune. This can be considered a kind of fortune-telling. As such, this is the same phenomenon that we will expose in the following regarding a higher percentage of well-educated people who engage in behavior relating to fortune-telling.

According to the research, about 30 to 50% of the respondents wear a safety charm. The percentage of people with an elementary education is significantly higher than people with no formal education. On this measure, although there is a significantly greater number of people with a high school education or above than people without formal education, the number of people at each level is not greater than the previous level of education. Thus, elementary education can be considered to be the key factor for whether an individual will wear a safety charm. Madsen has used the behavior of wearing charms from the temple of one's hometown to establish the effect of religion among students who study abroad. The percentages of university students, students studying abroad, and elementary students wearing safety charms are the same. Higher education levels do not seem to have inhibitory effects. Thus, the religious meaning of the behavior of wearing safety charms need to be further examined.

In Taiwan, some behaviors are partly religious and partly occult, such as seeking a wizard to cure a disease, seeking religious services to calm a fearful infant, changing one's fortune, An Tai Shui service for appeasing a god, and religious service for miscarriage prevention. These activities contain elements of witchcraft, involving the invocation of some supernatural power. However, most of these rituals are conducted by wizards or the staff members of a religious organization in temples or in front of altars; hence their religious characteristics. For these types of behaviors, education does not have a significant influence. Because the percentage of people of seeking An Tai and mediumship service were considerably low, the variance was extremely small; thus the relationship with education is not particularly meaningful. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that there is no significant difference among people with different levels of education in terms of their behavior regarding seeking services for calming an infant. The fact that people with higher levels of education tend not to seek wizards for curing a disease is indicative of people's rational attitudes and their rejection of witchcraft behavior. The question then is why there is no difference between well-educated and less-educated people in terms of seeking the services in question. When an infant cries at night and the pediatric doctor cannot come up with effective cure, the infant continues to cry; and people feel that that they have no choice but to seek services containing elements of witchcraft. Modern medicine seems not to have a particular effective solution for calming down infants. Perhaps, it is, in fact, not a big problem. Without carrying out the religious rituals, the infant will stop crying eventually. Moreover, most people will not seek such services. Generally speaking three quarters of the respondents never sought this type of service. Nonetheless, the fact that well-educated people engage in this behavior may be due to the fact that that education has not produced complete rationality. However, in the four surveys on

Taiwan Social Change, the results from the third survey were different. For example, education had significant inhibitory effects here for people with a senior high school education.

Behaviors, such as seeking fortune-telling, Feng Shui, and An Tai Shui services and attempts to changing one's fortune, relate to occult behavior. The effects of education on these types of behaviors are special. Education's influence on fortune-telling is continuous and cumulative. All levels of education have significantly greater effects on this measure, with the exception of junior college education. These findings here about education and attitudes towards fortune-telling are the same as previous ones. Thus, the phenomenon that education indeed promotes and reinforces beliefs and actual behavior towards fortune-telling is an important one. This phenomenon apparently opposes the tendency of secularization. In particular, if we emphasize that fortune-telling is an irrational behavior, why do the rational attitudes and knowledge cultivated by modern education not inhibit these irrational behaviors and attitudes, but instead promote and reinforce them? In our discussion of people's attitudes towards occultism, we have touched upon the idea that education is not completely rational. Also, the education of an individual receives is inadequate. For instance, many people in modern society have received a great deal of education but are still considerably ignorant. Their knowledge cannot help to predict their fate. In addition, many people revive and further develop complicated, ancient Chinese fortune-telling methods, which appeal to people with high levels of education. It can be said that many people who receive a high level of education cannot use their knowledge and reason to battle these ideas. For example, many intellectuals surrender to the ancient method of "Tzu Wei Tou Shu" and the star charts of western astrology.

The influence of education on fortune-telling behaviors is different from its influence on behavior relating to Feng Shui services. Education again has inhibitory effects on the latter. The percentage of people with a high school education or above who seek these services is relatively lower. An interesting point is that education levels above junior high school do not have further significant inhibitory effects. Even though the likelihood that people with higher levels of education will engage in this behavior continues to decrease, the differences between the education levels are not significant. However, the effects after college education rebound. The percentage of people with a university education is significantly greater than that of people with a junior college education; and yet, compared to people with no formal education, people with a university education are significantly less likely to consult Feng Shui masters. Thus, education generally has an inhibitory effect on this form of behavior.

In Taiwan, about 10% of the people have sought the service of changing one's fortune (改運). This is a customary ritual in folk traditions, which is rejected by more

educated persons. People with a junior high school education or above tend not to seek this service. Education inhibits behavior relating to changing one's fortune, while reinforcing behavior relating to fortune-telling. This indicates that education tends to inhibit traditional ceremonies that contain witchcraft elements; while, promoting fortune-telling methods that have become more sophisticated. Thus, the function of rationality cultivated by modern education is complex. It can be said that, while it helps eradicate simple, traditional occult and witchcraft methods, it fails to combat the more sophisticated ones.

In terms of religious attitudes, education has weakened most religious attitudes towards not only ancestor worship, gods and ghosts, karma and "yuan", but also beliefs in supernatural powers. This clearly indicates that the secular elements in modern education serve to inhibit religious attitudes. However, the influence of education on the belief in souls is somewhat complicated. On the one hand, education significantly weakens attitudes toward reincarnation, which refers to the belief that a soul returns to life in a new body. On the other hand, education does not significantly influence the general belief about whether a soul will continue to exist after death. The existence of the soul after death forms the basis for religious beliefs. Almost all religions affirm such belief. People cannot have religious beliefs if the soul ceases to exist after death. The question of the existence of the soul is a not question that can be confirmed by evidence, but it is a question about belief. Even though science today still cannot confirm the existence of the soul, it also cannot prove its nonexistence. In other words, secular rationality cannot provide an answer to the question of the existence of the soul. However, the belief about reincarnation remains doubtful to well-educated people because of the influence of secularism.

The influence of education is not without limits. Although it is the main force of secularization, it fails to affect changes in some instances, because education, itself, is not absolute and completely rational. One can also say that it is not completely secularized. The education policy in Taiwan is overall secular, but not completely secular. It does not reject religion or religious attitudes and it also emphasizes religious freedom. Educational materials do not attack all religions around the world, but have positive portrayals of them. Moreover, what is considered secular knowledge, i.e., scientific knowledge, that schools provide is only basic and far from comprehensive. School cannot be expected to convey a great deal of sophisticated scientific knowledge to students. Scientific development has become increasingly specialized. Even well educated people find it difficult to understand the advanced science and technology of today. Many, and perhaps even the majority of people, only have superficial scientific knowledge or are "semi-erudite".

Religious Beliefs Sustain and Strengthen Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors

Most of the occult attitudes and behaviors examined in the Taiwan Social Change Survey are related to Chinese religious beliefs. Conversely, the survey does not examine occult ideas related to Christianity. This allows us to examine whether Christianity has weakened Chinese occult beliefs and practice.

Looking at the effects of different religious affiliations on religious attitudes, almost all religions have a positive influence on religious attitudes, such as “the soul exists after death”, “religion is important to you”, and “the more people believe in religion, the more peaceful the society will be”. Religious members are significantly more likely to hold this types of religious affiliations compared to people with no religion; that is, all the regression coefficients are positive; most of them are highly significant (p-value smaller than 0.001). When people believe in any religion, they are more likely to believe in the existence of the soul. The belief in the existence of the soul or various beliefs regarding the soul can be considered as the basis of religion. The question of whether religion is important to one can show whether the individual is affected by the religion or not. Religion will have greater influence when a person considers that religion is very important to them. Members of different religions tend to emphasize the importance of religion to themselves. However, the regression coefficient for folk religions is the lowest. The coefficients for Buddhists who have been through a formal ceremony of conversion and for Christians are the highest. Further statistical analysis show that the coefficient for the followers of folk religions is significantly lower than the coefficients for all other religions on this measure; whereas converted Buddhists and Christians, indeed, put more emphasis on the importance of religion. We can generally see the difference between diffused and institutional religions; for example, converted Buddhists are notably more likely to emphasize the importance of religion. Religion affects not only an individual but also the society as a whole. Members of different religions also affirm that religions contribute to the stability of society. The influence of Christianity, Catholicism, and Yi Kuan Tao tend strengthen this belief. The influence of religion on converted Buddhists is also stronger than the influence on folk religious believers and Buddhists who have not formally converted. Both Christianity and Yi Kuan Tao are basically theistic religions. The former has God and the latter believes in Buddha and angels. An interesting finding is that Buddhism is considered to be a non-theistic religion. However, converted Buddhists are more likely to believe that ‘god’ contributes to the welfare of the society than Buddhists who have not been converted, which suggests that the Buddhist’s belief contains the belief in ‘god’.

There is a significant difference between Christians and non-Christians on the

attitudes towards ancestor worship and attitudes related to occultism . The term “non-Christian religions” generally refers to traditional religions that Taiwanese people have believed in , including folk religions, Buddhism, Taoism, and Yi Kuan Tao. As indicated by the results for the two questions regarding ancestor worship, followers of these traditional religions are more likely to hold these beliefs than people with no religion. On the other hand, the influence of Protestant and Catholics are negative. Protestants hold especially negative attitudes towards ancestor worship, with the regression coefficient as high as $-.50$. It is much higher than the coefficients of the traditional religions, which are below $.02$. It is noteworthy that, although Catholics tend to hold negative attitudes towards ancestor worship, they are not significantly different from people with no religion. This reflects the fact that during the past few hundred years the attitudes of the Catholic Church have tended to be more accepting towards deep-seated Chinese beliefs regarding ancestor worship. Compared to followers of traditional religions, people with no religion have weaker beliefs in ancestor worship; and Protestants view ancestor worship more negatively. Despite these tendencies, both Christians and non-religious people are still greatly influenced by the belief in ancestor worship. 88% of followers of traditional religions maintain that it is important to have a male offspring to worship one after one’s death. As for people with no religion, there are still 75% of them who share this belief. More importantly, 48% of Protestants maintain this belief. If we suppose that all protestants reject the belief in ancestor worship, then the regression coefficient should be as high -1.9 , not only $-.50$. This clearly indicates the influence of the beliefs about ancestors on Christian followers in Taiwan.

In the focus studies on religion conducted from 1994 to 2004, all the five factors of religious attitudes, including the “soul”, “yuan”, karma, “chi” and “gods and ghosts” are significantly affected by religious affiliations. In the focus study, there are several sets of questions were designed specifically based on the characteristics of Chinese religious beliefs. The factors examined in these questions should be closely related to traditional religions, but not related to or have a negative relationship with Christianity. The research findings indicate that, believers of folk religions, Buddhism, and Taoism are significantly more likely to hold these beliefs compared to people with no religion, with the exception of the belief in gods and ghosts. Christians and Catholics are generally more likely to reject these beliefs compared to people with no religion, or there is no notable difference between them. The factor of the “soul” contains not only beliefs about the existence of the soul, but also reincarnation and possession. This factor represents Taiwanese religious beliefs, and, thus, is not related to Christianity. However, as we further examine the two questions on the existence of the soul after death and reincarnation, we find that, like the findings in the general

survey, Christians tend to believe that the soul exists after death, but reject the notion of reincarnation.

Converted Buddhists hold the strongest beliefs relating to the five factors. The regression coefficients for converted Buddhists are the highest. Further statistical analyses were conducted to compare converted Buddhists to other members of other religions and to non-religious people. By setting the group of converted Buddhists as the control, we confirmed the findings that converted Buddhists hold the strongest attitudes relating to the five factors. The p-values of regression coefficients are smaller than 0.001. As we conjecture about the prominence of the religious attitudes held by Buddhist members, we notice that the religious attitudes, i.e., “yuan” and “chi”, are cultivated by the followers of folk religion; with the exception of the belief in karma, which is similar to Buddhist thoughts. It is perplexing that converted Buddhists were found to have the strongest attitudes. Perhaps, converted Buddhists in Taiwan have absorbed a lot of folk religious beliefs. This indicates that beliefs, such as “chi” and “yuan” have been deeply rooted in Chinese society. As we further examine the findings for Protestants and people with no religion, we discover that 46% Protestants believe that “yuan fen” or destiny is conditioned by previous lives; and 66% Catholics and 57% of people with no religion share this belief. Although members of different religions varied on different religious beliefs, Taiwanese people, regardless of their religious affiliation or whether they have a religion or not, are deeply influenced by and immersed in the belief in “chi” and “yuan fen”.

In terms of supernatural powers, members of different religions tend to hold significantly stronger beliefs than people without a religion. Belief in supernatural power refers to the ideas that one can acquire supernatural power through religious practice, that gods, Buddha, or the Christian God can save believers from calamities or disasters, or even that shamans can cure diseases. Compared to other religious attitudes, these beliefs can be considered to be above secular rationality or even to conflict with secular rationality. Education significantly reduces people’s beliefs in supernatural power, while affiliation with a religion tends to reinforce these beliefs. In particular, we find that Christians appear to be more likely to believe in supernatural powers, such as the idea that wizards can cure diseases, compared to people with no religion. Further analysis reveals that, Christians are, indeed, more likely to hold such belief, but that the regression coefficients are smaller and the significance level is lower. The two questions regarding this factor indicate that this particular religious attitude concerning supernatural powers does not conflict with Christian beliefs; thus Christians tend to have such attitude.

The belief in supernatural powers is generally a belief related to things that one cannot encounter personally or verify through experience. It is worth discussing

personal mysterious experience. In the special surveys on religion, a set of questions inquires about the frequency of mysterious experience an individual has had. After a factor analysis, two factors can be identified from the eight questions – “experience with gods and ghosts” and “transcendental experience”. The former factor includes seeing gods revealing themselves, possessing a body, or seeing ghosts, these being the kinds of mysterious experiences that Taiwanese people have. Thus, members of traditional religions tend to have had this kind of experience. On the other hand, Christians are less likely to have had this experience. As for transcendental experiences, i.e., *deja-vu*, having a distant relative appearing in one’s dream to deliver a message, or seeing one’s past or future lives, members of traditional religions tend to have more of this type of mysterious experience.

With respect to occult attitudes, whether it is about choosing an auspicious date or seeking Feng Shui services, members of traditional religions tend to promote these attitudes, while Christians tend to have more negative views toward them. Folk religions, Taoism, Buddhism, and Yi Kuan Tao all have similar beliefs about choosing an auspicious date or geomancy. Most of their members hold these beliefs. Although people with no religion have significantly more negative attitudes towards these ideas, still 54% of them believe that they should seek Feng Shui services when purchasing a new house; 71% believe in the importance for choosing auspicious dates for weddings, funerals, starting a business, and moving to a new home. Traditional occultism continues to have a strong influence on modern society. Even among Christians, there are 30% who believe in auspicious dates and geomancy. About 50% of the Catholics believe in the importance of choosing auspicious dates and seeking Feng Shui services. Nonetheless, Christianity and having no religion generally still have inhibitory effects on occult beliefs.

Traditional religions in Taiwan tend to strongly promote occult attitudes. Conversely, Christianity has significant inhibitory effects. Followers of folk religions, Taoism, and Buddhism are significantly more likely than people with no religion to seek services, such as fortune-telling, eight characters, “*tzu wei tou shu*”, face and palm reading, fortune-telling through feeling one’s bones, and even astrology. Protestants and Catholics, particularly Protestants, tend not to believe in these kinds of occultism. There is a high percentage of converted Buddhists who engage in behaviors, such as “*tzu wei tou shu*”, face and palm reading, fortune-telling through feeling one’s bones, and astrology. The degree to which converted Buddhists believe in those behaviors is the highest. The close relationship between traditional religious beliefs and occult attitudes indicate a link between religions themselves and witchcraft. For instance, it seems that converted Buddhists, who seek the law of Buddha and focus on practice, should not believe in occult methods, such as

fortune-telling and Feng Shui. Nonetheless, compared to other religious members, converted Buddhists hold the strongest beliefs in occultism. From this, we can see, on the one hand, that the general influence of traditional occultism on Taiwanese people is deep. On the other hand, it is perplexing that converted Buddhists are most likely to believe in occultism.

It is expected that religious members are more likely to go to temples and churches for worship and ceremonies. The statistical results confirm this expectation. The question of which religious members engage in this behavior most frequently, and which tend not to visit temples or churches warrants further consideration. Members Yi Kuan Tao go to temples or churches most frequently, followed by Protestants and then by Converted Buddhists. Followers of folk religions, Taoism, and Catholicism visit temples and churches less frequently. In principle, followers of folk religions and Taoism would visit temples; however, they go to the temples to either worship individually or participate in collective ceremonies and sacrificial rites. Most of them do not take part in periodic religious activities. On the other hand, converted Buddhists participate in periodic gatherings and collective ceremonies and practice activities. They pay more frequent visits to temples. What is more special is that Yi Kuan Tao has a periodic gathering; and yet it is different from the weekly religious services conducted by Christians. This indicates that members of Yi Kuan Tao participate in various periodic as well as non-periodic activities organized by the religious organization.

In terms of religious behavior, more members of traditional religions go on a pilgrimage, wear Buddhist bracelets and charms, and seek the service of lighting the “Kuang Ming Teng” compared to people with no religion. On the other hand, Protestants tend not to have these types of behavior. The question of why there is a greater proportion of people from traditional religions who engage in these behaviors needs to be examined further. Wearing Buddhist bracelets is a Buddhist behavior. In the study, the number of converted Buddhist who engaged in this behavior was the greatest (45%), The second greatest was non-converted Buddhists (15%). About 10% of Taoists and believers of folk religions also wore the bracelets. On the one hand, these result show that wearing Buddhist bracelets is a behavior related to Buddhism. On the other hand, we can see that Taoists and believers of folk religions also have similar habits. The percentage of Buddhists who have not been converted is similar to the percentages of Taoists and believers of folk religions. However, these percentages are much lower than that of the converted Buddhists. This shows that Buddhism has had a long-term, indirect influence on the whole of Taiwanese society, leading other traditional religions to adopt a considerable number of Buddhist ideas. Nonetheless, Buddhism has also been influenced by folk religions and Taoism. Close to 40% of

Buddhists and converted Buddhists wear safety charms.

Some religious behaviors, such as meditation, chanting Buddhist scriptures, and uttering charms, clearly relate to Buddhism. Thus, Buddhists are significantly more likely engage in these behaviors than followers of folk religions and Taoism. However, there is still quite a number of Taoists and believers of folk religions who chant the scriptures, which again shows the influence of Buddhism. On the other hand, Protestants and Buddhists are more likely to read religious texts. There is almost no difference between them on this measure, while in comparison Catholics are less likely to engage in such behavior. Although believers of folk religions and Taoists are more likely to read religious texts compared to people with no religion; the figures of them reading the texts are about 3 to 5 %. As we look more closely at the number of religious members who are more likely to read scriptures, we find that only 9% of the non-converted Buddhists read scriptures, and that only 38% of converted Buddhists read the scriptures, while 62% of them do not. Also, only 12% of Catholics read religious texts; and 35% of Protestants read the scriptures and 65% of them do not. The findings here clearly indicate the effects of secularization, since even converted Buddhists and Christians tend not to read religious texts. Finally, praying to God is a core Christian behavior. The findings here have confirmed this point.

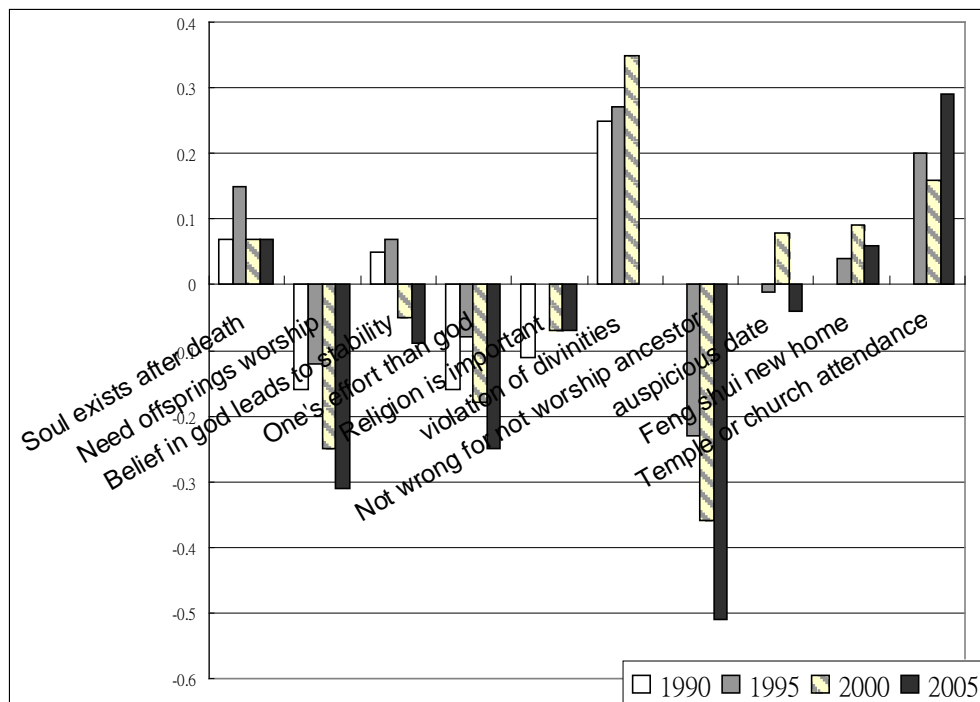
In terms of occult behaviors, the findings indicated again that traditional religions tend to encourage these kinds of behaviors. However, the inhibitory effects exerted by Christianity are not so prominent. Traditional religions have not only promoted, but also kept alive, deep-seated beliefs about occultism among Taiwanese people. In fact, these religions continue to facilitate people's engagement in occult behaviors. The basic canon of folk religions and Taoism are similar and also closely connected with occult practices, such as fortune-telling and geomancy. It is important to note that Buddhism in Chinese society does not reject occultism. A great number of stories about monks who mastered the theory of fate and Feng Shui have been passed down throughout the generations. Some of these beliefs are even formed by combining Buddhist and occult ideas. These cases are fairly common in Taiwan today. For instance, President Chen Shui Bien appointed the Buddhist Master, Hun Yuan (混元), as the consultant of national policy. The story is that this occurred because he is knowledgeable about the theory of fate and accurately predicted that Chen would be elected as the president.

In this section, as we analyze the influence of religious affiliations on religion and occult attitudes and behaviors, we use the group of people with no religion as a control. Here, non-religious represents a force of secularism. Members of any religion are more likely to hold attitudes and engage in behaviors relating to religion or occultism, compared to people with no religion. This also reflects the tendency

towards secular attitudes and behaviors among people with no religion.

Changes and Unchanges of Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors shown in the Series of Surveys.

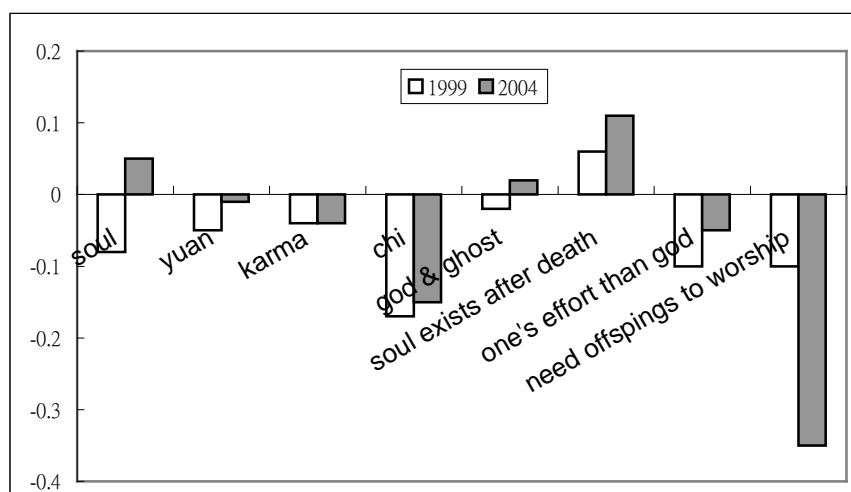
As time progresses, some religious attitudes and behaviors may change substantially and some other may not change at all. The change and unchnage is related to the process and tendency of secularization in society as a whole. In the multiple and logistic regression analyses, the years in which the surveys were conducted represent the time variable. By examining the change in the findings on the same measures of attitudes and behaviors in different years, we can get a clear picture how people's attitudes and behaviors changed during the process of secularization. Given that our analysis included variables, such education, year of birth, sex, ethnic group, and religious affiliations, the change and unchange indicated in the findings in different time periods show the influence of secularization on society as a whole. In order to easily understand the pattern of change and unchange, this paper creates two series of Figures from the regression coefficients and odd ratios in different years. The first series of figures is based on the results from the four or five surveys on General Social Change Survey; the second shows the three Special Surveys on Religion. Most of the findings include research data from more than three surveys, except for the survey on religious behavior in the Special Survey on Religion, which was only conducted in 1999 and 2004. The figures in the figures indicate the results from each year in comparison with the first year in which the research was conducted. In other words, the survey in 1985 is used as control. Therefore, the numeric values in the figure represent the pattern of change since 1985.



**Figure 1.1 Change and Unchange in Religious Attitudes
(General Survey, 1985-2005)**

From 1.1 and 2.1, we can see that the change in religious attitudes is considerably complex. Some attitudes have remained unchanged, while others have significantly weakened. A few of them have been strengthened. Some attitudes towards the belief in the soul have increased; some have decreased; while others have remained unchanged. For example, although the attitudes towards the existence of the soul underwent significant rises and falls, they neither increased nor decreased continuously over time. To put it differently, a lot of people still believe that the soul exists after death, despite the small margin of change. Since such belief is a core religious belief, it has not changed too dramatically. On the other hand, since the question of the soul remains doubtful, one cannot be certain about whether it exists or not. Looking at the pattern of change, attitudes towards ancestor worship have decreased significantly and continuously. The number of people who believe in the importance of having offspring to worship one after one's death continued to decreased in not only the five general surveys on social change but also in the special surveys on religion. Furthermore, the figure for 'it is wrong not to worship ancestors' has also decreased over the years. The data over the years have confirmed that Taiwanese attitudes towards ancestor worship have decreased significantly. Nonetheless, despite the significant reduction, the actual figure for the belief in the importance of having male offspring to worship one simply has gone down from 92% to 83%. Most people still hope to have male offspring to worship them, so that they

will not become “wandering ghosts”. In addition, according to the survey, over 80% of the people visit the graves on the Ching Ming Festival, a day in which people traditionally visit cemeteries to worship their ancestors.

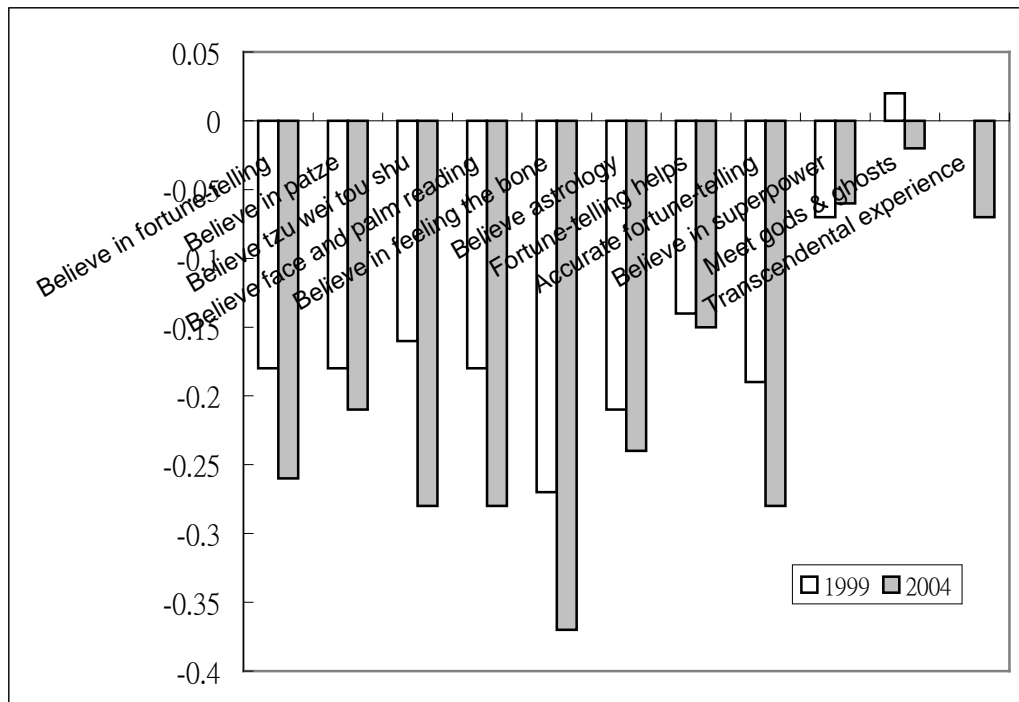


**Figure 1.1 Change and Unchange in Religious Attitudes
(Special Survey on Religion, 1994-2004)**

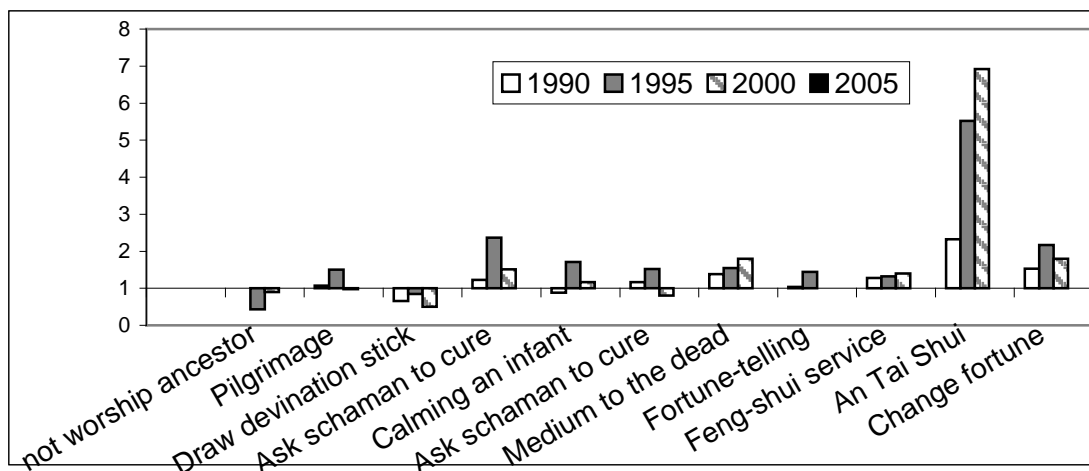
Among the five religious attitudes examined in the special surveys on religion, only beliefs about the soul and “chi” have changed significantly. The three surveys indicate that traditional beliefs about the soul have decreased and then increased, experiencing some fluctuation. As for the belief in “chi”, the results indicate that it has decreased during the first 5 years, but that it remained unchanged after that. There has been no significant change in peoples’ beliefs about “yuan”, karma, and gods and ghosts.

Taken together, with the exception of the belief in ancestor worship, there has been no substantial change in people’s religious attitudes.

In terms of occult attitudes, people’s attitudes towards various methods of fortune-telling have significantly weakened. The major indicator of occult attitudes, the belief in fortune-telling, has decreased significantly. Further analysis indicated that the beliefs in “tzu wei tou shu”, “face and palm reading”, and “fortune-telling through feeling one’s bones” have decreased continuously and significantly. On the other hand, beliefs in “eight characters” and “horoscope and astrology” weakened from 1994 to 1999; however, it had no further significant change during the following five years. The belief in the usefulness of fortune-telling also decreased continuously and significantly.

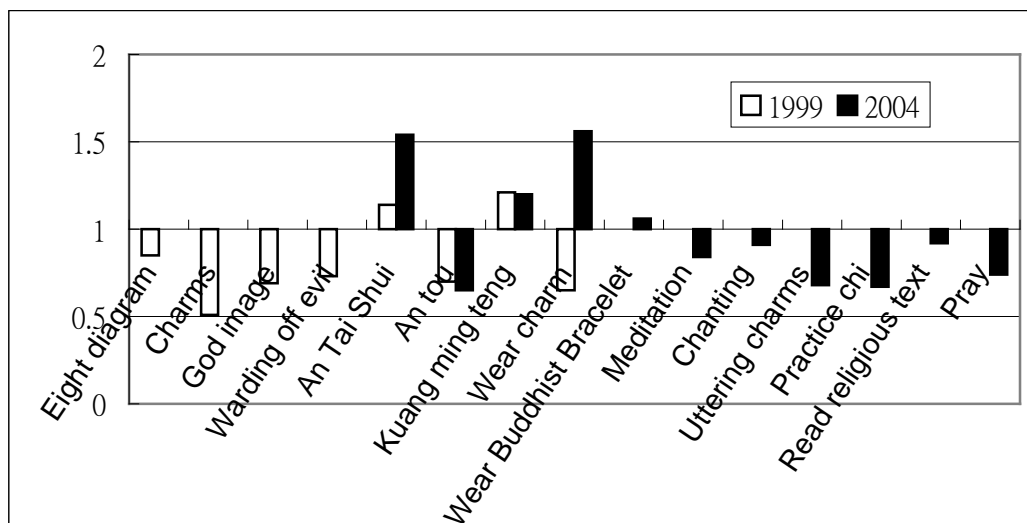


From 1990 to 2005, the frequency in which Taiwanese people visited temples and churches rose continuously. A further analysis has revealed that, during this period, the number of people who visit temples or churches once a year or not at all decreased by 8%. The number of people who visit a few times a year or at least once a month increased by 5% and 1% respectively. From these results, the number of Taiwanese people visiting temples or churches appears to have increased. However, it is primarily that the number of people who rarely visit churches and temples has decreased, while the number of people who pay visits a few times each year has increased. In other words, the increase in number of visits to churches and temples is considerably limited.



The number of people wearing safety charms significantly decreased at the beginning but significantly rebounded during the later period. Wearing safety charms

is a common ‘religious’ behavior, which can imply belief in the existence of the power of a divine being. However, it can also be a habit that is devoid of important religious meaning, or it may indicate that sometimes people would rather believe something to be true than not. It can be a habit cultivated by one’s parents, meaning that people may wear them because their parents desire it. Thus, close to 25% of non-religious believers wear safety charms. In examining the change in members of different religions on this measure, we found a huge difference between the findings in 2004 and those in 1999 and 1994. There was an unusually substantial increase from 1999 to 2004. Surprisingly, members of some religions have doubled. After examining the original data file closely, we discovered the new question, “I don’t wear safety charms, but my family members do”, was added to one set of questions in the 2004 survey. Our analysis only included people who, themselves, wear the charms, so that the results can be compared with the first two surveys. We used this method to examine other religious behaviors. The results have not fluctuated so much, with the exception of seeking An Tai Sui service. The number of people seeking this service has increased rapidly. These findings are similar to the findings in the general survey, which does not raise any concern. However, the number of people wearing safety charms has increased significantly, which was unusual. Thus, further analysis is necessary.



Going to the temples to perform the An Tai Sui service during Chinese New Year has become an increasingly popular religious behavior over the past 20 years. This service is a typical consumer behavior – more and more temples offer this paid service during the spring festival, which could be considered as a kind of business. When a new year arrives, people, whose Chinese horoscopes (which is defined by the

year of the animal in which one is born) conflict with that of the star god, which is the god that presides over that year, have to perform the ceremony of appeasing the god. They have to give their date of birth to a temple, which then performs the service of An Tai Sui for them. People do not have sophisticated knowledge about the ritual, they only know that on a particular year, if their year of the animal conflicts with the god then they need to pay some money in order to appease the god. This is somewhat similar to accident insurance. The fees are small, so like paying for insurance, most people can afford it. After a simple procedure and the payment of the service fees, the customers no longer need to do anything. The temples take care of the matter for the clients. This kind of ‘insurance’ is different from real insurance in that it does not offer ‘compensation’. People who bought accident insurance could receive compensation from an insurance company if they, unfortunately, got into an accident. However, after one appeases the presiding god of the year, if they still have bad luck during that year, the temples will not provide any kind of compensation. Given that there is a large group of consumers each year, about 1 out of 12 or 1 out of 6 people, that may need the An Tai Sui service; this service has become the main financial source of temples in recent years. This type of religious behavior generally has no deep religious values or thoughts. It is a kind of paid service for people to seek good luck and avoid impending troubles. Because individuals do not need to participate in special religious ceremonies, the ritual of An Tai Sui contains no special religious, sacred meanings to them.

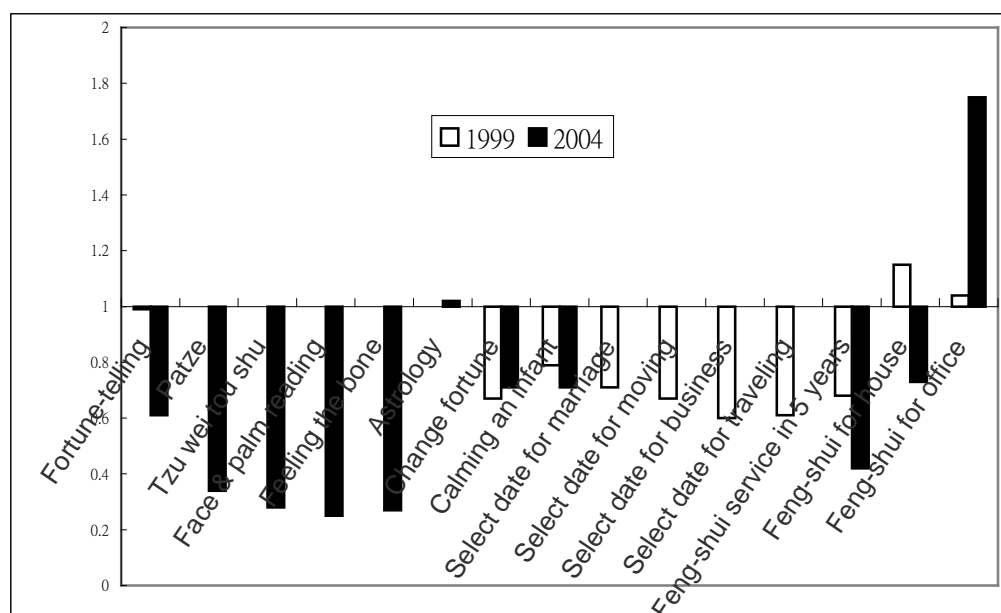
The ritual of An Tai Sui can be considered as largely a secular business procedure offered by temples, but people still believe that it is important to carry out this ritual. Why do people believe in it? This can be related to their views towards Chinese horoscopes, or “sheng hsiao” (生肖), which is determined by the year in which a person is born. The belief “sheng hsiao” is not only deeply rooted in the psyche of Taiwanese people, but it is also common habit. Everyone knows one’s own “sheng hsiao” as well as those of their family members. This attachment of a label to one’s identity cannot be considered to be completely meaningless or completely devoid of religious meaning. Although most people do not necessarily understand or believe in the ‘theory’ of “sheng hsiao”, it is based on the five elements of yin and yen. The 12 horoscopes, indeed, have “deep meanings”, despite the ignorance of ordinary people. Thus, religious and occult practitioners seize the opportunity to arouse fear among people, leading people to become doubtful, or leading them to wholly accept some perplexing ideas that are unknown to them. As the service is promoted by temples, conformity in society soon follows. Many people, who see that others are signing up to go through the procedure, follow suit; the same way that people follow others to worship gods.

Other religious behaviors have not changed significantly. In the multiple regression analysis, not many religious behaviors have odd ratios that are greater than 1, except the two aforementioned behaviors – wearing safety charms and performing the ritual of An Tai Sui. Even if there is change, the change is not significant. In the special study on religion, since some religious behaviors were only examined after 1999, there are only two sets of data. The present paper can only conduct analyses on the findings from the 1999 and 2004 surveys. The results showed, a number of religious behaviors significantly reduced during the five years following 1999. For example, the behaviors of having charms at home, having images of gods, and having objects for fending off ghosts significantly decreased. On the other hand, the behavior relating to making donations to religious organizations increased in the beginning and then decreased. Thus, even though the frequency of visiting temples and churches tended to increase, the actual change was fairly minimal. The number of people performing the ritual of An Tai Sui and wearing safety charms has increased substantially. However, the religious meanings behind these behaviors are not particularly important. In fact, the behaviors, themselves, are secular in both their forms and meanings. Most of the other forms of religious behaviors tended to decrease. This showed that, through the process of secularization, religious behaviors tend to be significantly reduced.

Some of the religious behaviors examined in the survey have old traditions, i.e., “An Tou” (安斗) or appeasing God and lighting “Kuang Ming Teng”, while other behaviors have become more common in recent times, i.e., meditation and reading scriptures. However, the religious behaviors appear to have declined, regardless of the kind of behaviors. This does not coincide with the findings that religions, especially Buddhism, have flourished in recent decades. The above findings about religious behaviors come from two sets of data. One set compares the data from the 1994 and 1999 surveys, and the other set comes from 1999 and 2004. Each set of data covers a five-year period. Perhaps, 5 years is not long enough to for any change to occur. Thus, a longer time period of study is needed in order to validate the present findings. Nonetheless, 5 years is not a very short period of time. Many religious attitudes and behaviors indeed have changed significantly; the significant differences found in this period should not be overlooked.

An exception is seeking Feng Shui services for one’s office, which increased only from 1999 to 2004, but not during the earlier period. And yet, the increase regarding seeking this service for home and office is worth paying attention to, since it is mostly that people at the managerial level who would seek Feng Shui services. Low-ranked staff members usually do not have their own offices; thus, they do not need to take into account Feng Shui, or how best to organize the layout of an office in

order to increase their fortune.



Horoscope is an occult method, which gained its popularity in the 90s. This behavior seems to be extremely popular. On many occasions, horoscope is taken to be part of a person's identity, especially in the media. When a celebrity appears in a news report, their horoscope is listed alongside their gender, occupation, expertise, and character, considering horoscope to be similar to other parts of one's identity. Furthermore, this way of describing identity has a practical meaning. Reporters often use horoscope to define characters. Because of this popular trend, there more people are encouraged to read their horoscope. However, the results from 1999 to 2004 showed that there was no significant increase during this period. Nonetheless, compared with other occult behaviors, especially the general reduction in behavior relating to fortune-telling, we can say that the popularity of horoscope has not declined, given that it has neither increased nor decreased.

Based on the results from the logistic regression analysis, almost all the occult behaviors, i.e., fortune-telling, choosing an auspicious date, and seeking Feng Shui services, have significantly decreased; with the exception of seeking Feng Shui services for one's office and reading one's horoscope, which have either increased significantly or have remained unchanged. These results agree with the weakening in occult attitudes. The general decrease in occult and religious behaviors indicates the overall trend of secularization and its effects.

There is a significant decrease in the belief in choosing an auspicious date for weddings, moving to a new home, and opening a business. However, still 70 to 80% of people believe in the importance of choosing the date. This behavior is clearly deeply rooted. Looking more closely at the habitual nature and religious meaning of

this behavior, choosing an auspicious date can be considered a kind of mindset and behavior about seeking fortune and avoiding impending trouble, which reflects the idea of “better to believe that something is true than to not do so”. It has no deep religious meaning. People follow the ‘expert’ words and instructions, just like buying insurance. They do not consider where there is a mysterious force at work, or whether the method is effectively or not. Nonetheless, people generally believe in the importance of choosing a date for special effects. The psychological fear still has certain effects. It mainly maintains some non-rational, mysterious ideas. It can be said that it is related to other traditional religious beliefs. Perhaps, one can say that the overt behavior of choosing a date, in fact, reflects the preservation of the theory of yin and yang and the five elements, the soul, gods and ghosts, ancestors, and “chi” at a deeper level.

In terms of the meaning of secularization, the significant decrease in the percentage of behaviors relating to fortune-telling and “Feng Shui” indicates that secular rationalism is the main characteristics of Taiwanese people. Fortune-telling, seeking “Feng Shui” services and choosing auspicious dates are basically different, because the fees for these services are higher, and have a higher risk and chance of failure. Thus, the occurrence of this behavior is lower. About one-third of the population directly seek fortune-telling services – 11% consult the reading of the “eight characters” which is a kind of horoscope that is defined by one’s year, month, day, and hour of birth, 7% consult the calculation of “tzu wei tou shu”, only 5% seek palm and face reading, less than 1% seek the method of determining one’s fortune through feeling one’s bones, and only 2% consult what appears to be a very popular method, horoscope. This clearly shows that only a minority of people seriously seek fortune-telling services. As we further examine people’s evaluation of fortune-telling, we find that only 7% of the respondents believe that fortune-telling yields accurate results. Only 56% of the respondents say that fortune-telling is a bit accurate. About 20% claim that it is doubtful, while 25% claim that it is inaccurate. The logistic regression analysis shows that the belief in the accuracy of fortune-telling significantly affects the percentage of behavior related to fortune-telling. Therefore, in general, fortune-telling needs to produce results. When the results are inaccurate, the percentage of people who consult fortune tellers also decreases. From these findings, we can see that fortune-telling in Taiwan is not accepted by the majority of people, especially when more 40% of the people who have received fortune-telling messages still have doubts about them. On the other hand, the number of people seeking religious services for calming an infant has significantly increased. Perhaps, it is because the practical demand is high while the fees are not high. In terms of consulting a “Feng Shui” master, many people say that it is important when one is

buying a house, choosing a graveyard, or improving the “Feng Shui” of one’s office. Seeking “Feng Shui” services is more common than fortune-telling. About 17% to 27% of people seek different types of ‘Feng Shui’ services.

Conclusion

From the wealth of data gathered from the Taiwan Social Change Survey, we found that education and religious affiliations have a significant, and yet, complex, influence on religious and occult attitudes and behaviors. The influence of religious affiliation is relatively straightforward. Overall, traditional religions have collectively strengthened religious and occult attitudes and behaviors. On the other hand, Christianity has significantly decreased relevant attitudes and behaviors, especially those related to occultism. Traditional religions in Taiwan and Christianity, indeed, have opposing influences. The group of people having no religious beliefs lies between Christians and members of traditional religions.

Compared to the influence of religious affiliations, the effects of time and education are more complex. In the following, we can examine these effects and compare how these two factors have affected religious and occult attitudes and behaviors. This further allows us to see the complicity of the process and effects of secularization. In general, education is the main force facilitating secularization. The influence of education and its magnitude provide important evidence for us to examine the effects of secularization. The time variable allows us to test the tendency of secularization through looking at whether there is a change during the past one or two decades.

Education has weakened most of religious attitudes that we studied in our research, especially for the belief in ancestor worship, which has significantly, gradually weakened as the level of education increased. Education has also inhibited the beliefs in “yuan”, karma, and gods and ghosts. On the contrary, education has significantly increased the belief in “chi”. Looking at the time factor, the belief in ancestor worship has weakened over time; and the belief in “chi” has decreased over time. As for the beliefs about the soul, the situation is relatively complex. Although higher education has effects on the belief about whether the soul continues to exist after death, the effects are not significant. In addition, the belief that a soul can possess a person was greatly weakened with higher levels of education.

In terms of occult attitudes, education has reduced the attitudes towards choosing an auspicious date or seeking geomancy services. It further has weakened one’s confidence in supernatural powers; and yet it has encouraged the belief in the calculation of “tzu wei tou shu”. The level of education has no significant effects on the belief of the reading of the eight characters, face reading, fortune-telling through

the feeling of bones, and astrology. However, from 1994-2004, the special surveys on religion examined the degree of beliefs about fortune-telling. They generally showed a decreasing tendency. The ideas about the accuracy of fortune-telling and the help that this method provides are not well received. For these reasons, although education has weakened one's attitudes towards occultism, the effects are not great. Moreover, even well-educated people believe in the complicated fortune-telling method of "tzu wei tou shu". Thus, this shows the effects of secular rationalism through education are complicated and have limitations.

The higher one's level of education, the significantly less likely they would be to visit temples, to go on pilgrimages, or to have a god image, a trigram, objects for warding off evils, and charms at home. On the other hand, people with higher levels of education are more likely to make donations to religious organizations. The percentages of people with different levels of education who wear Buddhist bracelet are similar, while, with respect to wearing safety charms, people with formal education are significantly more likely to wear them than people without. However, there is no difference among people with an education level higher than elementary school. On the other hand, the percentage of people who engaged in behaviors, such as sitting meditation, meditation, chanting Buddhist scriptures, practicing "chi", reading scriptures or praying, continued to increase along with the levels of education. Looking at the pattern of change, all the religious behaviors have declined significantly, including the kinds of behaviors that were added to the survey since 1999, i.e., sitting meditation, chanting Buddhist scriptures, and reading scriptures or praying. An exception is that the frequency of visiting churches and temples has significantly increased over time, and that the frequencies of going on a pilgrimage, lighting the "Kuang Ming Teng", and wearing Buddhist bracelets have remained unchanged. While education inhibits the frequency of temple visits, the overall trend indicates that people visit temples more frequently with the passage of time. These findings seem contradictory; however, the actual discrepancy is small, because even though the increase is significant, it remains small. Most people still rarely pay visits to temples and churches.

Finally, education has mostly exerted significant inhibitory effects on occult behaviors; with the exception that it has positive effects towards fortune-telling, "tzu wei tou shu" and seeking Feng Shui services. In terms of the change over time, the percentage of people seeking the An Tai Shui service continues to increase. The surveys from 1990 to 1995 indicate an increase in many occult behaviors during this period, but these behaviors decreased from 1995 to 2000. The results of the special survey on religions also show that, from 1994 to 1999, and 1999 to 2004, different kinds of occult behaviors reduced significantly, with the exception of seeking Feng

Shui services for one's office. Some occult behaviors have only been studied in two surveys; thus, we can only see the change during a five-year period. In a long run, the tendency of change could be different. For instance, the general survey indicates its initial increase and subsequent decrease; and there may be more fluctuations in the future. Regardless of this finding, occult behaviors have generally decreased since 1994, with the exception of seeking An Tai Shui service and Feng Shui services for one's office.

Taken together, there are, indeed, many religious and occult attitudes and behaviors that are affected by secularization. However, secularization does not completely lead religious and occult attitudes and behaviors to decline or disappear. While many traditional religious beliefs have been weakened by secularization, they remain common beliefs among many people. For example, although the belief in ancestor worship has significantly weakened, more than 70% of the people still believe in the importance of having offspring to worship one after one dies. Thus, between 1985 and 2005, secularization has produced significant changes in both attitudes and behaviors. In terms of the pattern of change, the number of religions in Taiwan significantly increased during the past two decades. The expansion of new Buddhist organizations, growth of spiritual movements and rise of new religions indicate a clear, religious trend. These changes in religions seem to "contradict" the social psychology and structures. Nonetheless, the changes in the structure of religions ultimately would affect the social psychology of an individual. If people's psychology is substantially affected by secularization, especially when it inhibits people's religious and occult attitudes and behaviors, then one cannot deny that this is related to the structural change of religion. In other words, the changes in the structure of religions, or the apparent rise of religions, does not eliminate the secularization forces that inhibit religious and occult behavior and attitudes.

Because social change can have different effects on the personal sense of uncertainty, this can lead to the rise and fall of religious and occult attitudes and behaviors. Perhaps, we cannot use the significant decline in occult attitudes and behaviors from 1994 to 2004 to infer that they will continue to decrease. Given the fact that people's sense of uncertainty may be heightened as they struggle to adapt to social change in the future, occult beliefs and behaviors may also increase as a result. Nonetheless, through the process of secularization, even though occult attitudes and beliefs can have rises and falls, they will be weakened in the long run. On the other hand, secularization can only significantly promote secular rationality, but cannot lead people to become completely rational. Thus, there will always be room for occultism. Also, due to an individual's sense of uncertainty, the appeal of occultism to people with different levels of education will not disappear and cannot continually decrease.

It may in fact increase. There are always people who like Luciano Pavarotti, need to hold on to a handkerchief during performances.

Regarding the popular trend of occultism in recent years, especially astrology and the readings of “tzu wei tou shui” and “eight characters”, from the Taiwan Social Change Survey, we have, in fact, found that these trends have undergone rises and falls and experienced a decline. Furthermore, the proportion of the people in the population who actually seeks these occult services is not high. The main cause behind the trend of occultism is that the media manufactured it for commercial purposes. In mid-1990s, the media began to fire out a huge number of columns for astrology and fortune-telling. After the government adopted an open economic policy, businesses hindered the growth of media companies. The competition was fierce. Columns and TV programs were filled with famous authors and speakers. Sometimes, the supply fell short of demand. Because the number of media companies has increased rapidly, media focuses on small groups for their ratings. Because the limited knowledge of the media personnel, the lack of expertise, and the absence of a code of media ethics, this resulted in the proliferation of occultism in the media. The development of global information technology, especially the development of the World Wide Web or Internet in the mid 1990s, resulted in a flood of occultism, especially relating to fortune-telling. The service of An Tai Sui is a typical example of the commodification of a ritual. It is mainly the temples that promote this huge business, and the buyers spend money to insure themselves against ill fortune. They do not understand the ritual, nor do they understand the meaning behind the service. Just as buying accident insurance, people believe that it is necessary. These popular occult services have very limited religious meaning. Because of people’s sense of uncertainty, in the modern day, they use secular methods to seek assurance through making a reasonably priced purchase.

In recent years, many Taiwanese people have sought religion and spirituality. Many new Buddhist organizations have undergone rapid development (Wang, Madsen 2007); new age movements have flourished and gained popularity (Chen Chia-luen, 2002); there is the phenomenon of “converging with the spirit mountain”, (Ting Jen-chieh, 2007) and the rise of the Mediums’ Association (Marshall, 2003, Paper, 1996). It is estimated that the number of participants, including members from a few new enormous Buddhist organizations, number from a few million to 10 million. This should produce an important change in the psychology of Taiwanese people. However, related or corresponding changes have not to become evident in our research. Perhaps, as the present survey could not identify all kinds of social psychological effects that were reinforced by the revival of religions, subsequent research should focus on this.

Reference

Adorno, Theodor

1974(1994) *The Stars Down to Earth and Other Essays on the Irrational in Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bruce, Steve

2002 *God is Dead: Secularization in the West*. London: Blackwell.

Casanova, Jose

1994 *Public Religion of the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Chao, Hsing-kuang

2003a “Elements of Globalization in New Religions in Taiwan – the Example of Ching Hai Religion”, in the Symposium of New Religions and Social Change. Chai Yi, Nan Hua University. (in Chinese)

2003b “Tension and Integration: Case Studies of Christianity in Taiwan” in The First Symposium of Christianity and Chinese Culture and Society. Tai Chung: Tung Hai University. (in Chinese)

2003c “Spread of New Religions in the Process of Globalization and Secularization”, in “On Religion (5)” Ministry of the Interior, Republic of China.. (in Chinese)

Chen, Chia-luen

2002 Sociological Analysis of the New Age Movements in Taiwan, PhD thesis , Department of Sociology, National Taiwan University. (in Chinese)

Cheng, Chih-ming

1999 “The Phenomenon of New Religions in Taiwan – On traditional religions”, in Chai Yi, Center of Religious, Cultural Studies, Nan Hua Management Institute. (in Chinese)

Chiu, Hei-yuan

1993 “Change and Variations of Occult, Witchcraft, Religious Behaviors,”. *Proceedings of National Science Council (Humanities and Social Science)* 3(2): p. 125-143. (in Chinese) (English manuscript available)

1999 “The Popularity of Occultism and Social Change”, *Taiwanese Journal of Sociology*, 22: p. 1-45. (in Chinese) (English manuscript available)

2001 “The End of Martial Law, Religious Freedom, and Religious Development”, *The Change in the Authoritative Governing Body –*

- Taiwan After Martial Law*, edited by Research Committee, Academia Sinica; published by the Institute of Taiwan History: p. 249-276. (in Chinese)
- 2006a *Religion, Occultism, and Social Change*. Taipei: Kuei Kuan Books Ltd. (in Chinese)
- 2006 “Examining the Mysterious Experience of Taiwanese People”, A Collected Papers. Taipei: Un Chen. (in Chinese)
- Jones, Charles B.
- 1999 *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Jordan, David K.
- 1994 “Changes in postwar Taiwan and their impact on the popular practice of religion,” Pp.137-160 in Stevan Harrell and Chun-chieh Huang (eds.) *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan*, Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Lachenmeyer, Nathaniel
- 2004 *The Story of the World's Most Popular Superstition, Thunder's Mouth Press*. Trans. Li An Chi and Pan Un, 13. Taipei: Shang Chou.
- Laliberte, Andre
- 2003 *The Politics of Buddhist Organizations in Taiwan: 1989-2003, Safeguarding the Faith, building a pure land, helping the poor*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Lin, Pen-hsuan
- 1998 “Popular Religious Trends or Reformation of Religion? – An interpretation of the modern change of religion in Taiwan”, in the Symposium of Religion, Mysteriousness, and Science, p. 37-76. Preparatory Office of the Sociological Department, Academia Sinica, Nankang, Taipei. (in Chinese)
- 2000 “Religious Change and Social Control in Taiwan”, *Fu-Jen Studies, Colleges of Law and Management*, 31: 1-26. (in Chinese)
- Madsen, Richard
- 2007 *Democracy's Dharma, Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Marshall, Allison R.
- 2003 “Moving the spirit on Taiwan: New age Lingji performance,” *Journal of Chinese Religion* 31:81-99.
- Paper, Jordan
- 1996 “Mediums and modernity: the institutionalization of ecstatic religious functionaries in Taiwan.” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 24:105-130.

Pas, Julian

- 1996 "Religious life in present day Taiwan: a field observations report 1994-1995," *Journal of Chinese Religion* 24:131-158.
- 2003 "Stability and change in Taiwan's religious culture," Pp.36-47, in Philip Clart and Charles B. Jones (eds.) *Religion in Modern Taiwan*, Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press

Shermer, Michael

- 2002 *Why People Believe Weird Things*, New York: Henry Holt.

Soong, Wen-li

- 1996 "Reflections on Secularization"; read in the Symposium of Religious and Sociological Studies, Taipei: Organized by Soochow University and Preparatory Office of the Humanities Department of Hsuan Chuang University; April 13, 1996 (in Chinese)

Ting Jen-chieh

- 2003 *Social Disintegration and Change in Religious Policies*. Taipei: Lianjing Publishing Company. (in Chinese)

Weller, Robert P.

- 1993 "Saturated ghosts and social change in Taiwan," Pp.50-68, *Resistance, Chaos and Control in China, Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts and Tienanmen*. London: MacMillan.

Table 1-1 Effects of Education on Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors (General Survey)

		EM	JH	SH	JC	UV			EM	JH	SH	JC	UV
Existence of the soul	b	0.02	0.08	0.00	-0.07	-0.09	Fortune-telling	o.r.	1.34	1.63	2.00	2.11	2.58
	s.e.	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.11	0.15	0.18	0.22	0.29
Choosing an auspicious date	b	<i>0.05</i>	0.12	0.20	0.25	0.33	Drawing divination	o.r.	1.24	<i>1.22</i>	1.31	1.49	1.81
	s.e.	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.10	0.11	0.11	0.16	0.20
having male offspring	b	0.08	0.17	0.25	0.33	0.38	Feng Shui	o.r.	0.92	0.63	0.61	0.54	0.81
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.12
believe in god leads stability	b	0.22	0.35	0.40	0.42	0.40	Looking for shaman's help	o.r.	<i>0.71</i>	0.55	0.28	0.24	0.18
	s.e.	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.10	0.10	0.06	0.07	0.07
Feng shui of a new home	b	0.06	0.10	0.17	0.16	0.26	Calming an infant	o.r.	0.97	0.98	0.93	0.99	1.02
	s.e.	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.07	0.09	0.08	0.11	0.12
own efforts rather than god	b	-0.11	-0.17	-0.18	-0.16	-0.16	an tai shen	o.r.	1.23	1.05	0.78	0.55	0.62
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.20	0.20	0.15	0.15	0.19
importance of religion	b	0.16	0.27	0.22	0.19	0.20	Mediumship	o.r.	0.96	0.67	<i>0.53</i>	0.61	0.48
	s.e.	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.20	0.18	0.14	0.21	0.20
violation of divinities	b	0.16	0.30	0.38	0.44	0.52	an tai shui	o.r.	1.32	0.99	0.93	0.87	0.72
	s.e.	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.10	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.08
not worship ancestors	b	-0.08	-0.16	<i>-0.09</i>	-0.05	0.26	Changing one's fortune	o.r.	1.00	0.69	0.57	0.48	0.42
	s.e.	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.06		s.e.	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08
church and temple visits		0.01	0.25	0.35	0.46	0.47	Not worship ancestors	o.r.	0.75	0.74	0.79	0.86	0.76
		0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06		s.e.	0.15	0.16	0.17	0.20	0.18
Pilgrimage	o.r.	0.68	0.40	0.26	0.16	0.16							
	s.e.	0.05	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02							

EM: elementary school, JH: junior high school, SH: senior high, JC: Junior college, UV: university

Italicized : $p < .05$; Bold : $p < .01$; Bold and Italicized : $p < .001$

**Table 1-2 The Influence of Education on Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors
(Special Survey on Religion)**

		EM	JH	SH	JC	UV			EM	JH	SH	JC	UV
Soul	b	-0.16	-0.29	-0.29	-0.32	-0.44	Chanting Buddhist scriptures	o.r.	1.48	2.34	2.44	3.34	2.83
	s.e.	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07		s.e.	0.46	0.81	0.86	1.33	1.19
Yuan	b	-0.18	-0.38	-0.47	-0.55	-0.74	Uttering charms	o.r.	1.11	1.00	0.64	1.16	0.82
	s.e.	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07		s.e.	0.70	0.68	0.45	0.86	0.64
Karma	b	-0.05	-0.15	-0.18	-0.21	-0.36	Practice Chi	o.r.	1.15	0.84	0.88	1.72	1.88
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06		s.e.	0.80	0.67	0.69	1.42	1.56
Chi	b	0.11	0.07	0.21	0.27	0.22	Reading the scriptures	o.r.	9.49	8.27	14.73	17.83	20.14
	s.e.	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07		s.e.	5.87	5.35	9.43	11.89	13.56
Gods and ghosts	b	-0.16	-0.25	-0.25	-0.26	-0.27	Praying	o.r.	3.03	1.47	2.97	3.18	2.95
	s.e.	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06		s.e.	1.84	1.01	1.93	2.23	2.11
Existence of soul after a person dies	b	-0.1	-0.21	-0.18	-0.19	-0.25	Wearing Buddhist bracelet	o.r.	1.08	1.25	1.19	1.14	0.86
	s.e.	0.06	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.05		s.e.	0.20	0.27	0.26	0.28	0.23
Rely on one's effort, rather than gods	b	0.11	0.14	0.13	0.08	0	religious donations	b	0.53	0.97	1.02	0.94	1.07
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06		s.e.	0.16	0.18	0.18	0.20	0.21
Having male offspring to worship one	b	-0.14	-0.28	-0.38	-0.45	-0.62	Have eight diagrams	o.r.	0.50	0.53	0.43	0.34	0.47
	s.e.	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07		s.e.	0.14	0.17	0.14	0.13	0.18
Belief in supernatural powers	b	-0.14	-0.31	-0.32	-0.38	-0.44	Have charms at home	o.r.	0.79	0.65	0.67	0.68	0.76
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06		s.e.	0.18	0.17	0.17	0.20	0.23
Have seen gods and ghosts	b	0.03	-0.04	-0.13	-0.20	-0.21	Have god statues at home	o.r.	0.97	0.70	0.52	0.48	0.48
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06		s.e.	0.16	0.13	0.10	0.10	0.10
Transcendental experience	b	-0.06	-0.09	-0.13	-0.14	-0.14	Have objects for ..	o.r.	0.64	0.58	0.39	0.30	0.42
	s.e.	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06		s.e.	0.14	0.15	0.10	0.09	0.13
Belief in fortune-telling in general	b	-0.02	-0.01	0.12	0.11	0.12	Shaman's service	o.r.	1.20	0.85	0.54	0.36	0.26
	s.e.	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07		s.e.	0.32	0.26	0.17	0.14	0.11
Belief in eight characters	b	0.05	0.03	0.1	0.1	0.15	Changing one's fortune	o.r.	0.87	0.61	0.50	0.34	0.26
	s.e.	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.10	0.10		s.e.	0.16	0.13	0.11	0.09	0.08
Belief in tzu wei tou shu	b	-0.02	0.04	0.21	0.24	0.32	An Tai Shui	o.r.	1.42	1.18	1.13	1.31	1.22
	s.e.	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.09		s.e.	0.19	0.18	0.17	0.23	0.22
Belief in palm and face reading	b	0	-0.01	0.13	0.11	0.12	Appeasin gods	o.r.	1.55	1.77	1.40	1.41	1.27
	s.e.	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.10		s.e.	0.31	0.40	0.33	0.39	0.38
Belief in feeling the bones	b	-0.08	-0.04	0.11	0.07	-0.03	calming fearful infants	o.r.	0.85	0.70	0.52	0.53	0.42
	s.e.	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.09		s.e.	0.13	0.12	0.09	0.11	0.09
Belief in astrology	b	-0.1	-0.11	0.04	0.01	0.02	Consult fortune-teller	o.r.	1.82	2.26	2.30	2.11	2.41
	s.e.	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.09		s.e.	0.27	0.37	0.38	0.39	0.46
Fortune-telling is useful	b	-0.01	-0.07	0.14	0.13	0.2	Feng Shui in the past 5 years	o.r.	0.74	0.70	0.86	0.86	1.07
	s.e.	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.09		s.e.	0.11	0.12	0.14	0.16	0.20
Accuracy of fortune-telling	b	-0.2	-0.19	0.03	-0.04	0.18	Feng Shui for homes	o.r.	0.93	0.84	0.99	1.08	1.37
	s.e.	0.16	0.17	0.17	0.19	0.19		s.e.	0.15	0.15	0.18	0.22	0.28
Pilgrimage	o.r.	0.95	0.55	0.36	0.19	0.17	Feng Shui for offices	o.r.	8.58	6.26	8.11	7.40	7.54
	s.e.	0.13	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.04		s.e.	8.83	6.48	8.37	7.70	7.87
Kuang Ming Teng	o.r.	1.63	1.39	1.20	1.15	1.02	eight characters reading	o.r.	2.03	2.00	1.96	1.56	1.47
	s.e.	0.22	0.21	0.18	0.20	0.19		s.e.	0.73	0.76	0.75	0.65	0.62
Wearing safety charms	o.r.	1.77	1.60	1.56	1.65	1.79	Tzu wei tou shu	o.r.	3.15	3.87	6.97	7.49	8.50
	s.e.	0.27	0.27	0.26	0.31	0.35		s.e.	3.29	4.05	7.21	7.85	8.93
Sitting meditation,	o.r.	1.52	1.00	1.63	2.09	2.40	Face and palm reading	o.r.	0.56	0.64	0.74	0.84	0.72
	s.e.	0.74	0.54	0.85	1.17	1.36		s.e.	0.24	0.29	0.33	0.42	0.37

EM: elementary school, JH: junior high school, SH: senior high, JC: Junior college, UV: university
Italicized : p<.05 ; Bold : p<.01 ; Bold and Italicized : p<.001

Table 2-1 The Influence of Religious Affiliations on Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors (General Survey)

		FR	Bd	BC	T	YK	CL	PR	O			FR	Bd	BC	T	YK	CL	PR	O
Existence of the soul	b	<i>0.2</i>	<i>0.23</i>	<i>0.43</i>	<i>0.29</i>	<i>0.47</i>	<i>0.44</i>	<i>0.45</i>	<i>0.21</i>	Fortune-telling	o.r.	<i>1.4</i>	<i>1.47</i>	<i>1.74</i>	<i>1.64</i>	<i>1.68</i>	<i>0.78</i>	<i>0.47</i>	<i>0.89</i>
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.07		s.e.	0.1	0.1	0.18	0.15	0.26	0.17	0.07	0.21
auspicious date	b	<i>0.24</i>	<i>0.24</i>	<i>0.16</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>-0.27</i>	<i>-0.65</i>	0.04	Drawing divination	o.r.	<i>1.86</i>	<i>2.06</i>	<i>2.01</i>	<i>2.18</i>	<i>2.42</i>	<i>0.49</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>2.19</i>
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.06		s.e.	0.14	0.15	0.21	0.2	0.37	0.14	0.07	0.48
offspring to worship	b	<i>0.17</i>	<i>0.16</i>	<i>0.06</i>	<i>0.21</i>	<i>0.18</i>	0.07	<i>-0.5</i>	0.05	Feng Shui	o.r.	<i>2.39</i>	<i>2.06</i>	<i>2.6</i>	<i>2.71</i>	<i>2.3</i>	0.75	0.41	<i>1.95</i>
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.06		s.e.	0.27	0.24	0.4	0.36	0.51	0.29	0.14	0.61
believe in god leads stability	b	<i>0.21</i>	<i>0.21</i>	<i>0.32</i>	<i>0.23</i>	<i>0.43</i>	<i>0.43</i>	<i>0.49</i>	<i>0.14</i>	Shaman's service	o.r.	<i>2.17</i>	<i>1.93</i>	<i>2.54</i>	<i>3.08</i>	<i>2.52</i>	0.31		<i>3.52</i>
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.07		s.e.	0.46	0.42	0.7	0.72	0.88	0.34		1.65
Feng shui new home	b	<i>0.21</i>	<i>0.21</i>	<i>0.21</i>	<i>0.24</i>	<i>0.26</i>	-0.13	<i>-0.45</i>	0.05	Calming fearful infants	o.r.	<i>2.21</i>	<i>1.81</i>	<i>1.42</i>	<i>1.97</i>	<i>2.12</i>	<i>0.61</i>	<i>0.21</i>	<i>3.15</i>
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.07		s.e.	0.17	0.15	0.17	0.2	0.34	0.2	0.06	0.7
one's efforts rather than gods	b	<i>0.07</i>	<i>0.05</i>	0.04	0.04	<i>0.16</i>	<i>0.25</i>	<i>0.48</i>	0.01	miscarriage prevention	o.r.	<i>1.57</i>	<i>1.74</i>	1.48	<i>1.83</i>	0.44	1.62		2.83
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.06		s.e.	0.29	0.33	0.4	0.41	0.26	0.86		1.21
Religion is important	b	<i>0.41</i>	<i>0.53</i>	<i>1.04</i>	<i>0.55</i>	<i>0.79</i>	<i>0.84</i>	<i>1.07</i>	<i>0.66</i>	Mediumship	o.r.	<i>3.07</i>	<i>2.46</i>	<i>4.43</i>	<i>3.5</i>	2.73	2.73		2.73
	s.e.	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.07	0.04	0.07		s.e.	0.98	0.8	1.66	1.24	1.48	1.88		2.11
Violation against divinities	b	<i>0.13</i>	<i>0.08</i>	<i>0.08</i>	<i>0.14</i>	<i>0.16</i>	-0.06	<i>-0.11</i>	0.08	An Tai Shui	o.r.	<i>2.37</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>1.65</i>	<i>2.05</i>	<i>2.22</i>	<i>0.41</i>	<i>0.09</i>	<i>1.92</i>
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.07		s.e.	0.17	0.17	0.18	0.19	0.35	0.13	0.03	0.42
not worship ancestors	b	<i>-0.25</i>	<i>-0.26</i>	<i>-0.28</i>	<i>-0.37</i>	<i>-0.31</i>	-0.13	<i>0.4</i>	<i>-0.31</i>	Changin one's fortune	o.r.	<i>2.13</i>	<i>2.34</i>	<i>2.7</i>	<i>3.03</i>	<i>2.47</i>	<i>0.37</i>	<i>0.23</i>	2.25
	s.e.	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.11	0.07	0.13		s.e.	0.26	0.28	0.43	0.41	0.53	0.2	0.1	0.72
Church and temple visits	b	<i>0.76</i>	<i>0.96</i>	<i>1.27</i>	<i>0.99</i>	<i>1.76</i>	<i>0.95</i>	<i>1.65</i>	<i>0.90</i>	Not worship ancestor	o.r.	<i>0.31</i>	<i>0.37</i>	<i>0.36</i>	<i>0.35</i>	<i>0.14</i>	0.94	<i>5.89</i>	0.58
	s.e.	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.05	0.10	0.11	0.07	0.14		s.e.	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.26	0.97	0.2
Pilgrimage	o.r.	<i>2.33</i>	<i>1.89</i>	<i>1.44</i>	<i>2.72</i>	<i>2.29</i>	<i>0.49</i>	<i>0.18</i>	<i>3.02</i>										
	s.e.	0.2	0.16	0.18	0.28	0.38	0.18	0.06	0.71										

FR: folk religion, Bd: Buddhist (not converted), BC: converted Buddhist, T: Taoist, YK: Yi Kuan Tao, CL: Catholics, PR: Protestant, O: other; Italicized : p<.05 ; Bold : p<.01 ; Bold and Italicized : p<.001

Table 2-2 The Influence of Religious Affiliation on Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors (Special Survey on Religion)

		FR	Bd	BC	T	CL	PR	O			FR	Bd	BC	T	CL	PR	O
Soul	b	0.47	0.59	1.07	0.56	0.25	0.03	0.96	Chanting Buddhist scripture	3.49	9.44	9.44	105	4.45			6.97
	s.e.	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.11	0.07	0.08		s.e.	1.28	3.38	39	1.75			3.48
Yuan	b	0.43	0.47	0.86	0.4	0.07	-0.29	0.73	Uttering charms	o.r.	5.22	20.50	161	9.99			14.07
	s.e.	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.11	0.06	0.08		s.e.	5.54	21.06	164	10.78			17.46
Karma	b	0.42	0.49	0.81	0.44	0.26	-0.32	0.65	Practice Chi	o.r.	0.94	1.94	2.8	0.73	2.40	1.27	6.69
	s.e.	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.1	0.06	0.07		s.e.	0.45	0.88	1.5	0.47	2.68	1.03	4.17
Chi	b	0.25	0.35	0.68	0.29	-0.08	-0.02	0.60	Reading the scriptures	o.r.	2.79	9.00	48	5.64	16.27	51.26	21.98
	s.e.	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.11	0.07	0.08		s.e.	1.19	3.65	20	2.48	9.64	21.97	10.71
Gods and ghosts	b	0.33	0.4	0.68	0.36	0.93	1.1	0.8	Praying	o.r.	0.96	3.58	14	2.21	71.09	194.77	13.99
	s.e.	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.09	0.05	0.06		s.e.	0.56	1.83	7.4	1.29	43.15	97.04	8.25
Existence of the soul	b	0.26	0.37	0.73	0.35	0.56	0.64	0.64	Wearing Buddhist bracelet	o.r.	2.33	3.37	15	2.72	0.64	0.08	2.54
	s.e.	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.11	0.06	0.08		s.e.	0.42	0.61	3.1	0.55	0.49	0.09	0.78
Rely on one's efforts rather than god	b	-0.13	-0.11	-0.18	-0.08	-0.65	-0.79	-0.32	Religious donation	b	0.68	1.03	2.3	1.05	1.65	2.86	1.79
	s.e.	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.10	0.06	0.07		s.e.	0.11	0.12	0.1	0.14	0.31	0.19	0.22
The Importance of having male	b	0.20	0.21	0.05	0.22	0.09	-0.69	0.23	Eight diagrams at home	o.r.	1.49	1.71	0.9	1.81	0.52	0.33	2.48
	s.e.	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.11	0.06	0.08		s.e.	0.37	0.42	0.3	0.52	0.42	0.21	0.97
Belief in supernatural powers	b	0.39	0.40	0.72	0.50	0.68	0.53	0.63	Charms at home	o.r.	1.78	1.93	1.6	2.39	0.35	0.54	1.67
	s.e.	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.10	0.06	0.07		s.e.	0.31	0.34	0.4	0.48	0.27	0.21	0.54
Have seen gods aosts	b	-0.10	-0.12	-0.24	-0.40	0.02	-0.13	-0.38	God statues at home	o.r.	1.88	2.59	5	2.06	2.13	0.24	2.37
	s.e.	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.10	0.06	0.07		s.e.	0.22	0.31	0.9	0.3	0.65	0.06	0.55
Transcendent al experience	b	-0.10	-0.11	-0.26	-0.31	0.09	-0.08	-0.22	Objects for warding off evils	o.r.	1.39	1.03	0.8	1.08	0.19	0.08	0.48
	s.e.	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.09	0.06	0.07		s.e.	0.25	0.19	0.2	0.24	0.15	0.06	0.22
Belief in fortune-telling in general	b	0.30	0.28	0.39	0.29	-0.29	-0.45	0.44	Shaman's service	o.r.	4.19	3.94	5.1	5.17	0.32	0.51	3.39
	s.e.	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.05	0.12	0.07	0.08		s.e.	1.37	1.30	2.0	1.77	0.35	0.36	1.60
Eight characters	b	0.46	0.39	0.41	0.48	-0.32	-0.59	0.56	Changing one's fortune	o.r.	3.31	3.76	3.6	4.30	0.68	0.30	5.27
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.08	0.06	0.16	0.09	0.11		s.e.	0.72	0.83	1.0	1.01	0.72	0.23	1.62
Belief in tzu wei tou shu	b	0.33	0.31	0.51	0.37	-0.39	-0.55	0.41	An Tai Shui	o.r.	2.35	2.28	1.6	2.47	0.26	0.11	2.06
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.08	0.06	0.15	0.09	0.10		s.e.	0.23	0.23	0.2	0.29	0.12	0.04	0.41
Belief in palm and face reading	b	0.28	0.31	0.44	0.27	-0.33	-0.49	0.45	Appeasing gods	o.r.	2.14	2.28	2.3	2.76		0.10	3.47
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.08	0.06	0.15	0.09	0.11		s.e.	0.41	0.45	0.5	0.59		0.10	1.02
Belief in fortune-telling through	b	0.26	0.21	0.39	0.20	-0.32	-0.37	0.50	Calming fearful infants	o.r.	1.73	1.75	1.6	1.77	0.23	0.03	1.98
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.14	0.08	0.10		s.e.	0.22	0.23	0.3	0.26	0.18	0.03	0.46
Belief in astrology	b	0.28	0.25	0.31	0.23	-0.14	-0.38	0.46	Consulting fortune-teller	o.r.	1.40	1.59	3.2	2.10	1.06	0.90	2.00
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.14	0.08	0.10		s.e.	0.14	0.16	0.4	0.25	0.33	0.16	0.40
Fortune-telling is useful	b	-0.26	-0.29	-0.32	-0.26	0.02	0.22	-0.38	Feng Shui in 5 years	o.r.	1.59	1.54	1.6	1.81	1.02	0.30	1.45
	s.e.	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.05	0.13	0.08	0.10		s.e.	0.17	0.17	0.2	0.22	0.35	0.08	0.31
Accuracy of fortune-tell	b	-0.24	-0.31	-0.15	-0.29	-0.07	0.44	-0.18	Feng Shui for homes	o.r.	1.61	1.61	2.0	1.48	0.69	0.26	1.49
	s.e.	0.08	0.09	0.11	0.10	0.32	0.17	0.17		s.e.	0.17	0.18	0.3	0.19	0.26	0.08	0.33
Pilgrimage	b	2.27	1.97	2.28	2.95	0.19	0.10	1.70	Feng shui offices	o.r.	1.39	1.47	1.7	1.81	0.99	0.60	1.13
	s.e.	0.35	0.32	0.49	0.50	0.20	0.08	0.47		s.e.	0.25	0.28	0.4	0.37	0.64	0.24	0.45
Guang Ming Dung	o.r.	2.73	2.95	4.69	2.93	0.54	0.11	2.29	Eight characters reading	o.r.	1.87	2.41	3.4	2.73	1.55	0.71	2.19
	s.e.	0.28	0.31	0.71	0.35	0.24	0.05	0.46		s.e.	0.4	0.52	0.9	0.63	1.02	0.33	0.84
Wearing safety charms	o.r.	2.42	2.25	2.25	3.01	0.61	0.08	2.35	Tzu wei tou shu	o.r.	1.28	1.51	2.5	1.68	1.41	0.55	1.39
	s.e.	0.25	0.24	0.35	0.36	0.26	0.04	0.48		s.e.	0.28	0.34	0.7	0.42	0.93	0.27	0.63
Meditation and sitting meditation	o.r.	1.29	3.30	15.7	2.22	2.24	0.28	4.00	Face and palm reading	o.r.	1.13	1.24	1.3	1.35		0.94	1.18
	s.e.	0.43	1.01	4.95	0.78	1.78	0.29	2.04		s.e.	0.29	0.33	0.5	0.39		0.46	0.61

FR: folk religion, Bd: Buddhist (not converted), BC: converted Buddhist, T: Taoist, YK: Yi Kuan Tao, CL: Catholics, PR:

Protestant, O: other

Italicized : p<.05 ; Bold : p<.01 ; Bold and Italicized : p<.001

**Table 3-1 Change in Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors Across Surveys
(General Survey)**

		1990	1995	2000	2005			1990	1995	2000
Existence of soul	b	0.07	0.15	0.07	0.07	Fortune-telling	o.r.	1.04	1.44	1.00
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02		s.e.	0.07	0.09	0.07
Choosing an auspicious date	b		0.09	0.01	-0.03	Drawing divination	o.r.	0.66	0.85	0.50
	s.e.		0.02	0.03	0.02		s.e.	0.04	0.06	0.04
having male offspring	b	-0.16	-0.12	-0.25	-0.31	Feng Shui	o.r.	1.28	1.32	1.40
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02		s.e.	0.11	0.12	0.13
Belief in gods lead to stability	b	0.05	0.07	-0.05	-0.09	Shaman's service	o.r.	1.23	2.37	1.51
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02		s.e.	0.20	0.35	0.25
Feng Shui	b		0.05	-0.04	0.03	Calming fearful infants	o.r.	0.88	1.71	1.17
	s.e.		0.02	0.02	0.02		s.e.	0.06	0.12	0.09
One's own efforts, rather than gods	b	-0.16	-0.08	-0.18	-0.25	Appeasing gods	o.r.	1.17	1.52	0.80
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02		s.e.	0.18	0.23	0.15
Religion is important	b		0.11	0.04	0.04	Mediumship	o.r.	1.38	1.55	1.80
	s.e.		0.02	0.02	0.02		s.e.	0.30	0.34	0.41
violation against divinities	b	0.25	0.27	0.35		An Tai Shui	o.r.	2.32	5.52	6.92
	s.e.	0.02	0.02	0.02			s.e.	0.16	0.39	0.51
not worship ancestors	b		-0.23	-0.36	-0.51	Changing one's fortune	o.r.	1.53	2.17	1.80
	s.e.		0.04	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.14	0.20	0.18
church and temple attendants	b		0.42	0.37	0.48	Not worship ancestors	o.r.		0.43	0.9
	s.e.		0.04	0.04	0.04		s.e.		0.05	0.09
Pilgrimage	o.r.	1.07	1.50	0.98						
	s.e.	0.08	0.11	0.08						

Italicized : p<.05 ; Bold : p<.01 ; Bold and Italicized : p<.001

**Table 3-2 Change in Religious and Occult Attitudes and Behaviors Across Surveys
(Special Survey on Religion)**

		1999	2004			1999	2004
Soul	b	-0.08	0.05	Chanting Buddhist scriptures	o.r.		1.2
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.		0.2
Yuan	b	0.05	0.01	Uttering charms	o.r.		1.1
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.		0.15
Karma	b	0.04	0.04	Practice Chi	o.r.		1.49
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.		0.44
Chi	b	-0.17	-0.15	Reading the scriptures	o.r.		0.92
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.		0.13
Gods and ghosts	b	0.02	-0.02	Praying	o.r.		0.74
	s.e.	0.02	0.02		s.e.		0.16
Existence of the soul	b	-0.06	-0.11	Wearing Buddhist bracelet	o.r.	0.87	0.98
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.09	0.11
Rely on one's efforts, rather than god	b	-0.10	-0.05	Make donations to religious organizations	b	0.22	-0.88
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.08	0.09
The Importance of having male offspring to	b	-0.10	-0.35	Have eight diagrams at home	o.r.	0.85	
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.12	
Belief in supernatural powers	b	0.07	0.06	Have charms at home	o.r.	0.51	
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.05	
Have seen Gods and ghosts	b	-0.02	0.02	Have god statues at home	o.r.	0.69	
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.05	
Transcendental experience	b	-0.00	-0.07	Have objects for warding off evils at home	o.r.	0.73	
	s.e.	0.02	0.03		s.e.	0.08	
Belief in fortune-telling in general	b	-0.18	-0.26	Shaman's service	o.r.	0.93	0.63
	s.e.	0.03	0.03		s.e.	0.14	0.11
Belief in eight characters reading	b	-0.18	-0.21	Changing one's fortune	o.r.	0.67	0.71
	s.e.	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.08	0.09
Belief in tzu wei tou shu	b	-0.16	-0.28	An Tai Shui	o.r.	1.14	1.54
	s.e.	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.08	0.12
Belief in palm and face reading	b	-0.18	-0.28	Appeasing gods	o.r.	0.7	0.65
	s.e.	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.08	0.08
Belief through feeling the bones	b	-0.27	-0.37	Calming fearful infants	o.r.	0.79	0.71
	s.e.	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.07	0.07
Belief in astrology	b	-0.21	-0.24	Actively consulting fortune-teller	o.r.	0.99	0.61
	s.e.	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.07	0.05
Fortune-telling is useful	b	-0.14	-0.15	Feng Shui service in the past 5 years	o.r.	-0.68	-0.42
	s.e.	0.04	0.04		s.e.	0.05	0.04
Fortune-telling is accurate	b	-0.19	-0.28	Feng Shui service for homes	o.r.	1.15	0.73
	s.e.	0.07	0.07		s.e.	0.09	0.06
Pilgrimage	b	0.88	0.85	Feng Shui service for offices	o.r.	1.04	1.75
	s.e.	0.08	0.08		s.e.	0.15	0.27
Guang Ming Dung	o.r.	1.21	1.2	eight characters reading	o.r.		0.34
	s.e.	0.09	0.1		s.e.		0.04
Wearing safety charms	o.r.	0.65	1.56	Tzu wei tou shu service	o.r.		0.28
	s.e.	0.05	0.12		s.e.		0.04
Sitting meditation 、 meditation	o.r.		1.46	face and palm reading	o.r.		0.25
	s.e.		0.36		s.e.		0.05

Italicized : p<.05 ; Bold : p<.01 ; Bold and Italicized : p<.001