

Turning Curses into Blessings: How the Catholic Lay Movement Survive in Contemporary China

Abstract

Catholic Church in China has revived remarkably in last 30 years under the tensely church-state relationship. This paper will attempt to answer the question of how the Catholic Church develops under the severe religious regulation in China with the case study of the Catholic lay movement in China. Specifically, this paper argues that the strategy that the lay organizations take advantage of the special church-state relationship and find an “umbrella” for themselves has been revealed through comparing three different cases. And the growth they can achieve depends on the characteristic reshaped by both their own tradition and their attitude toward the religious regulation in China. Another contribution of this paper is that while most scholars divide Chinese Catholic Church into two separate entities, open and underground communities, in their studies, this paper reveals that a common mechanism can work in both of the communities.

Keywords: Chinese Catholic Church, Lay Movement, Umbrella Strategy

Introduction

Catholicism has a long and circuitous history in China. After 1949, it had been forbidden and persecuted in the first 30 years and has revived in the next 30 years. Today, there are more than 9 million Catholics living in nearly all provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities (theHolySpiritStudyCentre, 2015) .

Due to the party-state religious regulation system, the Chinese Catholic Church cannot develop like in many other countries. According to “the Regulation on Religious Affairs”, all religions in China have to obey the principle of “self-government, self-support and self-propagation” and work under “patriotic religious organizations”. According to Catholics, Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association is the tool which the state takes to control the Church (although the achievement is not as good as expected). Foreign religious organizations are forbidden to work in China or support local churches directly unless they get the permission from the State Bureau of Religious Affairs. And any religious activity has to be conducted in designated place with designated persons. The regulation makes it impossible for Catholicism to explore new developmental strategies and take advantage of foreign developmental experience directly. In other words, Catholicism has to work much more prudently and take some special actions in China.

On the other hand, there are several new varieties emerging in last 30 years. First of all, Vatican expressed its interest to build up formal relationship with PRC. The negotiation between China and Vatican has been a popular topic in not only Catholic media but also diplomatic field at the beginning of the reform and opening era.

Secondly, the Chinese Church has changed its characteristics. Sociologists

and anthropologists used to describe Chinese Catholicism communities as closed, isolated and country-based groups in 1980s and 1990s. However, after twenty-year development, Chinese Catholicism community is not an isolated and mysterious group any more. Each year, hundreds of seminarists and ministers have been sent to overseas seminaries or universities by both open and underground communities, while foreign missionaries, teachers and ministers bring resources to both communities in China(Madsen, 2003). Moreover, Chinese Catholicism community does not fit with a country-based hierarchy model anymore. With the popularity of the principles of The Second Vatican Council (1962-65), new thinking about ecclesiology has been implemented in the Chinese Church. The number of believers who are not born in Catholic families rises quickly and laymen have played a more important role in Church, especially in urban areas. The Catholic hierarchy used to be interweaved with the traditional kinship hierarchy in China. The priests, the lay leaders and the lay believers were embedded in the same clans normally. And the traditional patriarchal clan culture was bonded with traditional Catholic hierarchical value. Along with the traditional society has been disintegrated and more believers who come from non-Christian families join the Church today, the Catholic-kinship model has been replaced by a pluralism participation model within which priests and believers have relative equal status in contemporary Chinese Catholic Church.

Thirdly, the lay movement has entered into China in last 30 years. The lay movement has emerged in the Catholic World 100 years ago and develops very quickly all over the world after the World War II. In these years, there are more lay groups appearing and working in Church.

This paper is going to reveal how Chinese Catholic Church takes advantage of the special church-state relationship and make it be the “umbrella” through comparing three different lay organizations in contemporary China. Whether the lay organizations can win the local priests’ trust is the key factor in the strategy they take in China. Furthermore, the role of the Church-state relationship in reshaping the lay movement will be clarified. On the other hand, since the movement occurs in both open and underground communities, the paper will discuss how lay organizations handle the tension between two communities and whether they will adopt different methods in these two communities.

Three cases, Organization A, Organization B and Organization C will be studied in this paper. Both A and B are global Catholic lay organizations. Each of them has more than 60-year history. Since their centers in Hong Kong and Taiwan are not only the source of the core members working in China now but the training bases for the new followers from mainland China, the activities in Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China will be studied together. Organization C is an indigenous lay organization launched 10 years ago and developing very quickly in rural areas in the north China. It focuses on priests and laymen training mostly so that one of its major training projects will be analyzed in this paper.

There is going to be five parts below. First of all, the research design,

including the major question the study will answer, the targets of the case study and the methods, will be introduced. Secondly, the studies about the Chinese Catholic Church and the lay movement will be reviewed. Thirdly, the paper will analyze the strategy behind the development of the movement and reveal how the lay organizations seek the room for surviving and why the local priests' trust plays such an important role. Fourthly, the level of growth of the three lay organizations have got will be identified. Because of the different characteristics they hold, what they have achieved are different actually. The final part will propose the conclusion.

Research Design

There are two foreign lay organizations, A and B, and one local lay movement C that will be studied in this paper. For safety reasons, the detail of the background of them will not be introduced in this paper. Both A and B have long histories, abundant materials and human resources, and great level of growth in Catholic World, while C is a young movement launched by indigenous priests and laymen who are short of advanced theological, ecclesiological or pastoral training.

Research Question and Research Objectives

The major question this paper will answer is that why the Catholic laymen movement can survive and develop under such strictly religious regulation. Furthermore, to identify the factors impacting the answer, it is necessary to analyze what the strategies taken by the three organizations are, why the local parishes in China accept them and why they have achieved different results. Besides, since all of the organizations have to work in the local parishes belonging to the public or underground community, the question that why the local parishes or dioceses accept the lay organizations will be discussed as well. Specifically, the objectives in this research are shown as follow:

1. To analyze the strategies used by the three lay organizations and identify why they can be accepted by both the local parishes and the believers
2. To compare the strategies adapted by these three organizations.
3. To analyze how the church-state relationship has reshaped the strategies of the three lay movements.
4. To identify why the three organizations have achieved different level of growth.

The Targets of the Field Study

This research tries to study how Catholic lay movements develop under the complicated church-state relation and severe regulation in contemporary China.

Organization A, B and C are the targets to be studied in the field work. Their developmental processes and strategies in China are different from what they have had in other countries. Through comparing these three organizations, this research will not only show the process of the lay movement developing in China but also reveal the mechanism behind it.

The Field Sites

There are six field sites in this research. Three of them are in mainland China

while the rest sites are oversea.

City I and City II are two big cities in mainland China. Both A and B began their activities and established their centers and have held a lot of activities in the parishes located in these two cities. Moreover, B has trained local members and activists in the centers and sent them to other cities and villages. Therefore, City I and City II are two important field sites. Meanwhile, Village I is the location where organization C organizes its newest round of "disciple training" so that it is the third field site in mainland China.

Hong Kong and Taiwan are not only the origins of the core members of A and B who have been sent to China but also the two major training bases for them to foster Chinese followers, so that the centers in Hong Kong and Taiwan should be included into the list of field sites.

Methods

Two methods will be adopted in this field work: participant observation and semi-structural interviews.

The religious activities, including sermons, meditations, confessions and prayers in organization A, "Word of Life" sharing and church camp in organization B and disciple training in organization C will be observed in this research. The aim of the participant observation is to collect the information of the activity contents, the locations they choose, the gender, age and social background of the local participants, the scale of the participants, the interaction among core members and local followers, the cooperation between local parishes and these organizations, the characteristics these organizations showing in the events, the specific strategies they taking and etc.

The list of respondents includes the core members of A and B, the lecturers and directors of C, the local followers and the local priests. The core members and the major activists will provide information about the strategies the lay organizations take in China. The difference between these three organizations will be clarified at the same time. And the local believers and priests will offer the reasons why the lay organizations can be accepted in China. Through the interview with local priests, the cooperation between lay organizations and parishes will be presented as well.

The Chinese Catholic Church and the Lay Movement

According to the official statement, Catholic have more than one-thousand-years in China. The modern Catholic Church in contemporary China dates back to the late Ming Dynasty when Jesuit Missioners entered the ancient imperial. Since then, the indigenous features have occurred gradually and the state power has always played a significant role in the development of the Catholic Church in China. The relevant researches about Chinese Catholic Church will be reviewed in this part.

The Perspectives of the Studying in Chinese Catholic Church

Scholars from various areas have studied the Church in China through a lot

of different perspectives. Some of them have contributed of macro frameworks of this area. For example, Richard Madsen has concluded three interpenetrating layers in the studying of Chinese Catholic Church: the priestly religious vision, the Church's embodiment in rural areas and the Vatican-China Relationship(Madsen, 2003). Cindy Yik-yi Chu discussed the Chinese Church from five perspectives, Sino-Vatican Relations, the governmental level, the societal level, the individual level and the contemporary situation in her book(Chu, 2012, pp. 119-134).The followers develop their new studies within these perspectives. Scholars like Tse-Chien Hsiung introduced the structure of official Catholic Church in contemporary China(Hsiung(熊自建), 1998). These studies introduce the surface of Chinese Catholic Church only. Historical study is another important perspective in this field, especially in the work proposed by Chinese scholars(L. Chen & Tao, 2012; Zhao, 2012). Most of these researches focus on the missionaries' work at the late of Ming and Qing Dynasties or the Republic of China period. Based on authentic and abundant data, these researches have contributed much for us to understand the historical origin of the contemporary church. But they are far away from what has happened nowadays event after all.

The role the Catholic Church has played in contemporary Chinese society is another important topic studied in this field. Based on case studies, Madsen and Chan have contributed works about how Chinese Catholic Church, both open and underground communities, improving the development of the civil society in China(S.-h. Chan, 2011; Madsen, 1998). Shanshan Lan introduces the Sacred Heart Cathedral serving the African Migrants as a sanctuary in Guangzhou(Lan, 2014). However, there are very less researches contributing the strategy within which the Catholic organizations developing under the strictly regulation in China.

The Historical Context

The current situation the Chinese Church meets has a profound historical origin. Although the political environment today is different from how it was in traditional dynasties or Mao Zedong Era, some of the elements still work, especially the role the state has played in religious affairs. The control of religious affairs is not invented by CCP. On the contrary, it has a long history in China. For instance, in Chinese history, Buddhism had been wiped three times, which is known as the "Three Disasters of Wu". There had been a Minister of Rituals since Tang Dynasty which took in charge of religious fete ceremony and distinguishing whether a religion was "legal". Each monk and Taoist had to get the permission (*Jie Die*) from government since Ming Dynasty. (Li, 2006) It would be impossible for anyone to study religious issues in China and ignore the state elements.

A senior representative from Roman Catholic Church came into China about 700 years ago in Yuan Dynasty for the first time. (D'elia, 1933) But the new faith was popular only among Mongol rulers and other minorities. In other words, it never touched the major Han people. The Jesuit missionaries came back to China in the late sixteenth century in Late-Ming Dynasty and succeeded to implant churches in Han communities. The debate about whether Chinese believers could

participate in ancestor worships and Confucius-commemorating rituals annoyed the Tartarian emperors Kangxi, who had forbidden Catholicism for about 100 years in Qing Dynasty (Joseph Motte, 2004).

The western colonists opened the door to China again in 1842 and helped Catholicism and Protestantism enter China. On the one hand, the Church enjoyed freedom of missionizing, preaching and doing other ministries. On the other hand, the cooperation between Church and "imperialist" stimulated serious conflict between the Chinese society and the Catholic Church. Christianity, including Catholicism and Protestantism, was called "imperialist jackals." by Chinese nationalists. "Jiaoan" (violent anti-Christian cases) emerged over nearly all of China, and many of them resulted in bloody conflicts. Although the foreign forces asked the Qing dynasty government to protect the rights and safety of missionaries, the local officers lacked the capability and motivation to execute the rule. The newly converted Chinese Christians were excluded by their neighbors and relatives, while the foreign priests' lives were threatened. (Bays 2011; Young 1996). The Boxer Movement emerging in 1900 was the most serious Jiaoan, in which hundreds of priests and believers were murdered. The Anti-Christian Movement occurring in 1922 made the conflict worse because a lot of intellectuals and politicians joined the movement. Significantly, the government then launched a "withdraw education rights" campaign. During the campaign, some of the church elementary schools, middle schools and high schools were banned while religious activities were forbidden in the others. Furthermore, the government promulgated decrees to forbid foreign persons or organizations to found new elementary schools, limit the number of the foreign members in the boards of trustees of all schools, and force a large number of mission schools transformed to be Christian schools in which most of the courses were secular. The "Nationalist Revolution", launched by the KMT and CCP, two major political parties, harassed, disrupted or damaged the churches and landmarks. (Bays 2011)

Vatican wanted to cope with the disaster and tried to establish formal diplomatic relations with Chinese government so that the ambassador from Holy See could be sent to China and deal with issues directly. But France disturbed it twice to protect its interest of Protectorate of Missions in Far Eastern area (A. T.-m. Chen, 2016). In 1947, Holy See sent the first formal ambassador, Archbishop Antonio Riberi, to China. However, shortly after, the regime shift changed everything. Although there were Chinese bishops and priests in Catholicism during that time, generally speaking, Chinese Catholic Church were handled by foreign clergymen.

At almost the same time, the indigenization movement popularized quickly in Protestant Church. Most of the bishops in Anglican Church are local Chinese, and independent churches such as "Little Flock" and "True Jesus Church" developed intensely fast. The "three-self principle", self-governance, self-support (i.e., financial independence from foreigners), and self-propagation (i.e., indigenous missionary work), had been accepted by most of denominations.

Catholicism looked “outdated”.

The Chinese Communist Party(CCP) established the People’s Republic of China in 1949. CCP found “three-self principle” would be a good excuse to establish a new system to control all religions. Vatican “gave a hand” to CCP at that time. Because of the Anti-communist ideology, in 1949, Pope Pius XII published several encyclicals to forbid Chinese priests and believers to cooperate with CCP. In response, CCP administration expelled all foreign missionaries in 1951 and began to ordain clergymen without the approval from Holy See.(Chu, 2012) Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA) had been organized in 1957(its name was Chinese Patriotic Catholic Believers’ Association at the beginning because there was very few priests supporting it.) by the Bureau of Religious Affairs (RAB) to get control over Catholicism. The government force the church to ordain bishops in 1957 without the approval from the Holy See as well. Most of the believers and priests who refused to join CCPA were arrested and persecuted soon. In 1958, most of the priests are sent to the rural areas to do farm work to support the Great Leap Movement (Bays, 2011, pp. 174-175) During the Cultural Revolution, even the open community was forbidden. All of the priests and believers were persecuted(Kindopp & Hamrin, 2004, p. 35).

Church-State Relationship in Contemporary China

Church-state relationship is an important concept framework in religious studies. Kuru, Ahmet T has clarified it into four types as shown in table 1. This classification is based on the formal state religious policies(Kuru, 2007). The problem is that is ignores of the dynamism in the policy-implementing process. For example, China is classified into “Antireligion Sate” because of its Marxist atheism religious policy-formation process. It is contrary to the fact that the

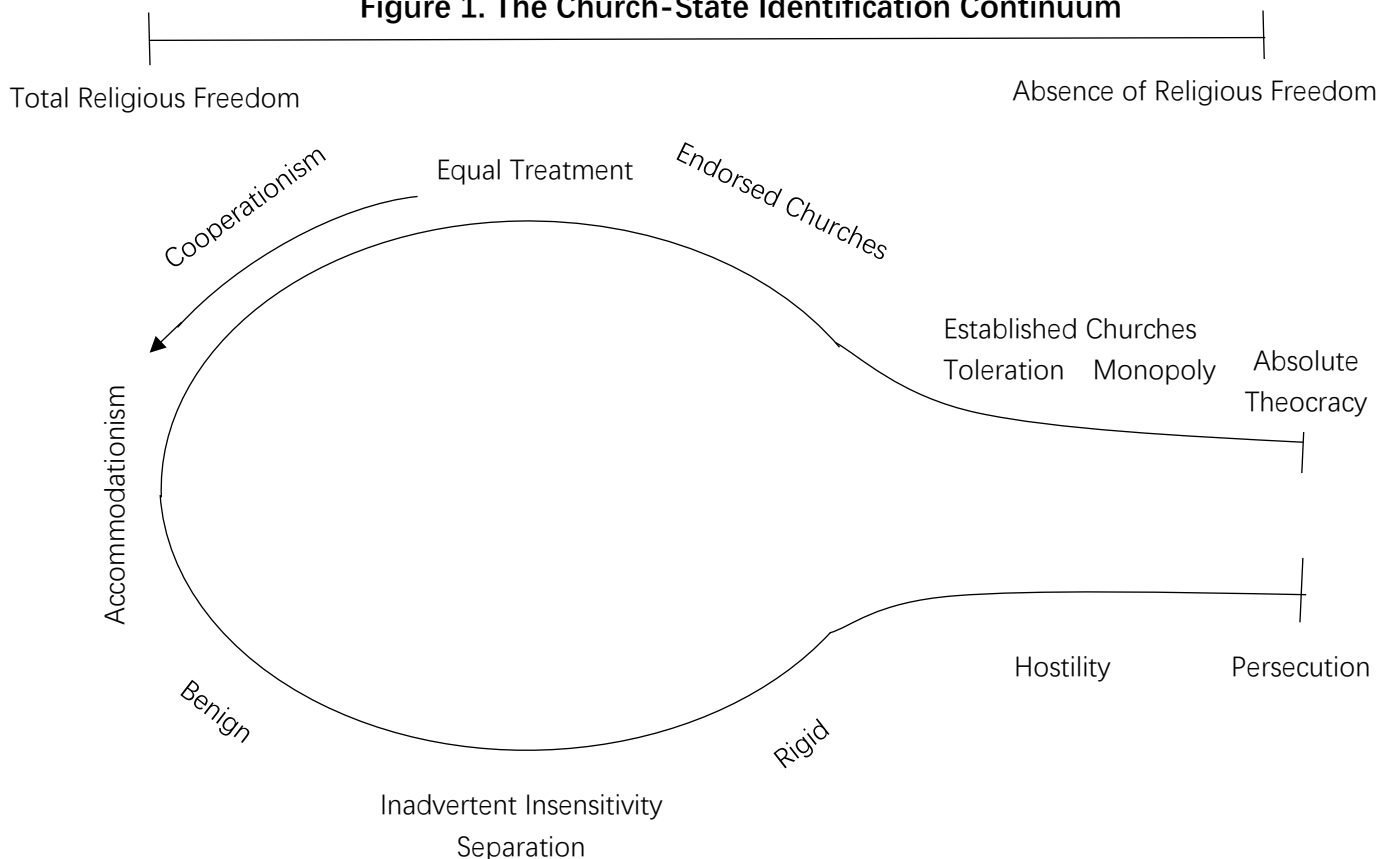
Table 1 Types of State-Religion Regimes

	Religious State	State with an Established Religion	Secular State	Antireligion State
Legislation and judiciary	Religion-based	Secular	Secular	Secular
State's attitude toward religions	Officially favors one	Officially favors one	Officially favors none	Officially hostile to all or Many
Examples	Vatican, Saudi Arab	Iran, Greece, Denmark, England	US, France, Turkey	China, North Korea, Cuba
Number in the world	10	100	95	22

Source: Kuru, Ahmet T, 2007, “Passive and assertive secularism: Historical conditions, ideological struggles, and state policies toward religion”, *World Politics*, 59(4), pp. 568-594.

Chinese government support the 5 “legal religion”, the Protestant, the Catholic, the Islam, the Buddhism and the Daoism while they are willing to cooperate with the government and join the “religious patriotic associations”.

Figure 1. The Church-State Identification Continuum



Source: W. Cole Durham, Jr 1996 “Perspectives on Religious Liberty: A Comparative Framework,” pp.1-44 in Johan D. van der, Vyver and John Witte, Jr (ed.), Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Legal Perspectives. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

W. Cole Durham, Jr has clarified the church-stated relationship based on the religion and belief freedom. He has established a church-state identification continuum shown as shown in Figure 1(W. Cole Durham, 1996), which is a loop that correlates with the religious and belief freedom continuum. Within this loop, more ambiguous cases can be covered. But there is no one-to-one correspondence between the classification terms and the true cases. The case of China covers the continuum from the “Inadvertent Insensitivity Separation” to the “Persecution”. To analyze the specific cases more clearly, it is necessary to do case studies.

Fenggang Yang has clarified the religious policies in the history of the People's Republic of China into 4 periods(Yang, 2011):

1. 1949-1957: Co-Optation and Control;
2. 1957-1966: The Socialist Transformation;
3. 1966-1979: Eradication;

4. 1979-2010: Strengthening the Regulation

The policies and action in the first three periods have already been reviewed before. In the age of “reform and opening” after Mao Era, CCP turned its major aim from class struggle to economic development and released its totalitarian social control. Since 1979, all religions have revived in China.(Madsen, 2011) For Catholicism, that meant a large number of priests and believers were released from prisons, churches, seminaries and convents were reopened or rebuilt gradually, and CCPA was arranged to maintain Chinese Catholic affairs by RABs again. Theoretically, the RABs were supposed to work under the authority of the party's United Front Work Department (UFWD). But actually because UFWD has lower position in the party-state system, local RABs follow the local governments. In 1980, The Chinese Catholic Bishops Conference(BCCCC) was founded, and part of the function of CCPA was turned over to BCCCC.

Figure 1. The Party-State Power Structure of Controlling Catholicism in China

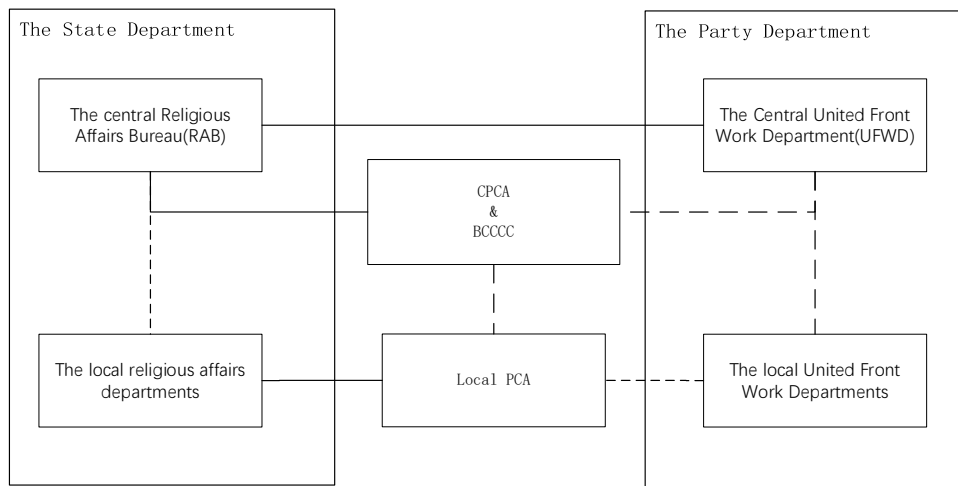


Figure 1 shows the typical party-state power structure of Catholic affairs. At the central level, the party department, UFWD, has direct authority over the RAB, the state department. Since both CPCA and BCCCC are “Mass Autonomous Organizations”, the UFWD hasn’t intervened directly. On the contrary, the UFWD has kept influence among all religious patriotic organizations through the state bureau. At the local level, the local religious department affairs office should, theoretically, be responsible for the local government, although it will accept tasks arranged by superior religious affairs departments. In fact, the local government has much more authority as it has control of human resources and finance. The relationship between central and local UFWD is similar to this arrangement. The local religious bureau directly supervises the local PCA entity, while the local UFWD maintains informal influence. There is no hierarchical structure between central and local religious patriotic organizations.

This is only the surface of the church-state relationship in China. If the party-state system worked as effective as how it had claimed to be, there would be no

room for underground communities to survive. The fact that Auxiliary Bishop Thaddeus Ma Daqin of Shanghai, who was trained in a monastery belonging to CPCA and had worked in CPCA for almost 20 years, declared he would quit CPCA while he was ordained in 2012 (UCAnews, 2012) is an excellent example of illustrating that CPCA doesn't have effective influence toward even its own members in some places. On the other hand, the Public Security Bureau (PSB) plays a significant role in the control over underground community.

The researches about church-state relationship of Protestant Church in contemporary China present that local cadres will tolerant Protestant churches in local level for exchanging their support for social harmony and local governance (Huang, 2014; Tso, 2003). And while boss Christians become church leaders, they have a good personal relationship with the local cadres and can pursuit more room for their church to survive and develop. Whether similar situation exists in the development of lay organization or not will be studied in this research. In short, the strategies through which these organizations and movements survive and develop will be analyzed in this research.

The Sino-Vatican Relationship

The Sino-Vatican Relationship is another important issue in church-state relationship in China. Since 1979, Vatican has changed its Sino policy and tried to contact and have a dialogue with PRC. The process is not smooth. The Chinese government was infuriated while Holy See ordained Deng Yiming as Archbishop of Guangzhou and accused that Vatican tried to interfere in the internal affairs of Chinese Church. But Vatican seemed to want to establish a formal channel to have a dialogue with PRC directly since it had already come in touch with PRC in 1979. (G. Chan, 1989) Conflicts still persist between Vatican and PRC despite their attempt to understand and cope with each other.

There are two major issues existing in this relationship. The first one is the Vatican's diplomatic relation with Taiwan. When Cardinal Angelo Sodano hold the office of Vatican Secretary of State, he claimed that "the Holy See would be ready to switch its nunciature from Taipei to Beijing as soon as Beijing agreed to the move" (UCAnews, 1999). According to his speech, the cross-strait issues will not be the core obstacle. In contrast with the diplomatic issues, the religious issues are thornier. How to deal with the "self-consecration" of bishops, how to cope with the underground communities, and how to ordain bishops in the future are the major topics occurring in the negotiation between China and Vatican (Leung, 2009).

However, it is not clear whether the Sino-Vatican relationship will have an impact on the way how Chinese government treats Catholicism. Will CCP interfere and persecute Church more seriously when Sino-Vatican relationship deteriorates? And will lay organizations get a looser environment to survive and develop while the relationship is better? These questions will be studied in this research.

The Lay Movement in Catholic World

The Lay movement is the case to be studied in this paper. As a new

phenomenon appearing in China no more than 30 years ago, it has involved less in the historical tension and conflict in Chinese Catholic Church so that it will be a better tool for us to analyze the similar elements in both open and underground communities. Meanwhile, as one of the most active movement in the universal Catholic World, studying how it developing in China will be an appropriate perspective to explore the future of Chinese Catholic Church as well.

The Lay movement emerged in Catholic World at the late of 19th century. Later most of lay organizations were enrolled into labor movement or feminist movement. After the Second Vatican Council, a new trend of lay movement rose in the Catholic World. A large number of researches study these organizations working in Italy, America, Mexico and other countries. Due to the unique historical context, Church-state relationship and Sino-Vatican relation, the new trend hadn't been driven into China until later in 1980s. Lay movement is one of the most important trends emerging in the Catholic World in the twentieth century. Since this new trend working in contemporary China has not been studied before, this research will attempt to fill in some missing blanks.

Lay Catholic Action groups, the biggest Catholic lay organization in the world, had been authorized to be established throughout the church by Pope Pius XI to recruit laymen who had advanced positions in societies. And there had been a lot of Catholic groups with laymen members as majority playing significant roles in labor movement in Italy, France and America before(Klaiber, 1983; Moloney, 2003; Novak, 1984) . Since then, there have been more and more Catholic lay groups emerging in Catholic World. Even in countries where there was severe regulation against Catholicism, lay groups developed quite quickly. For example, in Mexico, although Catholicism had been regulated and persecuted much by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) administration which kept anticlericalism ideology, Catholic Action had been expanded much from 1920s to 1950s.(Grayson, 1992)

The Second Vatican Council had made great changes in the whole Church. According to the *Lumen Gentium (LG)* and *Apostolicam Actuositatem (AA)*, two major files of Official documents of the Second Vatican Council, laity has equal status and different duty with clergy in Church.

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Besides this apostolate which certainly pertains to all Christians, the laity can also be called in various ways to a more direct form of cooperation in the apostolate of the Hierarchy. (LG, Chapter IV, 33)

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The laity have the right, as do all Christians, to receive in abundance from their spiritual shepherds the spiritual goods of the Church, especially the assistance of the word of God and of the sacraments. (LG, Chapter IV, 37)

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In the Church there is a diversity of ministry but a oneness of mission.Since the laity, in accordance with their state of life, live in the midst of the world and its

concerns, they are called by God to exercise their apostolate in the world like leaven, with the ardor of the spirit of Christ. (AA, Chapter I, 2)

Since then, laity has performed a significant function in Church, which is inconceivable in history. The new theological understandings from Vatican Council II made it possible for the expansion of laity's roles. Besides the duty of mission, laity is endowed the right and duty to do "teaching of Christian doctrine, certain liturgical actions, and the care of souls" (AA, Chapter 5, 24). The Council actually withdrew the doctrine that the Clergymen' religious life is morally superior and equated the holiness of Clergymen with that of the laity (Stark & Finke, 2000, p. 171). Meanwhile, the shortage of Clergymen, the fierce competitions between religions, and the sexual and financial scandals made the Church have no choice but to permit more laymen to join the ministries of mission, daily mass, charity, education, medical treatment, etc. (Allen, 2009)

In accordance with these researches, lay organizations have developed in the Catholic World for more than 100 years. The majority of the case studies of lay movements adopt historical or social movement approach. Because of the different social and political environment, it's not appropriate to take the similar approaches in the research about Chinese Catholicism. To clarify different methods lay organizations have taken in China and other countries will be helpful in contributing to the study of how church-state relationship reshaping the Church.

The Lay Organizations in China and Their Strategies

The Background of the Organizations Promoting the Movement

There are three organizations, A, B and C, will be analyzed in this study. A and B are foreign organizations and C is a local one.

Organization A and B are two of the most important lay organizations in Catholic Worlds. They have more than sixty-year-old history and populated in more than fifty countries in the world. They were founded before Vatican Council II, and expanded very quickly after that. Although organization A was founded by a priest while B was launched by a layman, both of them have paid most of the attention on the sanctification of laymen's daily life. They have developed a series of prayers and activities for laymen to integrate the Catholic belief into studying, working and any other part of their life. Today, both of them possess universities and other training institutions, global systems and rich developmental experience.

Organization C was launched by a priest, a seminarian, three nuns and some laymen followers in North East China at the beginning of 21st century and popularized in more than eight provinces and municipalities soon. Although the one of the founders has been arrested this year, the team is still working. Most of the key members in this movement are laymen who are short of regular theological or pastoral trainings. The major activities organization C holds are trainings. They have training for laymen missionaries, priests, youths, couples and etc. Their classes include "way of repentance", "happy weekends", worship training,

preach training, and music training. Half of the classes are developed by the founding priest himself. At the early stage, C hired senior Clergymen and believers from protestant churches as lecturers to train skill of music and worship. But the serious conflict between catholic and protestant tradition and idea made the core committee change their mind soon. Today, the majority of the lecturers are the disciples while sometimes they will invite famous missionaries or Clergymen to give them lectures.

The “Umbrella” Strategy

The three organizations have taken the same strategy, taking advantage of local parishes as protection, in China although they have different background and histories. All of them survive and develop within the protection from the local parishes although they have formed the strategy with different processes. On the other hand, some differences, including whether dividing male and female members strictly, whether growing their movement up in both public and underground communities and which language taking in the activities will be compared and analyzed as well.

Both A and B have evolved a “standardized” process to develop in new areas in histories. Normally, once they are permitted to develop in a new diocese, they will send several core members with one clergy to establish a “center” in residential area at the beginning. The center will include several bedrooms for members and new comers, a big living room for gathering and a small chapel for religious rituals. Once the center has been established, the core members will begin to recruit new comers through their local personal relationship from churches they participating and their work. At least one priest belonging to the organizations have to apply for permission from the diocese where the new center in to serve in the center only.

However, because of the severe religious regulation, organization A and B cannot copy this strategy directly in China. Both of them have adjusted their strategies. And the umbrella strategy taken by the organizations is that they all try to promote their movements within the protection from local parishes.

Although the members of A came to China and rent flats as centers for themselves nearly 30 years ago, they have not recruited any Chinese believer until 2000. According to “Regulations on Religious Affairs”, all religious activities have to be held in religious venues. The core members in China decide to obey this rule. The close relationship between organization A and local publish parishes are the most important strategy it takes in China. After getting the permission from the local priests, they began to hold religious activities in public Church in City I and City II, two of the biggest cities in China. Most of the activities in legal religious venues will not be checked severely. In other words, the public churches are the umbrella for A. Most of the local members participating these activities are those who going to the same churches as the core members, while other local believers are friends of them. Organization A began to have local retreat 2 years ago. And since 2017, the Mass in charge by their own priests has been held as well.

Theoretically, organizational A only works for foreign believers in “foreign-related” parishes, although most of the participants are local believers today. They are very cautious about invite local members to their centers. They don’t rent the bedrooms in centers for the new comers like what they are doing in the centers in other countries.

Organization B have to adjust their mechanism to fit with the official regulation as well. The religious rituals in centers are open to core members and senior local followers only although the first male center was established in City II about 20 years ago. On the contrary, they encourage believers go to local churches and participate rituals there. In City I, they have made a deal with a chief priest in a local parish to hold mass with their own music each Tuesday evening. And the members gather in the public churches to do the sharing each month. In other words, the public churches are the umbrella for B, too. Meanwhile, the centers in City I, City II and Hong Kong send core laymen members to the cities and villages nearby and help local believers to hold activities themselves in their parishes and dioceses.

Moreover, they cooperate with local clergies from both public and underground communities. The oversea core members try to establish personal relationship with clergies from different dioceses and seminarians in seminaries. Organization B tries to make them understand and accept the idea and value instead of recruiting them as members. Some of the clergies will organize similar activities in their own dioceses and introduce activists to take training in the local and oversea centers. The most successful case is cooperation between B and one of the most influential underground dioceses in north east China. The bishop there support to hold fellowship, sharing gathering and family camps follow the model of B every year. Meanwhile, the diocese arranges clergies and laymen to take training in the centers in City II and Hong Kong regularly.

All of the founders of organization C come from open community so that they have held all their training programs in public parishes. The laymen missionaries training in the public community is the most famous training program organization C holding. C propagandizes its courses in different parishes by the members who have studied in C. Once a chief priest from a local parish has interested in organizing the training, he can send an offer to the Qu Zhang in his region through personal tunnel. And the Qu Zhang will bring two senior disciples to the parish to inspect and check whether the appropriate places, logistical support and safe environment are available. If the parish can offer eligible conditions, organization C will sign an agreement with the chief priest and discuss the detail with him. Then Qu Zhang will begin to hire lecturers and recruit students. Organization C has a list of all of the disciples and heads of classes for the Qu Zhang to pick and connect with. And they recruit students through their personal relationship with local parishes. Normally they don’t recruit students from the parishes holding the trainings to prevent the interference from their family. In short, the public parishes have been the umbral again.

In short, all of the organizations hold their activities in the local parishes in public or underground communities. The activities in public community have a legal status and will not be intervened by the governments normally. On the other hand, in the areas where the underground communities have more influence than the public ones and the local governments have “mutually understanding” and “privity” with the churches, the cooperation between organization B and the underground communities will be helpful for the development of the lay movement as well.

The Attitude of Local Priests

All of the lay organizations take advantage of the local parishes as “umbrella” to protect themselves. And the most important reason why the local priests will welcome the lay organizations working in their parishes is to help them develop their own church. Organized believers can offer more help in daily mass, ceremonies, mission and many other activities. Due to the short of priests, the need will be increased. It is common that several priests take charge of dozens of churches. It is harder and harder for the priests to take care of all churches and organize enough events. All of these three organizations can offer good trained believers to assistant or maintain activities in their own parishes and mobilize more followers to help if it is necessary. But some of the priests will worry about that the organization will bring local believers to other parishes in the future.

The success of the umbrella strategy depends on whether the organizations can get the local priests' trust. Sometimes it's easier for foreign organizations to do it because they have involved less in the conflict than the local organizations. And this is the reason why Organization C has never been in underground community. On the other hand, all of the organizations have to do much to let local priests know what they are doing is helpful for the local parishes. Inviting the local priests to their activities, establishing personal relationship with them and sometimes requesting them to take in charge of some activities will be very helpful. After all, it depends on the local priests' decision. According to an interview in a famous diocese in Eastern China, the major priests there don't want any of these organizations having activities in their diocese regular because they worry that it will initiate different arguments emerging and conflict later. In another diocese in northwest China, the diocese decides to hold the activities by their own laymen who have trained by organization B to avoid conflict from permitting B working in the dioceses directly.

To sum up, the key methods of the umbrella strategy includes four parts:

1. Establishing personal relationship with local priests;
2. Holding activities in the local parishes;
3. Inviting the local priests to join the activities
4. Requesting the local priests to take in charge of some of the activities;
5. Organizing the followers to support the local parishes

The Level of growth of the Lay Movement in Contemporary China

The umbrella strategy has helped all these three organizations to promote the lay movement in China last thirty. On the other hand, the level of growth they have got is different because of the different characters they hold. The level of the development the three organizations have got, including the number of local followers and core members recruited, the types of activities held, the number of parishes and dioceses they entering or influencing, will be identified and analyzed in this part.

The Level of growth

Organization A has rituals and activities in City I and City II and recruited less than 100 local believers in China. The activities include recollection, mediation, sermons, benediction, confessions, prayers retreat and mass. The scale of the local participants is nearly 1 hundred in both cities. The priests will be spiritual fathers for some local activists and guide their spiritual life through regular conversation each month. These activists are the assistants for the core lay members in organizing gathering and informing other partisans. But there has been no local core member yet. The local believers come from both public and underground communities. But the followers of the public churches are majority.

B has not only established centers in City I and City II but also has trained local core members who introducing the idea and activities of B to more parishes located in different cities and villages in dozens of provinces in China. Furthermore, B has cooperated with both underground and open communities in China. Some of the local dioceses have sent not only laymen but priests to its oversea centers to get training. The scale of local followers is hard to be counted but it's bigger than organization A. There are more than 300 local participants from mainland China join the church camp in Hong Kong in these years. One of the possible reasons why organization B can attract more local followers is that it has held more activities which can be in charge by laymen. The oversea core members always support the local believers maintain these activities. And there is no doubt that the "working language" in these activities is mandarin. The dioceses in south east China are one of the most successful cases, where organization B have recruited formal local members for 20 years. Although there is no formal center in these dioceses, the local members gather regularly every week and hold camps and many other activities each year. Most of them belong to local catholic kinships. The third generation of these local members has held a camp with more than 300 participants recently.

Moreover, organization B tries to do charity with the name of local parishes. The centers in City II organize followers to visit a church gerocomium each month with the name of believers from a local church. In 2008, the members in City I held a prayer meeting in a local parish and collect donation for the serious earthquake in Si Chuan Province. A team of core members from both mainland China and Hong Kong went to Si Chuan and sent donation from Chinese and oversea believers to the parishes in Si Chuan. The members have been in the earthquake-

stricken area for more than 1 year and cooperated with local church institutions to do disaster rehabilitation work. Two of the churches in Si Chuan accept the idea and activities of organization B after the post-quake restoration and reconstruction although all of the members working with the name of believers from different dioceses and parishes in China and preventing mentioning organization B.

Organization C has established a three-layer management system consist with core decision-making committee, Qu Zhang groups and other disciples, which covers more than 8 provinces and municipalities. It has developed a series of courses for priests, nuns and laity in last 10 years. And one of the most famous programs, the “disciple training”, which has been introduced by both Chinese and foreign church medias, has recruited thousands of students. Besides the classroom teaching, they will take practical mission training within which they will have to hike for 1000 kilometers or stay in a strange village for 10 days without any food, cash or other supply. Meanwhile, to train qualified missionaries and help the disciples quit pernicious behaviors, organization C has formulated a series of rigorous rule, such as corporal punishment, personal insults, and collective punishment, and the cell phone is forbidden in the training in the training program. Obedience is the concept mentioned most. It's hard to image how urban middle class or college students can take the whole training without the risk of losing jobs or getting the order to quit school. In other words, it focuses only on rural parishes in north China and cannot develop in south China or urban areas.

The Roles of the Clergymen and Laymen

There are both clergymen and laymen in three organizations, but none of them are exclusively run by clergies. The roles of the clergymen and laymen are different in the organizations. At the top of the organization, laymen have played a more significant role in decision making in organization A than in B. At the top of the organization C, clergymen and laymen have more equal status. But laymen have taken most of the responsibility at the bottom and in the middle in all of the three organizations.

Specifically, on the one hand, the leadership in the three organizations is different. All of the supreme leaders of organization A, are clergymen, while the founder of B has decided that only female lay believer can be the head of the Organization B. The decision center of Organization C includes both clergymen and laymen.

On the other hand, clergymen and laymen have undertaken different work in these three organizations. The clergymen in A have been in charge of more activities and rituals practically. And some of the priests from A will be appointed to be bishops, just like the bishops coming from traditional catholic religious orders. But the clergymen's other duties in A and B are similar, including to guide members' spiritual life and take charge of religious rituals. Meanwhile, most of the members in both A and B are laymen, who holds the responsibility of recruiting and training new members, arranging activities, running and expanding the

organizations.

It will be a misunderstanding if we think clergymen are more important in A than in the other two organizations. Actually the number of laymen is much bigger than the number of clergymen in all three organizations so that they have a significant role in their own organizations. In organization A and B, the core lay members have secular full-time jobs but they have to hand in all their income and live in the centers belonging to the organizations. And all of the clergymen were core lay members in the organizations before. In organization C, the laymen have to do both teaching and administration work.

In organization C, most of the courses are developed by priests who has taken better religious education than laymen. But both of them lecture in the training programs. Because the number of laity is much larger in C, laymen have taken more responsibility in fact. Most of the lecturers in organization C are the "disciples" trained in C. Moreover, there is a group of "Qu Zhang" (regional director) who maintain the regional affairs severally. Qu Zhang has to arrange lecturers, the head of the class and recruit new trainees himself.

To sum up, there are three differences among these three organization. First of all, the clergymen and laymen have occupied the decision making positions in A and B respectively while the leadership of C is shared by them. Secondly, there are more activities still conducted by clergymen in A while the laymen are in charge of most of the activities, including church camps, concerts and charity, in B. Meanwhile, most of the work in C are shared by them. And the differences have impact on the level of growth they get. According to not only the official regulation in China but the Canon Law of the Catholic Church, it will be more sensitive and complicated for extraneous clergymen to work in local parishes than laymen. It will be easier for both local dioceses and governments to pay attention to and intervene the activities held by foreign priests, which makes it be harder for the organizations to promote the lay movement.

The Other Different Characteristics

Although taking the umbrella strategy at the same time, there are some different characteristics existing in the three organizations in China. The reasons why these elements appear and what consequence they will bring will be identified in this research.

First of all, to follow the regulation that foreign priests can serve foreign believers only, all of the activities in organization A are held in English. Because having much less activities held by foreign priests, B and C use mandarin as the working language in the most of the time. And this is the reason why the local believers recruited by A are from middle class or students in universities who have basic communication skill in English only so that A's ability to recruit more believers from local believers is confined.

Secondly, organization B has held activities out of the public churches. All of the core members of B who are working in mainland China now are ethnic Chinese and have better communication skills in Chinese society. It's easier for them to

establish personal relationship with clergies from both open and underground communities. For example, one of the core members introduced how he helped an undergraduate student follower to get rid of the intervention from his university through his personal relationship with the school. B has recruited local core members and trained them in their centers in City I, City II and Hong Kong. Besides, B has rent resorts to hold church camps for the local followers in different provinces in mainland China or organized local believers to participate activities in Hong Kong and Taiwan every year. Through this strategy, B can recruit and train more local followers and promote some of them to be core members.

Thirdly, although both A and B have established male and female centers separately all over the world, organization A divides all its followers by gender much more strictly than B does. None of the male members in A can join the activities held by female members or vice versa while more than half of the activities in B are held by both genders. And there is no similar strategy in organization C. According to the explanation from one of the most important core members from A in Asia, organization A executes this rule so strictly to help the core member to keep their single vow. It is similar with the rules adopted by many traditional Catholic orders. Since Organization B has both male and female core members and they cooperate well, the necessity of separating different genders strictly is not so obvious. On the contrary, this is the reason why the scale of the most of the actives in A is smaller than in the other two organizations.

Moreover, organization C focus the rural areas or the suburb of the cities only while A has activities in urban areas only and C develops in both two areas. All of the activities held by C pay more attention on the needs of the believers from rural parishes. And the training time schedule in C is more suitable for rural life. For example, one of the most famous projects, the laymen missionaries training, will take all of the disciples 3 years to finish the whole missionary training. All of the disciples have to participate four 10-day gather-trainings each year during this period. And one of the major targets of this training is to help the disciples to quit gambling, intemperance, smoking and treating family badly, which are popular in rural areas in contemporary China. This is the reason why organization C has never held any activity in urban parish before.

To sum up, what the three lay organization have achieved are different because of their different characteristics. First of all, the different roles of the clergymen and laymen in the organizations make the organizations in which the clergymen holding more activities promote the lay movement much harder. Secondly, the attitude toward the religious regulation will decide how much the organization will achieve in the promotion of the movement. Both Organization B and C have a more flexible attitude than Organization A. On the one hand, they follow the regulation to hold religious activities in legal religious venues. On the other hand, once they have got the trust of local priests, they begin to do more beyond the "legal territory", such as organizing local followers to get training out of the local parishes, which is helpful for them to recruit more local followers and

promote the movement more smoothly. Thirdly, the institutions and value of the organizations will shape their level of growth as well. Organization A holds more activities which are in charged by its own priests and keeping more conservative institution that it develops slowest among these three organizations. B has a more flexible attitude towards both its own institution and the official religious regulation so that it can recruit more local followers and develop in more local parishes belonging to both underground and open communities. And because the institutions and activities in C fit with the demand and value of Chinese rural society, organization C has promoted the lay movement in rural areas quickly.

Conclusion

Chinese Communist Party has established a strictly party-state system to control and limit all of the religions in contemporary China. However, a substantial new scholarly literature has been presented to identify and understand the remarkable religious revitalization occurring at the same time. This study tries to clarify how the religious organizations take advantage of the official religious regulation as protection for their survival and development with the cases of the Catholic lay movement.

The most important contribution of this paper is to reveal a developing strategy can be used in both open and underground communities in Chinese Catholic Church. Because of the special church-state relationship, the lay organizations have taken a special strategy to survive and develop in China. The local parishes, including the legal public parishes and the underground parishes which have established privity with local governments, have been the “umbrella” for the organizations to protect their activities and development. Through holding activities and recruiting local followers in these local parishes, the lay movement can be promoted by all these three organizations within a protection. This strategy is different from accommodation, negotiation, confrontation or resistance strategies taken by Catholic underground communities or protestant house churches (Bays, 2003; S.-h. Chan, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2016; Dunch, 2001; Fiedler, 2011).

On the other hand, the different characteristics of the three lay organizations make they get different level of growth. Some of the characteristics of the organizations, such as the conservative institutions, come from their own tradition completely, while others are reshaped by the church-state relationship in China. Obviously, it shows the fact that “umbrella” strategy is just the way by which the religious organizations can find room to survive and develop under the strictly regulation from the government. It's impossible for them to get rid of the intervening from the government thoroughly.

In other words, without the legal protection of religion and belief freedom, the room for the religious organizations which have taken any special strategy to survive and develop are vulnerable. It will be challenged, threatened or demolished easily while the local governments change their attitude to implement the religious regulation. Even the official religious organizations are not safe

thoroughly. The Three-self churches in which the crosses were bulldozed in Zhejiang Province in last 3 years are good examples. The new version of the *Regulations on Religious Affairs* has been implemented since February in 2018. All of the religions in China will be under a more strictly regulation and meet more challenge. To understand how the religious organizations can keep surviving while the local governments change their behavior and implement the religious regulation more strictly, sequential studies need to be done in the future.

Appendix. The Questions of Interview

I. The Interview with Core Members/Principals

Basic Information

1. When did your organization enter Mainland China?
2. When did you begin to hold religious rituals and other activities in China?

The Strategies

1. How do you cope with the regulation and pressure from the governments?
2. How do you recruit local followers?
3. How do you cope with the tension between open and underground communities in China?
4. Which community do you cooperate with, the open one, the underground one or both?
5. How do you cooperate with local parishes?
6. Have you associated with the principals of local dioceses and religious bureaus?
7. Why do you divide male and female members into different groups?
8. What's the difference in the activities between male and female groups?
9. Do you think whether the conditions for you to survive and develop in China have been changed? Why?
10. If you think the conditions have been changed, how do you think it will influence your organization in China?
11. What is your strategy to keep your organization developing in the future?

The Level of Growth

1. What is your vision of your work and how do you get the vision at the beginning?
2. How many core members of your organization are there in China?
3. How many local Chinese members are there in your organization?
4. (To A and B) Is there any local core member in your organization?
5. How many local followers have recruited?
6. What kinds of activities do you have in China?
7. Which parishes do you hold activities in China?

II. The Interview with local followers

Basic Information

1. What is your job?
2. How long have you been in the organization?

The Motivation and Access of Participation

1. How do you know the organization?

2. Why do you want to join the activities/rituals?
3. What kinds of activities/rituals have you participated in?
4. How often do you participate the activities?

The Attitude Toward the Movement

1. How do you think about the isolation between male and female groups?
2. How do you think of the organization you join in?
3. What is advantage of the organization you join in?
4. What is disadvantage of the organization you join in?

The Role in the Organization

1. Have you hosted any events in the organization?
2. Have you taken in charge of any activity/ritual?
3. Where do you hold the activities/rituals?
4. Have you been to the center?
5. Have you been trained in the local center?
6. Have you been trained in the oversea centers?
7. Do you live in the center?

III. The Interview with local priests

1. Have you ever heard of A/B/C?
2. Does A/B/C exist in your parish?
3. Why do you permit the organization stay and develop in your parish?
4. What kinds of activities/rituals does the organization hold in your parish?
5. How do you cooperate with the organization?
6. Do the organization have any positive impact in your parish?
7. Do the organization have any negative impact in your parish?
8. Do the diocese and local government know that the organization stay in your parish?
9. How do you cope with the regulation and pressure from the government?

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