

CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS LIFE IN VIETNAM - A FACTOR IN COMPLETING THE RELIGIOUS POLICY

Abstract: *The conference “Religious Life in Vietnam from 1990 to present” organized by the Institute for Religious Studies in December 2017 has led to my thinking on the reality of “transformation in religious life” over some past decades. We need to explain “what has happened in religious life in Vietnam since 1990?” and “the challenges for the renovation of religious policy” as mentioned in the instrument of the 11th and 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The key issue is whether transformation in religious life is an important factor to be considered in the improvement of the religious policy in Vietnam today.*

Keywords: *Transformation, religious life, improvement, policy, Vietnam.*

1. The theoretical basis

Firstly, this issue has been studied by researchers in many different dimensions. It needs to explore the transformation of religious life in our country under the *sociology of religion's perspective* because the change of religious life always carries meaning as a *social event*.

We also acknowledge that the transformation of religious life in modern societies is always associated with two levels: relationship between religion and society as well as religion and modernity. Since the late 1990s, many studies have mentioned this issue. For example, modern times are expressed as a series of phenomena, the process of dominating social and religious life: The respiritualization of society

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(Horx, 1999); desecularization (Berger, 1999); the return of religions (Riesebrordt, 2000); the return of gods (Graf, 2004); the deprivatization of religiousness (Casanova, 1994). Through such studies, for the first time, the same conclusions were drawn that religiousness is no longer contradicts modernity that governs viewpoints of new relationship between religion and social life.

1.1. The secularisation theory has a traditional value in our country, it dominates all approaches of the sociology of religion since pioneers like É. Durkheim and M. Weber. This theory can be experienced through the religious life of Vietnamese contemporary society in some aspects as follows:

First, in the context of modern society that European-American sociologists were worried whether religion had been marginalized. Some researchers even come to the conclusion that modernity could stagnate and degrade religion and faith, ... It seems that this happens in the opposite direction when considering religious life in Vietnam.

Second, according to the theory of Bryan Wilson (1982), in the modern society, the process of socialization and rationalization also constitutes the main factors that play a role of repulsing religion. Accordingly, the increase of autonomy and rationality led to replacement of the “metasociety” (siêu lý xã hội) for religious beliefs. This theory does not seem to have happened in Vietnam.

Third, according to Pipa Noris and Ronald Inglehart (2004), the significance of religion remains in terms of *survival security* for human beings in modern society, besides the religious needs associated with socio-economic development makes *modernization being more religious than people think*, It is interesting when researching the sociology of religion in our country today.

1.2. Theory of the market economic model

P. Berger has been a pioneer in this theory since the mid-1980s. According to him, along with the process of religious pluralism, a new situation will arise: for the first time, religion becomes more important and expanded in urban areas than in rural areas, although the latter has

been a traditional place of religion. This interesting statement, in our opinion, is also a useful and practical suggestion for studying religious life in our country in recent decades.

On the other hand, the theory of economic market of religion also has other important aspects such as: going through the period of “religious monopoly” in history, individuals recently can change their religion depending on spiritual satisfaction. We had a chance to share this statement in the series of article *Individualization of religious faith* published in the Review of Religious Studies two years ago.

1.3. The individualization theory

This theory seems to be mediating between the “secularisation theory” and “theory of the market economic model” as mentioned above. *The secularisation theory* accepted many principles and views of secularisation (the process of modernization, differentiation, division of labor, rationalization, religious pluralism, etc.) so created the macro changes in society in general. However, the individualization theory is different from the secularisation theory and more similar to the religious market theory when it views that modernity does not destroy the faith, it just changes religious patterns and state. More specifically, individualization theory has been able to explain important phenomena, a mode of existence of religion does *not necessarily dependent on a church, a place of worship and religious rituals*. Such important judgments will also dominate part of our analytical logic in the changes of religious life in Vietnam.

In summary, through applying *the three theoretical models* above, we try to show the main judgments about the current forms of religious change in Vietnam and the factors affecting the transformation there.

2. What is happening in the religious life in our country today?

Based on the views of the above theories, comparing the practice of religious life in Vietnam to answer the above important question, we indicate the following statements:

2.1. Is there a “religious awakening” in Vietnam today?

When observing on the surface, it is easy to find that since the innovation of religious policies in Vietnam (in the late 1990s), Religious activities have become bustling, social diversity has been present in the spiritual life in general. Even in the aspect of personal life and the public life, spiritual activities, beliefs, festivals as well as *the religion*(cái tôn giáo) has really returned as the famous statement of Malreaux: “the 21st century is the century of spirituality”, “religion comes out of the human mind but religious mentality returns”.

The “religious awakening” in Vietnam in recent decades shows us the following dimensions:

2.1.1. Religious demography

Since the beginning of renovation in Vietnam, the construction of the rule of law has led to a new field of *religious demography*. The states of Vietnam, from the past to present, as many subjective and objective reasons, have had few conditions for conducting population and housing surveys, in particular, the issue of religious population. The difficulty also starts from the basic question: how is a believer? Because, exception for some “institutional” religions (such as Catholicism, Protestantism, Islam), it is difficult to identify a believer for many religions in Vietnam, especially Buddhism. In recent decades, while many Northeast Asia countries, such as Korea, there have been at least three population censuses, including religious populations.

For Vietnam, the first population and housing census was conducted in 1999. We will indicate it in the information below.

2.1.2. Transformation of “religious system”

Vietnam has had a rich and long-standing religious system with three main parts as follows:

1) The indigenous religions and beliefs (corresponding to 3 levels: family, village and nation). These three levels are in association with three forms: The Ancestor Worship, the tutelary god Worship, the Cult of the nation.

2) The imported religions include *three religions* such as Confucianism- Buddhism- Taoism originated from China and India at the beginning of the AD. Catholicism has been propagated since the first half of the 16th century, Protestantism has been introduced since the early 20th century. Islamism and Hinduism have been associated with *the history of Champa kingdom* since the 10th century, they still exist until today.

3) The indigenous religions arose at the beginning of the 20th century in Nam Ky (the South) such as Caodaism (1926) and Hoa Hao Buddhism (1938). There were many other sects belonging to *the Ông Đạo movements* such as *Buu Son Ky Huong* (in the late 19th century), *Tứ Ân Hiếu Nghĩa*, *Tịnh Độ Cư Sĩ Phật Hội*, *Đạo Ông Trần*, etc.. (in the early 20th century).

From 1985 to the present, according to the research of the Institute of Religious Studies as well as of many countries in the world, there has been the emergence and development of “new religious movements” also known as strange religions, sects¹, etc.. According to incomplete statistics, by the end of the 90s of the 20th century, the number of “strange religion” was 60 denominations with many different names.

It can be said that the emergence of the fourth part, the “new religious movements” in the “religious system” in Vietnam are the first challenge of the diversity trend. We would like to add that with the initial study through a 2-year survey in Northern provinces of Vietnam (Thanh Hoa, Hanoi, Vinh Phuc and a part of Hai Phong), we show 3 comments about “strange religion” in Vietnam in the context of integration and globalization.

It is clear that the challenges of cultural identity as well as religious tradition and legal are always common in all nations before the wave of religious diversification.

2.1.3. Religion in individual life and public life

According to Kate Jellema’s research (2007), the current recovery of religions in Vietnam reflects two trends: “religious recovery” is

associated with economic integration in developing countries; the strong resurgence of spiritual life in societies that transformed from “socialism”.

In particular, Philip Taylor's research *Modernity and Re-enhancement in Post-revolutionary Vietnam* (2007) suggests many ideas on transformation of religious life in Vietnam today. According to the author, religious practices in Vietnam is a fascinating topic because: *Firstly*, there is a theory that, when society develops, religion will lose its survival. Taylor analyzed that Vietnamese religions are reviving and developing with many new trends, many changes from the viewpoint of the State, people and followers. *Secondly*, in the period of globalization, it is feared that local identity may be fade, especially in the “search for modernity”. *Thirdly*, the dominant topic of religious research in Vietnam is the relationship between religion and politics. Does the “Innovation” bring any new thing? (Taylor, 2007: 7-15).

In particular, he indicated some notable statements about the relationship between the State and religion: 1) The revival of religion is a response to the policies of the State that greatly change the economy when moving to a market economy. Religion can partly accrue as well as meet some spiritual and psychological needs of people when confronting the uncertainty of the market economy; 2) The State has the right to decide which form of religion should be removed, and which form of religion should be nurtured, encouraged and developed.

2.2. Religious market in Vietnam

In our opinion, if we apply the theory of Duong Phuong Cuong, the “religious market” in Vietnam has similarities with the one in China such as the role of the state in regulating and restructuring the “religious market”. In fact, there are two religious markets *red and gray* markets (before 2005) in Vietnam because the State of Vietnam does not deeply interfere in the internal religion, does not create the opposite of “two churches” of a religion², even though the State of Vietnam just recognized 6 major religions for a long time.

As mentioned above, the “institutionalization of religion” in the religious policies of some countries in Northeast Asia determined the formation and development of *religious markets* in this region. However, it was not a difference. Studying the history of American Protestantism in the first half of the 20th century, there were also the “secret churches”. A reference book about the Protestant denominations in the United States showed that: “A fairly common arrangement in newspapers of major cities helped us “classify” the situation of secret churches. For example, there are subtitles to show those hidden organizations in the main section titled *Methodist* or *Baptist*. People can find the United Methodist Church, African Methodist Episcopal Church and Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in the item “Methodist”. The African Methodist Episcopal Church and Christian Methodist Episcopal Church belonged to secret congregations”³.

Going back to *the current religious market* in the Northeast Asia, in fact, it happened quite early in Korea where it was essentially a multi-religious society like China or Vietnam. The concept of “*religious market*” has appeared earlier in this country. The book *Modern Korean Society* commented: “As a multi-religious society, Korea basically ensures the religious freedom. Because the religious freedom is guaranteed, many religions coexist so each individual can choose the satisfied religion in the “religious market” as being able to freely choose goods in the supermarket”⁴.

In short, the religious life in Vietnam is similar in the current years. When people are able to choose the forms of spirituality, faith and religion, the religious market will appear.

2.3. “Religious reconfiguration”: character of the transformation of religious life in Vietnam at present.

2.3.1. The concept of “religious reconfiguration”

This new concept is being applied by many Asian scholars in the study of modernity and religious life.

In my opinion, the religious reconfiguration means restructuring of the internal world of each religion and the transformation of the

religion's structure that leads to the transformation of its modes of presence in social life and legal in accordance with the religious market that has changed and the logic of religions has also been transformed.

The author would like to explain the fundamental transformation of *the religion* in Vietnam at present and its legal consequences in the analysis below under the pointview of sociology of religion.

In addition, when the religious reconfiguration occurs, it also means that the religious life in that country has to encounter the problems of modernity, as well as explain the implications of the diversity trend. In the case of religious life in Vietnam, it should be mentioned that the role of the state is extremely decisive.

How the reconfiguration of the current religious life in Vietnam leads to religious and social consequences? I will show some basic expressions as follows:

2.3.2. The first impact: Religious demography dimension

This is the most recognizable consequence of religious reconfiguration in Vietnam in recent years.

According to published religious data in 2001, Vietnam had 15 million followers with six recognized religions. This number was changed rapidly in 2003, for the first time, the Government Committee for Religious Affairs announced the number of 20 million followers (Buddhists: from 7 million to 10 million; Protestants: 50 thousand; Caodaists: 2.4 million, Catholics: relatively stable with 5.7 million, etc..). The religious demography in Vietnam has dramatically changed over the past 2 or 3 years such the number of recognized religions has increased by the State with 14 religions and 39 religious organizations.

The statistics of religions in February 2011.

Table 1. Religion statistics in Vietnam in early 2011

Numerical order	Name of religious organizations	Number of followers	Number of dignitaries	Number of places of worship	Notes
1	Buddhism	10.000.000	42.000	15.500	Protestantism: 2.000 groups
2	Catholicism	6.100.000	20.000	6.000	

3	Protestantism	1.500.000	3.000	500	were recognized their activities and 10 organizations were recognized; dignitaries were mainly self-appointed.
4	Caodaism	2.471.000	12.722	1.331	
5	Hoa Hao Buddhism	1.260.000	2.579	39	
6	Islam	72.732	700	77	
7	Baha'i	7.000			
8	Tứ Ân Hiếu Nghĩa	70.000	409	78	
9	Bửu Sơn Kỳ Hương	15.000		19	
10	Tịnh độ Cư sĩ Phật hội	1.500.000	4.800	206	
11	Phật đường Minh sư đạo	11.124	300	54	
12	Minh lý Tam tông miếu	1.058	72	04	
13	Brahmanism	54.068	158	37	

Source: Government Committee for Religious Affairs, 2011.

Comments:

First, although Vietnam is really a multi-religious society, it is still a society with a majority of “no religion” people (about 70%). So far, the religious population has increased rapidly from 1999 to present (at the time of 1999, this rate was still at 75%).

Second, Protestantism has a sudden growth.

Third, the religious demography dimension has shown the religious reconfiguration: in public opinion, the word “religion” just indicated 6 religions, now that number is 14⁵ (excluding there have been 39 recognized religious organizations).

Fourth, the religious Census in Vietnam did not reflect the diversity of religious life in the family, the correlation among religions in terms of religious geography, etc.,

The number of Buddhists is still an issue. There are many different figures. For example, the website specializing in tourism named Vietnam Paradise Travel said that 70% of the Vietnamese population is Buddhist or strongly influenced by Buddhist practices. Many documents of the Buddhist Shanga of Vietnam stated that there are about 20 million Buddhists in Vietnam today. Vietnamese newspapers recently announced the intention of “giving followers’ card” to Buddhists throughout the country.

Fifth, the religious geography.

An important observation about the current religious geography in Vietnam through the above figures: 1/The South Vietnam is the focus of religious issues, at least the demography dimension; 2/ with three major religions such as Buddhism, Catholicism and Protestantism, the South are still the focus of these religions.

It is noteworthy that the migration to the South after the Geneva Agreement (in July 1954) is a milestone of changing the religious geography in Vietnam. It was nearly 80,000 Catholics, many Buddhist and Protestants dignitaries migrated to the South. In recent years, Protestantism has religious geography change: the Central Highlands and a part of the North West have become the centers of “Vietnamese Protestant”, beside the Southern Delta region.

2.3.3. The second impact: reconfiguration of the “religious market”

Before 2005, *the religion*, in other words, a religious system in Vietnam was considered as the presence of six major religions. With the recognition of the State, religions and religious organizations as mentioned above, the reconfiguration of the religious market in Vietnam took place with the following characteristics.

Firstly, the recognition of more new religions led the religious system in Vietnam to the first change: the indigenous, small-group religions with local characteristics were recognized such as Tu An Hieu Nghia, Buu Son Ky Huong, Phat duong Minh Su Dao, Minh Ly Tam Tong Mieu, etc.,

Secondly, among the new recognized religions, there are religions that are considered as “new religions” according to the Science of religions’ criterion, the case of Baha’i religion which was difficult to be recognized.

Thirdly, the “recognized” religious system in Vietnam further clarifies the characteristics of religious geography: the South, the Central Highlands and the Southern Central Coast are the densest areas of religion in Vietnam.

2.3.4. The third impact: restructuring within each religion

The change of religious reconfiguration affected unequally the structure of each religion. This change is especially important for the case of Protestantism in China.

In recent years, Protestantism also represents the impact of the State's role in "institutionalizing" religion that created a rich and typical internal restructuring of this religion. Before 2007, the concept of "Protestantism" with the majority of Vietnamese people was just two churches of the same origin: The Evangelical Church of Vietnam (North), No. 2, Ngo Tram street, Hanoi, recognized in 1957 and the Evangelical Church of Vietnam (South), recognized in 2001, No. 155, Tran Hung Dao, Ho Chi Minh City⁶.

Continuing the innovation policy on religion, in the last 3 years, the authorities and the religious affairs of Vietnam have recognized 9 denominations:

1. Vietnam Christian Mission (2007)
2. Christian Fellowship Church of Vietnam (2007)
3. The Vietnam Seventh-day Adventist Church (2008)
4. The Vietnam Baptist Convention (2008)
5. The Vietnam Presbyterian Church (2008)
6. The Vietnam Baptist Society (Southern Baptist) (2008)
7. The Vietnam Pentecostal Church (2009)
8. Vietnam Jehovah's Witnesses Church (2009)
9. Vietnam Mennonite Church (2009)

I emphasized the concept of "Protestantism in Vietnam" has really changed when mentioning that event. According to the sociology of religion's language, there has been a reconfiguration that reflected the diversity of this religion.

In the legal aspect, the Directive 01 (2005), with the policy of "package recognition", has opened up an unprecedented ability of legal status of all Protestant denominations, it was no longer just the

story of the Protestant C&MA (an 100 year-old “orthodox Protestant denomination”).

Generally, the Vietnamese Protestantism is similar to their brothers from many continents, many regions at present. It needs to mention that, in recent decades, there has been a “restructuring within the Protestant world”⁷ in the world. In my opinion, the contemporary protestant world is tending to gradually increase type of evangelical Protestant and Pentecostal Protestant. It is also progressively reduce the role of the Protestant which has become obsolete in the modernization process. In addition, the Protestant world in Vietnam primarily belongs to evangelical Protestants system which has undergone a fundamental change in internal restructuring as well as its presence in social life, in relation to the State and the nation.

The author just mentioned this impact on Protestantism because of the change of this religion in the last two decades. It can be considered as one of the most prominent religious phenomena. For many other religions, among the new recognized religions, they are imprinted by internal restructuring. For example, many religions belonged to “small group religion” such as *Phật đường Minh sư đạo*, *Minh Lý Tam Tông Miếu* or *Baha’i religion*, with a small number of followers, however, their social presence has had a great change (both social and legal dimension) after being recognized.

3. Challenges to “complete the religious policy”

3.1. The relationship between the State and churches in the transformation of religious life

3.1.1. The change in the nature of the relationship

As an Eastern country, located in the “square literary civilization”, the traditional relation between religions and the State in Vietnam has many similarities with China and other countries in the region. Generally, the State used to stand on religion, the state used religion as a political, ideological, cultural and moral tool to build the country. Of course, there were periods where religious factors also became the causes of conflict, especially since the mid-19th century when the

wave of colonialism spread to Vietnam. However, the religious harmony, the harmony between religion and ethnicity basically retained. In recent decades, after the policy of reforming the country, there has been a strong innovation in religious policies (since the late 1990s) in order to build the political institutions towards the Socialist rule-of-law state which led to a significant change in the nature of the relationship mentioned above.

3.1.2. Legal challenges

In previous years of renovation, religious law in Vietnam has established important foundations since the late 1950s. In previous studies, we have affirmed that the Vietnamese State has chosen the third model, *the secular state model prioritizes diversity*, which is basically right and appropriate⁸. We also commented that, before 2005, in the process of building the secular state model, Vietnam had “a legal debt” when recognizing 6 major religions, for subjective and objective reasons, has overlooked the legal aspect “respect for the remaining religions”. *The Directive 01 (2005)* basically compensated for that gap.

In terms of the current legal issue, how will the recognized religious organizations (with two levels of “legal person” and of “being registered for activities”) happen? The number of recognized religions is the number n in arithmetic. There have been debates, the number of recognized religions is many or appropriate number?. In my opinion, the “religious reconfiguration” has shown that the selection of a religious diversity model led the State’s acceptance of the number n as mentioned above. The problem is that the legal rights, the presence of these religious organizations as well as dealing with the “remaining religions” in accordance with the chosen model. They are the decisive issues.

3.1.3. The issue “religious natural person” and “religious legal person”

As mentioned above, along with the implications of the “reconfiguration of religious life”, the State has played an important role in *institutionalizing religious organizations*, then the new legal

issues have been immediately posed to recognized religious organizations (2 levels: “legal person” and “being registered”).

This issue has been resolved in Vietnam when the authorities exchanged, corrected and supplemented *the Decree 22* with *the Decree 92* on guiding the implementation of *the Ordinance on Religion and Belief* (2004), at the same time drafting, amending and supplementing to raise *the Ordinance on Belief and Religion* to *the Law on Belief and Religion* passed by the National Assembly on November 18, 2017.

This is an important legal aspect for organizations as well as religions. It is also closely related to the recognition of religious organizations.

Generally, the international law has a clear distinction between natural person and legal person, it means that the two rights holders are usually protected by the state for the rights of individuals in society and associations- societies or unions recognized by law with sufficient legal status to be the subject of interests.

Moreover, legal persons consist of many types. For the religious organizations, they belong to the field of judicial person. The main types of legal person often include: societies such as civil societies, trade associations, associations, which are characterized by non-profit, targeted at cultural, religious and charitable goals.

In the practice of religious life in Vietnam, especially before 2005, many religious organizations and followers of unrecognized religions (basically belonged to the gray market as analysed above) used to the religious natural person rights, had religious practices and activities at home or in the community with limited legal rights.

The current problem whether the 14 recognized religious organizations have consistency between natural person and legal person rights. It is noteworthy that for most of religious organizations in Vietnam, although they are recognized, they do not really have rights of a religious legal person. The simple reason is that the legal system, the laws related to religious life (especially the Civil Code),

does not have a specified place for religious organizations. Or in the Education Law, it just allow the religious organizations to operate in the field of “pre-school education”.

In my opinion, resolving the relationship between the natural person and the legal person in religious law in Vietnam is one of the most important legal issues.

Those are some legal issues of religious life in Vietnam when it is “reconfigured”. Of course there are other issues, this article cannot afford to mention.

Conclusion

1. In recent years, the religious life in Vietnam has met the conditions to appear a “religious market”, it is similar to many countries in the region. As a country where religious diversity has been manifested in many dimensions. Along with the transformation of the market economy, the opening of integration as well as the renovation of the religious policies, the “religious awakening” in Vietnam has been showed clearly in the spiritual life of individuals and communities. The emergence of the “religious market” is inevitable, it also creates the ability for a part of Vietnamese from urban to rural region, from delta to highland to choose their religion. It is also a chance to convert in recent years.

2. Renovation of religious policy, especially the expansion of the recognition of religions as well as religious organizations - objectively created a “institutionalization of religion”- contributed to create a phenomenon of “reconfiguring” religious life. This important religious event has opened two dimensions: *first*, for many religions, there has been an internal restructuring, changing the world of these religions, typically the case of Protestantism; *second*, on the macro level, the “reconfiguration” has made *the religion* also fundamentally change.

The legal concept of *the religion* is expanded that make the presence of religion in society as well as the political, cultural, social relations with religion also become diverse and more complicated.

3. Reconfiguration of the religious life also leads to new impacts, even challenges for the legal system related to religion. Perhaps, this is the time when the State should continue to have more profound and comprehensive solutions in many legal areas related to the perfection of a secular state model, the procedure to recognize religious organizations or generally it needs to have a *law on religious legal person (Luật Pháp nhân tôn giáo)*. However, these are challenges of development, of the religious policy renovation. On the other hand, there are opportunities such as religious policies that the 11th and 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam have indicated./.

NOTES:

- 1 Survey of the Institute of Religious Studies in 2001-2002 on “new religious phenomenon” in the Northern provinces and Do Quang Hung’s workshop report: “New religious phenomenon”- Some theoretical and practical issues, Review of Religious Studies, No.5, 2001.(Tạp chí Nghiên cứu Tôn giáo).
- 2 The example of the *Decree 234 on religion* of Ho Chi Minh government’s in 1955, which clearly stated that for the Vietnamese Catholics, the Government fully respects their relationship with the Vatican.
- 3 *Handbook of Denominations in the United State*, Abingdon Press, 1995: 28.
- 4 *Modern Korean Society*, Seoul National University, translated, published by Publishing house of National University, Hanoi, 2008: 185.
- 5 Chu Thanh Vân, *Religious policies of Vietnam changed dramatically, more freedom*, <https://www.vietnamplus.vn/chinh-sach-ton-giao-o-viet-nam-thay-doi-manh-me-ngay-cang-tu-do/388720.vnp>, update ngày 31/5/2016.
- 6 J.P. Willaime, *Le Vietnam au défi de la diversité protestante*, Social Compass, N°. September, 2010.
- 7 J.P. Willaime, *Les recompositions internes au monde protestant: protestantisme “etabli” et protestantisme “évangélique”*. La globalisation du religieux, J.P. Bastian, F.Champion và K. Rousselet, ed. L’Harmattan, Paris, 2001:71-182.
- 8 In recent years, after more than a hundred years of building this model, Europeans have “summed up” 4 possible models of the secular state as follows: Ethno-religion model for the Northern Europe countries with Protestantism, Italia, Spain, Portugal with Catholicism, Greek with Orthodox. In these countries, the State recognizes and relies on a mainstream religion but still respects the other religions.
Religious civil model for countries implementing religious values integrates into civil society (the United States for example).
The model of religious diversity (pluralisme) gives a lot of priority to the diversity of religions as well as legal status with an expansion for religions (Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, ...)

Laïcité, the most special model, typically France, in which the state does not "recognize" any religion, all religions must practice secular morality (moral laïque). (J. Bauberot, *Religion and modernity, secular institutions and secularization in the crisis of modernity in Europe*, Paris, 2005).

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