学位申請論文

Yiguan Dao in Thailand: A New Religious Organization in Contemporary Thai Buddhist World

タイにおける一貫道

―現代タイ仏教世界における新宗教団体―

林　育生

LIN, Yu-sheng

2017 年 3 月

博士（地域研究）

学位申請論文

Yiguan Dao in Thailand: A New Religious Organization in Contemporary Thai Buddhist World

タイにおける一貫道

―現代タイ仏教世界における新宗教団体―

林　育生

LIN, Yu-sheng

京都大学大学院アジア・アフリカ地域研究研究科

2017 年 3 月

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Prof. Tatsuki Kataoka, for the continuous support for my Ph.D study and related research, and for his immense knowledge and patience with many of my immature ideas. His guidance helped me throughout the period of research and writing of this thesis, and was particuarly valuable for an overseas student studying in a foreign country. In addition, I also enjoyed each of the nomikais I had with him. There would have been no thesis without those inspiring nomikais.

Apart from my advisor, I would like to thank the rest of my thesis committee: Prof. Yoko Hayami, Prof. Hiromu Shimizu, and Prof. Yoshihide Sakurai, for their insightful comments and encouragement, but also for the difficult questions they raised that inspired me to widen my research from various perspectives. In addition, I would also like to express my gratitude to Prof. Julius Bautista, for his challenging but inspiring questions that helped me to clarify my research.

My sincere thanks also go to Prof. Yoshifumi Tamada, who guided me with both Thai readings and Japanese sake, with particular thanks for the sake sessions, wherein I learned a lot from different Thai scholars. I also thank Prof. Pinit Lapthananon (Chulalongkorn University) and Ms. Suparat Tubcharoen (National Research Council of Thailand), who helped me conduct my fieldwork in Thailand.

I thank all the Yiguan Dao members who I met in Thailand. Without all the kind treatment and trust that was extended to me, I would not have been able to learn so much from the dear dhamma relatives. I would like to thank Ms. Peingchan Suktemdee particularly, for her warmth and thoughtful understanding during my stay in Thailand. Without her and all the other Yiguan Dao members, I would not have had the opportunity to learn about this intriguing world.

I also thank all of my fellow labmates for the stimulating discussions and friendly atmosphere during the university days. I particularly thank Mr. Thawatchai Worrakittimalee and Ms. Miku Takeguchi for their valuable friendship. Without their companionship, I would not have been able to experience many things and finish this thesis.

I would also like to express my gratitude for the different kinds of financial support that I received from different foundations. First, I am indebted to the scholarship from Japan-Taiwan Exchange Association for supporting my life in Japan. I would like to thank the Center for On-Site Education and Research in Kyoto University and the Kyoto University Foundation for supporting my fieldwork and presentations in overseas conferences. Finally, I have to thank the Center for the Study of Chinese Religions National Chengchi University, Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange, and Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies Academia Sinica for the financial and material support they provided during the writing period of this thesis. Without the funding and support they provided, it would have been impossible to finish my study and this thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, my parents, and my sister, for their understanding and the support they extended for all of my decisions.

The valuable comments and criticism provided by my advisor, thesis committee, colleagues, and friends, and help from Thai institutions, Yiguan Dao members, and my family have been crucial for writing this thesis. However, despite the various kinds of support I have received, I am singlehandedly responsible for the conclusions in this study and any misunderstanding or errors.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Photos

Abstract

Yiguan Dao (I-Kuan Tao, or in Thai, *Anuttaratham*) 一貫道 is a folk religious group that has developed rapidly in Thailand in the past decades. Although it is a prominent religious phenomenon in Thailand that warrants scholarly attention, there is almost no academic research on this topic.

Literatures on Yiguan Dao in Southeast Asia focus on its relationship with overseas Chinese communities and Chineseness, and Yiguan Dao members tend to use similarity with Thai Buddhism to explain its development in Thailand. However, those suppositions are not suitable for Yiguan Dao in Thailand both phenomenally and theoretically. On the one hand, there are a number of non-Chinese Yiguan Dao members in Thailand. On the other hand, it supposes the openness of Thai Buddhism and cultural continuity of religious change. Instead of considering Yiguan Dao in Thailand as a "Chinese religion" or extension of Thai Buddhism, I argue that we should perceive it as a new religious organization in Thailand, and focus on the dynamic relationship among Yiguan Dao, Thai Buddhism, and Thai society in terms of members' agency.

Most scholars tend to use syncretism or hybridization to comprehend the relationship between Thai Buddhism and various religious practices in Thailand (Kirsch 1977; Terwiel 1994; Swearer 1995; Tambiah 1970). Some scholars criticize this view and indicate a more all-inclusive view of "religious repertoire" (McDaniel 2011) or complementary view between Thai Buddhism and other religious practices (O'Connor 1993; Kataoka 2014, 2015). However, those views are usually a description of the change in structure itself, but seldom an explanation of it. Instead, I argue that we should adopt a competitive view to understand Yiguan Dao in the Thai religious market. In Thailand, although Yiguan Dao is not recognized as a religion by the state administratively, few regulations are imposed by the Thai government.

Instead, it faces attacks and criticism from the critics who adhere to the Thai Buddhist views. In response to such critics, Yiguan Dao members create various discourses and practices to map out their location in relation to Buddhism in the Thai religious market. Moreover, among various religious practices and groups in Thailand, the widely distributed segmented organization structure of Yiguan Dao offers support for members with high mobility or those who are excluded from his/her family or community. It also offers its female members more opportunities for seeking religiosity in comparison with other religious practices limited by the restrictions on women in Thai Theravada Buddhism.

Regarding Thai religion and Thai society, some scholars adopt the secularist view and argue for the "individualization" of religious practices in Thailand (O'Connor 1993; Taylor 1990). However, I argue that religious organizations such as Yiguan Dao in Thailand are not as "individualized" as they indicate. Although Yiguan Dao provides salvation for personal problems and can exhibit the freedom of choice in the Thai religious market rather than the ascribed one, it also offers a worldview related with order and discipline for members to define themselves and the modern world that faces the problem of "communal dislocations." Moreover, with the modified concept of "merit," that is, making others members in order to build an advanced self and a reasonable world, members do not focus only on their own personal religious practices but the concerns of others as well. Related to those concepts, Yiguan Dao in Thailand form trans-regional networks for members' interactions and security in the modern Thai society, particularly for women's solidarity in the changing period. In other words, different from traditional territory-based Buddhism or individualized urban religious practices, Yiguan Dao is developing in a niche in the Thai religious market as a new religious group forming new communities for its members.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Yiguan Dao (I-Kuan Tao,[1] or *Anuttaratham* in Thai) 一貫道 is a folk religious group that emerged in China at the beginning of the 20th century. In the 1950s, it was banned by the Chinese Communist government; subsequently, most of the sect moved to Taiwan where it gradually developed. Beginning in the 1970s, it began to spread outside Taiwan, particularly to Southeast Asia. In 2009, there were more than 7000 Yiguan Dao Buddha halls[2] all over Thailand, and more than 200 thousand people performed the initiation rituals each year (Sung 2010[1983]).[3] However, although a prominent religious phenomenon in Thailand, almost no academic research has been conducted on this topic so far.

In Southeast Asia, most scholars indicate the connection between Chinese

[1] In most academic writings, scholars use the term "Yiguan Dao" to describe this group. However, mainstream Yiguan Dao groups in Taiwan use the term "I-Kuan Tao" by themselves as their official English name. In Thailand, members use either the transliterated term "Yiguan Dao" or the Thai term "*anuttaratham,*" which means the Truth without limit. In this study, I use the general academic term "Yiguan Dao" to refer to this group.

[2] Yiguan Dao members call the place they perform their worship, events, and gathering Buddha halls (*fotang* in Mandarin, or *hongphra* in Thai). Because of this, sometimes, Buddhists criticize Yiguan Dao members who use the name of Buddha to deceive others. Sometimes, Yiguan Dao members call it Dao places (*daochang* in Mandarin, or *sathantham* in Thai)

[3] About the number of Yiguan Dao members in Thailand, there is no exact information. As I will show in later chapters, on the one hand, Yiguan Dao is not recognized as a "religion" in Thailand, and therefore, there are no statistics from the Thai government. On the other hand, there are many groups and subgroups in Yiguan Dao without a strong center recording the information of each group. It is difficult to determine the number of Yiguan Dao members in Thailand. In Sung's revised book in 2010, he mentioned that more than 200 thousand people perform the initiation rituals and become Yiguan Dao members in Thailand each year without indicating any clear source for this information. When I talked with a senior master of Fayi Chongde group in 2014, he said that before the founding of the Association of Yiguan Dao in Thailand in 2000 for Fayi Chongde group, around 50-60 thousand people would perform the initiation rituals and become Yiguan Dao members in Thailand each year. Following this, the number increased to more than 100 thousand people each year. The other source of information is the Yuanxin subgroup of Fayi Lingyin group. In the upper northeastern Thailand part, which is the most successful part of this subgroup, approximately 100 thousand people perform the initiation rituals and have become Yiguan Dao members until 2014 with around 4000 people each year. However, among those new recruits, only around 10 thousand members attend the three-day seminars, and only 1100-1200 members take the all-life vegetarian vows (*qingkou* in Mandarin). For the lower northeastern Thailand part, 21273 people pass the initiation rituals and become Yiguan Dao members by 2013. However, only 2503 new recruits attend the three-day seminars, and only 317 members take all-life vegetarian vows.

religious groups and ethnic Chinese migrants. For example, De-Jiao 德教 is connected with Chinese migrants from Teochiu (Yoshihara 1997; Formoso 2010; Huang 2011). The Way of Former Heaven 先天道 is based on female Chinese migrants from Guangdong (Topley 1963; Shiga 2010). Tzuchi 慈濟, which is mainly connected with ethnic Chinese migrants from Taiwan, became associated with the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia and other regions (Huang 2009). Yiguan Dao, the "Chinese religious group," which I discuss here, has been considered by former studies to be primarily connected with Taiwanese businessmen in Southeast Asia (Shiga 2010:161) or ethnic Chinese migrants (Sung 1997; Soo 2003; Lim 2012; Shen 2015). However, unlike in these countries, most Yiguan Dao members in Thailand are not ethnic Chinese. As Yiguan Dao in the Thai context is independent of a connection to the Chinese diaspora, it warrants scholarly attention.

On the other hand, most Yiguan Dao members consider the continuity with Thai Buddhism as the reason for its rapid development in Thailand. This argument has two suppositions. First, it supposes the cultural continuity of religious change. The other supposition is the openness of Thai Buddhism. However, those arguments primarily focus on the contents of religious structure itself, while overlooking the agency of its actors. Moreover, if there is no difference between Yiguan Dao and Thai Buddhism, there is no need for members to change their affiliation from Thai Buddhism to Yiguan Dao. Therefore, instead of taking Yiguan Dao as an extension or one syncretic factor of Thai Buddhism, I argue that we should focus on the dynamic relationship between Yiguan Dao and Thai Buddhism.

Instead of the relation with Chinese diaspora and continuity with Thai Buddhism, in this study, I wish to show how Yiguan Dao, as a new religion reappearing in Thailand since the 1970s, competes and negotiates with the Thai Buddhism practiced by its members under the context of social and religious change in contemporary Thailand. On the one hand, the adoption of Yiguan Dao in Thailand

should be discussed in the context of social change in Thailand itself, particularly that of the change in social relations due to economic development. On the other hand, Yiguan Dao members use discourses and practices to map out their location in the competitive "Thai Buddhist world." In other words, in this study, I reveal how Yiguan Dao and its members interact with Thai Buddhism to map out their location in the religious market on the one hand, and reveal how its members form networks and provide mutual support in contrast to Thai Sangha Buddhism under the contemporary mobile Thai society on the other hand.

Yiguan Dao and Chinese Cultural Revival in Southeast Asia

Most studies on Yiguan Dao focus on its history and its development in Taiwan. In Liu's (2014) review of studies on Yiguan Dao in Taiwan, she points out that most literatures are master theses undertaken by Yiguan Dao members, focusing on its general view, history and development, classics and teachings, religious experience and life, education, organization and institution, rituals, and cultural symbols. She indicates that most of the studies by Yiguan Dao members aim at clearing up misunderstandings about Yiguan Dao from academic or social communities in Taiwan (ibid. 205-206). The majority of studies mostly resemble propaganda based on members' views without much context and academic discussion (ibid. 219-220). Therefore, Yiguan Dao outside Taiwan is seldom the topic of those studies.

Studies on Yiguan Dao outside China and Taiwan were few in the past, but scholars began to pay attention to its development in different areas in recent years. However, except few studies such as Yiguan Dao in Nepal and UK (Chang 2007; Yang 2015), most studies reveal its relationship with ethnic Chinese and its Chinese cultural revival function. Seiwert (1981) argues that the traditionalism of Yiguan Dao is the religious response to modernization in Taiwan. The emphasis on the Chinese culture of Yiguan Dao becomes the symbol of cultural identity in the face of moral

degeneracy due to western influences. In Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia, scholars also indicate its relationship with ethnic Chinese and Chinese cultural revival function (Tsai 1996; Sung 1997; Soo 2003; Wu 2011; Lim 2012; Shi 2014; Shen 2015). In Singapore, under the environment of rationalization and ethnic identity and state policy of Asian Values, most Yiguan Dao members are ethnic Chinese, and most groups attend secular activities, such as charity activities or Chinese cultural promotion (Wu 2011; Lim 2012). In Indonesia, under the looser regulation in post-Suharto period, Yiguan Dao forms a different coherence of its Chinese members from other Chinese associations and the Confucian Church 孔教 (Shen 2015).[4] The research on Yiguan Dao in Vancouver, Canada also reveals that most of its members are first-generation Chinese migrants, but few are second-generation or westerners. Clart (2000) argues that it is not only because of the language gap, but also because of the cultural factors. The selling point of Yiguan Dao is its Chineseness, which needs to be "inculturated" to attract members with different backgrounds instead of only Chinese migrants. In sum, although under different contexts of modernization, rationalization, democratization, and migration, most members of Yiguan Dao are ethnic Chinese, and promotion of Chinese culture is the focus or function of its teachings and practices.

A number of studies have discussed connecting overseas "Chinese religion" with ethnic Chinese or Chinese identity in Southeast Asia. However, most of those studies are affected by scholars' preferences and concern for the Cold War period. For example, many scholars indicate that researchers of Southeast Asian studies in Taiwan are inclined to undertake "Chinese Studies" in this area (Yang 1983, Chang 1997, Lim and Lin 2008, Chen 2013). Their preferred research topics include Chinese identity, Chinese education, and economic influences, which are extensions of overseas Chinese affairs (Wang 2002, Chen 2013). They usually "study those Chinese

[4] Shen (2015) indicates that although members of Yiguan Dao and Confucian Church in Indonesia are primarily ethnic Chinese, most members of the Confucian Church are indigenous Chinese, who could not read or speak Chinese, and use Chinese Classics translated to Malay as their teachings.

communities as independent communities outside from their host society" (Yeh 1993: 81). They often overlook the wide-ranged context and structure, and lack concern about their interaction with other ethnic groups or cultures (Chen 1990, Yeh 1993, Wu 2003, Dai 2011[1974]). On the other hand, under the historical context of the Cold War period, because of the confrontation with communist China, western scholars, particularly those from the US, also focus on overseas Chinese identities (Koizumi 2006). For example, beginning from the classic study on Chinese in Thailand by Skinner (1957), many studies on the topic have focused on their identities and assimilation in the Thai society (Coughlin 1960, Tong and Chan 2001). Therefore, they usually consider Chinese religion to be no more than the tool for maintaining their Chinese identity and overlook the interactions or symbiotic relationship between Chinese religions and other religions (Kataoka 2012, 2014, 2015). In other words, although under different contexts of overseas Chinese affairs and Cold War contexts, scholars are inclined to focus on Chinese identities, and overlook the interactions and relations with the host society or culture.

However, I argue that this research orientation of Chinese identity is not suitable for Yiguan Dao in Thailand both theoretically and phenomenally. Theoretically speaking, due to factors discussed above, most studies on Yiguan Dao in Southeast Asia seldom offer new theoretical aspects. Most scholars argue about its role in Chinese cultural revival, particularly in Malaysia, Singapore, or Indonesia (Sung 1997; Soo 2003; Lim 2012; Shen 2015). This argument is no different from its cultural revival function in Taiwan (Seiwert, 1981; Sung 2003, 2010). In other words, connecting Chinese religious groups with Chinese identities continues to be a copy of the images of overseas Chinese affairs, and limits the theoretical scope of research on Yiguan Dao or Chinese religion outside Taiwan or China.

Phenomenally speaking, it is also difficult to explain the development of Yiguan Dao via this research orientation of Chinese identity. There are two special points of

Yiguan Dao in Thailand that require attention. The first, as I described above, is that it is different from Yiguan Dao in Malaysia, Singapore, or Indonesia, with ethnic Chinese members not necessarily being the majority. Moreover, except some ritual languages, members usually use Thai as their communicating language. The other point is that although Yiguan Dao was disseminated into Thailand via two routes since the 1950s (one is from Yunnan via Burma, the other is from Hong Kong), it did not spread widely until the 1970s, when Yiguan Dao groups from Taiwan initiated missions to Thailand (Mu 2002, Sung 2010[1983]). Because of "non-Chinese members" and "time lag of development," it is difficult to explain its dissemination and development within Thailand by its Chinese identity.

In sum, although most studies on Yiguan Dao in Southeast Asia indicate that its development is related with ethnic Chinese, it is theoretically unproductive and phenomenally unsuitable to explain its development in Thailand using this orientation of Chinese identity. I argue that we should consider Yiguan Dao as a new religion appearing in Thailand in the changing economic and social context. Yiguan Dao in Thailand is not an independent "Chinese religion" of "ethnic Chinese" outside the Thai social and cultural context, but is influenced by the changing Thai social environment and interacts with other cultural and religious scenes, particularly Thai Buddhism.

Theorizing Syncretism and Religious Change in Thailand

Rather than the Chinese identity, when asked about why Thai people adopt Yiguan Dao, Yiguan Dao members usually claim that its development in Thailand is "because Thai are Buddhists." However, this answer has two suppositions. First, it supposes the openness of Thai Buddhism. Additionally, the other supposition is the cultural continuity of religious change.

Different from the uni-linear rapid change of Christian conversion,[5] changes in Asian religions usually take the shape of syncretism or hybridization. As discussed above, scholars use syncretism or hybridization to explain the openness of Thai Buddhism (Kirsch 1977; Terwiel 1994; Swearer1995; Tambiah 1970; Aoki 1974; Pattana 2005), particularly under the post-modern context due to political or economic change in Thailand (Jackson 1999; Taylor 1999). However, concepts of syncretism or hybridization are usually no more than a description of the change of the structure itself, but seldom an explanation for it. It is difficult to explain why specific religious factors are accepted but not others. Furthermore, the changes in the cultural or religious structure itself do not mean that all individual agents could accept all of them. Many scholars indicate these differences between the change of religious structure and individual agency as well (Hefner 1993: 14-18; Wallace 2003). In Thailand, McDaniel (2011) uses the term "repertoire" to distinguish it from the individual religious practices. Therefore, instead of taking syncretism or hybridization of religious structure itself as a phenomenon, we should pay more attention to this syncretism as discourse or cultural politics (Shaw and Stewart 1994), and analyze how members manipulate them in the context of religious change.

When we use "Thai are Buddhists" to explain Yiguan Dao's development in Thailand, it supposes not only the openness of Thai Buddhism, but also cultural continuity. In contrast to this assumption, I argue that we should consider the relationship between Thai Buddhism and Yiguan Dao more carefully, and not simply jump into their continuity. On the one hand, we should examine the influences of the

[5] Anthropological studies on Christian conversion develop between the two extremes of cultural cognition and social structure. Dispute over religious change, or conversion, in the 1960s, is also related to this. After Horton (1971) advocated the model of "African conversion" when studying conversion to Christianity or Islamism in Africa, many studies on conversion or religious changes after Horton also emphasize intellectualism or cognitive change (Geertz 1973; Horton 1975; Horton and Peel 1976). On the other hand, in contrast to the change of religions themselves, many studies on religious change or conversion criticize Horton's view and place more emphasis on external pressure factors such as social structures (Fisher 1973; Ifeka-Moller 1974; Comaroff 1985). However, regardless of whether the views of cultural cognition or social structure are adopted, these studies usually take religious change or conversion as a uni-linear process, but overlook the more complicated or interactive process of religious change (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 1997; Robbins 2004).

political and economic changes in Thailand. On the other hand, we should consider it as an interactive process and pay more attention to members' discourse and practices of how they locate Yiguan Dao in relation to Thai Buddhism.

Social and Religious Change in Thailand: Secularization, States, and Religious Markets

Religious Secularization in Thailand

Instead of considering Yiguan Dao in Thailand as a "Chinese" religion or continuity of Thai Buddhism, I argue that we should consider it as a new religious group appearing in Thailand in the changing political and economic context. That is, we should not consider Yiguan Dao as an independent group outside the Thai social and cultural context, but as a group that continues negotiating and competing within Thai religious markets through its members.

In Thailand, we observed that some scholars use perspectives similar to western secularization theory to explain the flourishing religious practices outside established Buddhism. O'Connor (1993) argues that the institutionalization and centralization of Thai Buddhist Sangha made religious practices outside Thai Buddhist Sangha more active, and religious practices became increasingly independent from institutions such as Thai Buddhist temples, and increasingly individualized. According to O'Connor, in the past, local temples could satisfy various local needs and have diverse functions. However, after the institutionalization and centralized reform of Thai Buddhist Sangha, the functions of Thai Buddhist temples became limited. Therefore, people stayed away from Thai temples, but this made the religious practices outside Thai Buddhist temples more active. As a result, the relationship of people with temples (*wat*) or communities became weaker, and religious practices became more individualized. Consequently, the Thai society became no more than the sum of many

individuals, but not one community (O'Connor 1993: 336-337). O'Connor uses the example of charismatic monks and amulet cults to explain his argument.

Taylor (1990) uses similar ideas and argues that the reform Buddhist movements such as Wat Phra Dhammakaya and Santi Asoke are the products of new urban middle class people, and he calls those movements "individualistic revolution." According to Taylor, Wat Phra Dhammakaya emphasizes individualized meditation, and Santi Asoke emphasizes individualized moral behaviors (Taylor 1990: 153). In other words, as the relationship between temples and communities become weak, religious practices also become independent from those institutions. The society is not one whole, but the collection of many individuals.

If we consider the arguments of O'Connor and Taylor from the perspective of secularization theory, we learn that their arguments are primarily about the differentiation of religion from other spheres and the privatization of religion.[6] In other words, they are arguing that "religion" (that is, Thai Buddhist Sangha) is independent from various local needs and the new urban middle class due to political reform and economic development in Thailand.

However, there are several reasons why they overlook the Thai contexts when using those western secularization theories to explain the flourishing religious practices outside Thai Buddhist Sangha. Different from the secularization of western Europe where religion is differentiated from economy, states, and sciences, the institution of Thai Buddhist Sangha and individualization of religious practices that O'Connor argues about is the reform process initiated by the states for building the modern Thai nation state. Differentiation of "secular" needs from independent

[6] As Cassanova (1994) argues, there are three dimension of "secularization" in social sciences: (1) Secularization as the differentiation of the secular spheres (state, economy, science).
(2) Secularization as the decline of religious beliefs and practices in modern societies. This is by now the most widespread usage of the term in contemporary academic debates on secularization. (3) Secularization as the privatization. We could see that the arguments of O'Connor and Taylor are based on the perspective of (1) and (3).

"Buddhist spheres" is usually only one type of discourse and goal, but when we review the Thai Buddhism of the 20th century, we can perceive it as a tool to integrate minority religious groups and local regions, as a tool for the development or social capitals in many spheres, and we can even experience the Buddhistization of many religious practices (Ishii 1975; Sakurai 2008; Sakurai 2013; Hayashi 1989; Mori 1974a, 1974b, 1978a, 1978b). Overall, different from "civil religion"(Bellah 1967) in the United States that is not "religion" but a product of religious diversities and differentiation of religion from secular states, Buddhism in Thailand, as a religion, plays the role of "civil religion"[7] in the state-building process of Thailand by itself. Therefore, it is not only related with each individual, but is also connected with various secular needs.

On the other hand, charismatic monks and amulet cults are not the product of differentiation of religion from other spheres, but of religious practices that have existed in Thailand for long durations before the institution or centralization reform of Thai Buddhist Sangha (McDaniel 2011). Therefore, it is inaccurate to say that those flourishing religious practices are the products of modernization.

Overall, adopting similar perspectives from western secularization theory, O'Connor and Taylor argue that the flourishing of individualized religious practices outside Thai Buddhist Sangha is because of the institutionalization of Thai Buddhism and its distancing from secular needs. However, this argument not only overlooks the state building of Thailand when talking about the differentiation of Buddhism from secular needs on the precondition, but also overlooks the long-existing individualized religious practices such as charismatic monks and amulet cults. Those two dimensions

[7] In a different vein, Reynolds (1977) also argues that the "civic religion" in Thailand is different from "civil religion" that Bellah (1967) advocated in the United States. According to Reynolds, different from its rupture with the past of civil religion, civic religion in Thailand is continuous with the past. Besides, civil religion is extracted from early tradition, but civic religion in Thailand has addressed different needs of the civic community in different periods in the past. Finally, civil religion focuses on symbol and behavior, but civil religion is more about the interaction and fusion of different communities.

are related in that they use the all-encompassing model of the Catholic Church and secularization theory to fit it into Thai Buddhism, which is a trend in studying Thai Buddhism with long histories (Ishii 1975; Tambiah 1976). However, we need a new approach to understand those religious practices outside Thai Sangha Buddhism and to situate their relationship with the Thai Buddhist Sangha rather than within this framework of secularization.

Thai State and Thai Religious Markets

Instead of relating the institutionalization of Thai Sangha Buddhism with the privatization of religion similar with secularization theory, we should pay more attention to the issue of the regulations of the states. In the religious markets in Thailand, there are at least two different methods by which the states regulate them. The first one is "religion," which is more strongly regulated by the Thai state. Its main target is the religious experts, which include the Buddhist monks in Thai Buddhist Sangha (Ishii 1986; Katoka 2012). The second one is the other freer religious practices and the belief that the Thai state seldom intervenes in them. As Kataoka (2014, 2015) shows, most Chinese shrines are not considered to be part of "religion" for the Thai states. Therefore, they could play both religious and non-religious roles in contrast to the limitation of many "religious" institutions in Thailand.

The first "religion" is more strongly regulated by the Thai state, because it is related with nation building in modern Thailand. As discussed above, the aim of institutionalization and centralization of Thai Buddhist Sangha is not to differentiate it from secular needs but to contribute to nation building. This is why, although there are some cases that are driven out from the Thai Buddhist Sangha, such as monks led by Phra Bodhirak of Santi Asoke or Phra Phimontham who was accused of being a communist, as Ito (2012: 161) argues, there is flexibility about the orthodoxy within Thai Buddhism, and there are diverse teachings within the Thai Buddhist Sangha as

well. This shows that if there is no damage to the stability of the Thai state, there is tolerance about diverse teachings in the religious regulation of the Thai state. Jackson (1997: 76-77) also argues that as the Thai state became less dependent on religions for its legitimacy, regulations towards religious groups such as Santi Asoke also became lesser.

On the other side of freer religious practices or belief outside Thai Buddhist Sangha, many scholars conducted studies on the "individualized" religious practices that O'Connor or Taylor mentioned under the precondition of secularization. However, studies have seldom focused on religious groups that are not as "individualized" as forecasted by the secularization theory. Many scholars provide tags to those individualized religious practices outside Thai Buddhist Sangha as "post-modernization," "religion of prosperity," and "commercialization" (Jackson 1999; Taylor 1999, 2001; Patanna 2008). However, there do exist many religious groups that are not as "individual" as these post-modern religious practices in Thailand. For example, there are Chinese shrines, networks of Philanthropic Foundations, Soka Gakkai, Sekai Kyusei Kyo, and so on. Yiguan Dao, the primary topic of this research, is also a religious group that is outside the "religious" regulation of the Thai state.

Those religious groups outside the strong regulations of the state are the best cases for the "supply-side version of the rational choice theory of religious markets" (Casanova 2006: 9; Warner 1993; Stark and Bainbridge 1985; Stark and Bainbridge 1987; Stark and Finke 2004[2000]). However, besides offering their good "products" or "rewards," we could see that most of these religious groups in Thailand express their concern with "Thai Buddhism." For example, Kataoka (2014, 2015) shows the complimentary function of Chinese shrines with Thai Buddhism. Studies about new overseas religious groups, such as Soka Gakkai and Sekai Kyusei Kyo, also express their concern for Thai Buddhism (Pratoom 2003; Richards 1991). This is not because of the regulation of the Thai state, but because using familiar factors of Thai Buddhist

within their religious “products” appeals to their “customers.” In Taiwan, Lu (2008) also reveals that because of the boom of Buddhist meditation, Yiguan Dao also includes it in their religious practices even if it was prohibited earlier. Therefore, instead of using openness or continuity to explain the relationship between Yiguan Dao and Thai Buddhism, it is more suitable to use the religious market to examine the dynamics of their relationship.

However, there are also several criticisms about the ‘‘supply-side version of the rational choice theory of religious markets.” In this research, I will raise two related issues about such criticism. The first is its exclusive assumption about religious groups. The other is its emphasis on the supply-side but overlooking of the practices of “consumers” or believers. As Stark defines religious group in a more “substantive”[8] (Berger 1967; Dobbelaere 1981) sense, it also assumes exclusivity in it. However, as cultural continuity shown in many anthropological studies about religious change reveals, “conversion” to other “religious groups” or “religious practices” is not necessarily exclusive as it supposed. In other words, we should examine its relationship in more detail. On the other hand, most studies adopting the ‘‘supply-side version of the rational choice theory of religious markets” usually focus on how the change in the supply side of religious groups affects the commitment of their members, but overlooks the practices of members themselves.

Facing few regulations from the Thai state, Yiguan Dao in Thailand is more suitable to be called developing in a religious competitive market. In this market, instead of considering Yiguan Dao as a continuous extension of Thai Buddhism, it also faces diverse criticism. Yiguan Dao attempts to claim its legitimacy in this market. It not only advocates its own exclusive advantage, but members also use

[8] Dobbelaere (1981) distinguishes the scholar’s definition of religion into two main categories, substantive and functional. He argues that in order to examine speculation, it is better to adopt the substantive and exclusive meaning of religion. On the other hand, practices such as “invisible religion” or “civil religion” are all “religions” defined in its functional sense.

discourses and practices against the criticism from Thai Buddhist views. I argue that we should pay more attention to these dynamics with the agency of its members.

In sum, instead of considering Yiguan Dao as complimentary religious practices outside Sangha Buddhism due to "religious secularization" in Thailand, I reveal how Yiguan Dao members use discourses and practices to map out their own location in relation with Thai Buddhism in the competitive Thai religious markets in Chapter 3.

Economic and Social Change and Conversion to New Religion

The problem of O'Connor and Taylor lies not only in their perspective of secularization regarding the differentiation of Sangha Buddhism and other religious practices, but also in their arguments of "individualization." I wish to argue that religious practices of religious groups such as Yiguan Dao in Thailand are not as "individualized" as mentioned by these scholars. In Yiguan Dao, members not only promote interactive religious practices among others, but also the relationships themselves offer mutual support in the contemporary highly mobilized Thai society.

First, I wish to examine the concept of "individualization." "Individualization" could be related to three dimensions:

(1) Privatization: The function of religion emphasizes on personal salvation.
(2) De-institutionalization: Religious practices are individual-centered rather than institutional.
(3) Commercialization: Choices of religion are based on personal freedom rather than based on birth.

In the case of Thailand, the issue of charismatic monks and amulet cults that O'Connor raises mainly suggest the deinstitutionalization of religious practices, but also imply privatization. On the other hand, emphasis on the merit of Santi Asoke and

meditation of Wat Phra Dhammakaya that Taylor raises is related more with the privatization of religious practices, but not necessarily the deinstitutionalized one. However, as I argue above, when we examine the religious practices in recent Thailand, it is not always as "individualized" as many scholars have argued. For example, many scholars also show how Thai Sangha Buddhism attempts to function as social capital in modern Thai society (Sakurai 2008, 2013). Then, how do we understand Yiguan Dao in Thailand?

When we analyze the composition of Yiguan Dao members in Thailand, similar to most modern new religious movements in Western societies (Beckford 1985:11; Robbins 1988: 163), it is not related with specific social class. Therefore, although exploitation theory could be used to understand some Yiguan Dao members with specific class background pursuing relief from suffering, it is not useful for members pursuing moral ethics and orders. For those members who face difficulties in the rapidly changing societies, Yiguan Dao might offer personal salvation, as revealed by many post-modern studies of Thai religion. However, for those who pursue moral ethics and orders, or charity movements aiming at worldly salvation, it is difficult to use "individualization" or "privatization" to explain it. I discuss it in greater detail in Chapter 2.

Yiguan Dao in Thailand does not match the individualized salvation of privatization, but the initiation and commitment of its members are also not as individualized. It is strongly related with the social relations of members. Many scholars of new religious movements have already mentioned the expansion of new religious movements related with social networks.[9] Robbins (1988: 45) also

[9] The most cited article about this issue is the conversion model of Loftland and Stark (Lofland and Stark 1965; Ito 1997: 164-167; Kawakami 2007: 20-22; Matsumoto 2014: 43). This model is based on the research on the early members of Unification Church in the United States. This model shows the seven processes before one's conversion (Lofland and Stark 1965; Ito 1997: 164-165): (1) Tension: Pre-coverts experienced the tension rather more acutely and over longer periods. (2) Type of Problem-Solving Perspective: They retained a general propensity to impose religious perspective on problem-solving. (3) Seekership: Each came to define himself/herself as a religious seeker, a person searching for some satisfactory system of religious meaning to interpret and resolve discontent, and each had

mentioned that the proliferation of modern new religious movements highlights the problems of community arising in an urbanized and mobile society dominated by bureaucratic megastructures. He discusses those new religious movements as "meditating structures" or "surrogate families" and offers values (self-identity, gap between institutionalized public realm and deinstitutionalized private realm, diversities of gender roles) and belongings (quasi-families) in the new context of "communal dislocations" (Robbins 1988: 45-47).[10] [11]

A prominent case is the development of early Christianity in the Roman Empire (Stark 2005[1996]). Although it is said that the expansion of Christianity in the Roman Empire in a short time was based on the "miraculous" group conversion of the mass, when comparing with the expansion of modern new religious movements such as the Mormons, it is not as "miraculous" as it was thought. Stark argues that the early expansion of Christianity in the Roman Empire is related with the conversion of diaspora Jews.[12] Following this, it expanded as a new modern religious movement by

---

taken some action to achieve this end. (4) The Turning Point: These turning points increased the pre-convert's awareness of and desire to take some action about his/her problems; at the same time, they provided him/her a new opportunity to do so. (5) Cult Affective Bonds: Individuals developed affective ties with the group or some of its members. (Conversion frequently moved through pre-existing friendship pairs or nets). (6) Extra-Cult Affective Bonds: Most converts lacked external affiliations close enough to permit informal control over belief. (7) Intensive Interaction: One must intensively be exposed to the group supporting these new standards of conduct.

Although the authors of this model did not claim it as a general theory of religious conversion, many scholars use this model to examine the conversion of various new religious movements. Although there are both arguments for and against this model (Loftland 1977; Richardson 1985; Kibourne and Richardson 1988), many empirical studies show that some parts of this model are valid for the conversion to most new religions. This process with order does not fit with all conversions of new religions, and not all factors are related with it as well. However, most studies show that affective bond with group members and intensive interactions are the important factors when concerned about religious conversion (Snow and Phillips 1980; Kox, Meeus, and Hart 1991; Inaba 2004).

[10] Robbins (1988) mentions the functions of new religious movements, responding to those "communal dislocations" in four dimensions: (1) Holistic Self-Conceptions (2) De-institutionalization (3) Sex Roles (4) Cults and Families.

[11] However, we should notice that this is primarily the discussion in the United States. On the other hand, in Europe, Cassanova (2006: 15-16) raises the question of "why national churches, once they ceded to the secular nation-state their traditional historical function as community cults – that is, as collective representations of the imagined national communities and carriers of the collective memory – also lost in the process their ability to function as religions of individual salvation. Crucial is the question of why individuals in Europe, once they lose faith in their national churches, do not bother to look for alternative salvation religions." This question shows that we need comparative studies outside the context of Europe and the United States.

[12] Stark (2005[1996]) compares it with the liberation movements of the Jewish people in the 19th

the social networks.

The early development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand is similar to the early development of Christianity in the Roman Empire that is related to diaspora Jews. It is also related with the ethnic Chinese and their religious groups. I present more details in Chapter 2.

However, although the social network theory is useful to explain the conversion to new religious movements, it overlooks the purposes of those movements and their beliefs about the world (Wallis and Bruce 1982, 1986). Wuthnow (1981, 1987) also criticizes "sociometrical reductionism" whereby interpersonal bonds are treated as the underlying "objective" factor that "explains" putatively subjective beliefs (Robbins 1988: 86-87). In other words, although the affective bonds with group members and intensive interactions are important objective factors when discussing conversion to new religions, I argue that we should pay attention to how the new religion movements or members understand those social relations in more detail.

As Christianity expanded over the ethnic limitation, Yiguan Dao also sought its ethnic Thai members and transcended its Chinese limitation. This expansion is related with the social networks on the one hand, and with the changing Thai society on the other hand. However, as discussed above, this is not related with the "objective" social relations formed, but is also connected with the teachings and practices of Yiguan Dao. In Chapter 4, rather than considering it as a de-institutionalized cult, I will introduce the organization structure of Yiguan Dao and the mutual enhancement between its development with transregional network among its members. Additionally, I will discuss the organization and related teachings of Yiguan Dao in Thailand and compare it with other religious groups (Santi Asoke, Wat Phra

century and shows that the conversion of the Jews to Christianity is related with the marginalization of the diaspora Jews, new religions related with traditional Judaism, and the existing social network of the Jewish people.

Dhammakaya, The Way of Former Heaven, and De Jiao), to show the special character of Yiguan Dao in Thailand.

New Religions and Female Members

Another prominent characteristic of Yiguan Dao in Thailand is its high female-to-male ratio. This is an effective means to reveal how Yiguan Dao competes with Thai Buddhism where traditionally, women have had a more inferior status.

Many feminists have already pointed out that the gender dimension is neglected in the sociological study of religion or secularization theory.[13] The study of Christianity in the Roman Empire by Stark (2005[1996]) also mentions the roles of its female members. According to Stark, because the teachings of Christianity at that time show more respect for females[14] than do other ways of thinking, it appeals to many female members and acted as a great contribution for its development in the Roman Empire.

Then, why do women participate in religion or new religious movements? Robbins (1988) raises "sex role" as one function of new religious movements when facing communal dislocations in the modern context. In other words, with the increasing ambiguity of gender norms due to modernization, religion or new religious

[13] For example, Woodhead (2001) criticizes that the privatization of religion from the public sphere in secularization theory is gender-blind. She argues that before secularization, women already focused on the private sphere. Therefore, instead of privatization, it is better to call it feminization or relational religion. The historian Brown (2001, 2006) also examines the decline of Christianity in United Kingdom from the gender aspect. He argues that the Christian Church in the United Kingdom did not decline until the 1960s. Before that, the main supporters of Christianity were female believers. After the women liberalization in the 1960s, the Church began to decline. On the other hand, Woodhead (2008) criticizes Brown's excessive focus on discourses and argues that the labor migration of women and their different occupations had influenced religious participation. In the United States, Swatos (1994: xi) also argues that the decline of churches in the United States is related with the participation of women in the labor market.

[14] For example, Stark raises the prohibition of child killing, artificial abortion, more respect to the widows, more freedom about marriage, and permission for religious positions as reasons (Stark 2005[1996]: 121-135). Therefore, the first initiators are mainly female. Following this, female members persuade the male nobles they married to become believers as well. This increases the number of members. Besides, because of the prohibition on child killing and mutual help, the birth rate of Christians is high, and the number of its members is higher than non-Christians demographically.

movements offer clear gender norms for its members to depend on (Aidala 1985).

However, in most of those religious groups with clear gender norms, men usually are dominant. Then, why do women participate in those male-dominant religious groups? Studies on two conservative congregations in the United States by Brasher (1998) and the evangelism movement "Women's Aglow" by Griffith (1997) reveal that although they are male-dominant religious groups, women members build their female-only subgroups and provide mutual support. This made it possible to abandon the male-dominant power structure and maintain their autonomy and authority. Study on Christianity in Pingtan, Fujian Province, China also reveals that after the Chinese economic reform, although men became dominant in the Christian churches, their members are overwhelmingly composed of the "women's community" (Wolf 1972) of women members (Kao 2013).[15] In sum, even in the religious groups with male-dominant teachings or structure, under a different context of history or culture, practices or relationships among women members can offer them autonomy or authority.

Yiguan Dao, because of patriarchal teachings about gender norms and family from Confucianism, seems to adopt a conservative stance about gender issues. However, because of its female leaders and relatedness of trans-local women members, it offers female members autonomy. Moreover, under the context of Thai Buddhism and labor migration of women, Yiguan Dao offers more to satisfy the religious needs of Thai women than the more strongly regulated Thai Buddhism. I present this in detail in Chapter 5.

[15] It also helps to form the sacred space against the patriarchy. The formation of this "women's community" is related with the history of Cultural Revolution in China. During the period of Cultural Revolution, the public churches dominated by men were prohibited by the state. Therefore, the religious practices in families were primarily dominated by women. Additionally, this pattern of "women's community" continues to exist even after the Chinese economic reform (Kao 2013).

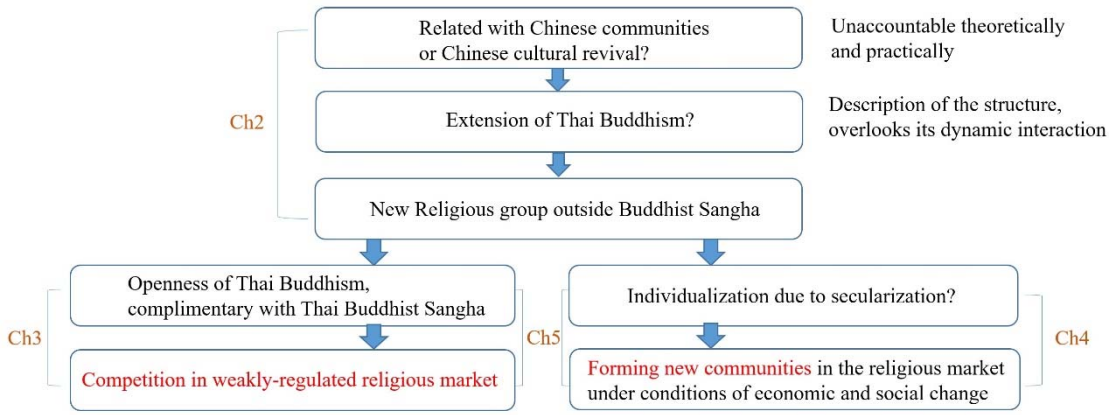

Chart 1 Conceptual diagram of this study

Research Background

I noticed the development of Yiguan Dao while conducting my fieldwork for my master's thesis about transnational migrant workers from northeastern Thailand in 2008. During the Chinese New Year's period that year, I stayed in Udon Thani, and had a Chinese New Year's eve supper with several local Yiguan Dao members in one Buddha hall in the suburb of Udon Thani town. I also conducted some interviews with some members who had experience working in Taiwan as migrant workers there. To my surprise, instead of the ethnic Chinese members in my imagination, I found that many Yiguan Dao members in Thailand were ethnically non-Chinese.

I encountered Yiguan Dao in Thailand again when conducting my Thai language courses in Ubon Ratchathani from the end of 2011 to the beginning of 2012. On December 5, which was the former King Bhumibol's birthday and also Father's Day in Thailand, I went to a vegetarian restaurant for lunch because they offered free food there on the special day. When the staff there learned that I came from Taiwan, they became excited and asked me if I was a Yiguan Dao member. When they learned that I was not, they eagerly invited me to pass the initiation ritual and become a Yiguan Dao member. I passed the initiation ritual several days after that, and began to attend the courses and events under the invitation of other Yiguan Dao members. I

began to learn that Yiguan Dao in Thailand was more varied than the connection with ethnic Chinese or transnational migrant workers from Thailand.

Following this, I made several short-term fieldwork trips from 2012 to 2014, and one long-term fieldwork from February 2014 to March 2015. I spent most of my time in Ubon Ratchathani town with Yiguan Dao members. However, as I discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, Yiguan Dao is more of a transregional network than a religious group embedded in one specific place or a community. I usually travelled with other members to other Buddha halls belonging to the same subgroup, particularly to the center in Bangkok and other Buddha halls in the lower northeastern Thailand. When I attended those activities and courses, I seldom conducted formal interviews but mainly relied on participant observation and informal talks with Yiguan Dao members. In addition, although my fieldwork was not fixed to one place but several sites, my primary concern was the connection among the several sites, as Hage (2005) argued, rather than the discussion of each multiple site.

In addition to participant observation in one specific subgroup of Yiguan Dao in Thailand, I also visited Yiguan Dao Buddha halls belonging to other subgroups and conducted some interviews. I collected some information about pro-Yiguan Dao and anti-Yiguan Dao on the Internet. This information taught me to situate Yiguan Dao in Thailand in a wider context. However, as there were too many segmented groups of Yiguan Dao in Thailand, I could not investigate all the groups thoroughly, but I obtained some information from the literature by Yiguan Dao groups themselves.

Chapter Overviews

This study is composed of six chapters, including one introductory chapter and one conclusion chapter.

In Chapter 2, I describe the history of Yiguan Dao's entrance into Thailand and

how it transformed from a Chinese religious group to a transregional, or even transnational, new religious group across ethnic boundaries. In this chapter, I mainly reflect on the assumption of the Chinese religious group about its Chinese identity on the one hand, and the supposition of individualization of religion of the modernist view on the other hand. Observation of the development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand reveals that it is no longer an ethnic religious group as many studies on Chinese religion in Southeast Asia have discussed, but a new religion that shapes itself to respond to the social changes in modern Thailand. However, its religious teachings and practices are not as individualized as many modernists have predicted, but it encourages members to build relationships and help the communal world.

In Chapter 3, I discuss how the state, critics, and Yiguan Dao members are in conflict over the status of Yiguan Dao in Thailand, particularly in relation with Thai Buddhism. In this chapter, I mainly reflect on the view of continuity or syncretism on religious change. As a new religion in Thailand, although Yiguan Dao indicates some modified ideas of Buddhism, the development of Yiguan Dao in the Thai religious market cannot be explained by this view of continuity or syncretism. By focusing on the different views of the state, the critics, and Yiguan Dao members on Yiguan Dao, it shows the discontinuity of Yiguan Dao with Thai Buddhism, and shows a more competitive Thai religious market rather than only a syncretic one.

In Chapter 4, I examine the relationship between the organizational structure of Yiguan Dao (I-Kuan Tao) in Thailand and its members' network. This study aims at reconsidering the focus on Chinese identity of Chinese religious groups in Thailand and the supposition of "individualization" of religious practices in Thailand. With economic development and social change in Thailand, people move from countryside to urban cities and even abroad. On leaving traditional communities with such high mobility, the much-divided organizational structure of Yiguan Dao offers those people opportunities to build their new relatedness when moving places. Those who migrate

for higher education, work, or overseas labor, become involved with the trans-regional network of Yiguan Dao. Moreover, those trans-regional networks also support people in the margins or exclusion from their own communities. I argue that this challenges the supposition of "individualization" of Thai religion.

In Chapter 5, the practices and network of female Yiguan Dao members in Thailand are discussed as examples of Yiguan Dao's discontinuities with the established Buddhism in Thailand. In Thai Theravada Buddhism, women are forbidden from being ordained and are considered as inferior in the religious dimension. Although certain ideas and practices regarding the reform of women's status in Thai Buddhism have been advanced, most reforms continue to face problems under the framework of Thai Buddhism. I argue that, Yiguan Dao, although conservative in their teachings, as a religious group outside the framework of Thai Buddhism, is related to the increasing mobility of Thai women beginning in the 1970s and that female members have used Yiguan Dao to form transregional networks, which they were unable to do in the context of established Buddhism.

In Chapter 6, I summarize the findings of this research.

Chapter 2

From a Chinese Religion to a New Religion in Thailand

With its origin in China, development as a modern religious group in Taiwan, and then dissemination to the world, Yiguan Dao is now a religious group with a wide presence in more than 80 countries. However, different from most cases in other countries, nowadays, the main Yiguan Dao members are not ethnic Chinese. Similar to the development of Christianity in the Roman Empire, which is related with the diaspora of the Jewish people in its early phase (Stark 2005[1996]), Yiguan Dao in Thailand obtained its ethnic Chinese members during its early development as well. However, similar to how Christianity crossed over its ethnic boundary, Yiguan Dao in Thailand also appealed to many non-Chinese members. In this chapter, I describe how Yiguan Dao in Thailand transformed itself from a Chinese religious group to a new religion in Thailand. First, I introduce the history and basic teachings and practices of Yiguan Dao before it came to Thailand. Following this, I show how its early development in Thailand is related with the ethnic Chinese and other Chinese religious groups. Concluding, I discuss how it crosses over the ethnic and territorial boundary and becomes a new religion in and from Thailand.

History, Teachings, and Practices of Yiguan Dao before Thailand

Yiguan Dao is a Chinese folk religious sect, which was named by Qingxu Liu 劉清虛 in 1886 in China. The original name is used even today. However, as many studies show, Yiguan Dao is connected with some former Chinese folk religious sects, such as Luo Jiao 羅教 in the 15th century and the Way of Former Heaven in the 17th century. Many concepts in Yiguan Dao, such as "the unification of five major religions" (*wujiaoheyi* 五教合一 in Mandarin), "the Eternal Mother" (*wuilaomu* 無極老母 in Mandarin), and "Three Stages Final Kalpa" (*sanqimoujie* 三期末劫 in

Mandarin) are types of folk Maitreya beliefs mixed with ideas from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Many folk religious sects in the history of China have those concepts as well. Yiguan Dao can be thought to be one of them.

Apart from the hybridization of different religious concepts, the religious practice, that is the message from gods and spirits (the oracles) plays an important role in Yiguan Dao, particularly in spirit-writing (*fuluan* 扶鸞 in Mandarin and *krabasai* in Thai) and channeling (*jieqiao* 借竅 in Mandarin and *pratabyan* in Thai). Gods and spirits communicate with believers via holy mediums. In spirit writing, the god or the spirit gives a message from one medium who writes on the board. Moreover, there are at least two other mediums. One reads what the medium writes, and the other writes it down on the note. In channeling, the god or the spirit uses the body of the holy medium to talk and move. Mostly, this happens in the Dhamma seminar (*fahui* 法會 in Mandarin and *prachumtham* in Thai) held for elementary believers, which I will discuss later.

Yiguan Dao began at the end of Qing Dynasty and spread rapidly to north China when the Japanese army occupied this area. In the 1950s, when "New China" was established, Yiguan Dao was considered as a reactionary force by communist China. Most of its believers escaped from mainland China to Taiwan, and gradually developed Yiguan Dao in Taiwan.[16] Although Yiguan Dao was also banned by the Taiwanese government in the early period, it nevertheless spread fast on the underground and became one of the biggest religious sects of Taiwan. In 1987, the year in which Taiwanese government declared that martial law had ended, the Taiwanese government also lifted the ban on Yiguan Dao. In the next year, Yiguan Dao established "The Republic of China I-Kuan Tao Association" and officially

[16] In addition to Taiwan, some groups continue to stay in other areas. For example, some stay in Hong Kong, and some go to Myanmar from the border province Yunnan. Another area is Korea, where some Yiguan Dao groups have existed before the Chinese Communist Party ruled China. For the case of Korea, see Lee (2014).

registered it as a religion in Taiwan.

Disseminating into Thailand and its Early Development

After the Kuomintang government retreated to Taiwan in 1949 and mainland China began to be governed by the Chinese Communist Party, Yiguan Dao was also banned by the Chinese Communist government and part of its members fled to Thailand in the 1950s. It was disseminated via two main routes into Thailand in the 1950s: The first was by entering northern Thailand via southwestern China and Myanmar, where several Buddha halls were built around Chiang Mai and other northern provinces. The other was the Baoguang group from Hong Kong. This group also built several Buddha halls in Thailand during that period (Mu 2002: 156; Sung 2010[1983]). However, those groups did not develop widely at that time.

Yiguan Dao also did not spread widely within Thailand until the 1970s when missionaries from Taiwan, Malaysia, and Singapore came to Thailand. According to the data of 2002, at least 26 different groups came to Thailand for building their Buddha halls and networks (Table 1) (Mu 2002). However, we can only say that "at least" 26 groups came into Thailand. Because of the segmented characteristics of Yiguan Dao that I discuss below, it is difficult for the headquarters of Yiguan Dao to collect all the statistics about each group. Moreover, some religious groups split from the main Yiguan Dao groups[17] and developed their own networks in Thailand without any records of the data of 2002. For example, when I visited some Buddha halls in Piang Luang Subdistrict, Wiang Haeng District Chiang Mai Province in 2013 and in Ban Saeo Subdistrict, Chiangsaen District, Chiang Rai Province, I found that some of them belong to the Nine Lotus Tao 九蓮聖道 or Maitreya Great Tao 彌勒大道.[18] In

[17] For details of those religious groups that split from the main Yiguan Dao groups, see Lu (2008: 101).
[18] Most of the Yiguan Dao groups belonging to Maitreya Great Tao in northern Thailand are related with the Yiguan Dao groups from southwestern China and Myanmar. Those groups are mainly connected with Chandetan 闡德壇 from Kunming, Yunnan and are led by Binghong Liu 劉炳宏 in Myanmar. This group originally belonged to the mainstream Yiguan Dao group, but merged into Maitreya Great Tao via Master Jingru Liu from Hong Kong.

2009, Buddha halls were already present in all the provinces in Thailand, and the number had reached over 7000. Moreover, more than 200 thousand people are initiated as members each year (Sung 2010[1983]: 234).

Year	**Group (*zuxian*)**
1974	*Qianyi*
1970	*Xingyi*
1978	*Fayi Chongde*
1980	*Andong, Wenhua, Jichu Zhongshu, Fayi Lingyin*
1981	*Fayi Tianyuan*
1982	*Fayi Chiji*
1983	*Baoguang Chongzheng, Baoguang Yuande, Haoran Haode*
1984	*Fayi Tianen*
1985	*Tianxiang, Baoguang Shaoxing*
1988	*Haoran Yude, Fayi Chifa Guangji, Changzhou*
1989	*Jichu Tianji, Fayi Huiyin, Fayi Tianen Qunying*
1990	*Fayi Tongyi, Baoguang Jiande*

1995	*Fayi Dehua*
1998	*Fayi Fongtian*
1999	*Zhengyifudaohui*

Table 1 List of the years in which different Yiguan Dao groups built their first Buddha halls in Thailand (Mu 2002)

Early development: Focus on ethnic Chinese

Similar to many other Chinese religious groups in Thailand or Southeast Asia, the primary target of the early development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand from the 1970s to the 1980s was the ethnic Chinese.

Shiga (2010: 161) points out that the development of Yiguan Dao in Southeast Asia is primarily related with Taiwanese businessmen migrants. On observing the early development of Fayi Chongde group of Yiguan Dao in Thailand, we can note a similar phenomenon. The first Buddha hall of Fayi Chongde in Thailand was established in 1978 by a Taiwanese businessman Zhineng Zhang 張智能.[19] Before becoming a member, he had come to Thailand for beginning his business of textiles. In order to purchase materials and parts, he began to contact the Asia Ceramic Company 亞洲陶磁公司 in Yingge Taoyuan 桃園鶯歌, Taiwan, where he knew a Yiguan Dao master Xiaozhou Su 蘇孝洲 who worked there. With the introduction of Su, Zhang, who hoped that his dead father could manifest and talk to him, was initiated as a Yiguan Dao member and established the Buddha hall at his home in Thailand. As this case shows, without any connection, the early missionary work of Yiguan Dao in Thailand began from Taiwanese businessmen who came to seek new opportunities in Thailand or Southeast Asia. Afterwards, many Yiguan Dao members

[19] Zhang was raised as a master in Thailand in 1983.

in Taiwan began to come to Thailand for missionary activities, business, or work.

In addition to Taiwanese businessmen, the early development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand is also related to the local ethnic Chinese in Thailand. Master Zhang said that the early development of their missionary work in Thailand did not go smoothly. On the one hand, most Thai people could not read Chinese language and were therefore unable to understand the Chinese morality books or teachings. On the other hand, even though there were some translators, most translators knew only Teochew[20] and Thai, posing many difficulties for communication. Therefore, they needed Sino-Thai Chinese who were fluent in both Mandarin and Thai. Jinfu Jiang 江金福, who became the first director of association of Yiguan Dao in Thailand,[21] was one of the ethnic Chinese members who could speak Mandarin, Teochew, and Thai during the early development of Fayi Chongde in Thailand. Jiang had a business of bakery and selling food ingredients around Wongwiangyai. Although his business was not poor, his profits were not good because of debt. He went to Chinese temples to ask for fortune several times, but usually received instructions that he should close his business. After getting such instruction several times, he decided to close his business. During his business in Wongwiangyai, he knew a Mr. Lee from Taiwan in his neighborhood. Mr. Lee was a Yiguan Dao member who had come to Thailand for business. Although Mr. Lee was from the Jichu group, he generally helped with the affairs of the Taizhong Buddha Hall of Fayi Chongde in Thailand and became acquainted with Master Zhang mentioned above. Mr. Lee introduced Jiang to become a member. After Jiang closed his business, he moved to Taizhong Buddha Hall and helped the development of the missionary work of Fayi Chongde group. These local

[20] Teochew is a southern dialect of the Chinese language. The majority of ethnic Chinese in Thailand belong to this dialect group.

[21] The association of Yiguan Dao in Thailand (taiguo Yiguandao zonghui 泰國一貫道總會 or *mulanithi sunklang ikuantao (anuttaratham) thai* มูลนิธิศูนย์กลางอี๋ก้วนเต้า (อนุตตรธรรม) ไทย is a foundation registered in Thailand. It was established in 2000. The main purpose of this association is to handle the administrative affairs and to offer a center for the subgroups of Yiguan Dao to interact with each other. However, the core members of this association are from the Fayi Chongde group.

ethnic Chinese members who could speak different languages made the early development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand easier.

Apart from the ethnic Chinese individuals, the other groups of importance were the Chinese folk religious groups existing in Thailand before Yiguan Dao. Scholars indicate that when Yiguan Dao was first introduced to Taiwan, it replaced the "vegetarian sects," such as Xiantian 先天, Jinchuang 金幢, and Longhua 龍華 that had already existed in Taiwan (Wang 1999: 116; Sung 2003: 89-91). There was a similar phenomenon in the early development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand. For example, the early development of Fayi Lingyin 發一靈隱 group in Thailand reveals this type of development. Missionary members from Taiwan tried to "convert" members of vegetarian halls (*rong je* โรงเจ in Thai) or the Way of Former Heaven to Yiguan Dao, and formed their core members in Thailand. Fayi Lingyin built its first Buddha hall in Thailand in 1980. Master Huang from Thailand began the missionary work in Thailand with help of Master Zhang of the Fayi Chongde group mentioned above. First, they persuaded local ethnic Chinese Aunt Yang 楊大姑 and Xiuluan Lin 林秀鸞 to become members, and established a Buddha hall in the Laksi area. One of the converts of the first group Aunt Yang was the abbess of a Chinese folk "vegetarian hall" (Sanxia lingyinsi 2003: 11, 93).[22] Based on this, the early development of Fayi Lingyin in Thailand involved converting members from many Chinese folk religious sects. From July 1980, they converted the abbess Miaofen Huang 黃妙芬 in Hermitage Qingfu 慶福庵 of the Way of Former Heaven; abbess Shanlian Qiu 邱善蓮 in Hermitage Guanyin 觀音庵; vegetarian nuns Errong Chen 陳娥容 and Faqin Qiu 邱發琴; members Lijun Lin 林麗君, Qiaoyun Yang 楊巧雲 and Xianbao Li 李暹寶; Hermitage Wanshou 萬壽庵; and Hermitage Ziyun 紫雲庵. All of them became members and Buddha halls of Yiguan Dao.[23] Some of those members become the core

[22] *Vows and practices of Bodhisattvas: commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the passing away of Wenci Bodhisattva Master Li 菩薩願行：文慈菩薩李前人成道廿週年紀念.* Taipei 台北: Tiandaozhiguang Press 天道之光出版社, 2003, p.11, 93.

[23] *Dao of Heaven in the middle: in commemoration of the completion of the Tianzhong Foyouan 天道*

members of the Fayi Lingyin group in Thailand. In addition, when Elder Master Yulin Han 韓雨霖 of Fayi group visited Surat Thani Province in southern Thailand, he also invited the local Chinese vegetarian nuns of Buddha Hall Weicheng 維誠佛堂 to become members, and therefore established an important base for Fayi Lingyin group in southern Thailand.[24] This is similar to the early attempts of Yiguan Dao in Taiwan to convert local Chinese folk vegetarian sects and their members to become Buddha halls and members of Yiguan Dao.

However, differing slightly from Taiwan, apart from local Chinese folk vegetarian sects, Yiguan Dao in Thailand also appealed to other Chinese folk non-vegetarian sects, such as De Jiao.[25] In the early development of the Fayi Lingyin group, there was also some extent of fusion with De Jiao. In 1983, the Fayi Lingyin group began to hold three-day Dhamma seminars in Thailand. The first one was held in the Buddha hall in the Chinese member mentioned above Xiuluan Lin's house. The second one was held in Langde Tang 閻德堂[26] of De Jiao. The primary language of

---

惟中：天中佛院落成紀念. Bangkok 曼谷：Tianzhong Foyuan 天中佛院, 2012, p.21-22.

[24] *Dhamma rain: the relationship of Elder Pure Water with Buddhist Kingdom 法雨甘霖：白水老人的佛國因緣* **อมฤตธรรม: เหตุปัจจัยแห่งบุญระหว่างท่านผู้เฒ่าน้ำใสกับประเทศพุทธะ.** Nantou 南投: Guangming Jikan Journal 光明集刊雜誌社, 2000.

[25] De Jiao is a folk religious group formed in Teochew area in China in the early Minguo period. Along with the movement of Teochew businessmen or migrants, it disseminated into Southeast Asia both directly from Teochew and via Hong Kong. It mainly developed in Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. Its appearance is related to the religious flourishing at the end of Qing Dynasty and the early Minguo period. However, it adapted to the local context of Teochew migrant communities when it moved to Southeast Asia. See Tan (1985), Formoso (2011), and Huang (2012) for details.

[26] Langde Tang was established by Su, who had long experience working with the local networks of benevolent halls. Su was born in Prachinburi. There, he helped collect corpses in the benevolent hall of Ming network. Afterwards, he built his own Mingxiu Tan 明修壇 under the instruction of Sacred Lu 呂祖. After migrating to Bangkok, he helped at ZiZhen Ge 紫真閣 of De Jiao in Bangkok because there were no benevolent halls of the Ming network at that time. Afterwards, he also helped in the fifth hall of Penglai Xiaoge 蓬萊五逍閣 at Din Daeng for a while. At that time, he was working as a dentist. After retirement, he established Zixiu Ge 紫修閣 registered in the De Jiao network in 1976. However, he stopped collecting corpses. In 1983, Master Wang 汪志冀 of the Fayi Lingyin group came in contact with Su, and introduced him to become a member of Yiguan Dao. Therefore, they used the original Buddha hall for the activities of Yiguan Dao and named it Langde Tang. However, because of different opinions about the pantheons, conflicts arose between the two sides. Su refused Yiguan Dao following this. However, Su's son Wencheng 蘇文成 continued to participate in the activities of Fayi Lingyin after that. He later began to deviate from it because of some financial problem with the members there. At that time, he knew Master Su of Haoran Yude 浩然育德 group from Taiwan, and began to become close with that group. Finally, Wencheng used Langde Tang as the Buddha hall for the Haoran Yude group, and he was raised as a master as well. In 2015, when I visited Langde Tang, I found it to be a

both the seminars was Teochew language, which was the most popular language among the ethnic Chinese community in Bangkok at the time. Afterwards, the first public hall "Dehe Tang"德和堂 of Fayi Lingyin group in Thailand was led by the chairman of a De Jiao Church, Zhenchu Zhuo 卓振初. On the first and second floor, De Jiao Church performed their charity work, such as medical services or aiding poor people. On the third and fourth floor, it functioned as the Buddha halls of Yiguan Dao.[27] In addition, we can also observe the differences in actions between these different religious groups. For example, during the early development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand, because of lack of their own places to hold large-scale activities or seminars, Yiguan Dao members usually borrowed places from other Chinese folk religious groups. For example, during the early development of Fayi Chongde group in Ubron Ratchathani in northeastern Thailand, because of the language gap, missionaries from Taiwan first built their bases by befriending people capable of speaking Mandarin in Zidan Ge 紫聃閣 of De Jiao. When holding activities, they also borrowed spaces from Zidan Ge. Afterwards, they learned about the local Chinese folk vegetarian sect through the members of Zidan Ge. Because of the same historical origin as the Way of Former Heaven,[28] female members of Yiguan Dao were also adopted as daughters of the female members of the Way of Former Heaven there, and they helped with several activities in the vegetarian sect to build good relations. In other words, in addition to Taiwanese businessmen and local ethnic Chinese, there were also interactions among Yiguan Dao and Chinese folk vegetarian sects or benevolent halls.

mix of both De Jiao and Yiguan Dao.

[27] *Dao of Heaven in the middle: in commemoration of the completion of the Tianzhong Foyouan 天道惟中：天中佛院落成紀念*. Bangkok 曼谷：Tianzhong Foyuan 天中佛院, 2012, p.24-26.

[28] For details about the relationship between Yiguan Dao and the Way of Former Heaven, please see Wang (1996).

Photo 1: Langde Tang: De Jiao merged with Yiguan Dao

Development: Crossing over the ethnic boundary

The missionary work targeting Taiwanese businessmen or ethnic Chinese began to transform from the late 1980s. Through members' social relations, factories or companies, schools in Thailand, or even via Thai students or Thai workers in Taiwan, the Yiguan Dao members began to change from being primarily ethnic Chinese to ethnic Thai. These mediators were usually from social relations outside the traditional village communities that were unrelated with territory or kinship relations such as relationships in working spaces or schools.

Earlier reports have already mentioned the relationship between Thai migrant workers working in Taiwan and Yiguan Dao (Mu 2002; Lin 2014). In a study about northeastern Thai migrant workers in Taiwan, there are examples of migrant workers from Udon Thani provinces who became Yiguan Dao members when they worked in the factory in Mailiao 麥寮 in 1988. After returning to Thailand, migrant workers

choose freer jobs that enabled them to help with the affairs of Yiguan Dao workers at the same time (Lin 2014: 58). Moreover, many Yiguan Dao groups in Taiwan promoted Thai workers in Taiwan to become members and take courses in Buddha halls. For example, three-day Dhamma seminars are held in one of the Fayi Lingyin Buddha halls in Taoyuan during the period of the Chinese New Year each year for Thai workers. Therefore, in addition to ethnic Chinese, many Thai migrant workers in Taiwan became Yiguan Dao members when they were working in Taiwan.

In addition, there were also Thai students in Taiwan who became Yiguan Dao members in Taiwan, and then helped the missionary work in Thailand on returning home. The Buddha hall in Thai-Taiwan (BDI) Technological College วิทยาลัยเทคโนโลยีไทย-ไต้หวัน (บีดีไอ) in Bang Phli บางพลี, Samut Prakan Province is one such example. The director of this college used to study in Taiwan and became a Yiguan Dao member during this period. After returning to Thailand, he worked hard not only at his job, but also strived to promote Yiguan Dao in Thailand. He invited most teachers of the college to become members, and attempted to persuade the students as well. Earlier, most Yiguan Dao activities were held at the director's home. However, in 2009, Daobo Fotang 道博佛堂[29] was established in the college, and this Buddha hall was used for activities. This example illustrates not only the relationship between Thai students studying in Taiwan and the development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand, but also the relationship between the development and companies or schools that we will discuss next.

[29] This Buddha hall belongs to the Andong 安東 group.

Photo 2 Daobo Fotang in Thai-Taiwan (BDI) Technological College

Photo 3 Daobo Fotang in Thai-Taiwan (BDI) Technological College

Apart from the transnational migrant workers or students, the example of Thai-Taiwan (BDI) Technological College reveals the missionary work performed through companies or schools. Sung (1992) indicates that in Taiwan, many entrepreneurs of Yiguan Dao members in Taiwan use Yiguan Dao in the welfare and regulation of their companies. This transforms the relationship between employers and employees into the relationship between elders and juniors in Yiguan Dao, and helps the business of their companies. In Thailand, there are several examples besides the case of Thai-Taiwan (BDI) Technological College. One of the female masters of Zhengyi Fudaohui 正義輔導會 group in the 40s had a food-processing factory in the border of Chiang Mai province and Chiang Rai province in northern Thailand. The employees of this factory were mainly minorities, such as Wa or Shan. Some of those employees did not know Thai or Mandarin. Therefore, the master established a Buddha hall upstairs in the factory. Not only did she ask most employees to become Yiguan Dao members, she also started Mandarin courses or teaching courses of Yiguan Dao for them. She used this method to teach those employees while also managing the factory. Moreover, there are also many examples, such as the companies or factories of Taiwanese businessmen members, or member leaders of working units, who invite employees or colleagues to become active members.

In addition to companies or factories, other meditators of Yiguan Dao missionary work are schools. In Taiwan, Fayi Chongde group uses the student groups (*huoshituan* 伙食團 in Mandarin) to appeal to many university or college students to become members. This not only makes Fayi Chongde the popular group with most university students in Taiwan, but these students also become the core supporters for its future development (Lin 2007). In Thailand, there are fewer student groups similar to those in Taiwan, and the missionary work in schools is less than in Taiwan. Earlier, the development of Yiguan Dao in schools in Thailand was usually undertaken by Yiguan Dao members who were teachers. For example, in Trat Technical College วิทยาลัยเทคนิคตราด, one teacher who was a Yiguan Dao member, promoted Chinese

language education in the campus. She also invited colleagues and students to become members, and participate in the courses or activities of Yiguan Dao.[30] Recently, larger-scaled plans of promotion in the schools have also been formulated by some Yiguan Dao groups in Thailand. For example, the Fayi Lingyin group began their projects targeting different groups, such as schools, teachers, and children. As part of the project of schools, they form many clubs or groups in each school, such as the Club of Chinese Culture (*chomrom silapa lae watthanatham jin* ชมรมศิลปะและวัฒนธรรมจีน) and Art in Kasetsart University Sriracha Campus มหาวิทยาลัยเกษตรศาสตร์ วิทยาเขตศรีราชา, Association of Young Crops in University of Phayao มหาวิทยาลัยพะเยา, and Confucius Lecture 孔子講堂 in Trat Technical College. As part of the project of teachers, they began to raise seed teachers of Yiguan Dao in 2014. They taught Yiguan Dao members who are teachers at each level to propagate morality education and Yiguan Dao in schools. They formed associations of such seed teachers in each area. Additionally, they get together once a month and discuss how to promote morality education and Yiguan Dao on the campus. As part of the projects for children, they hold every type of Chinese classics reading course or camp for mortality education etc. By using those who perform missionary work in schools, the main purpose is to increase the number of Yiguan Dao members on the one hand, and to ensure that these groups actively survive until the next generation on the other.

As discussed above, the early development of Yiguan Dao in the 1970s in Thailand was similar to that in other places, which depended on ethnic Chinese and other Chinese folk religious groups. However, after the 1980s, besides the social relations of members, there are also other mediators, such as transnational Thai workers or students, domestic factories, companies, or schools. This makes Yiguan Dao in Thailand cross over the boundary of ethnic Chinese, but appeal to other ethnic non-Chinese as well. Additionally, if we include those mediators into the analysis, we

[30] When I attended the seminar or courses in the Buddha hall of Fayi Lingyin group in Bangkok center, I sometimes met students coming from Trat provinces for help. Most of those students were invited by the teacher I mentioned above.

would know that regardless of transnational migration, factories, or schools, most of those mediators are related to the transformation of Thai society after the 1970s due to economic development. In other words, along with the development of Yiguan Dao from an ethnic Chinese-based group to an ethnic non-Chinese group, we can also observe the change in social relations in Thailand from traditional village communities to new ones without any relationship with territory or kinship because of the increasing movement due to economic development. I analyze this in more detail in Chapter 4.

Transnational: Crossing over territorial borders

The development of Yiguan Dao of Thailand did not only cross the ethnic boundary in Thailand, but also the territorial boundary with its non-Chinese members. The most prominent cases are the migrant workers coming to Thailand and the transnational movement of members from Thailand, particularly ethnic Thai members.

Under the post-cold war context in mainland Southeast Asia, as the ex-prime Minister of Thailand Chatichai's slogan "to turn Indochina from a battlefield into a marketplace" reveals, many people from neighborhood countries come to Thailand to seek better economic opportunities. Similar to how many Thai migrant workers become Yiguan Dao members when they work in Taiwan, many migrant workers become Yiguan Dao members when they work in Thailand, particularly those from Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos. There are many members from Myanmar in northern and southern Thailand, and around Bangkok. As the case of factories in the border of Chiang Mai Province and Chiang Rai Province above reveals, most of the Wa workers are from Myanmar. Additionally, there are also many members from Myanmar in the southern provinces, such as Phuket Province. Sometimes, they even hold Yiguan Dao

courses or seminars in Burmese.[31] This is also similar to the situation in Bangkok. Burmese courses are sometimes held in the main Buddha halls of several Yiguan Dao groups around the Bangkok area.

Cambodian members are usually found in the eastern Provinces and central Provinces around Bangkok area. I sometimes ran into some Cambodian members when attending courses or events in the main Buddha hall around Bangkok area. Khan, a Cambodian male migrant worker in his 20s, had already been in Thailand for six years when I met him in 2014. He had only become a member two years ago when his leader (*huana* in Thai) at work invited him to come to one Yiguan Dao Buddha hall. Prior to that, he lived around Rama II in Bangkok, but after becoming a member, he moved to a Yiguan Dao Buddha Hall in the Rayong Province. In addition to his work, he usually helped with the events or activities of Buddha halls in Rayong and the main one around Bangkok. Sometimes, he helped to translate from Thai to Khmer for other Cambodian members in Thailand. At times, he even went back to Cambodia and helped with the development of Yiguan Dao there.

Similar to Khan, who helped the development of Yiguan Dao across the borders after becoming a member in Thailand, many migrant workers helped the establishment of Yiguan Dao in their own countries with other Thai members. In other words, the development of Yiguan Dao in the neighborhood countries was not only limited to migrant workers themselves but was more widespread. Migrant workers and some missionary members sometimes travelled together to cross the border to hold initiation rituals in Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos. After that, they would usually work hard to maintain those relationships and help establish some Buddha halls in those new places. On the other hand, Thai members would sometimes bring members living in the neighboring countries to cross the borders in order to come to

[31] The lecturers usually speak in Thai, and other members translate it into Burmese paragraph by paragraph.

Thailand to attend multiple-day courses or events. When attending some events or courses in Ubon Ratchathani Province, Sisaket Province, and other northeastern Thai provinces, I usually met with many Lao members[32] from Champasak Province or villages around Pakse. Thai members usually use the pickup to take them from the border town Chong Mek[33] to the northeastern Thai Buddha halls, and then take them back after the events. This shows the two-way movements across the territorial border as a part of the recent development of Yiguan Dao of Thailand.

In addition to migrant workers, missionary members, and inhabitants crossing over the territorial borders between Thailand and the neighboring countries, the transnational development of Yiguan Dao is also related with transnational Thai diaspora. When conducting my fieldwork in Thailand, I discovered that some Yiguan Dao masters usually travel between Thailand, Australia, and at times, Japan. This is because there are some Buddha halls under their leadership in Australia and Japan as well. In Australia, particularly in Sydney, some Buddha halls that have been established primarily by Thai members can be found. Sydney, a city famous for Thai diaspora, has some areas with 10% of the population being Thai-born people. (Beasley, Hirsch, et al. 2014). It is not surprising that some Buddha halls are related with Thai migrants. In Japan, there are fewer such cases than in Australia. There are only some personal family Buddha halls. One such case is that of a Thai woman who moved to Saitama Prefecture after her marriage. When conducting my fieldwork in Thailand, I heard that one master flew to Japan for the establishment of her Buddha halls there. Different from Thai migrant workers becoming Yiguan Dao members in Taiwan and helping the development in Thailand on returning in the 1990s, recent transnational developments are related with the Thai diaspora, including both cases in

[32] While conducting my fieldwork in northeastern Thailand, there was even one case of a Vietnamese woman in her 30s living near the Pakse crossing the border to attend the Yiguan Dao events in Surin Province.

[33] Chong Mek is a border town between northeastern Thailand and southern Laos. It is located in the Sirindhorn District of Ubon Ratchathani Province. It is the only land-based crossing between Thailand and Laos.

which Thai members migrate to other countries, or where Thai migrants become members outside Thailand.

In addition to overseas Thai migrants, another category is that of the transnational missionary Yiguan Dao members. Some studies focus on missionary members who go from China or Taiwan to other areas (Tsai 1996; Sung 1997). However, almost no studies mention transnational missionary members from other countries, particularly non ethnic-Chinese members. With its successful development in Thailand, some Thai members follow the ideas of *kaihuang* (means establishing new Buddha Halls and inviting others to become members in a new place) to help the development of Yiguan Dao overseas. As mentioned earlier in the case of the neighboring countries, such as Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos, some of those transnational Thai members, who travel among Thailand and different countries already exist. Another prominent destination of *kaihuang* these years is Nepal. Chang (2007)'s study on Fayi Chongde's development in Nepal is by far the most detailed study on Yiguan Dao in Nepal. However, although he point outs that its development is primarily related with missionary members from Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Hong Kong, and Macau (ibid: 42), the primary discussion he relies on continues to be ethnic Chinese members, particularly from Taiwan. For one branch of Fayi Lingyin group, the opportunity of establishing its base in Nepal is because of a Nepalese Thai member who was born in Thailand. Pursuing their goal of propagation in Nepal, many missionary Thai members go to Nepal for the development of Yiguan Dao there. However, instead of staying there permanently, most of them lead a transnational life among different countries. A 46-year-old male member told me about this when I met him in one of the main Buddha halls around Bangkok in 2015; he is now helping with the development of Yiguan Dao in Nepal. He was born in Bangkok and used to work as a navy soldier in Ratchaburi Province, but became a Yiguan Dao member in 1991. During the past four years, he usually went to Nepal to help the Buddha halls there. However, he could

only stay there for five months every year because of his visa. Nok, a female member in her 30s, also told me similar stories when I met her in a Buddha hall in Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province. She was born in Uthumphon Phisai and became a member when she was around fifteen. After that, she often stayed overseas for *kaihuang*, but would sometimes return to Thailand. At the time I met her, she told me that she was waiting for the visa to go to Nepal again. According to them, although members from Malaysia could lecture in English, sometimes, Thai members would also lecture in Thai, and the Nepalese Thai members would translate it for local members. As these cases exemplify, transnational Thai missionary members also play important roles in the development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand and abroad.

Because of its successful development in Thailand and the transnational context, some Yiguan Dao groups or subgroups center themselves in Thailand, rather than in Taiwan or China. When organizing international courses or events that group members together, they usually choose the center in Thailand. One example is the Yuanxin 元薪 subgroup of Fayi Linying group in Thailand: although they continue to have strong connections with the main center of Fayi Linying in Thailand and in Taiwan, when holding international events related to their own subgroups, members from all over the world come to the center in Thailand for attending the events.[34] For example, from July 17 to July 20, 2014, I attended the course on reforming Dao affairs 道務重整班 in Tianzhong Buddha Hall 天中佛院, which is the main center of the Yuanxin subgroup of Fayi Linying group. The course was attended by approximately 460 attendants[35] from 13 countries[36], including Thailand, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, Canada, the United States, Laos, Australia, and New Zealand. Another case is the Fayi Heshan subgroup in Thailand. Because of its successful

[34] The main center of Fayi Linying in Taiwan is in the Sanxia district, New Taipei City. The main center of Fayi Linying in Thailand Fengen 奉恩 is in Samut Prakan Province, which is next to Bangkok City. The main center of Yuanxin subgroup Tianzhong 天中 is near the BTS Wutthakat station, in the Thongburi side of Bangkok city.
[35] Approximately, a total of 550 people attended this event including those who come for help.
[36] Although, according to the subgroup members, there are Yiguan Dao Buddha Halls of Yuanxin subgroups in more than 30 countries in the world.

development in Thailand, members even sold the lands and Buddha halls in Thailand, and built its center in Pak Chong District, Nakhon Ratchasima Province.[37] As I will describe in detail in Chapter 3, every year, members of this subgroup from all over the world gather at this center in Thailand and hold some specific rituals for the dead members. Both of those cases reveal how their bases transfer from Taiwan to Thailand.

Border-crossing, transnational movement, and the new center in Thailand not only reflect the problem of the relationship between Yiguan Dao and its Chineseness, but also the theoretical assumption of migrant and diaspora studies. Most studies on overseas Chinese and their religion focus on their "Chineseness" because they consider those communities or religion as a concrete migrant group in the host society or a diasporic group strongly connected with its origin. However, crossing over the ethnic and territorial borders, the "Chinese" religion could serve for other groups or even their transnational movements as well, and not only the migrant group moving from the origin to the host country. The newly established center in Thailand even challenges the diasporic assumption of the center (China or Taiwan) and the "overseas." Its new center in Thailand is gathering transnational members from all over the world without clearly articulating a connection in terms of Chineseness. Therefore, based on the development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand or its transnational movement, we should transform our perspective about it from a migrant or diaspora religious group to a transnational new religion.

A New Religion in Thailand

As Yiguan Dao in Thailand transformed from a Chinese-related religious group

[37] Members donate the lands for building the main center in Pak Chong from 2004. The name of this center is Fayi Heshan Longhua Mountain Xiudao Village 發一和善龍華山修道村. The name of Longhua Mountain is named by one Yiguan Dao master in this subgroup. He thought that this area is surrounded by the mountains, and the mountains look like a dragon with its head and tail connected and holding a pearl. Therefore, he gave the name of Longhua, meaning the flourish of dragon.

to a cross-ethnic and even a transnational one, we should notice its relationship with the social changes in Thai societies instead of merely focusing on the Chinese connections. The development of Yiguan Dao described above reveals that it is related with the transregional or transnational migration of Thai people without specific territorial or kinship relations. However, instead of using "individualization" to comprehend this change, I argue that we should examine this concept more thoroughly.

First, we should examine the two concepts of "individualization" and "community." "Individualization" could be related with three dimensions: (1) Privatization (2) De-institutionalization (3) Commercialization, as discussed in Chapter 1.

As the exploitation theory shows, Yiguan Dao is one choice of personal salvation in the Thai religious market when one faces different problems in modern Thai society. Most of those stories could resemble other Thai religious repertories (McDaniel 2011) that exist in wide varieties and are free for interpretation.

[Example 1] Male in his 70s, living in Maerim District, Chiang Mai Province

He had been a primary school teacher in Maerim District for 30 years (including seven years in Chinag Mai city). He began to eat vegetarian food because of a problem with his legs. He said that he became better after eating vegetarian food (*Mangsawila*[38]in Thai) from 1997. Earlier, he

[38] There are mainly two words indicating vegetarian foods in Thai, *che* and *mangsawila*. *Che* 齋 is a term from Chinese. It is one of the Buddhist disciplines concerned with taking food. In the Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese world, this discipline mainly means eating vegetarian foods. Not only are meats forbidden, but five kinds of vegetables, garlic, Allium chinense, asafoetida, shallot, and mountain leek, called five pungent roots are also forbidden. *Mangsawila* literally means giving up meat, as *mangsa* means meat, and *wila* means refraining. For *Mangsawila*, people do not need to abstain from the five pungent roots. They could also choose whether to eat eggs or dairy products. In Thailand, the mainstream Buddhist monks or Buddhists seldom take *che* or *mansawila* food everyday. Few groups, such as Santi Asoke, claim that they are eating *mansawila* food. Yiguan Dao members in Thailand mainly take *che* disciplines without even eggs or dairy products. However, it is different from Yiguan Dao members in other areas where eggs and dairy products are mainly allowable.

was closer to the Santi Asoke group around Chinag Mai. He used to plan to go to Ratchathani Asoke as well, but gave up after becoming a Yiguan Dao member. He became a Yiguan Dao member in 2010 and has eaten Yiguan Dao vegetarian food (*che* in Thai) after that. He took the all-life vegetarian vow in 2011. He said that Yiguan Dao is different from Santi Asoke because of the vegetarian food and the Enlightenment from the master (*mingshiyizhidian* 明師一指點 in Mandarin).[39] He had already retired when I met him in one event in Buddha hall in Bangkok. He said that he usually comes to Bangkok for helping with those events.

[Example 2] 40-year-old male, born in Saraburi

He became a Yiguan Dao member in 2008. During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival[40] that year, because his father was sick, he thought that if his father would get better, he would eat vegetarian foods for nine days. Unexpectedly, his father became better the next day. Therefore, he decided to keep his promise of eating vegetarian foods for nine days. He found a vegetarian restaurant run by Yiguan Dao members. There was one Buddha hall on the stair above the restaurant, but he did not know that on the first visit. Afterwards, Yiguan Dao members came to him and invited him to join them. At first, he felt strange and he did not believe it. However, after

[39] *Mingshiyizhidian* literally means "pointing by the master." It is one process of the initiation ritual in Yiguan Dao. In this process, the master would point out where the wisdom door is, and touch it to enlighten the new recruits. Yiguan Dao members believe that everyone is from heaven and possesses Buddha-nature, but we need someone to point out where it is. This is also one of the main functions of the initiation rituals of Yiguan Dao.

[40] Nine Emperor Gods festival, or Chinese vegetarian festival is a religious custom that was first introduced in southern Thailand in the 19th century and spread all over Thailand in the later period. Because of the spreading epidemic in the Chinese tin mine laborers' communities in Phuket in that period, they found that it was the Chinese ninth lunar month, and therefore, began to fast and pay homage to the Nine Emperor Gods as they did in China. It is celebrated annually between the first and the ninth day of the ninth month of the Chinese lunar calendar. Besides several rituals in this period, another important factor is the *che* food, the vegetarian food. This custom spread outside southern Thailand to the rest of Thailand in the later period. However, the main theme of this custom in other places is the vegetarian food rather than its original religious meaning related with the purification. See Cohen (2001) for details.

the members learned that he was going to eat only vegetarian foods, some members prepared vegetarian foods and sent it to the factory where he worked. After experiencing the kindness of Yiguan Dao members, he became a Yiguan Dao member in Ang Thong province after the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. He said that after becoming a member and attending the three-day Dhamma seminars, he experienced a difference in his body and a significant amount of sweat streamed out. After that, he said that he lost the desire to drink alcohol and smoke.

He had changed several jobs before. He even used to work in a factory run by Taiwanese. However, because he is now facing difficulties in taking time off work to attend Yiguan Dao events, he quit this full-time job and decided to participate in only small-time jobs. He uses the earnings for attending those Yiguan Dao events. He even said that while working in companies or factories, he had been laid off at times. However, in the Buddha Hall, he never faced the problem of unemployment. Even if you want to leave, you would still come back naturally. Particularly, after eating vegetarian foods, you would meet Yiguan Dao members eating vegetarian foods everywhere. He describes that Yiguan Dao are the best insurance for him. Helping in the Yiguan Dao Buddha hall is even better than working around any ministers.

When I met him in July 2014 in the Buddha hall around Bangkok, he brought one of his friends to join the event. His friend is alcoholic and he hopes his friend could quit alcohol like him after coming to Yiguan Dao Buddha halls. However, his friend twitched in the Yiguan Dao Buddha halls, and died in a month because of a liver problem after returning home. (Some Yiguan Dao members thought that he twitched because some evil spirits had occupied his body.)

As we can see in those cases, Yiguan Dao offers personal salvation for some members. Those salvations take various forms, ranging from relief from disease, alcoholic and smoke addiction, jobs etc. There are also some cases where Yiguan Dao offers salvation for members who have failed in their business or relationships. These salvations are not greatly different from other "religious repertories" in the Thai religious market. As the first case shows, some members even explore different religious practices, such as Santi Asoke in this case. In other words, similar to other religious practices in Thailand, Yiguan Dao offers various types of personal salvations for its members.

However, when we analyze the composition of Yiguan Dao members in Thailand, similar to most modern new religious movements in Western societies (Beckford 1985:11; Robbins 1988: 163), it is not related with specific social class. Therefore, although exploitation theory could be used to explain some Yiguan Dao members with specific class background who pursue relief from suffering, it is not useful for members to pursue moral ethics and orders. For those members who face difficulties in the rapidly changing societies, Yiguan Dao might be personal salvation for them as many post-modern studies of Thai religion reveal. However, for those who pursue moral ethics and orders, or charity movements aiming at worldly salvation, it is difficult to simply use "individualization" or "privatization" to explain it.

Although the cases above reveal the dimension of (1) privatization of individualization discussed above, members who pursue moral ethics or orders could not be entirely explained by the argument of personal salvation. As some scholars discussed about Wat Phra Dhammakaya, the development of Wat Phra Dhammakaya is related with the ritual of displaying the value of urban middle class in relation to cleanliness and order (Zehner 1990:424) or construction of self-identity combining "discipline" of production and "happiness" of consumption (Yano 2000, 2001, 2006).

In Yiguan Dao, there are also various disciplines or orders from practices of daily life to different rituals. In the courses or events of Yiguan Dao, it is a usually the scene that members teach the ritual manners or practices to the new recruits besides the religious teachings. In addition to more standardized ritual manners, members also like to discuss what the right practice in daily life is besides rituals. Members usually cite vocabularies from the Confucian teachings in Yiguan Dao as their argument for right practices, such as propriety (*li* in Mandarin, *jariyatham* in Thai) and virtue (de in Mandarin, *khunatham* in Thai). However, as one analyzes the details of these "right practices," one realizes that at times, these right practices depend on who the speaker is. There is no standardized answer. (For example, the proper behavior in the Buddha hall and daily life, the proper title[41] etc.) As members want to provide their own opinions about the right practices, they usually say that they are "studying" (*yanjiu* in Mandarin and *ruamseuksa* in Thai) those practices with other members, but not an absolute one. In this manner, we see that Yiguan Dao has some more standardized ritual practices and teachings for members pursing order or disciplines rather than merely personal salvation on the one hand. However, on the other hand, those "orders" could be flexible and might be products of interactive "study" in daily life or events.

Those interactive "studies" are related with the encouragement of interaction with other members in Yiguan Dao. Yiguan Dao emphasizes virtues or moral ethics. However, members think that such virtues or moral ethics should not be developed all by oneself, but by situating oneself in the Yiguan Dao Buddha Hall. Although Yiguan Dao promises its members that they could achieve nirvana if they pass the initiation ritual and learn the Truth, this promise would be in vain if you do not follow the Yiguan Dao practices. In other words, Yiguan Dao encourages its members to attend

[41] Once, I went to hold an initiation ritual in the rural area with some Yiguan Dao members. When we set up the Yiguan Dao altars and tried to move the Buddha statues, someone said that we should move the "Buddha" (*phraphuthachao* in Thai). The other person came, and said she wants to "study" with her own opinion, and argued that we should say "Buddha statue" (*phraphutharub* in Thai) instead of "Buddha" (*phraphuthachao* in Thai) for the proper name.

the courses or events frequently. This does not help members familiar with Yiguan Dao teachings but also its practices. Personal virtue or moral ethics are not achieved automatically but need to form in the interactions with other members in the Buddha halls. In other words, those teachings and interactions could "amend our bad habits and temper (*qupiqi gaimaobing* 去脾氣改毛病 in Mandarin)" and help us cultivate our virtue or moral ethics. Members could only improve by interacting with other members.

Although pursuing order or discipline like virtue or moral ethics is more related with personal moral or spiritual development, in Yiguan Dao, members also emphasize saving the world and religious practices in groups. It is difficult to explain it only using the concept of "personalization." Sung (2010[1983]: 96-98) used the concept of "purity" to summarize pursuing order in Yiguan Dao and related it with moral ethics as well. It could be said to be connected with the offering of personal moral ethics or values in the era of modernization or relativism (Yumiyama 2004). However, those aims are not limited to personal development. The teachings of Yiguan Dao emphasized the Confucian idiom that "to govern the country (and bring peace to all), one should first be able to govern one's family; to govern one's family successfully, one should first learn to govern oneself. (*xiushen qijia zhiguo pingtianxia* 修身齊家治國平天下 in Mandarin)." Although this idiom emphasizes that we should start from personal progress, the aim of these practices is world salvation. In this theory, although members say that personal accident is because of their karma as most Thais would argue, members also claim that natural disasters occurring in the world require attention from heaven, because it warns that people lose their original pure nature. Therefore, when a big disaster occurs in the world, such as the flood in Thailand, the earthquake in China, or the tsunami in Japan,[42] virtuous members say that those occur because people have lost their moral ethics,

[42] For example, many members argue that the big tsunami occurring in Japan is because the Japanese eat excessive fish or seafood.

and they kowtow for more than thousand times for forgiveness from heaven. Consequently, members are eager to invite others to become Yiguan Dao members. It does not only mean saving members themselves or new recruits, but also saving the world by helping others to purse the right order and moral ethics.

Those ideas are related with "*du ren*" (*chengquan ren* in Mandrin and *song serm* in Thai), the specific religious practices of Yiguan Dao. Simply speaking, "*du ren*" means helping others to become Yiguan Dao members and supporting their advanced religious progress. In the teachings of Yiguan Dao, in this era, the Truth is available for all world beings, and not only kings or monks. It is possible for anyone to know the Truth and achieve nirvana. Therefore, religious practices are not only limited to individuals, but members should try to make others learn the Truth. This type of practice is "the true merit and the real charity" (*zhenggongshishan* 真功實善 in Mandrin, *bunjingkusonthae* in Thai). Although there are various practices in different groups of Yiguan Dao, the aim of most of those practices is ensuring new recruits and supporting members in continuing practices. In other words, the true merit in Yiguan Dao is to "du ren," that is, making as many people become Yiguan Dao members as possible and build a reasonable world with the Truth practiced everywhere.

We can compare this idea of "merit" with that in the traditional Thai view. In traditional Thai Theravada Buddhism, only men could attain nirvana by ordination to become monks. Lay persons (particularly women) could only achieve merit for better future and next life in the world of karma (Onozawa 2005). On the other hand, patron-client relationship made by those hierarchical rank of merit composes the society (Hanks 1962, 1975). Additionally, various rituals of merit are also connected with the structure of senior-junior relations in the village society (Tambiah 1970). However, different from these above structural views, Hayashi indicates that there are also many rituals of merit related with other vertical relations or even among the same generations (Hayashi 2000). For example, Lin also reveals that overseas migrant

workers from the northeast Thailand use various rituals of merit to build their own status after coming back home from working abroad (Lin 2014). As Hayashi argues, making merit is not only the confirmation of the existing relationship, but also a way to construct new relationships (Hayashi 2000: 171-186). In other words, merit is not only a personal characteristic, but plays the role of confirmation and creation of humans by most of the rituals of merit based on Buddhist temple relationships in the village society.

Compared with the concept of merit in village society, other reform Buddhist groups, such as Wat Phra Dhammakaya and Santi Asoke, have their own concept of merit while addressing social change in Thailand. In Wat Phra Dhammakaya, merit is combined with consumerism on the one hand. On the other hand, it is combined with bodily experiences such as meditation that offer new religious experiences to urban lay persons (Apinya 1993, 1998; Yano 2006). Santi Asoke members build their own new village communities, and emphasize "meritism" (*bunniyom* in Thai) that emphasizes on contributing to others (Yano 2003). In other words, many new Buddhist groups outside the village society form their own theory of merit in reaction to the new life styles. We should consider Yiguan Dao in the same vein.

As we see the development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand from a Chinese religious group to a transregional or transnational religious group across ethnic boundaries, it reveals that the transfer in the function of Yiguan Dao from being an identity provider for ethnic Chinese migrants to a new religion responds to the modern situations for members. On the one hand, it provides salvation against personal problems, such as sickness, smoking or drugs, business failure, or broken relationships, but not communal problems such as those experienced in a village. On the other hand, it also offers a worldview related with order and disciplines for members to define themselves and the modern world using the problem of "communal dislocations." Moreover, with the modified concept of "merit," that is to make others become

members in order to build an advanced self and a reasonable world, members do not focus only on their own personal religious practices but on the concerns of others as well. In other words, the development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand, as a new religious group in responding to the modernization of Thai society, indeed shows the dimension of commercialization or freedom of choice in the Thai religious market. However, as discussed above, the function of its religious practices and teachings are not as privatized as many secularists indicate. Moreover, it is also not as de-institutionalized as many scholars argue. I explore the details from the institutional aspect in Chapter 4 again.

Chapter 3

Religion, Cult, or the Truth?

Mapping Out the Location of Yiguan Dao in Buddhist Thailand

Intro

Instead of relating with Chineseness only, Yiguan Dao members usually claim that its development in Thailand is "because Thai are Buddhists." However, as I already mentioned in the first chapter, this answer supposes the openness of Thai Buddhism on the one hand and Yiguan Dao's continuity with Thai Buddhism. In contrast to this assumption, I argue that we should consider the relationship between Thai Buddhism and Yiguan Dao more carefully, and not simply jump into their continuity. In this chapter, I wish to indicate that although Yiguan Dao is not recognized as a religion by the state in Thailand, it is weakly regulated by the state and it faces the criticism that it is a "cult" by various critics in the religious market. In order to negotiate with these criticisms from the Buddhist view, Yiguan Dao members create discourses and practices to map out their location in relation with Thai Buddhism.

Religion? — Not Recognized by the Thai State

Yiguan Dao is not recognized as a "religion" by the Thai state, but most groups are registered as "charity foundations" (*mulanithi* in Thai). Similar to many other religious groups from other countries, such as Sekaikyuseikyo, Soka Gakkai, and Chinese temples outside Thai Buddhist Sangha, most Yiguan Dao groups registered them as "charity foundations" administratively. Some Yiguan Dao groups exist in Thailand without registering. Most of those groups claim that they follow the

traditional way of missionary work. They argue that because what Yiguan Dao teaches is the sacred Truth from the heaven, they do not need to be constrained by the secular government, and that they have many problems within the history and in many areas. However, in contrast, most groups claim that we should pursue social change and identify the most suitable way for missionary work and religious practices. If they could register as an institution administratively, they could handle their assets, such as money and lands more clearly. Particularly, members from other countries, such as Taiwan, Malaysia, or Singapore, could obtain their visa and status more easily, and handle the management of assets with local Thai people more reliably with registered institutions.

Although Yiguan Dao is not recognized as "religion" but a "charity foundation," their activities are not significantly limited by the Thai state. Unlike in early China and Taiwan where Yiguan Dao encountered many problems with the governments, when I asked about the obstacles they face when Yiguan Dao members in Thailand perform their missionary work, most members responded that they did not face many problems. Some people misunderstand them as scammers, but when those people ask the police to come and talk, they learn that there are not many problems with them. Some people say that some Buddhist monks are more hostile than the government. Some Yiguan Dao groups maintain a good relationship with the governmental institutions. For example, in 1995, Hongzhen Chen 陳鴻珍 *dianchuanshi* of the Fayi Chongde group received an award from the National Council of Social Welfare of Thailand under royal patronage, and donated 500000 baht for assisting with the floods in Bangkok in the same year.[43] In 2000, when the Central Foundation of Thai Yiguan Dao was established, the director of the National Council of Social Welfare of Thailand, under the royal patronage, also attended the opening ceremony.[44] Moreover,

[43] *30th anniversary of Fayi Chongde group in Thailand* **ครบรอบ *30* ปี ฟาอีฉงเต๋อ อาณาจักธรรมประเทศไทย.** Nakhon Pathom นครปฐม: chongter-book สำนักพิมพ์เทิดคุณธรรม, 2011, p.23.

[44] The founding of the Association of Yiguan Dao in Thailand 泰國一貫道總會成立・張培成老前人率員進泰國皇宮. *General Correspondence 一貫道總會會刊* 105, Inside Front Cover.

in many other big events that they held, we observed the attendance of many representatives from many government institutions.

Some opponents tried to use the power of the government against Yiguan Dao but failed. As some members said, Buddhist monks are more reluctant to accept Yiguan Dao than the Thai government. In 1999, because there was an international rumor that the end of the world was coming, some Yiguan Dao members used it in their missionary work and tried to invite more people to become Yiguan Dao members. During that period, some extreme members not only set up Yiguan Dao Buddha halls in their own houses, but they also refused to give alms to the Buddhist monks. Therefore, some Buddhist monks complained about this to the Thai Buddhist Association of Thailand[45] under Royal Patronage, and this association represented it to the Ministry of Interior (*krasuang mahatthai* in Thai) in Thailand. They listed 35 points of the wrong behaviors that Yiguan Dao members exhibited. Although I could not find the full points of those lists, according to the informant, those points mainly include the following: (1)The location of the Buddha statue: In Yiguan Dao, members believe that the Maitreya Buddha would come to the world, and they located it in the middle, and placed the Sakyamuni Buddha to the left or right. This showed that Yiguan Dao members do not respect Sakyamuni Buddha. (2) Refusal to give alms to the Buddhist monks: Some members said that they do not have to go to the Buddhist temples after becoming Yiguan Dao members. Without lay people to give alms to them, some Buddhist monks could not sustain. (3) Buddhist monks becoming Yiguan Dao members: The main problem with Buddhist monks becoming members is that some Buddhist monks would violate the religious doctrines. For example, if the Yiguan Dao *dianchuanshi* is female, she has to touch the new recruits' body for telling them the secrets of Yiguan Dao in the initiation ritual. Additionally, new recruits or members sometimes have to pay respect to the *dianchuanshi* and even

[45] Some *dianchuanshi* told me there was some criticism in the newspapers or TV programs around 1999. However, I could not find exact information about this.

kneel down. In addition, in some Yiguan Dao courses, Buddhist monks have to sit with the lay members. Those behaviors are not suitable for Buddhist monks in terms of gender issues and the division of the sacred and the secular in Thai Theravada Buddhism. Yiguan Dao members were aware of this even before any action was initiated against them. Therefore, they invited some governmental administrators to visit Taiwan, and took them to many Yiguan Dao centers in Taiwan. As part of that trip, they also visited some politicians and talked about Yiguan Dao in Taiwan. After the completion of this trip, the Thai government took no more action. However, because of these oppositions, some Yiguan Dao groups are more careful than others and try to not violate the relationships with Thai Buddhism. For example, they are not too keen on inviting Buddhist monks to become Yiguan Dao members, and they place the Sakyamuni Buddha statue in the middle. They also established the Central Foundation of Thai Yiguan Dao (*mulanithi sunklang ikuantao (anuttharatham) thai* in Thai) in 2000 in order to cope with the administrative issues of Yiguan Dao in Thailand as a whole, and tried to build areas for the interactions of different groups of Yiguan Dao in Thailand.[46]

Cult? — Criticism and Attack of the Critics from Buddhist Aspects

Although Yiguan Dao is not recognized by the Thai state as a "religion" and does not face much regulation from the government, it nevertheless faces various criticisms. Most of the critics call Yiguan Dao the "Yiguan Dao Cult" (*latthi anuttaratham* in Thai). As Yano (2013) explains, in Thai, the word *latthi* is different from the word *sasana* which is close to the meaning of "religion," but conveys the meaning of "new sects independent from the traditional categories. That is, comparing with higher-valued *sasana*, *latthi* means inferior or lack of credibility, new *sasana*,

[46] The Central Foundation of Thai Yiguan Dao is primarily supported by Fayi Chongde groups. However, not all Yiguan Dao groups join this organization. Additionally, although they held many meetings that different groups attended in the beginning, it eventually lost its function as a platform for interactions between different Yiguan Dao groups in Thailand.

incomplete *sasana*, or secular doctrine and understanding." In other words, it carries inferior or dubious meaning compared to the term religion (*sasana*), and is close to the term "cult" in English. For most critics, Yiguan Dao is also not a religion (*sasana*), but an inferior cult (*latthi*).

Because it is called a "cult," there is extensive criticism and distrust about Yiguan Dao. The first criticism is that it distorts the teachings of Buddhism. For example, on YouTube, one of the users with the pseudonym "anti anutta" (literally, it means anti-Yiguan Dao) has uploaded a video comparing the teachings of true Buddhism that he/she believed in and the distorted teachings of Yiguan Dao. In the beginning of this clip, he said that as a Buddhist, in order to protect Buddhism, he/she made one clip. Additionally, he discussed how the Buddha achieved Enlightenment by himself and the Maitreya has not yet come to the world. After that, he compares Buddhism and Yiguan Dao as presented in the following table.

Buddhism	**Yiguan Dao**
There is no god (*phrachao* in Thai). Buddha is the greatest being in the world.	External Mother is the God, the Creator (*phraphusang* in Thai).
Buddha achieves Enlightenment by himself.	External Mother is the cultivator of the Truth (*phuperdphoeithamma* in Thai). Buddha and other religious founders receive the Truth from Her.
The Enlightenment of Maitreya Buddha is after the end of Buddhism. At the time, the average age of humankind is 8000 years.	Lu Zhongyi is the incarnation of Maitreya Buddha.
The four foundations of mindfulness is the	The merit of Yiguan Dao practices is

only way to achieve enlightenment.	greater. It is also easier to achieve Enlightenment than via the four foundation of mindfulness.
All creatures have their own karma. Regardless of good or bad, they get what they deserve.	By becoming members of Yiguan Dao, the merit can be transferred to seven generations of ancestors and nine generations of offspring, to relieve them of suffering.
Three kinds of pure meats are edible. In Mahayana Buddhism, it is believed that Buddha said that we should reject all kinds of meats.	The followers of Yiguan Dao should be vegetarian.
Does not accept mediums (*khaosong*).	The meditators primarily provide the teachings.

Table 2 Comparison between Buddhism and Yiguan Dao in the clip on YouTube

(Source: anti anutta@YouTube)

Photo 4 A captured photo from the video comparing the teachings of Yiguan Dao with Buddhism (anti

anutta@YouTube)[47]

Apart from these comparisons, more offensive discourses toward Yiguan Dao can be found as well. For example, the critics usually say that the pantheons in Yiguan Dao are evil spirits. In Yiguan Dao, followers worship various kind of gods, such as Maitreya Buddha, Ji Gong, Bodhisattva, and the patriarchs or leaders who pass away who they think become gods. In most events, members usually kowtow and worship these gods. However, critics usually criticize that the pantheons of Yiguan Dao are not gods but evil spirits. For example, in the photo, we see a Yiguan Dao member in white clothes who is kowtowing, but being pushed by one evil spirit who resembles Maitreya Buddha.

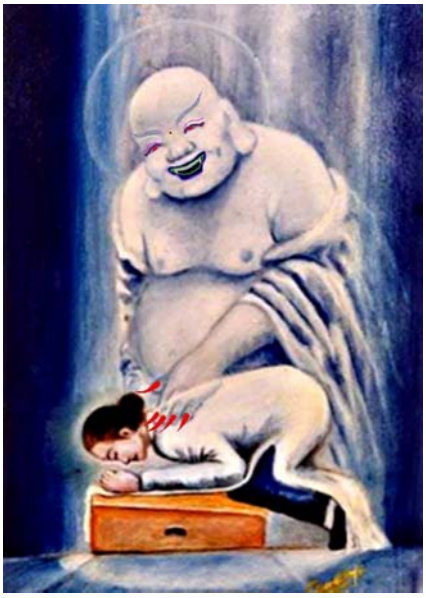

Photo 5 A modified picture showing an evil spirit in the form of Maitreya Buddha who is forcing a Yiguan Dao member to kneel down and kowtow (Source: Facebook page)[48]

Furthermore, in Yiguan Dao, there are mediums who convey instructions from gods. Some write messages from the gods, but some are directly possessed by the gods. For the critics, this means that Yiguan Dao members worship and follow instructions from unknown evil spirits. There is one clip by a critic whose pseudonym

[47] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GnEzIkPaEnU (accessed October 17, 2014).
[48] https://www.facebook.com/TiphaeKhwamCringLaththiThrrmPtirup/posts/430312520412451:0 (accessed May 6, 2015).

on YouTube is Big Nirvana. Its background music is the theme song of a Thai horror drama *Thayat Asun* (2001), literally meaning the "successor of Asura."[49] The story of this drama revolves around an old woman possessed by an evil spirit, Asura. In order to find her successor, she goes to her granddaughter's house and causes numerous problems there. The critic uses this drama as a sarcastic device to ironically criticize Yiguan Dao members who worship evil spirits and try to invite others to become members.

Photo 6 A photo captured from the clip that compares Yiguan Dao with *Thayat Asun* (source: Big Nirvana@YouTube)[50]

[49] Asuras are mythological lord beings with good or bad qualities in Hindu mythology who compete for power with the more benevolent devas. Buddhism fundamentally borrows their representations from Hinduism, but with some distinctive myths that are only found in Buddhist texts. Because of their image as demigods or even demons, Asuras become a symbol of evil spirits in everyday life.
[50] https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCDYTqqU4ciBiB0VFHfH9eLA/videos (accessed October 7, 2014, but deleted when accessed January 26, 2017).

Photo 7 Modified pictures showing mediums in Yiguan Dao events conveying evil spirits' messages.[51]

Photo 8 Modified pictures showing mediums in Yiguan Dao events conveying evil spirits' messages. [52]

In addition, the critics also reveal the secrets of Yiguan Dao on the Internet. In the initiation ritual, members would teach the new recruits about the secret "Three Treasures (*trairat* in Thai)." It is forbidden to reveal the secrets to others or open to the public. However, some critics reveal these secrets on the Internet with ill will.

[51] https://www.facebook.com/TiphaeKhwamCringLaththiThrrmPtirup/posts/407543956022641:0 (accessed May 6, 2015)
[52] https://www.facebook.com/TiphaeKhwamCringLaththiThrrmPtirup/posts/385989954844708:0 (accessed May 6, 2015)

In addition to these offensive discourses, some critics argue that Buddhism is the final salvation. As the photo reveals, there is a coffin in the Yiguan Dao Buddha hall. Yiguan Dao members ask the monks to chant for the dead. The caption reads, "In the end, the cult nevertheless has to ask the monks to chant for the dead! After that, they must move the body to the temple and burn it there! Why not chant in the Yiguan Dao Buddha Hall? Isn't Yiguan Dao more powerful than Buddhism?' In other words, the critics consider Buddhism to be more powerful than Yiguan Dao.

Photo 9 One critic's Facebook post illustrating how a Yiguan Dao member invited Buddhist monks to his Yiguan Dao Buddha hall to chant for the dead (Source: Facebook Page)[53]

Another branch of criticism is directed at the master *Dianchanshi* of Yiguan Dao. One user *chomlokthat* (literal meaning: the top of the world) questions the master of Yiguan Dao on his/her own Facebook page. The post is about *Diachuanshi* Liu, whose real name is Songkiat. He said that the email address of *Diachuanshi* Liu displayed on one YouTube clip he updated is the same as the email address in one second-hand wheel selling site. *Chomlokthat* questions why this *Dianchuanshi* does not focus on the practices of Yiguan Dao, but instead sells second-hand wheels. He ironically questions whether the Eternal Mother built the highway for vehicles.

[53] https://www.facebook.com/tan.jomlok/posts/321841364646249 (accessed May 6, 2015)

Additionally, some monks display their pictures inside the Yiguan Dao Buddha halls. Some critics indicate their scorn for this practice by saying that the monks might as well disrobe themselves.

Photo 10 One critic's Facebook post indicating that some Yiguan Dao dianchuanshi are not religious experts but actually businesspersons (source: Facebook page)[54]

Truth? — Location Mapping by Yiguan Dao Members

The critics discussed above usually criticize Yiguan Dao from Thai Buddhist perspectives. Yiguan Dao members need to face and negotiate such criticism. As mentioned earlier, Yiguan Dao is not recognized as a "religion" but registered as a charity foundation. Its critics do not perceive it as a "religion" but as an "inferior cult." Then, how do Yiguan Dao members locate themselves?

First, Yiguan Dao members claim that their teaching is the "*Truth*" (*thamma* in Thai), which is different from "religion" that changes with time and space. Yiguan Dao claims that the Truth unifies the teachings of Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism,

[54] https://www.facebook.com/groups/anuttaradham/permalink/527273804033114/ (accessed May 6, 2015).

Christianity, and Islam, and that the Truth is the origin of the teachings of those five major religions. Therefore, even if one becomes a Yiguan Dao member, they do not have to change their original religion or belief. The example of monks becoming Yiguan Dao members best illustrates this claim. Yiguan Dao members usually tell such stories in their discourses.

The most often heard story is the one about Khamnoi Bhikkhu in Mukdahan Province. According to Yiguan Dao members, Khamnoi Bhikkhu is now over 200 years old and is residing in Wat Thamphukamphra in Don Luang District, Mukdahan Province. Khamnoi Bhikkhu became an Arahan when he was around 100 years old by pursuing Buddhist practices. He has the supernatural power to go to either heaven or hell freely. However, the only place he cannot enter is the nirvana. When he was there, the guard asked him about the ‘‘Three Treasures”. Khamnoi Bhikkhu did not know about them, and so the guard told him to go back to the human world and wait for someone to teach him about the “Three Treasures.” Therefore, Khamnoi Bhikkhu went back to the human world and waited for the “Three Treasures” for a long time. Finally, one day, Yiguan Dao members came to invite him to become a member and taught him about the “Three Treasures.” Khamnoi Bhikkhu told them that he had waited for this day for a long time and that he was finally able to learn what the “Three Treasures” were. Although this story has many different versions by different members, the story is mainly about how an elder monk with supernatural power was waiting to become a Yiguan Dao member for a long time. This story shows how the Truth is more valuable than long-term Buddhist religious practices. Moreover, monks who know the Truth do not have to disrobe but continue as Buddhist monks.

Another story of Thai monks related with Yiguan Dao is the famous Buddhadasa Bhikkhu who established the Suan Mokkh and had great influence on Thai Buddhism in southern Thailand. In some courses of Yiguan Dao, Yiguan Dao members said that Buddhadasa Bhikkhu became famous because he translated the

Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch (*liuzu tanjing* in Mandarin, *sutkhongweilang* in Thai) from Chinese to Thai. The contents of the Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch primarily concern the teachings and stories of the sixth Zen patriarch Huineng (*weilang* in Thai). In Yiguan Dao, Huineng is also considered as their six patriarch after the Truth returned to China from India.[55] In addition, Yiguan Dao members also

[55] Although the founding patriarch of Yiguan Dao is Qingxu Liu, Yiguan Dao members trace their history of the Truth or Dao back to 64 masters across time. Those masters including 18 masters before Mengzi 孟子 in China (Eastern pre 18 masters), 28 masters before Damo 達摩 in India (Western 28 masters), and 18 masters in China (Eastern post 18 masters) after Damo brought the Truth or Dao back to China. In other words, they believe that the Truth or Dao was spread to India after Mengzi and succeeded as Buddhism in India. After Damo went to China, the Truth or Dao returned to China again and succeeded in China. However, after the Chinese communist government banned Yiguan Dao in China, Yiguan Dao mostly developed outside China. Some Yiguan Dao members consider making the Truth or Dao return to China, or in other words, making Yiguan Dao flourish again in China one of their important purposes.

In the period of the first 18 masters in China, 28 masters in India, and the first 16 masters when the Truth or Dao was restored to China, Yiguan Dao members believed that the world was in the Green Sun and Red Sun era. In those eras, the Truth or Dao could only be spread from one person to another and from one generation to the next. Moreover, only emperors, intellectuals, and monks knew the Truth.

Green Sun Era	1	Fuxi 伏義
	2	Shennong 神農
	3	Xuanyian 軒轅
	4	Emperor Shaohao 少昊
	5	Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊
	6	Emperor Ku 帝嚳
	7	Emperor Yao 帝堯
	8	Emperor Xun 帝舜
	9	Emperor Yu 帝禹
	10	Yiyin 伊尹
	11	Emperor Shang Tang 商湯
Red Sun Era	12	Taigongwang 太公望
	13	Emperor Wen 文王, Emperor Wu 武王, Zhougong 周公
	14	Laozhi 老子
	15	Confucius 孔子
	16	Yanzi 顏子, Zhengzi 曾子
	17	Zisi 子思
	18	Mengzi 孟子
	1	Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉尊者
	2	Ānanda 阿難尊者
	3	Śānavāsa 商那和修尊者
	4	Upagupta 優婆鞠多尊者
	5	Dhrtaka 提多迦尊者
	6	Miccaka 彌遮迦尊者
	7	Vasumitra 婆須密尊者
	8	Buddhanandi 佛陀難提尊者
	9	Buddhamitra 伏馱密多尊者

mentioned that nowadays, some elder monks in Suan Mokkh say that it is good to become a Yiguan Dao member. This discourse reveals how the teachings of Yiguan Dao are superior enough to be acknowledged even by the famous monks in Thailand.

Another example is the charismatic monk Khruba Bunchum who is active in the border areas of upper Mekong regions among northern Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, and southwestern China. Khruba Bunchum Yanasangwaror, although born in northern

	10	Pārśva 脅尊者
	11	Punyayaśas 富那夜奢尊者
	12	Ānabodhi / Aśvaghoṣa 馬鳴大士
	13	Kapimala 迦毗摩羅尊者
	14	Nāgārjuna 龍樹尊者
	15	Āryadeva / Kānadeva 迦那提婆尊者
	16	Rāhulata 羅睺羅多尊者
	17	Sanghānandi 僧伽難提尊者
	18	Sanghayaśas 伽耶舍多尊者
	19	Kumārata 鳩摩羅多尊者
	20	Śayata / Jayata 闍夜多尊者
	21	Vasubandhu 祖婆修盤頭尊者
	22	Manorhita 摩拏羅尊者
	23	Haklenayaśas 鶴勒那尊者
	24	Simhabodhi 師子尊者
	25	Vasiasita 祖婆舍斯多尊者
	26	Punyamitra 不如密多尊者
	27	Prajñātāra 般若多羅尊者
	28	Bodhidharma 菩提達摩大師
	1	Bodhidharma 菩提達摩
	2	Shenguang(Huike)神光(慧可)
	3	Sengcan 僧燦
	4	Daoxin 道信
	5	Hongren 弘忍
	6	Huineng 惠能
	7	Yucan Bai 白玉蟾, Daoyi Ma 馬道一
	8	Weiqun Luo 羅蔚群
	9	Dehui Huang 黃德輝
	10	Zixiang Wu 吳紫祥
	11	Liaoku He 何了苦
	12	Zhiqian Yuan 袁志謙
	13	Shouyi Yang 楊守一 Jinan Xu 徐吉南
	14	Hetian Yao 姚鶴天
	15	Jueyi Wang 王覺一
	16	Qingxu Liu 劉清虛
White Sun Era	17	Zhongyi Lu 陸中一
	18	Tianran Zhang 張天然 Suzhen Sun 孫素真

Thailand, has already been proclaimed a *ton bun*[56] in the Yuan Buddhist tradition that crosses over national boundaries. Cohen (2000: 142) indicates that his illustrious predecessors in this tradition were Khruba Siwichai and Khruba Khao Pi, who were in conflict with the central Thai Sangha during the beginning of the 20th century. However, unlike Tambiah (1984), identifying Khruba Siwichai with militant Buddhist millennialism, Cohen (2000, 2001b) argues that Khruba Bunchum as a modern *ton bun* tradition is a form of Buddhist revivalism, particularly in the context of the end of the cold war and the Buddhist renewal in Southwest China, Laos, and Myanmar. Nevertheless, similar to the northeastern Thai forest monks who were incorporated into the power crisis and the merit-making worship system of urban elites (Taylor 1993), people from Bangkok or other urban areas are going to seek Khruba Bunchum in this Mekong region. In this context, we could see Yiguan Dao members also follow this vein, and claim that Khruba Bunchum had already passed the initiation ritual and became a Yiguan Dao member. As can be seen in Photo 11 that has been circulated among Yiguan Dao members on the Internet, Khruba Bunchum is sitting in front of an Yiguan Dao-style altar, with the caption "Khruba Bunchum asked for receiving the Truth."[57] This shows that for Yiguan Dao members, even a charismatic monk such as Khruba Bunchum, is also eager to become a Yiguan Dao member.

[56] *Ton bun* means "source of merit," similar with *na bun* which means "field of merit" in the central or northeastern Thai Buddhist tradition. Cohen (2000: 142) indicates that its Central Thai equivalents are *nak bun* and *phu mi bun*, which mean "people with merit." However, different from the world-transcending *arahant* ideal, the ton bun tradition is a uniquely bodhisattva ideal, expressed typically in the building or renovation of religious monuments and the sharing of merit with the lay people. See Cohen (2000, 2001) for details.

[57] In this caption, the name of Khruba Bunchum is spelled wrong, with *Bunjum* instead of *Bunchum*.

Photo 11 Khruba Bunchum sitting in front of a Yiguan Dao-style altar

Becoming a Yiguan Dao member does not mean that one has to abandon his/her own original belief or religion. This is because Yiguan Dao members claim that what they learn is the Truth, but not religion. Therefore, one does not have to change his/her "religion." In many events, there are usually monks or maechis[58] who are Yiguan Dao members and attend the course or events. For example, when I asked some Yiguan Dao members in Chiang Rai province if there were many Buddhist monks criticizing Yiguan Dao, they replied that many monks became Yiguan Dao members instead. They presented the Buddhist temple Wat Huaiplakang as an example. The monk Phra Phobchok of this temple led many monks to become Yiguan Dao members. Moreover, they offer vegetarian food in many events, such as the Vegetarian Festival.[59] They claimed that those monks want to follow the vegetarian discipline as well, but they could not refuse the food the lay followers contribute to

[58] Maechi are Buddhist laywomen in Thailand who live an ascetic life and hold eight or even ten precepts. They usually wear white robes in their daily lives. Because of the lack of the nun's order in Thai Theravada Buddhism, there are no formal Buddhist nuns (Bhikkhuni) in the Thai Buddhist order. Women who seek for religious practices and ascetic life in Thai Theravada Buddhism could only become machi. For details, see Van Esterik (1982) and Ito (2009).
[59] See Footnote 40 for details.

them. Yiguan Dao members in every area usually narrate similar stories. Those stories or photos of monks attending initiation rituals, courses, or events are the sacred proof of the superiority of the "Truth" over "religion," and members usually tell those stories if they have opportunities to do so.

Another type of story that is usually told by Yiguan Dao members concerns well-known public figures who become Yiguan Dao members. The first example is the ex-Supreme Patriarch. Yiguan Dao members usually show the photo of the elder Yiguan Dao Master meeting with the ex-Supreme Patriarch. In this photo, the Master is seen sitting facing the ex-Supreme Patriarch and explaining the Truth. Members say that following this meeting, the ex-Supreme Patriarch also became a Yiguan Dao member. However, critics say that it is impossible that the ex-Supreme Patriarch became a Yiguan Dao member because of the eight points listed below:

Photo 12 Elder Yiguan Dao Master Han dianchuanshi meets the ex-Supreme Patriarch[60]

1. There is a carpet under the ex-Supreme Patriarch's seat. Additionally, his seat is higher.[61]

[60] https://www.facebook.com/TiphaeKhwamCringLaththiThrrmPtirup/posts/356453674465003 (accessed April 27, 2015)
[61] In Thai Buddhism, because the sacred is strongly divided from the profane, the seats of monks are

2. Uncle Pure Water[62] also sat on the chair. This is because he is an old man and his legs were in poor health.

3. This cult asked to meet with the ex-Supreme Patriarch as a charity foundation.[63]

4. The fact that the Master explained the teachings to the ex-Supreme Patriarch does not mean that he becomes a member. Yiguan Dao said that without any proof.

5. There are no records about the ex-Supreme Patriarch accepting Yiguan Dao in Wat Bowonniwet.

6. There is no information related to the ex-Supreme Patriarch going to the Buddha halls or rituals, or attending any events of Yiguan Dao. Yiguan Dao said that without any proof.

7. The foundation of Yiguan Dao is not under the royal patronage of the Supreme Patriarch.

8. None of the sermons, words, and publications are related with Yiguan Dao.

usually higher than lay people to show their different status.

[62] The elder Yiguan Dao Master Han in this picture named himself as Elder Pure Water (*baishui laoren* 白水老人 in Mandarin). The critic used the world Apae อาแปะ, which is a transliterated term to call old men in Teochiu language, rather than Elder, to call this elder master in an ironic way.

[63] This means that this meeting is not about religious talk, but only meeting with a representative from a charity foundation.

Photo 13 One critic's Facebook post commenting on the meeting of Han dianchuanshi and the ex-Supreme Patriarch (Source: Facebook Page)[64]

Although some critics question this claim, this story is nevertheless repeatedly told.

Another example is Chamlong Srimuang. Chamlong was a former deputy prime minister (October 25, 1994 – May 19, 1995) and a former governor of Bangkok (November 14, 1985 – November 14, 1989, and January 7, 1990 – January 22, 1992). He is not only deeply related to the anti-military uprising of May 1992, but also to the

[64] https://www.facebook.com/TiphaeKhwamCringLaththiThrrmPtirup/posts/356453674465003 (accessed April 27, 2015)

People's Alliance for Democracy[65] that works against the group of the former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. Chamlong is a devout follower of Santi Asoke, a reformist Buddhist group in Thailand. Because of this, he is also famous for being a vegetarian and promoting vegetarianism as well. However, for Yiguan Dao members, he is not only famous for his vegetarian life, but also because he undertook the initiation rituals and became a Yiguan Dao member. The photo shows Chamlong kneeling in front of the altar of Yiguan Dao Buddha hall, and the caption says, "Major General Chamlong Srimuang seeks for goodness (*khwam dii* in Thai) inside goodness before becoming the prime minister?" This means that although Chamlong is a follower of Santi Asoke, he continues to follow other religious practices as well. In addition, in 1995, the Fayi group held a ceremony in commemoration of the Enlightenment of the elder Yiguandao Master Han *dianchuanshi*. As the deputy prime minister at the time, Chamlong also attended this ceremony, and paid his respect to the elder Yiguandao Master Han *dianchuanshi*. For some Yiguan Dao members, this is a good example to convey the credibility of Yiguan Dao. However, some other members say that Chamlong merely became a Yiguan Dao member for namesake, but continues to follow only the practices of Santi Asoke.

[65] The People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) is a Thai political movement and pressure group founded in 2005. In Thailand, people call them *phathamit* or *seualeuang* (yellow shirts) since they use Yellow as their symbol to support for the royal family. It was originally a coalition of protesters against Thaksin Shinawatra, the former Prime Minister of Thailand. The PAD was a chief player in the Thailand political crisis of 2005 to 2006 and the 2008 crisis. Its was composed primarily of ultra-royalist middle-class and anti-Thaksin Southerners, supported by some factions of the Thai Army, and some leaders of Democrat Party. Chamlong Srimuang and the religious group Santi Asoke also provided support for the PAD.

Photo 14 The cover of the magazine "Mahasachan" revealing Chamlong Srimuang kneeling down in front of a Yiguan Dao altar

For Yiguan Dao members, "the Truth" is different from but superior than and inclusive of "religion." Moreover, the teaching of Yiguan Dao also claims that everyone can achieve salvation in this era if they know the Truth, unlike in old times, when only kings or monks could achieve salvation. In other words, in this era, we do not need to be ordained as monks for salvation, but only need to know the Truth. Therefore, Yiguan Dao members sometimes criticize Buddhist practices, such as ordination as monks or meditation, as old-fashioned religious practices. From the 1990s, Thai monks have experienced significant criticism from the mass media and in the form of public opinions in Thailand (Jackson 1997). In addition to the criticism that the teachings are distinct from Buddhist practices, as part of the trend of criticizing Thai monks, I also heard significant questions and criticism toward monks during my fieldwork as well.

One of the examples is that monks take advantage of their status that distinguishes them from lay people but do not perform their duties adequately. One

Sunday night, six northeastern Thai Yiguan Dao members and I were waiting for the train to return to northeastern Thailand at Hualamphong station after finishing a three-day course in Bangkok. At 6 pm, the national song of Thailand was broadcasted at the station, and most of the seated people stood up on hearing the song. Some western tourists who were sitting next to our group did not first understand what was happening, but one member from our group waved his hand and asked them to stand up. Those Westerners, similar to everyone else, stood up. However, none of the monks sitting on the seats reserved for them stood up. I asked the members if monks do not have to stand up. One female member in her 50s asked me, "Even Westerners exhibit their sense of propriety (*li*). When they see people next to them stand up, they follow suit and stand up as well. Why do these monks not stand up? The police around should arrest them." She then turned to two other male members and asked, "Both of you have experienced ordination. Could you tell me why these monks do not stand up? Please tell me." One male member said, "Perhaps because they thought that they should not behave in the same way as lay persons (*yom* in Thai)." The female member said again, "Even Westerners understand the importance of following what others do as the saying 'When in Rome, do as the Romans do. (入境隨俗 *Rujingsuisu* in Mandarin)' reveals. Why do those monks not to stand up and pay respect to the national song? They are following the 227 disciplines, aren't they? I want to ask them, 'Could respectful master (*luangta* in Thai) tell me (*khanoi* in Thai), is there any discipline in the 227 percepts saying that monks do not have to pay respect to the national song?'" She repeated this question several times, and finally said, "Okay, let the monks behave as they like (*chang phra ther* in Thai)." This example shows Yiguan Dao members' dislike of monks who avoid following general rules and how they express this dislike by using the "sense of propriety (*li* in Mandarin) for their argument, which is an important aspect of Yiguan Dao.

Another case reveals the significance of the growing distrust in established Buddhism in Thailand as well. Nii, a woman who is older than 50 and lives in

Bangkok, is a Yiguan Dao member who often goes to Thai temples to listen to monks' lectures. She said, "Nowadays, some monks do not provide lectures at all. There are some good monks, but not all monks are good. In addition, many Buddhists gain many advantages in the name of being monks, but regardless drink alcohol and do many bad things. They gain merit and sin at the same time. It is meaningless." Despite her interest in Buddhism, her distrust in Thai Buddhism led her to Yiguan Dao. In contrast to Thai Buddhist monks who do not provide lectures at all, Yiguan Dao considers all people who study and practice religious teachings as capable of becoming lecturers.

Sometimes Yiguan Dao members claim that the contemporary Buddhism in Thailand does not follow Buddhism in the true sense in the ancient period when Buddhists truly followed the teachings of Yiguan Dao. One Yiguan Dao member told me that he usually uses the case of ancient Buddhism to explain the Truth to other members. For example, he said that if we want to obtain something in return, we should first undergo the experience. Many people and monks today experience a good life in their homes or temples without any suffering. However, in the ancient period, the Lord Buddha left his palace; observed birth, senility, illness and death in the world; and faced attack and criticism from others. Finally, he was able to achieve Enlightenment because of these experiences. This member also said that Buddha is not only Siddhārtha Gautama, but several other individuals as well. Anyone can become Buddha. In the ancient period, the Lord Buddha adopted mendicancy not for food, but for enlightening lives. It is different from the monks of the present era, who go out for mendicancy without communicating with others. When they return to the temples, they primarily eat and sometimes play with smartphones. However, not all monks in the present era are bad; there are some good monks as well. However, many monks do not indeed know about the Truth and teachings of Yiguan Dao. In other words, for some Yiguan Dao members, their affiliation with Yiguan Dao is due to their dissatisfaction with contemporary Buddhism in Thailand. In contrast, the true

Buddhism of the ancient period embodied the Truth they learned in Yiguan Dao.

As mentioned above, Yiguan Dao members claim that becoming a member does not mean abandoning their original beliefs or religious practices. However, in terms of practice, if members who have already been following the Yiguan Dao practices for a long time wish to be ordained to become monks again, other members attempt to dissuade them from doing that. K is a Yiguan Dao member in his 40s from Sisaket province. Before becoming a Yiguan Dao member, he was ordained as a monk for around five to six years. He thought that he would not be able to help others as a monk. Therefore, after becoming a Yiguan Dao member, he moved among Yiguan Dao Buddha halls in different places and helped with the affairs there. However, after remaining a member for eight to nine years, he changed his mind and wished to be ordained again. When he mentioned this to other Yiguan Dao members, they told him that it was not a good idea. They said to him, "You already know the Truth. Why do you wish to return to the old practices?" K finally gave up and is presently working in a vegetarian restaurant owned by Yiguan Dao members, and helps with Yiguan Dao events like he did earlier. This example illustrates that although Yiguan Dao members claim that the Truth includes Buddhism and one does not have to give up his/her religious beliefs or practices after becoming a member, in the actual practice of Yiguan Dao, it is not recommended to "go back" to the "old" religious practices.

The prohibition of meditation is the most prominent example to show that Yiguan Dao members consider Buddhist practices to be old-fashioned ones. According to the teachings of Yiguan Dao, instead of wasting time on personal practices of meditation, members should go out to invite others to become members and help others to know the Truth. In other words, they consider surviving in the world to be more important than personal salvation. Yiguan Dao members usually teach such concepts in their courses. F, who was born in Kanthararom District, Sisaket Province, taught about the superiority of practices of Yiguan Dao compared to the

practices of Buddhism under the title "Practices of Three Levels" 三乘法 (*thamawithi haeng traiyan* ธรรมวิถีแห่งไตรยาน in Thai) in one of the courses of Mingde class.[66] In this course, F used her own example to show how the practices of Yiguan Dao are better than Buddhist meditation. F has a male friend who has a special ability to see ghosts. This friend also took the initiation ritual and became a Yiguan Dao member. He said that it is true that there are gods and ghosts around when holding Yiguan Dao rituals or events. However, he is still inclined to practice meditation. F who follows the teachings of Yiguan Dao, does not consider meditation to be a bad thing but a practice that calms down one's mind, although meditation does not help attain salvation. Once, she was unable to get a bus ticket to return to northeastern Thailand from Bangkok before the Songkran period.[67] Her friend knew of this and invited her for meditation in a forest temple[68] in the suburban province of Bangkok. F said that while meditating, she was able to see many images. Suddenly, she heard a voice say, "The world beings are waiting for you to help them. How can you waste your time in meditation here?" After hearing this, F left the temple immediately. After a long time, her friend told her that he regretted not following the practices of Yiguan Dao. Because even after practicing meditation for a long duration, he could only achieve limited progress and not salvation.

However, not all groups of Yiguan Dao refuse meditation. Lu (2008: 102-108) indicates that, in Taiwan, because of the rise of meditation and its recent popularity, some Yiguan Dao groups incorporate meditation into their own practices. Similar to the transformation in Taiwan, there are also some Yiguan Dao groups in Thailand that

[66] Mingde class is a level of courses about the Yiguan Dao teachings in Fayi Lingyin group. See details in Chapter 4.
[67] Songkran festival is the Thai New Year's festival, or water festival that is more famous for foreigner tourists. It is a national holiday celebrated on April 13 every year, but April 14 and 15 are holidays as well. In that period, people who work outside, particularly in Bangkok, usually return to their hometown to spend their holidays with their families.
[68] Thai Forest Tradition is a lineage of Theravada Buddhist monasticism. This tradition focuses more on ascetic practices than reading Buddhist classics. Practitioners of the tradition reside in monasteries traditionally placed in secluded rural areas, practicing meditation practices collectively. However, some scholars argue that this forest tradition is also integrated into urban populations and authorities. See details in Tambiah 1984; Taylor 1993.

incorporate meditation creatively into their practices as well. The Lang De Buddha hall in Bangkok is a Yiguan Dao Buddha hall that combines Yiguan Dao with De Jiao.[69] According to the Master Su in this Buddha hall, earlier, they primarily held events such as courses or initiation rituals. From the beginning of 2014, they began to practice morning meditation on the second and fourth Sunday every month. According to Master Su, the elder members do not have jobs. Therefore, if there are no activities for them to undertake, they seldom come to the Buddha hall. That is why they began meditation from 2014. I asked if it was acceptable to practice meditation. Master Su answered that the meditation they practiced was different from the Buddhist meditation. When they practice Yiguan Dao meditation, they focus on the specific point that Yiguan Dao members consider it as a secret. Master Su called this method of meditation as "*huiguangfanzhao* 迴光返照" (Literally, it means "the last radiance of the setting sun." However, it is used to indicate "momentary recovery of consciousness.") Master Su explained that although practicing meditation was not recommended earlier in Yiguan Dao, it does not mean that it is prohibited. It is because when we practice meditation, we do not have time for helping others or inviting others to become Yiguan Dao members. However, nowadays, Yiguan Dao already has many members. Thus, there is no problem with practicing meditation. Master Su even cited some articles written by Elder Master Han[70] to support his ideas of "*huiguangfanzhao*" method of meditation. In other words, in contrast to criticizing Buddhist practices, some Yiguan Dao members adopt Buddhist practices creatively and transform them into more advanced Yiguan Dao practices.

Apart from considering Buddhist teaching or practices as inferior or old-fashioned, sometimes, members perceive Buddhist religious practices or rituals as "customs" (*prapheni* in Thai). By considering them as "customs," Yiguan Dao

[69] See details of the history of Lang De Buddha Hall in Chapter 2.
[70] Elder Master Han *dianchuanshi* is the founder of the Yiguan Dao Fayi group. He was born in 1901 and passed away in 1995. He called himself Elder Pure Water (*baishui laoren*). Members respect him as *baishui shengdi* 白水聖帝 after he passed away.

members can pursue the Buddhist ways of performing rituals as long as the main purpose was the Truth. I will take *phapa* rituals and funerals as example.

Phapa is a Buddhist ritual in which, originally, lay followers donated the clothes required by monks for merit. In contemporary Thailand, it is usually held for fund raising. The *Phapa* event usually includes chanting or wishing for the monks, eating food, and so on. Before the event, people provide some money enclosed in envelopes for *phapa* (*songphapa* ซองผ้าป่า in Thai) and give it to the organizers for gaining merit. In Yiguan Dao, for raising money to build Buddha halls or for other aims, they also invite monks to hold *phapa* events occasionally. In December 2014, I attended one *phapa* event held at a Buddha hall in Sisaket Province, which was a fundraiser to build a big Buddha hall there. Before the event, members prepared envelopes inviting their relatives, friends, and even unknown strangers for phapa. On that day, five monks were first invited to the building site of the big Buddha hall, which was the venue for this *phapa* event. They performed regular chanting and made wishes as usual. The Yiguan Dao master lit the candle, and offered the money tree (*ton ngern* ต้นเงิน in Thai) to the monks as the representative of the host (*chaophap* เจ้าภาพ in Thai) of the lay side. After this ritual, the monks left, and the fair began. The fair included food and some stage performances. Members and non-members talked with each other, had fun, took pictures, and so on. Finally, the income of that day was counted to be around 800 thousand baht (around 23000 USD). However, during the meeting following the event, the master and members made donations to increase the amount to 1 million baht (around 28500 USD). It might seems strange that Yiguan Dao members are inviting Buddhist monks, “the practitioners of the old era,” to carry on the ritual. However, for Yiguan Dao members, the most valuable act is to build a big Buddha hall to invite more people to become members. Following the “customs” to invite monks to perform the ritual is not strange at all.

Photo 15 Inviting five monks for the ritual for the phapa event

Photo 16 Phapa event for the building of the big Yiguan Dao Buddha Hall

Funerals are another example. As the criticism revealed, most Yiguan Dao members in Thailand follow the Buddhist way to process their funerals. They invite monks to come and burn their dead bodies in Buddhist temples. However, besides those "customs," Yiguan Dao has some specific religious practices. For pious members, besides traditional Buddhist funerals, they hold another type of funeral called "Ritual of White Sun Era" (*phitiyukkhao* in Thai) separately as well. I discuss one of these rituals held in February 2015 as an example to explain this further.

The deceased member was a 70-year-old female living in Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province. According to the rank system of Yiguan Dao, she is only a

Tanzhu, who made a vegetarian vow and owned her own family Buddha hall in her house. However, she made a great contribution to the early development of her Yiguan Dao group in this area. Therefore, Yiguan Dao members held the ritual of the White Sun Era for her. During the first three days after her death, her body was placed in a coffin and kept in her own house. They invited Buddhist monks to chant everyday. However, the food and caring for friends or relatives was mostly done by Yiguan Dao members from other areas instead of neighbors. On the fourth day, the cremation of the dead body and the coffin was held in the Buddhist temple near their house in the afternoon, but before that, the ritual of White Sun Era was held in the morning. Almost all the attendants of the ritual of White Sun Era are Yiguan Dao members. In this ritual, the attendant included four masters and other members mainly from the southern part of northeastern Thailand.

09:00-09:05	開始 Beginning
09:05-09:25	家奠 พิธีของครอบครัว Ritual of family
09:25-09:30	生平 ประวัติผู้วายชนม์ History of the dead
09:30-09:45	證道 ประจักษ์หลักฐานแห่งธรรม Evidence of the Truth
09:45-09:55	獻供 ถวายผลไม้ Offering fruits
09:55-10:15	誦經 สวดมนต์ Chanting
10:15-10:45	公奠 พิธีคารวะผู้วายชนม์ Ritual of respecting the dead
10:45-11:00	合唱團 ร้องเพลงประสานเสียง Chorus
11:00-11:30	拈香 เหนี่ยนเซียง Burning incense

11:30-11:40	致謝詞 เจ้าภาพกล่าวขอบคุณแขก Expressing the family's gratitude

Table 3 The process of the Ritual of White Sun Era

This table describes the process of the ritual of White Sun Era. It begins with the ritual of family. Family members follow the process of offering fruits and food to the pantheons inside the Buddha hall in order to offer fruits for the dead. After that, one representative of the family member reads the funeral oration and burns it after reading. Following this, a Yiguan Dao member makes a speech about the life history of the dead, followed by a speech by a Yiguan Dao master, which describes the dead person's contribution to the development of Yiguan Dao. Following this, another fruit offering is made to the dead but by other Yiguan Dao members. Afterwards, all the attendants chant the Buddha Maitreya's Sutra for Salvation (*milejiukuzhenjing* 彌勒救苦真經 in Mandarin) thrice for the dead. Next, the ritual for respecting the dead is held for other members to talk about their interactions with the dead and offer respect to the dead with fruits and incenses as well. In this part, the process is divided according to the area division of Yiguan Dao organizations. After this, the chorus of Yiguan Dao songs follows and all of the attendants offer respect to the dead through incenses. Finally, the representative of the dead member's family thanks every attendant for coming.

The rituals of cremation in the Buddhist temple in the afternoon are almost the same as the regular funerals held in the Buddhist temples in Thailand.[71] However, some of the attendants are Yiguan Dao members, and the books provided to the attendants after the rituals are not funeral books (*nangseu ngansop* หนังสืองานศพ in Thai),

[71] The regular funerals in the Buddhist temple in Thailand are held as follows: When someone dies, his/her family members place the body inside their house or temples for several days. On those days, they invite Buddhist monks to chant for the dead and their family, either to their houses or temples. After that, the cremation could be said to highlight the whole process. Most friends or relatives of the dead attend the cremation, and the monks chant for the dead and all the participants as well. Before the cremation, each attendant goes to pay respect to the dead near the coffin, following which, most of them get the funeral book of the dead or some amulets etc. Finally, the bone ash is moved to the temple and placed inside the small pagoda with some simple rituals.

but morality books (*nangseu thamma* หนังสือธรรมะ in Thai) of Yiguan Dao.

If we analyze the process of the "Ritual of White Sun Era," we can say that it reveals Yiguan Dao members' religious goals and their distinction from the Buddhist ritual. As the name of the ritual "White Sun" suggests, it is distinguished from the "Red Sun," which refers to Buddhist practices. In Yiguan Dao, history can be divided into three eras: Green Sun, Red Sun, and White Sun. In the Green Sun or Red Sun era, only kings, intellectuals, or monks could achieve salvation. However, in the White Sun era, everyone can achieve salvation if they know the Truth. Members say, "In the morning, we attend the ritual of the White Sun era, and in the afternoon, we attend the ritual of Red Sun Era." This shows how Yiguan Dao is distinct from Buddhism. Moreover, the process of the ritual of the White Sun Era shows that everyone is sacred and not only monks. Therefore, instead of inviting monks to chant for the dead, in the Ritual of White Sun Era, every member could chant for the dead and carry on duties inside the ritual. In other words, on the one hand, the "Ritual of White Sun Era" expresses its difference from the "custom" of the "Red Sun" Buddhist "customs." It also reveals the religious concept of Yiguan Dao that everyone is sacred as "Buddha" and not only the Buddhist monks, and they use the story of the dead as a model for a good Yiguan Dao member.

Photo 17 “Ritual of family” in the “Ritual of White Sun Era”

Photo 18 Yiguan Dao members chanting for the dead

However, not all Yiguan Dao members hold the Ritual of White Sun Era. It is limited to members who take the vegetarian vow and make contributions to Yiguan Dao. Most Yiguan Dao members would follow the “custom” of the Buddhist temple in Thailand for their funerals. Nevertheless, in addition to the “Ritual of White Sun

Era" held only for the pious members, general members also have their special practices in Buddhist funerals. Yiguan Dao members believe that after knowing the Truth and practicing vegetarian discipline, their bodies do not become hard after death. This implies that death is exactly like falling asleep. Therefore, before burning dead bodies in Buddhist rituals, members check for the softness of the dead body. This is a sacred proof of the Truth for members. In this way, although members follow Buddhist "customs," they can prove their belief in this practice.

Photo 19 Yiguan Dao members show that the body of the dead member remains soft without becoming hard before cremation (Source: อนุตตรธรรมในใจคุณ@Facebook)

Photo 20 Yiguan Dao members show that the body of the dead member remains soft without becoming hard, exactly resembling falling asleep (Source: http://www.nakdham.com/)

The example above shows the additional ritual or process apart from the Buddhist funerals. It shows that for Yiguan Dao members, Buddhist funerals are customs, but that Yiguan Dao rituals or processes fulfill their religious goals. However, funerals are not merely about burying the dead body into the ground or cremating the dead body into ashes. Sometimes, it is also related to the long process of the ritual, such as achieving merit in Thai Buddhism (for example, *Bun Kathin*), or second burials in Taiwan or other Southeast Asia areas. In some groups of Yiguan Dao in Thailand, they hold some rituals for the dead after the main funeral as well. Here, I take the funerals of Fayi Heshan group of Yiguan Dao as an example.

Regardless of the style of their main funeral, Fayi Heshan members can take a part of the ashes of the dead or anything related to the body of the dead and bury it in an earth hole every November. This is located in Pak Chong District, Nakhon Ratchasima Province, which is the center of this group in Thailand. The condition for

putting these objects into the holes is that the dead should be members who took the vegetarian vow and practiced it when alive. Moreover, each one should pay 30000 Baht (around 100000 Japanese yen, or 850 USD) for the place. Each year, in June and November, many members assemble in the Pak Chong center, make a big offering, and chant for the dead buried there. More than 1000 members have already taken this service.

In this case, similar to the second burial involving taking parts of the dead into the new burial place after the first/main funeral, similar religious ideas as Yiguan Dao are illustrated in the first example. First, regardless of the styles of the first/main funerals, it is more important for members to place their parts in the "communal burial sites" of Yiguan Dao group. It not only shows that Yiguan Dao practices are more than "religious customs," similar to Buddhist rituals but also symbolizes that all members come together in the nirvana of the Eternal Mother. Moreover, the condition of the vegetarian vow shows the dead's purity and superiority in comparison to others. The offering or chant of Yiguan Dao members for the dead shows that not only monks but also members can carry on the duties in the rituals.

Summary

Across ethnic boundaries, Yiguan Dao has acquired many ethnic Thai members in Thailand. However, this is not merely because the Thai are predominantly Buddhists. This argument supposes a Buddhist-centered culture, and uses its continuity and syncretism to explain religious change. It overlooks the discontinuity, and discourses and practices with individual agency.

For the Thai state, Yiguan Dao is not recognized as "religion," but registered as a "charity foundation." Nevertheless, it is not banned by the state and not strongly regulated. However, for many Buddhist critics, Yiguan Dao is an inferior "cult," and

receives much criticism. Most critics consider Buddhist aspects and criticize that it twists Buddhist teachings or worships evil spirits. Furthermore, those critics question the nonexistence of religious experts and its superiority to Buddhism.

In the face of those criticisms, Yiguan Dao members need to negotiate and map out their location in relation to Thai Buddhism. They claim that their belief is "Truth" that is different from Buddhist practices. On the one hand, they claim that Buddhist religious practices such as ordination or meditation are "old-fashioned religious practices." If they know the "Truth," everyone could achieve salvation without ordination. On the other hand, even if Yiguan Dao members have no choice but to follow Buddhist practices, they claim that Buddhism only consists of "customs" that are adapted to different cultures. That means that even if they follow those Buddhist "customs," there are no problems with the "Truth." In addition, they even form new discourses or practices creatively, such as adoption of meditation, or new funerals and rituals. We can observe that Yiguan Dao members try to map out the location of "Truth" in these different discourses and ritual practices.

As mentioned earlier, it appears to be an extension of what Ito (2012) called the "Buddhist Public Sphere" outside "Buddhism." However, there are also some points of differences between the two. In the case of Ito, the actors are mostly elites such as monks or intellectuals. The space of their dispute is mainly publications or formal seminars. However, concerning the dispute over Yiguan Dao, most actors are unknown Internet users or general Yiguan Dao members. Moreover, the space of their discourses and practices is the Internet, the Yiguan Dao courses, or their religious practices as well. As critics and members continue to produce these discourses and practices in different parts in their own ways, the location mapping of Yiguan Dao members might require to be modified continuously instead of becoming conclusive.

Furthermore, those interactions help us understand Yiguan Dao itself more, rather

than view it as an extension of Thai Buddhism, as Robbins (2007) argues about the anthropology of Christianity. As these interactions reveal, we can see that Yiguan Dao offers its members a significant amount of flexibility in the face of competition within religious markets. There are several works of literature have indicated how Yiguan Dao intellectuals re-interpret Chinese or religious classics in their own ways. Yu (1998) mentions that in the history of world religions, there are many cases that use "rhetorical discourses" to re-interpret the classics. Therefore, it is not unusual for Yiguan Dao to re-interpret the Christian Bible with the conclusion of the salvation of Jigong at the end of the world. Chung (2006) also analyzes the unique manner in which Yiguan Dao intellectuals read Confucian Analects (*lunyu* 論語 in Mandarin) using their own patterns of "Ultimate (*ben* 本 in Mandarin)" and "Un-Ultimate (*feiben* 非本 in Mandarin)." In a different vein, Ting (2008) argues that Yiguan Dao intellectuals not only re-interpret those classics but also create new "classics" by the revelations from the spirit writing or interpretation of those classics. Therefore, because of the newly created "classics," they were able to renew them by combining them with the "Truth." However, those literatures mainly focus on the structural side of reinterpretation or recreation of teachings and classics, but overlook the creative discourses and religious practices by its general members, particularly in the face of criticism or attack from outside. In this chapter, we also see how Yiguan Dao members create new discourses or religious practices when they face criticism from other critics. This shows the flexibility of Yiguan Dao not only in terms of its structural aspects but also practical aspects.

Chapter 4

The Organizational Structure of Yiguan Dao

Multiple Level and Fluid Type

As the development of Yiguan Dao in Thailand transformed from a Chinese religious group to a transregional or transnational religious group across ethnic boundaries, we should not study it in the context of Chinese ethnicity but consider it as a new religious group in competitive modern Thai religious market as discussed in Chapter 3. Its development is connected with social change in modern Thailand. However, I argue that it is not as "individualized" as many studies about modern Thai religious practices have indicated.

In this chapter, I challenge the supposition of "individualization" of the Thai religion. With economic development and social change in Thailand, people move from the countryside to urban cities and even move abroad. In the context of societies with high mobility, the much-divided organizational structure of Yiguan Dao offers members an opportunity to find a toehold when moving around. People who migrate for higher education, work, or overseas labor find an anchor in the trans-regional network of Yiguan Dao. This trans-regional network also supports people in the margins or those who are excluded from their own communities. By comparing with other new Buddhist groups and Chinese religious groups in Thailand, I indicate how Yiguan Dao situates itself in this competitive modern Thai religious market.

Teachings and Organizational Structure

With the concept of "the unification of the five major religions," which means that Yiguan Dao unifies Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Islam into one, Yiguan Dao claims that what it teaches is the "Truth" (*Dao* in Mandarin, *thamma* in Thai) but not "religion" (*Jiao* in Mandarin, *sasana* in Thai). Yiguan Dao

conceives human history as divided into three eras: Green Sun (*qingyang* in Mandarin, *yutkhiao* in Thai), Red Sun (*hongyang* in Mandarin, *yutdaeng* in Thai), and White Sun (*baiyang* in Mandarin, *yutkhao* in Thai). Simply put, it means that in the former two eras, only kings or monks could achieve salvation. However, in the final period of salvation, that is the White Sun era, the Eternal Mother provides the opportunity for salvation. Therefore, everyone can achieve salvation without ordination if they become members of Yiguan Dao and learn the Truth.

Period	Green Sun Period	Red Sun Period	White Sun Period
Year	3086 BC-1200 BC	1200 BC-1912 AD	1912 AD-Present
Presiding over salvation	Dipankara Buddha	Gautama Buddha	Maitreya Buddha
Truth	The Truth is for the King	The Truth is for intellectuals and monks	The Truth is for everyone

Table 4 The categorization of periods according to the teachings of Yiguan Dao

However, after learning the Truth in the initiation ceremony, members must engage in practices to maintain this salvation. These practices can be simply divided into two kinds. First, in terms of the inner practices, Yiguan Dao emphasizes vegetarian discipline and taking Yiguan Dao courses. In terms of outer practices, members should invite more people to become believers, or support other members to continue their religious practices. As I will discuss later, those courses or efforts towards making others join are strongly related with the migration of Yiguan Dao members.

Next, I will introduce the institutional structure of Yiguan Dao. Yiguan Dao is

not a big religious group similar to Wat Phra Dhammakaya, with a center and overseas branches. Simply, there are dozens of groups called “lines” (*zuxian* in Mandarin, *sai* in Thai), and under those “lines,” there are an even greater number of subgroups. Therefore, it is difficult to call it a religious group as a whole. Because Yiguan Dao was banned by the Chinese and Taiwanese governments from the 1950s, its members had to perform their religious practices in secret. Therefore, interactions among members belonging to different groups are very rare.

In addition to the state policy, Chinese religious sects such as Yiguan Dao themselves are inclined to be separate. Because of the emphasis on “Mandate of Heaven” (*tianmin*g 天命 in Mandarin) and the “teacher-disciple” relations, Yiguan Dao was divided into many groups and subgroups (Lin 2007; Xu and Lin 2010). “Mandate of Heaven” originally means that the heaven granted emperors the rights to rule. However, in the salvation theory of Yiguan Dao, it means that heaven (or the Eternal Mother) bestows its mandate on the Patriarch or the masters of Yiguan Dao for the salvation of the world. The Eternal Mother sent Jigong Buddha to the world for salvation. Only the Patriarch Guangbi Zhang, as the incarnation of Jigong Buddha, and other masters who are the representatives of the Patriarch, have rights from heaven to carry out initiation rituals and save people from returning to Eternity. In other words, without the “mandate of heaven,” people cannot attain true salvation.

The “Mandate of Heaven” is also related to the second emphasis, “teacher-disciple” relations. In Yiguan Dao, the pantheons, the Patriarch, the masters, and the members form the “teacher-disciple” relationships. In Yiguan Dao, they are usually called the Patriarch Zhang and the Matriarch Sun, “The Great Teacher (s*hizun* 師尊 in Mandarin)” and “The Great Teacher’s Wife (*shimu* 師母 in Mandarin)”. In other words, the relationship between the Patriarch, Matriarch, and the members is considered to be one of teachers and disciples. Moreover, as the Patriarch and Matriarch are the incarnations of Jigong Buddha and Moon Wisdom Bodhisattva,

members also take the gods “Jigong Buddha” and “Moon Wisdom Bodhisattva” as their teachers, and call “Jigong Buddha” as “Jigong Teacher.” The masters of Yiguan Dao, as the representatives of the Patriarch and Matriarch not only carry out the initiation or other important rituals, but also “teach us the fundamental relationship between oneself and the society, the knowledge and skills to live in the society, and help us answer questions in the learning process (*chuandao, shouye, jiehuo* 傳道、授業、解惑 in Mandarin).” In other words, they play the traditional role of teachers. As many studies about Chinese religious sects indicate, this is related with the system of “Imperial Examination” (*kejuzhidu* 科舉制度 in Mandarin) in Qing Dynasty. Many Confucians who were unable to pass the exam usually teach classics to villagers in local towns (Sung 1987; Huang 2011: 54-60). In this way, it formed various “teacher-disciple” relationships with Yiguan Dao.

Although Lin (2007) argues that the division of Yiguan Dao is related to the division system of Chinese family, I argue that the emphasis on “Mandate of Heaven” and “teacher-disciple” relationships reveal more emic knowledge about the division and formation of groups and subgroups in Yiguan Dao. That is, when one master claims that he got the “mandate of heaven” and asked his disciples to carry out their own affairs, then a new subgroup formed automatically.

Those groups usually use the name of their Buddhist hall in China before coming to Taiwan as the name of their “lines.” The subgroups usually add other names following the names of their parent groups. For example, the group led by Han Yulin from Tianjin uses “Fayi” as their name. The subgroups are named “Fayi Chongde,” “Fayi Lingyin,” “Fayi Tianen” etc. Interaction and common events among those groups and subgroups are limited. In other words, Yiguan Dao could not be considered as a great religious institution as a whole.

Organizational Structure of Yiguan Dao in Thailand

The organizational structure of many divided groups and subgroups also had influences on Yiguan Dao in Thailand. Those influences are mainly based on two points. The first is that the dissemination of Yiguan Dao into Thailand did not occur via merely one route, but that many routes were taken by several groups and subgroups. Table 1 in Chapter 2 reveals the periods in which several groups came into Thailand. However, as my research in Thailand indicates, there are more groups and more complexities than this form. In 2000, mainly by Fayi Chongde, members in Thailand established their center and registered as "The Central Foundation of Thai Yiguan Dao" (*mulanithi sunklang ikuantao (anuttharatham) thai* in Thai) in Thailand. However, not all of the Yiguan Dao groups joined this foundation. Moreover, there are also some separated groups that are not recognized by primary Yiguan Dao groups. Although they engage in religious activities in Thailand, they did not join the foundation as well.[72] Consequently, it is very difficult to form a complete image of Yiguan Dao in Thailand.

The other point is that, because of those different groups and subgroups, usually, several Buddha halls exist in one place. I will take Fayi Chongde as an example to explain this feature. Fayi Chonde established its first Buddhist Hall Taidetang in Bangkok and began its religious activities in 1978. In 2011, it claims that there are 749 Buddha halls of Faiyi Chonde all over Thailand. Those Buddha halls are divided into seven big regions: Bangkok, Nakhon Pathom, Chonburi, Nakhon Ratchshima, Ubon Ratchathani, Phitsanulok, and Chiang Mai. As shown in Table 5, Buddha halls are registered as "foundation" (*mulanithi* in Thai) in each area.

[72] When I visited some Buddha halls in Piang Luang Subdistrict, Wiang Haeng District ตำบลเปียงหลวง อำเภอเวียงแหง Chiang Mai Province in 2013 and in Ban Saeo Subdistrict, Chiangsaen District ตำบลบ้านแซว อำเภอเชียงแสน, Chiang Rai Province, I found that some of them belong to the Nine Lotus Tao 九蓮聖道 or Maitreya Great Tao 彌勒大道. For details of these religious groups that are distinct from the primary Yiguan Dao groups, see Lu (2008: 101).

Center	Year	Registered Name	Place
Chongde	1991	Pathom Tham Foundation มูลนิธิปฐมธรรม	Nakhon Pathom
Tailin	1998	Wisut Tham Foundation มูลนิธิวิสุทธรรม	Mukdahan
Chongguang	1998	Lerd Saeng Tham Foundation มูลนิธิเลิศแสงธรรม	Nakhon Ratchasima
Tiansheng	1998	Withi Tham Chonburi Foundation มูลนิธิวิถีธรรมชลบุรี	Chonburi
Taitong	1999	Therd Khun Tham Foundation มูลนิธิเทิดคุณธรรม	Nakhon Ratchasima
Taixiu	2001	Wachra Duangkaew Foundation มูลนิธิวัชระดวงแก้ว	Bangkok
Taichun	2002	Chinbancharong Konsatharana Prayot Foundation มูลนิธิชินบัญชรองค์กรสาธารณประโยชน์	Nakhon Pathom
Taiyun	2003	Anukror Panya Foundation มูลนิธิอนุเคราะห์ปัญญา	Bangkok
Taijia	2004	Prathoeb Khunatham Foundation มูลนิธิประทีปคุณธรรม	Bangkok
Taiwu	2004	Wisutthiyan Foundation มูลนิธิวิสุทธิญาณ	Nakhon Ratchasima
Taihui	2005	Thaihui Panya Tham Foundation มูลนิธิไท่ฮุ่ยปัญญาธรรม	Pichit
Tailin	2006	Thailin Therd Khunatham Foundation มูลนิธิไท่หลินเทิดคุณธรรม	Chiang Mai
Taiyu	2006	Saeng Panya Foundation มูลนิธิแสงปัญญา	Nakhon Sawan
Tairu	2008	Chiter Metta Khunatham Foundation มูลนิธิฉือเต๋อเมตตาคุณธรรม	Chiang Rai
Tairen	2008	Metta Tham Foundation มูลนิธิเมตตาธรรม	Nakhon Ratchasima

Taida	2008	Kuanwu Foundation มูลนิธิกวนอู	Rayong
Taiyang	2009	Phothiyan Foundation มูลนิธิโพธิญาณ	Phitsanoulouk
Taijin	2009	Thaijin Sawang Tham Foundation มูลนิธิไท่จิ้นสว่างธรรม	Saraburi
Taimiao	2010	Thaimiao Thamasathan Foundation มูลนิธิไท่เมี่ยวธรรมสถาน	Buriram

Table 5 The Center Buddha Halls of Fayi Chonde in Thailand and their registration locations[73]

Under the large regions, there are also some subdivided groups. Form 6 lists the names of Buddha halls and their locations for one subgroup of Fayi Chongde. They are primarily located in Buriram Province, Sisaket Province, and Nong Khai Province, which are in northeastern Thailand. This table reveals that the groups are subdivided into smaller groups.

Center	Year	Buddha Halls under management
Thaimiao (Buriram)	1992	(Buriram) Taihe, Miaoxian, Miaoxing, Miaochi, Miaotong, Miaoneng, Heren, Heyi, Liushi, Miaowen, Miaoshun, Miaocheng, Taixan, Miaozheng, Miaoxiang, Miaofu, Miaoji, Miaohe, Miaoyi (Nakhon Ratchasima) Taiwong, Taixi, Miaoyo (Chaiyaphum) Taiyi (Bangkok) Huangshi (Uttaradit) Miaoqin

[73] *30th anniversary of Fayi Chongde group in Thailand* **ครบรอบ *30* ปี ฟาอีฉงเต๋อ อาณาจักธรรมประเทศไทย.** Nakhon Pathom นครปฐม: chongter-book สำนักพิมพ์เทิดคุณธรรม, 2011.

Thaihao (Sisaket)	1993	(Sisaket) Taiming, Luozhan, Latong, Xiqun, Zhanlunxi, Lingji, Kanta, Gukan, Tongma (Khon Kaen) Taijing (Ubon Ratchathani) Taiying, Chengshi, Manipi
Thaizhen (Nongkhai)	2005	(Vientiane) Chadi, Nuonaxing, Shenshaling, Xishan, Zhenzhen, Zhenmei (Luang Prabang) Zhenshan

Table 6 List of Buddha Halls under the subgroup Chonghui of Fayi Chongde[74]

Moreover, Table 6 reveals that the subdivided characteristics are more connected with "leaders" and "teacher-disciple relationships" than territorial areas. For example, under the leaders in Buriram, we can see not only Buddha halls around Buriram, but also some Buddha halls in Bangkok or Uttharadit. Those Buddha halls are usually far away due to the teacher-disciple relationship between the members of Yiguan Dao and the leader master (Dianchuanshi). In addition, in Table 5, we can see several foundations with different names in the same place. This is also because they are led by different leader masters.

In Table 6, there is another point that we need to pay attention to, that is, the difference between "public Buddha halls" and "family Buddha halls." "Public Buddha halls" are places where several members make donations for worshiping and sermon (teaching courses) together. On the other hand, "family Buddha halls" are Buddha halls within members' houses. There are some slight differences in the rules of rituals or worship between public Buddha halls and family Buddha halls, such as the amounts of incense used for worshiping. However, the special feature is that members

[74] *20th anniversary of Chong Hui subgroup, Fayi Chongde group in Thailand 發一崇德泰國道場崇慧道務慶祝 20 週年特刊* **ครบรอบ** *20* **ปี งานธรรมกิจฉงฮุ่ย.** Buriram: Thaimiao Foundation 泰妙佛堂慈善會พุทธสถานไท่เมี่ยว (มูลนิธิไท่เมี่ยวธรรมสถาน), 2012.

can also engage in common events such as worshiping and other rituals in family Buddha halls. As Lim's (2012) study of Yiguan Dao in Singapore indicates, despite the lack of land in Singapore, the sanctified rituals or languages of Buddha halls in the family play an important role in the development of Yiguan Dao in Singapore. The data source of Table 6 reveals that there are 10 public Buddha halls and 41 family Buddha halls in this subgroup of Fayi Chonde. In addition to the case in Singapore, the family Buddha halls also symbolize that members could achieve salvation without ordination, but not only in temples. On the other hand, in the early period of the missionary work in the new places, family Buddha halls offered bases for members who could not yet build public Buddha halls.

Upward Mobility in Yiguan Dao

Although members and non-members are distinguished by whether they pass the initiation rituals in Yiguan Dao, as Lu (2008: 86-88) indicates, Yiguan Dao avoids the dichotomies of members and non-members using "progressive strictness." That is, the commitment in Yiguan Dao is a continuous spectrum ranging from doubtfulness to devoutness, and the new recruits become core members in a step-by-step manner based on the degree of their commitment and strictness. In other words, although Yiguan Dao claims that in this era, members can achieve salvation without ordination, they need to pass many courses and exams to raise their rank with more knowledge and stricter disciplines. Although the rules have slight differences among different groups or leaders, I will take the example of Fayi Lingyin to introduce the rule.

In Fayi Lingyin, after the initiation rituals, the new recruits raise their ranks by undertaking many kinds of courses or events. First, I wish to introduce the initiation ritual briefly. In the initiation ritual, the master teaches the secret teaching "Three Treasure" to the new recruits, and tells them that it is prohibited to tell others about the details of these secret teachings. Members would write the name and basic information of the new recruits on a specific paper, and then burn it to report to

heaven. This is symbolic of heaven "removing their name from hell, and registering it in the heaven (*diyuchuming tiantangguahao* 地獄除名天堂掛號 in Mandarin)." Apart from the ritual itself, there are three important members in this ritual. That is, the one in charge of the ritual, the guide (*yinshi* 引師 in Mandarin, *phu naenam* in Thai), and the guarantor (*baoshi* 保師 in Mandarin, *phu rabrong* in Thai). The member in charge of this ritual is the master about whom I provide more details later. The guide and the guarantor are the members who introduce the new recruits to becoming members and guarantee the identities of the new recruits. Moreover, they have to lead and ensure that those new recruits continue learning and practicing after they become members. This is related to the history of secret societies such as Yiguan Dao who were prohibited strongly by the state. However, now it is more related with maintaining their religious practices after new recruits become members.

After the initiation ritual, members need to take a one-day course twice with the support of the guide and the guarantor. Those one-day courses are the pre-courses for the three-day course (or dhamma meeting/*prachumtham* in Thai).[75] Members teach the new recruits about the basic terms and concepts in Yiguan Dao. For example, courses such as "Which way should our lives head?" "The reason why Yiguan Dao came down to the world," "Solve the debts of karma and change your life," and so on are the main ones in the one-day courses.

The three-day course is an important event for the new recruits. It is similar to a three-day camp where new recruits from many places come together in one Buddhist hall for intensive courses. The contents of the course mainly include the teaching and the religious practices of Yiguan Dao, which are indicated in Table 7. Food and accommodation are usually the duties of members who are connected with the

[75] Not all groups hold such three-day courses. During my fieldwork, I discovered that Fayi Chongde group in Thailand usually holds two-day courses on weekends in adaption with the urban working time. Fayi Dehu group changes according to the places. In Bangkok, this group holds only two-day courses, but three-day course in other provinces. Moreover, before joining the three-day courses in Fayi Lingyin, members are asked to join a one-day course at least twice. However, other groups have different rules for that. In other words, the framework and details differ for each group. It usually depends on the leaders of each group.

Buddhist hall hosting this event, but members from other areas also come to help. Specifically, because Yiguan Dao emphasizes vegetarian discipline, members make efforts in the three-day course to prepare many kinds of delicious vegetarian foods for the new recruits to make this discipline appealing to them.

Day 1: The meaning of the course, The explanation of revelations, The Truth of life, Practicing manners in Yiguan Dao, The Honorable Truth, 10 Great Wishes, How to differentiate the Truth and the cult, The karma and reincarnation
Day 2: The explanation of revelations, the reason why the Truth and calamity descended to the world, Filial piety, How to release karma, The meaning of vegetarianism, How to face the examination
Day 3: Practicing the outer merit and gaining the inner merit, Heavenly mercy and teachers' virtue, Respecting great teachers and valuing Dao, The explanation of revelations within revelations (*xun zhong xun* 訓中訓 in Mandarin), Reflections, Vows and making wishes come true

Table 7 One example of the list of contents of the three-day course

Apart from the intensive courses, there are other reasons why the three-day course is more important than other one-day courses. First, the deities possess the medium called "*sancai*" (三才 in Mandarin) unexpectedly. The deities impart some revelations (*xunwen* 訓文 in Mandarin) in the poem style and sing the lyrics of "holy songs" (*shengge* 聖歌 in Mandarin). Additionally, they interact with members or new recruits. In Fayi Lingyin, revelations and holy songs are usually in Chinese, and the mediums are mainly from Malaysia and Taiwan. Because of the Chinese contents of those revelations and holy songs, the explanation of those words are usually also one part of the course in the three-day course. Although some Yiguan Dao groups do not use the medium anymore, for some groups, it is a valuable opportunity to see the deities face-to-face, because of which members place much emphasis on it.

Another important feature is the course of “Filial Piety.” Many new recruits usually say that they feel impressed with this course of “Filial Piety.” This course is not only connected with the Confucius moral ideas of human relationships in Yiguan Dao, but also related with the changes in human relationships such as within the family due to the economic changes mentioned above.

At the final session of the three-day course, new recruits are asked to make a vow. Members provide papers to each new recruit, with the following six options on it: ①Take the sacred work more seriously than ordinary work ② Help with the tasks by making a monetary contribution or do the tasks yourself ③ Obey the vegetarian discipline throughout life ④ Give up the ordinary things and devote oneself into the sacred work ⑤ Set up a Buddhist hall ⑥ Disseminate Yiguan Dao to other countries or other places that do not yet have Buddha halls. After new recruits fill the forms, a ritual is held to burn all those forms and inform the heaven or the sacred. Generally, new recruits usually choose only ① and ②. Some of the new recruits or members also choose ③, but it is said that it is better for one to try to have a vegetarian life for at least one year.

After the three-day course, members are called “*banshi*” 辦事. They are asked to help with the courses or events, and take up other courses or stricter disciplines for upward to higher ranks. Most of the staff members in the events of Yiguan Dao are not religious experts, but ordinary members such as “banshi” or those who hold higher positions. For example, the initiation rituals and the courses described above are usually processed by those ordinary members. After the three-day courses, members nevertheless have to take up many types of courses to raise their own rank. For example, as Table 8 reveals, they have to take courses such as Mingde, Xinmin, or Zhishan to deepen their knowledge and understanding of the teachings of Yiguan Dao. Those courses are not only specific teachings or revelations of Yiguan Dao, but also pertain to classics in other religions, such as Taoism, Buddhism, Christianity,

Islamism, and particularly Confucianism. Moreover, along with the strictness of discipline and religious practices, particularly the vegetarian discipline, they are moved upward to a higher position. After being a "*banshi*," to become a "*tanzhu*," members have to make a vow to eat vegetarian food all their lives, and must set up a Buddhist hall in their own house or stay in the public one. Next, to become a "*jiangyuan*" or reach a higher position "*jiangshi*," members not only have to finish courses such as Mingde, Xinmin, Zhishan,[76] and so on, but also need to pass the exam for raising the rank. In other words, after the three-day course, members have to engage in the courses, disciplines, and exams, to raise their rank from "*banshi*" to "*jiangshi*."

Initiation Ritual	1 day
One-day course (for new recruits)	1 day
Three-day dhamma seminar (course)	3 days
1-day course (review)	1 day
Mingde 明德	Once per month for 6 months
Xinmin 新民	Once per month for 6 months
Xhishan 至善	Once per month for 6 months
Xuande 宣德	Once per month for 6 months
Classics 経典	Irregular, for one year
Vegetarian 清口, Repent 懺悔, Elders 長青, and etc.	Irregular

[76] These course names are derived from the Confucian classics "Great Learning 大學." The original citation is "The way of great learning consists in manifesting one's bright virtue, consists in loving people, consists in stopping in perfect goodness.大學之道，在明明德，在親民，止於至善"

Table 8 The initiation ritual and courses of Yiguan Dao (Fayi Lingyin group)

Members	Initiation ritual
Banshi 辦事	Three-day dhamma seminar (course)
Tanzhu 壇主	Vegetarian vow, building Buddha hall
Jiangyuan 講員	Minde, Xinmin, Zhishan, Xuande, and passing the exam
Jiangshi 講師	Minde, Xinmin, Zhishan, Xuande, and passing the exam
Master (*dianchuanshi*) 點傳師	Permission from gods or elder masters

Table 9 The progressive hierarchy (Fayi Lingyin group)

The progressive hierarchy above is supported by the substantial courses and morality books (*shanshu* 善書 in Mandarin and *nangseu thamma* in Thai).[77] Most courses or events of Yiguan Dao in Thailand are mainly held in the Thai language. Usually, the lecturer of those courses or events is Thai. Sometimes, lecturers are members from Taiwan, Singapore, or Malaysia who speak Mandarin or English, and then there are local Thai translators. Moreover, most of the morality books or sacred songs are printed in both Mandarin and Thai. In other words, Thai members who do not speak Mandarin face no problems in this progressive hierarchy.

Apart from the progressive hierarchy, we cannot overlook the higher position of the "Master" (*dianchuanshi*). The master is said to represent the Great Master (Tianran Zhang). As representatives of the Great Master, they can host many important events such as initiation rituals. Moreover, they must impart the teachings or the Truth to other members as well. To become a master, they have to pass the

[77] Those morality books are *shanshu* in Mandarin and *nangseu thamma* in Thai. It can be found in various kinds of formats, such as Confucius, Taoist, Buddhist classics, the explanation of those classics, the works of the Patriarch or elder masters, or the divine messages from the gods. See Ting (2008) for details.

process mentioned above, and become recognized by the deities (by medium) or other veteran masters. On the other hand, although there are rules of upward mobility as mentioned above, in practice, these decisions are usually dependent on the masters. For example, apart from the courses and exams, masters will decide members' progressive hierarchy by their contribution to the Buddha halls as well, such as the number of newly acquired members.

In summary, Yiguan Dao, along with increasing the number of members, has established the rule for upward mobility. However, in practice, much of the decisions are dependent on the masters. In addition to upward mobility, many other decisions are also primarily dependent on masters' opinions. Therefore, each group or subgroup usually has different rules because of different masters or leaders.

Migration of Members and Yiguan Dao

The organizational structure mentioned above reveals that it is connected with the long-distance migration of its members. Although there are more than 7000 Buddha halls all over Thailand, because the halls belong to many different groups and because one area has different Buddha halls belonging to different groups, members related to specific Buddha halls are usually not too many in number.[78] Therefore, when hosting large-scale events, they usually need the help of members of the same group from other areas.

Moreover, to achieve the upward mobility mentioned above, members need to take many courses and exams in their own group. For example, to become a "lecturer," members not only have to take each course, but also pass the examination and provide a teaching demonstration to the masters for evaluation. Large-scale courses or exams are usually held in large Buddha halls or centers.[79] Therefore,

[78] For example, in the Buddha hall that I usually went to during my fieldwork, generally, there are 20-30 people in the events or courses. Certainly, there are differences among the areas and Buddha halls.
[79] Those big Buddha halls or centers are usually in Greater Bangkok area or other local urban cities.

members usually have to go to the Buddha halls or centers even if they are located far from where they live. In other words, the structure of upward mobility of Yiguan Dao is suggestive of long-distance migration. Table 10 shows the schedules of members of one group of Fayi Lingin in Ubon Ratchathani Province from February to March in 2014. We can see that for the events such as courses or exams, members have to move around in Bangkok or local areas, which entails covering distances and is time-consuming.

Date	Weekday	Activities	Places
2014/2/1	Sat	Course for morality education of children	Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province
2014/2/2	Sun		
2014/2/3	Mon	Meeting (Area)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/2/4	Tue		
2014/2/5	Wed	Evening Course (Sacred Teachings)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/2/6	Thu		
2014/2/7	Fri	Evening Course (Research)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/2/8	Sat	Course for morality education of children Training for missionaries	Nakhon Panom Province Bangkok
2014/2/9	Sun	Review course One-day course	Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province Nakhon Panom Province

		Training for missionaries	Bangkok
2014/2/10	Mon		
2014/2/11	Tue		
2014/2/12	Wed	Evening Course (Sacred songs)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/2/13	Thu	Birthday of Emperor Yao	
2014/2/14	Fri	Evening Course (Setting temporary Buddha halls)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/2/15	Sat		
2014/2/16	Sun	One-day course	Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province
2014/2/17	Mon	Meeting (national)	Bangkok
2014/2/18	Tue		
2014/2/19	Wed	Evening course (Manners in Buddha halls)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/2/20	Thu		
2014/2/21	Fri	Evening Course (Research)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/2/22	Sat	Training of Seed Teachers	Bangkok
2014/2/23	Sun	Training of Seed Teachers	Bangkok
2014/2/24	Mon	Meeting (Region)	Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province

2014/2/25	Tue	Initiation Ritual	Sisaket Province
2014/2/26	Wed	Evening Course (Three Treasures)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/2/27	Thu		
2014/2/28	Fri	Evening Course (Research)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/3/1	Sat	Training for moderators of events	Bangkok
2014/3/2	Sun	Training for moderators of events	Bangkok
2014/3/3	Mon	Meeting (Area)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/3/4	Tue		
2014/3/5	Wed	Evening Course (Sacred teachings)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/3/6	Thu		
2014/3/7	Fri	Camp of national leaders of management	Phetchaburi Province
2014/3/8	Sat	Camp of national leaders of management	Phetchaburi Province
2014/3/9	Sun	Camp of national leaders of management	Phetchaburi Province
2014/3/10	Mon	Meeting (national)	Bangkok

2014/3/11	Tue		
2014/3/12	Wed	Evening Course (Sacred songs)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/3/13	Thu		
2014/3/14	Fri	Evening Course (Research)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/3/15	Sat	One-day course Training for teacher of morality education Training of Seed Teachers	Surin Province Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province Bangkok
2014/3/16	Sun	One-day course Training of Seed Teachers	Ubon Ratchathani Province Bangkok
2014/3/17	Mon	Meeting (Region)	Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province
2014/3/18	Tue		
2014/3/19	Wed	Evening course (Manners in Buddha halls) Course for elders	Ubon Ratchathani Province Surin Province
2014/3/20	Thu	One-day course	Chumphon Buri District, Surin Province
2014/3/21	Fri	Evening Course (Research)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/3/22	Sat	Exam for lecturers of Minde course, and three-day courses	Samut Prakan Province
2014/3/23	Sun	Exam for lecturers of Minde	Samut Prakan Province

		course, and three-day courses	
2014/3/24	Mon	Meeting (Area)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/3/25	Tue		
2014/3/26	Wed	Evening course (Three Treasures)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/3/27	Thu		
2014/3/28	Fri	Evening Course (Research)	Ubon Ratchathani Province
2014/3/29	Sat	Training for Tanzhu and Banshi Training for lecturers of Zhonghe course	Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province Bangkok
2014/3/30	Sun	Training for Tanzhu and Banshi Training for lecturers of Zhonghe course	Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province Bangkok
2014/3/31	Mon		

Table 10 The schedule for Yiguan Dao members in Shenyincihang Buddha Hall in Ubon Ratchathani Province from February 2014 to March 2014

The above frameworks and long-distance move helps members form their transregional relatedness. Such relatedness is not only religious, but this religious network also helps form relationships of daily life among members. For example, some student members from local villages in urban high schools or universities live in the public Buddha halls. This helps them save money for studying, while enabling

them to help with many tasks in the Buddha halls. Those Buddha halls are not only located in big cities such as Bangkok or Ubon Ratchthani in northeastern Thailand, but also in some local towns. In some local towns, there are also some such Buddha halls with several students from surrounding villages living in them.

[Example 3] Taiming Buddha Hall in Kut Chum district, Yasothon Province

When I visited in 2014, four student members were living in this Buddha hall. At the beginning of that year, one student was already graduating from the high school and entering the university in Bangkok. Now the student is living in the Buddhist hall in Ramkhamhaeng area, Bangkok. One of the four student members is in the final year of her high school now. She is planning to join the Department of Chinese language of Ubon Ratchathani Rajabhat University in Ubon Ratchathani Province, and will move to the Thaide Buddhist hall there.

[Example 4] 24-year-old male born in Yasothon Province

He became a member along with his parents when he was four on being invited by his aunt. When he was 16 years old, he attended the course of Yiguan Dao for young members in Hua Hin on his aunt's invitation. After that, he moved to the Buddha hall in Ubon Ratchathani Province, and transferred to a school there as well. When he turned twenty, he entered the university and majored in Chinese language studies. Because of the Chinese he learned in the Buddha hall, he obtained a scholarship as an exchange student in China for one year. Now he is still a university student, and sometimes teaches Chinese in primary school. Moreover, he usually helps in Buddha halls all over Thailand as a translator.

[Example 5] 27-year-old male born in Surat Thani Province

He became a member when living in the Surat Thani Province. For entering Kasetsart University Sriracha Campus, he moved from southern Thailand to Sriracha district, Chonburi Province. With the cooperation of one female member born in Udon Thani Province who later married and moved to Sriracha, he actively invited university students to become members. He and the other members established a Buddha hall near the campus as well, which became the base for student members.

These associations between the migration for higher education and Buddha halls is similar to the earlier temple network in Thailand (Tambiah 1976). However, in the case of Yiguan Dao, it is not restricted to male monks. In addition, student members are not merely acquiring religious knowledge or engaging in religious events; they also attend school while simultaneously helping with Buddha halls. Unlike the movement from local towns to Bangkok for kinship or territorial relationships, the direction of migration for higher education is widely distributed all over Thailand.

In addition to migration for higher education, the migration for work is also frequently connected with the translocal network of Buddha halls. In other words, on moving to a new place for work, one could easily and quickly form a network of social relations via the network of Buddha halls. They can also build a relationship with their own birthplaces or other places and build a translocal network.

[Example 6] Male in his 30s, born in Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province

After graduating from the university in Nakhon Pathom, he moved to Ubon Ratchathani and began to work in a bank in the Ubon Ratchathani town. He usually helps with the tasks at the Buddha hall in Ubon Ratchathani and formed a good relationship with other local members. Moreover, as mentioned above, when the events of Yiguan Dao are held in

other places, he uses his holidays to help with those events. He has thus developed good relationships with members from other places as well, including members from around his birthplace.

[Example 7] 66-year-old female, born in Ubon Ratchathani Province

After graduating from university, she became a civil servant and worked in Chiang Mai for several years. In 1977, she moved to Khon Kaen for her new work in Khon Kaen University Hospital. She stayed in Khon Kaen until 2004. She said that she felt lonely because she went far from home for work alone. In Khon Kaen, her friend invited her to become a Yiguan Dao member. After retirement, she went back to Ubon Ratchathani and helped with the affairs of Buddha halls there.

[Example 8] 41-year-old female born in Samrong district, Ubon Ratchathani Province

In 1988, she moved to Rayong Province and she was hired for selling clothes. Her owner became a Yiguan Dao member because of the invitation of missionary members from Taiwan and Malaysian Chinese. Subsequently, she became a member in 1989. In 1993, she moved back to Ubon Ratchathani province and helped establish Buddha halls in many places. In 2008, she began to study at the Department of Chinese study in Ubon Ratchathani Rajabhat University, and acquired her bachelor's degree in four years. After graduation, she began to teach Mandarin in a local Christian elementary school in Ubon Ratchathani city. She lives in the public Buddha Hall in the suburbs. Besides her, in this Buddha hall, there are six other elderly women and her elder brother who is handicapped.

The examples above show that migrating members make new social relations or

networks via the religious networks when they move to unfamiliar areas for work. They form relationships with other members coming from their hometown or other places, and extend it to eventually make it a transregional network.

However, members not only join the existing religious networks when they move to unfamiliar places; sometimes the religious networks are also extended by the migration of members. Some members have strong missionary beliefs. When they move to a new place without any existing religious network, they usually create a new network by themselves.

[Example 9] Now-deceased female, who was born in Ayutthaya Province.

> Her first job was in Ranong Province in the south, after which she moved to Phrae Province in the north and became a member of Yiguan Dao subsequent to her friend's invitation. Afterwards, she had to move again to Loei Province in northeastern Thailand because of work. At first, she did not want to move because she did not know anyone there and did not know whether the place had any Buddha halls. However, she was finally persuaded by her friends to move there. In Loei, she formed her own Buddha hall and opened one vegetarian restaurant as well. She invited many people there to become members and helped to extend the network of Buddha halls in the northern part of northeastern Thailand greatly. Because of her contribution, after she passed away, she was given the sacred title *xianjun* (仙君 in Mandarin) and was respected by members.

Overseas labor migration shows the connection between work and translocal network more clearly. There is already a report stating that northeastern Thai workers became members of Yiguan Dao when working in Taiwan (Lin 2014: 58).

[Example 10] 42-year-old male, born in Chiang Rai

Before he went to work in Taiwan, he was a monk in Chiangrai Province for five years. When he was working in Taiwan, he had planned to visit some Thai temples in Taiwan, but did not go because they were far away from his work place. His friend invited him to the Buddhist hall of Yiguan Dao, after visiting which he became a member, and began to help with the work in the Buddha halls. After the first three-year contract, he returned to Thailand shortly and formed a new contract with the factories owned by a master of Yiguan Dao in Taiwan, and therefore came to Taiwan again. When he was in Taiwan, he helped with many events related to Thai workers, such as sports competition and courses. He helped the Buddha halls increase their Thai members, but also built his own network of Thai workers. After working for six years in Taiwan, he returned to Thailand, but lived in Mukdahan Province, northeastern Thailand, at the home of his wife, whom he had met when working in Taiwan. However, after returning to Thailand, he felt closer to Yiguan Dao members all over Thailand than the local people of his wife's home. Now he is a *jiangshi* who usually travels all over Thailand, and goes to Taiwan or even Cambodia at times for helping with the work of Yiguan Dao.

[Example 11] 40 year-old male born in Petchahabun Province

He became a Yiguan Dao member in 1998. After several years, he moved to Penang, Malaysia, and worked in a company with a Chinese owner. During this period, he usually went to the Yiguan Dao Buddha hall in Penang and learned Mandarin there. Afterwards, he moved back to Phuket and opened a café there, where he has now worked for nine years. He usually attends Yiguan Dao events in southern Thailand and occasionally attends the events or courses in Bangkok.

In addition to migrating students and workers, members also obtain some

mutual aids in their daily lives through this trans-regional network, particularly members who are socially marginalized, such as unemployed people or people with psychiatric disorders. When I visited vegetarian restaurants owned by Yiguan Dao members or Buddha Halls, I would sometimes meet unemployed people or people with psychiatric disorders. In one of the Buddhist hall centers in Bangkok, one member told me that Yiguan Dao had several mentally handicapped members. He said that they were not accepted by their families or relatives at their homes, and sometimes there was even violence against them. The Buddhist hall is a place they could rely upon. In other words, marginalized people who are excluded from their localities could find new places to stay through this transregional network.

[Example 12] Male in his 30s, born in Ubon Ratchathani Province

A mentally disabled person. He stayed in different places: the restaurant, the Buddha hall, his suburban home, or the psychiatric hospital. I often encountered him while attending the events at multiple locations. According to other members, if he went back to his hometown, his father would not take care of him and because he was a Yiguan Dao member, the other members felt that they should care for him.

[Example 13] 29-year-old male born in Phetchabun Province

For continuing his education in the university, he went to Bangkok at the age of twenty. At the age of 22, the professor in his university invited him to become a Yiguan Dao member. Due to the conflict with his parents in Phetchabun and other members with different political opinions, he became emotionally unstable. He said that if he returned home, his parents would become violent towards him. He went to the hospital to receive treatment for his psychiatric disorder several times, but chose to stay in the Yiguan Dao Buddha hall. Now he attends the events of Yiguan Dao

very often and lives in a Buddha hall in the Greater Bangkok area.

[Example 14] A couple in their 50s born in Phibun Mangsahan District, Ubon Ratchathani Province

> They moved to Bangkok in their 30s The husband is a doctor. They are both Yiguan Dao members. They returned to Phibun Mangsahan in 2012, established a Buddha hall in their own house, and planned to open a new vegetarian restaurant. However, the wife fell sick with an unknown disease, and became bodily and mentally disabled. The husband now takes care of the wife, but they nevertheless attend the events of the Buddha hall in the Ubon Ratchathani city. They occasionally stay in the Buddha hall, and the other members take care of the wife as well.

Those examples show that people who are excluded from their local coummunities find belonging and care through this trans-regional religious network.

These examples also reveal how extensively divided the structure of Yiguan Dao is, and helps to build this kind of relatedness with long-distance migration. This kind of relatedness is not necessarily religious always, but also functional as a trans-regional network in this era of economic and social change. Such relatedness is connected with migration for higher education, work, or even overseas labor. On the other hand, it is also a solution for people who have problems such as in their families or are marginalized in society. Moreover, those movements also help to extend the widely existing network of Yiguan Dao, and help with its gradual development.

Comparison with Other Religious Groups in Thailand

In Yiguan Dao, there are many groups with many widely distributed Buddha halls. They form transregional networks among them, and exhibit a widely distributed pattern. On the one hand, this extension of the transregional network and the

relationship among members mutually reinforce each other. On the other hand, the result of this mutual reinforcement helps marginalized people find their own belongings. However, how can we consider the specific characteristic of Yiguan Dao in Thailand? In this section, I compare it with other new Buddhist groups and Chinese religious groups in Thailand, in order to identify its specific characteristics.

First, I compare it with Wat Phra Dhammakaya and Santi Asoke. Although Wat Phra Dhammakaya, Santi Asoke, and Yiguan Dao are all groups that are unrelated with territorial or kinship relations, they from different organizational patterns. Wat Phra Dhammakaya is a religious group of center-focus type. Based on the Dhammakaya Foundation, it has a center called "Wat Yai" and has no branch temple in Thailand. "Wat Yai" dominates most of the events of Wat Phra Dhammakaya (Apinya 1998; Yano 2006).[80] Although members of Santi Asoke are also people who have abandoned territorialized social relations, their organization is of a neo-village type, which is based on the imagination of the new middle class toward shaping a "village community." They have set up several villages of Asoke and established their own communities.[81] However, Yiguan Dao is a more segmented and widely distributed organization, with its Buddha Halls and events spread all over Thailand.

[80] What Phra Dhammakaya originated from one small meditation group of the early Dhammakaya movement in the 1960s, which began in Wat Paknam. In 1977, this group was registered as Wat Phra Dhammakaya, and the number of members has increased until now (Yano 2006). In 1990, there are lay groups in 50 of 73 provinces all over Thailand (Zehnher 1990: 411), and now there are branch temples in 31 countries/regions. However, except the center called "Wat Yai" in Pathum Thani province, there is no branch temple of Wat Phra Dhammakaya in Thailand. Instead, they send few monks trained in Wat Phra Dhammakaya to local temples where there are no monks or on invitation from local members. However, local critics usually indicate that those monks from Wat Phra Dhammakaya are more connected with the center "Wat Yai" instead of local needs (Hayashi 2009).

[81] There are several "Buddha Places" (*phutthasathan*) of Santi Asoke in Thailand now. According to Heikkilä-Horn (2010), in 2007, there were 27 Asoke centers all over Thailand, including Santi Asoke, Pathom Asoke, Sali Asoke, Sisa Asoke, Sima Asoke, Ratchathani Asoke, Hin Pha Fa Nam, Lanna Asoke, and Thale Asoke, as indicated on their official website. Within those 27 centers, 5 are in central Thailand, 13 in northeastern Thailand, 5 in northern Thailand, and 4 in southern Thailand. Members are critical of consumerism and pursuing the ideal village community. Most of them live in sub-branches with monks, and build communities that aim at self-sufficiency. Besides agricultural production and some products of their own small factories, they also have their own educational system until high schools or universities. In 2001, it was reported that there were 102 Bikkhus (*samana*), 25 Bikkhunis (*sikkhamat*), and 9929 registered members. There were chief priests (*somphaan*) in each Buddhist place, and decisions were made in each Buddhist place. Moreover, there are also institutions such as commissions for discussing the plans or problems for Asoke as a whole. Compared with Wat Phra Dhammakaya, the authority of the rank was not so serious (Mackenzie 2007: 130-141).

Its widely distributed pattern is different from the center-focus type of Wat Phra Dhammakaya and the neo-village type of Santi Asoke.

Those different organizational patterns are connected with their own teachings and religious practices. For members of Wat Phra Dhammakaya, leaving away from the territorialized social relations, the group image with order made by media are more important than practical social relations (Yano 2006). For members of Santi Asoke, they emphasize the "meritism" (*bunniyom* in Thai) of contributing to others, and are inclined to lead a self-sufficient life in their own village communities.

The widely distributed transregional relations and networks of Yiguan Dao are also related with the teachings of missionaries. As mentioned above, Yiguan Dao emphasizes inviting others to become members and helps their religious practices after initiation. For Yiguan Dao members, this is not only abstract merit, but also related to upward mobility within Yiguan Dao. The guides and the guarantors at initiation, attending of courses and events, and the upward system reveal that religious practices in Yiguan Dao are not personal religious practices, but that they depend on the relationships between members. Moreover, Yiguan Dao emphasizes "*kaihuang*" (開荒 in Mandarin), meaning establishing Buddha Halls and networks in new places where there are no Buddha halls. This teaching helps with the migration of members and the formation of relationships as well. Different from Wat Phra Dhammakaya and Santi Asoke, Yiguan Dao members not only join the existing networks of religious organizations, but they also go to places where there are no Yiguan Dao members or Buddha halls, where they form their own networks or Buddha halls by themselves guided by the strong belief that they wish to help others to become members. As shown in Example 7, although the woman attended events of Santi Asoke when she migrated for work from northeast Thailand to Bangkok, she became a Yiguan Dao member when she lost connection with Santi Asoke members upon moving back to her hometown. Moreover, she moved again with her daughter for higher education,

and their new life and religious practices were supported by Yiguan Dao members in the new place. In other words, inviting others to become members and supporting their religious practices after initiation is an important goal in Yiguan Dao. This helps in the extension of social relations and transregional networks of Yiguan Dao by establishing Buddha Halls all over Thailand. Yiguan Dao developed gradually in a different pattern from other new religious groups in Thailand.

Although this pattern of network formed by the relationship between local nexus is similar with other Chinese religious groups in Thailand, we can nevertheless note differences in terms of organization, teachings, and practices. I compare Yiguan Dao with De Jiao and The Way of Former Heaven in Thailand here. De Jiao indicates a franchise pattern, that De Jiao associations or Benevolent Halls in each place affiliate into the association of De Jiao as its subgroups. Although there are connections among those subgroups, its main function is to satisfy diverse local needs, and scholars call it a "local-based" religious group (Huang 2011). In other words, although the relations among De Jiao subgroups are based on the networks of Teochew businessmen, local members show little interest in this transregional network or relations (Formoso 2010; Huang 2011).

On the other hand, although the Way of Former Heaven, the prototype of Yiguan Dao (Lin 1986; Wang 1996), developed gradually from the 1950s to 1970s in Thailand,[82] it has begun to lose its influence in the present day because members are getting older, and many halls are disappearing.[83] Therefore, the upward mobility and the frequent moving of members because of the interactions among different areas are also disappearing as well (Shiga 2010). Comparing with De Jiao and the Way of Former Heaven, there are more widely distributed and segmented subgroups of

[82] According to Shiga (2010: 150), there are at 116 halls listed in the information on the Way of Former Heaven in Thailand in 1966.
[83] In Thailand, some Yiguan Dao events were held in the hall of the Way of Former Heaven, and at times, some halls of the Way of Former Heaven become Yiguan Dao Buddha halls. Lin (1996: 144-145) also reports a similar phenomenon. This is similar to the early development of Yiguan Dao in Taiwan, where missionaries converted the existing vegetarian religious halls to Yiguan Dao.

Yiguan Dao in Thailand.

Those differences in development are related to the teachings and practices of each religious group. According to Huang (2011), because the teaching system and transmission of De Jiao are not well established, the activities of De Jiao mainly satisfy local needs, such as benevolent activities, and are more than religious teachings or practices. Therefore, instead of studying the teachings, the extension of its network becomes their goal to legitimize their groups. On the other hand, although there is a clear teaching system and transmission in the Way of Former Heaven, because its discipline and practices could not be attained without high-level Chinese language capabilities, the successors of younger generations decrease sharply in these Chinese migrant communities (Shiga 2010). However, as mentioned above, Yiguan Dao in Thailand has more well-established teaching and upward systems than De Jiao, and its practices are not as strict as the Way of Former Heaven. By using simplified religious practices and morality books in Thai language, its gradual development in Thailand is quite successful. For example, its upward system is simpler than the ranking system in the Way of Former Heaven (Topley 1963: 374-384; Shiga 2010: 159-160). There are only ranks such as Dianchuanshi, Jiangshi, Tanzhu, and Banshi in Yiguan Dao. Moreover, comparing with the quasi-ordination life in the vegetarian hall of the Way of Former Heaven, the practices of Yiguan Dao could be combined with secular work at the same time.[84]

With teaching to invite others to become members and supporting their practices, the well-established teaching and upward system, the religious practices compatible with secular activities, and the widely distributed and segmented organization, Yiguan Dao has gained a firm foothold in contemporary Thai society. In comparison with the Way of Former Heaven, although some girls are adopted as daughters by members and become successors of the hall, most of the girls migrate

[84] In Chinese, it is called "*Shengfan shuangxiu*"聖凡雙修. In Thai, it is called *patibat thang lok thang tham*.

for work or marry and move out from the hall (Shiga 2010). In contrast, Yiguan Dao members can perform their religious practices wherever they go. They could easily find the Buddha hall and other members, and support each other for religious or sacred affairs. On the other hand, different from overlooking the teachings and focusing on the extension of its network of De Jiao, the extension of the network of Yiguan Dao is a part of its teachings.

Summary and Discussions

When discussing Thai Buddhism and contemporary social changes in Thailand, Sakurai (2013) uses the concept "social capital" to argue that it is a "religions group with people from different areas and ethnicity due to complication or differentiation of society, and also creates new commonality," and shows the function of Thai Buddhism in contemporary Thailand. There are also many studies on Thai Buddhism and its reactions toward the problems in contemporary societies, such as Thai Buddhist Sangha, development monks, Wat Phra Dhammakaya, or Santi Asoke. However, it is not only those domestic Buddhist religious groups that play the roles of "social capital," but also other religious groups from other countries. In this chapter, I discuss the function and the specific character of Yiguan Dao in the changing contemporary Thai society. I show the widely distributed organizational network of Yiguan Dao, and its relationship with the movement for higher education, work, labor migration, and returning home due to modern economic development. Moreover, it helps people in the margins to find their specific location in this religious transregional network.

What supports this function is the widely segmented and distributed organizational pattern and its well-established teaching with upward mobile system, and the transregional networks formed because of the belief in inviting others to become members and supporting their religious practices. Compared with new Thai Buddhist groups, such as Wat Phra Dhammakaya and Santi Asoke, the widely

distributed pattern of Yiguan Dao offers support for members who migrate frequently. On the other hand, comparing with Chinese religious groups, such as De Jiao or the Way of Former Heaven, it has a better-established teaching system toward host society. That partially explains why its members are not only ethnic Chinese, but non-Chinese as well. Furthermore, different from the religious groups mentioned above, inviting others to become members or supporting their religious practices are part of its teaching and religious practices. It emphasizes the maintaining of mutual relations and migration for the purpose. It not only helps the extension of the groups, but also forms the transregional network of members.

In addition, different from religious groups of center-focused type or neo village type, the segmented structure of Yiguan Dao makes it a multiple-level transregional network. The belief and teachings about missionary work associate it with the network of migration as well. Inviting others to become members and supporting their religious practice is not only considered an abstract merit, but also related with the upward mobility within Yiguan Dao. Considering the guides and the guarantors during initiation, attention to courses and events, and the upward system, we can observe that religious practices in Yiguan Dao are not personal religious practices, but dependent on the mutual relationships between members. Yiguan Dao emphasizes "*kaihuang*," that is establishing Buddha Halls and networks in new places where there are no Buddha halls. Those teachings help the migration of members and the formation of relationships. Different from Wat Phra Dhammakaya or Santi Asoke, Yiguan Dao members not only join existing religious networks, including when they go to places where there are no Yiguan Dao members or Buddha halls, they form their own networks or Buddha halls by themselves with strong belief in helping others become members. With the teachings emphasizing the extension of social relationships and transregional network, Yiguan Dao developed widely in Thailand in a different pattern from other religious groups. Moreover, this is why although Yiguan Dao came to Thailand since the 1950s, it did not develop widely until the 1970s when

the economic development of Thailand began to grow.

Using the example of Yiguan Dao in Thailand, I argue that we should reconsider the idea of individualized Thai religious practices. Although there are Buddha halls of Yiguan Dao in many places, the interactions of members are not limited territorially, but form strong relationships among Buddha halls or members in different places. The accumulation of those mutual relations are not the post-modern individualized religious practices on the one hand, but also not the traditional relationship between the temple and communities connected via territory or kinship on the other hand. Yiguan Dao illustrates a transregional "community" that focuses on a different pattern from the two alternative patterns mentioned above.

Chapter 5

Female Yiguan Dao Members in Buddhist Thailand

Women and Buddhism in Thailand

In Thailand, although women play important roles in the economic sphere, they are typically considered "inferior" to men in the religious sphere. In Southeast Asia, the fact that women have played a substantial economic role has led to the argument that Southeast Asian women's status has been higher compared to that of women in other areas. However, the notion, derived from economics, that women have had a higher status is to some extent a Western view. In the religious and political aspects, it is difficult to say that women in Southeast Asia have had a higher status (Errington 1990). According to Thai Theravada Buddhism, women are born as women because of the karma from their past lives; they cannot be ordained and cannot attain *nibbana* in this life. Women's aims in this life are to gain merit through the ordaining of their sons and to engage in efforts to ensure better next lives. Because women are considered inferior to men, they put more effort into gaining merit than men do (Kirsch 1975; Hsieh 2008). Kirsch (1975) points out that this is why, in Thailand, women are usually in the economic and business sectors and men in the political and religious sectors. Keyes (1984) argues that women have a gendered image in Buddhist texts as mother-nurturers, but that this is not necessarily related to their religious inferiority. However, Kirsch (1985) rejects this argument on the grounds that the image of the nurturer confirms women's religious inferiority. In sum, in the classical view of Thai Buddhism, women are considered mother-nurturers and inferior.

Although women cannot be ordained in Thai Theravada Buddhism, there are some female religious practitioners, or *bhikkhunis*, in Thailand. However, because of the aforementioned conceptions, they usually lead difficult lives. *Maechi*, white-

garbed female religious practitioners who follow the ten precepts and lead religious lives, are typical in Thailand. However, some choose to become *maechi* to gain merit for their children, similar to the previously mentioned idea of women as nurturers (Hsieh 2008). *Maechi* are not considered as sources of merit; therefore, they seldom receive offerings from Thai laypersons and usually lead more difficult lives than do monks (Van Esterik 1982). In addition, with support from Mahayana and Theravada Sanghas in other countries, some Thai women are ordained as *bhikkunis*. However, because of the stereotypes mentioned above, they often face many difficulties. Some even choose to revert to being *maechi* or laywomen. In addition, they also face the criticism that they remain stubbornly attached to the traditional form of *bhikkhuni* ordination (Ito 2009). Thus, in the framework of Thai Theravada Buddhism, movements to reform the position of women religious practitioners have been obstructed.

However, as many studies have pointed out, religious beliefs in Thailand are not purely Buddhist. Consequently, gender status cannot be considered in the context of only classical Buddhism. In particular, the fact that the classics have been arbitrarily interpreted could be one of the reasons for the aforementioned disputes. Focusing on ritual practices in a northeastern Thai village instead of texts, Sparkes (2005) analyzes gender symbolism to show that, in domestic rituals, women are symbolic of the perpetuation of the matrilineal group and men are symbolic of the protection and control of authority and ownership. That is, men and women are considered complementary in the domestic sphere. However, in temple rituals, men have a higher symbolic status than do women. Men and women are situated within a hierarchy. In other words, women are inferior to men primarily in the context of Buddhism rather than in Thai culture as a whole.

Nonetheless, Sparkes' symbolic analysis remains consistent with the perspective of Kirsch and Keyes—that women are viewed as mother-nurturers and are considered

inferior in the context of Buddhism. Sparkes, Kirsch, and Keyes adopt a structural view of gender, but ignore the agency of women themselves and do not pay attention to how women engage in reinterpretation and creative practices that contravene their structural position. Iikuni (2011) criticizes these studies as Buddho-centric, ordination-centric, and knowledge-centric. In her study of one village of lay Buddhists in Myanmar, she found that women's reinterpretation of worship made them more pious than men. She analyzes an animist ritual held by women and a Buddhist ritual held by men on the same day as a kind of symbolic struggle and shows how women engage in reinterpretation and practices to alter their status in the context of the existing gender ideology. Kato's study (2009) on *saraphan*, or Buddhist paeans, in northeastern Thailand shows that in the past, people followed the instruction of monks and male elders when engaging in religious practices around *saraphan*, but in the modern context of local cultural revival, women have composed and performed such paeans by themselves and have used them to exhibit their own will and characteristics. In other words, in view of women's religious practices, the ideology of women's religious inferiority does not always hold true.

In addition, because of politico-economic changes, diverse changes in religion as well as new practices in contravention of the gender ideology of the established Buddhism are emerging. In particular, with the emergence of the middle class and the phenomenon of urban migration, urban reform Buddhism, such as the Buddhism of Wat Phra Dhammakaya and Santi Asoke, has adopted perspectives that diverge from established Buddhism, including with regard to the conception of gender. Wat Phra Dhammakaya's religious teachings regarding gender are not substantially different from those of established Buddhism. However, one founder of Wat Phra Dhammakaya, who is called "*Khun Yai*"[85] by members, was a white-garbed *maechi*;

[85] "*Khun Yai*" literally means "Grandmother." Her full title was "*Khun Yai Mahā Ratana Upāsikā Chandra Khonnokyoon*," meaning "Great Grandmother Master Chandra Khonnokyoon." Believers also call her "*Khun Yai Aajaan Chandra Khonnokyoon*," meaning "Grandmother Master Chandra Khonnokyoon."

she was the successor to the *dhammakaya* meditation method and was respected by members. In addition, economically prosperous women who donate substantial amounts of money to gain merit are called *ganlayaanamit*[86] (literally, "virtuous friend") and are respected by other members. Santi Asoke has a ranking system: lay members are at the bottom and rank equal to the *bhikkhu* or *bhikkhuni* are at the top. For members of the basic *yatitham* level, men follow seven stages to advance to the highest *samana* level. Women follow six stages to advance to the highest *sikkhamat* level, which is equal to *bhikkhuni*.[87] This demonstrates that, in step with politico-economic changes, urban reform Buddhism has initiated certain changes in regard to religious conceptions of gender.

In addition to changes brought about by urban reform Buddhism, changes in women's status have also emerged in Thai urban folk religion. In the urban context, with capitalist development, the emergence of the pursuit of money, and politico-economic uncertainties, Buddhism, Chinese religion, animism, and shamanism have become hybridized in Thai religion. Some scholars have referred to the resulting amalgam as a "postmodern" Thai religion and as a "religion of prosperity" (Jackson 1999; Pattana 2005; Taylor 1999, 2001, 2008). Reform Buddhism is not the only result of politico-economic changes; magic monks and sprit mediums have also become popular in the urban context. Magic monks and sprit mediums have sometimes served to empower marginalized people, including women. However, they represent an uncritical attitude toward women's religious constraints and toward capitalism. While Thai popular religion may affirm or negotiate with existing religious and socioeconomic structures, it is never a source of resistance against them

[86] Originally, this term meant "good friends" and referred to those who were able to teach the Truth and instruct others effectively in using appropriate methods. However, at Wat Phra Dhammakaya, the term is usually used to refer to members who donate substantial amounts of money to support the monks. During events, announcers call out their names in turn and the monks chant blessings for them in particular.

[87] Above the rank of lay member (*yatitham*), the first two ranks—open to both men and women—are *akhantuka chon* and *akhantuka pracham*. Above this, the ranks for men are *aramik*, *pa*, *nak*, *samanutthet*, and finally, *samana*. The ranks for women are *aramika*, *pa, krak*, and finally, *sikkhamat* (Mackenzie 2007: 148-149).

(Pattana 2005).

The increasing mobility of women, including as part of labor migration, also plays an important role in Thai religion. In northern Thailand, women have traditionally symbolized the maintenance of the home. Women who are factory wage laborers spend substantial amounts of money on housewarming rituals and hold lavish housewarming parties with friends in order to put their success on display (Hirai 2002). Mills investigated female migrant workers in Bangkok who were from northeastern Thailand; she found that female workers organize trips to rural areas on holidays and use the money they have earned for shopping and to gain merit in temples, in order to display their success and *thansamay* (literally, "currentness"; Mills 1999). In other words, in addition to their traditional role of mother-nurturer, women who participate in the capitalist society practice domestic religious rituals and seek to gain merit for self-affirmation.

In sum, in established Buddhism, women are usually considered inferior and as stable mother-nurturers who are symbolic of the home. Religious practices in reform Buddhism and urban folk religion, as well as those undertaken by rural women and those that have resulted from women's labor migration, have all positioned women differently than in established Buddhism. However, for the most part, they have not challenged established Buddhism in terms of its gender ideology. It is more accurate to say that they constitute negotiations or compromises with established Buddhism. Given the religious structure of Thai Theravada Buddhism, challenging constraints is difficult. Kataoka's (2012) study of Chinese temples on Phuket Island, southern Thailand, points out that the Thai government cares only about those who have been ordained. Therefore, religious groups other than religious administrative institutions are considered as non-religious groups. Thus, non-religious groups are able to engage in many non-religious activities. Yiguan Dao is a religious group outside of the framework of Thai Buddhism and the established religion, and as such, has been able

to offer women much more freedom. This paper investigates the practices and network of female Yiguan Dao members as an example of women's religious practices in modern Thailand.

Women in the Teachings of Yiguan Dao in Thailand

With Confucian ideas that emphasize women's roles in the family, Yiguan Dao appears to be conservative on the gender issue in modern societies. Although we could say that as a new religious group, Yiguan Dao offers a conservative framework in this world of value relativism for its members, some of its reformist ideas illustrate women's equality with men and could fulfill women's religious needs outside the framework of Thai Buddhism. In addition to those concepts, the widely distributed organizations and gender-divided groups offer mobility and solidarity for female members, particularly in this modern mobilizing world in comparison with traditional Buddhism in Thailand.

Yiguan Dao also encompasses Confucian teachings that emphasize a conservative role for women within the family. For example, within the family, women have to obey "the three obediences" and "four virtues" (*sancongside*). The three obediences are obedience to three men, namely the father before marriage, obedience to the husband after marriage, and obedience to the son after the husband's death. The four virtues are morality (*de* 德 in Mandarin), physical charm (*rong* 容 in Mandarin), propriety in speech (*yan* 言 in Mandarin), and efficiency in needlework (*gong* 功 in Mandarin). Confucian morality and virtue are present in Yiguan Dao. In particular, Yiguan Dao members consider the present world as lacking in order and morality because family ethics have been lost. Thus, they appeal to women to actively assume their responsibilities toward their families.

In the teachings of Yiguan Dao, in contrast to established Buddhism in

Thailand, achieving nirvana is not a right held only by men: women who know the Truth can also achieve nirvana. Yiguan Dao divides the history of humankind into three periods: the Green Yang (*qingyang*), Red Yang (*hongyang*), and White Yang (*baiyang*) Periods. In the Green Yang Period, only the king knew the Truth. In the Red Yang Period, the Truth was extended to the ordained. However, in the White Period—which is the present—everyone can know the Truth. In other words, in the past, only kings and monks were able to achieve nirvana, but nowadays, everyone who believes in Yiguan Dao and knows the Truth, regardless of whether they are men or women, can achieve nirvana. Yiguan Dao members do not deny Buddhist ordination and religious practices; however, they consider the Thai Theravada Buddhist practice of only ordaining men as monks, who must then leave their families and normal lives according to old-fashioned customs. Women who know the Truth and follow the teachings of Yiguan Dao can achieve nirvana; in Yiguan Dao, they need not become ordained.

[Example 15] One Maechi in her 40s in Sisaket Province

She became a maechi in order to sustain her life for religious pursuit. She is now living in a Buddhist temple in the countryside of Sisaket Province. However, after she learned about Yiguan Dao, she began to attend the courses and events quite often. She felt like she had found what she had been looking for. She has good relationships with the female members there. They not only talk about serious teachings, but sometimes have fun together when they engage in games or jokes in the courses or events. She said that the monks in the temple where she lived did not understand the Truth about Yiguan Dao, and would sometimes prohibit her to come to Yiguan Dao courses or events. However, she nevertheless came to attend Yiguan Dao courses or events very often.

Although it is emphasized that women have responsibility for their families in Yiguan Dao teachings, it does not mean that there is no salvation for women who do not have a family in Yiguan Dao. Because it emphasizes that everyone can achieve salvation if they know the Truth and become Yiguan Dao members, maechis or women who do not have families are also welcome in Yiguan Dao. In contrast, in some groups, women are even encouraged to have a pure life without marriage, and to contribute their life for the development of Yiguan Dao.

In addition, the growing distrust in established Buddhism in Thailand is also significant. Although in Thai Theravada Buddhism, monks are sacred and strictly separated from lay persons, monks have been named in many sexual or financial scandals in the past years. Monks who deviate from religious precepts are also very often mentioned in the news. Therefore, given this context of monks losing their sacredness, some people have begun to search for other choices. The next example illustrates such a concern.

[Example 16] A woman in her 50s living in Bangkok

> She is a Yiguan Dao member who often goes to Thai Buddhist temples to listen to monks' lectures. However, she said, "Nowadays, some monks do not give lectures at all. There are some good monks, but not all monks are good. In addition, there are many Buddhists who are gaining lots of merit, but still drink alcohol and do many bad things. They are gaining merit and sinning at the same time. It is meaningless."

Despite her interest in Buddhism, her distrust in Thai Buddhism led her closer to Yiguan Dao. In contrast to Thai Buddhism, with its monks who do not provide lectures at all, Yiguan Dao considers all people who study and practice the religious teachings—regardless of whether they are men or women—as capable of becoming

lecturers. This is attractive for women with a religious orientation.

The history of Yiguan Dao reveals many women who have become masters (*dianchuanshi*) and have played important roles as leaders in Yiguan Dao. Along with Zhang Tian-Ran, who was called "Respectful Master" (*shizun*) as the 18th-generation Patriarch and Sun Hui-Ming, who was called "Mother Master" (*shimu*), is the first female patriarch in the lineage of Patriarch in Yiguan Dao. She moved to Hong Kong and then to Taiwan after Yiguan Dao was banned in Mainland China, and led most of the Yiguan Dao groups in Taiwan. Yiguan Dao members called this phenomenon "*kundaoyingyung*" (It literally means, "females will arise when the time requires") in the White Sun period. This not only explains why there are female leaders in Yiguan Dao; some members also consider it to be the reason why there are more female members active in Yiguan Dao as well. Apart from Sun, there are also many other female leaders in each subgroup, for example, Chen Hongzhen in Fayi Chongde group, Li Yuming and Chen Jinlian in Fayi Lingyin group. In Thailand, there are also many women members who become *dianchuanshi* in some Yiguan Dao groups; some even became bodhisattvas (*pusa* in Mandarin), respected by Yiguan Dao members, after passing away. For example, in Chapter 2, I mentioned that some women members in the vegetarian halls in Thailand converted to Yiguan Dao, and became *dianchuanshi* or leaders of Fayi Lingyin in Thailand. Example 11 in Chapter 4 illustrates how a female member also became a leader in the Northeastern Thailand. Because of her contribution, after she passed away, she was given the sacred title of *xianjun*, and was respected by other Yiguan Dao members.

In one Mingde class[88] that I attended in Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province, one female lecturer taught about the religious practices of contemporary women. The

[88] Mingde course is one level of Yiguan Dao teachings in Fayi Lingyin group. In 2014, Yiguan Dao members in the lower northeastern Thailand held Mingde courses once a month for half a year, for a total of six times. This class is the first class of this Mingde course held in Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province on May 14, 2014. On that day, 11 male members and 42 female members attended this course.

class was called “The model of the Truth: The Patriarchs” (*baebyang haeng tham phra banpachan* แบบอย่างแห่งธรรมพระบรรพจารย์ in Thai). Although the class was primarily about the reincarnation of the Maitreya Buddha to become a patriarch in a different era, the lecturer talked about the religious practices of contemporary women in the beginning. She said that in Yiguan Dao Fayi Lingyin group, female members are very important. There were already ten bodhisattvas (*pusa*) until now. She made comparisons with other religions, and said that there were 500 arahans in Buddhism and 3000 disciples of Confucius, but no women. However, in this era, more women than men come to practice Yiguan Dao. She thanked Mother Master Sun for shouldering the debt we had accrued, in order to give women of this era the chance to engage in religious practice. Finally, she concluded by saying that unlike the public opinions saying that women could not perform religious practices but should stay at home, everyone is equal today and that everyone should perform religious practices.

Another case is the contents of a drama performed in a Yiguan Dao camp for advanced members. In March 2014, I attended a three-day camp in Phetchabun province with members from the lower part of the northeastern Thailand. This camp was held for advanced members from all over Thailand. The purpose was to advance members to come together to train their skills for management of Buddha halls and the extension of networks. On the first day and the second day, there were drama performances to capture the members’ attention. The aim of this performance was to strengthen members’ conviction of religious practices regardless of any difficulties they might encounter. However, the gender implication of this performance showed the typical image of female Yiguan Dao members.

[Example 17] Drama performances in a Yiguan Dao camp

A female Yiguan Dao member took a vow to invite as many people as possible to become Yiguan Dao members. However, because of her active

participation in Yiguan Dao, many of her friends did not like her as they were tired of her invitation. At her workplace, her boss also scolded her because she would sometimes be late because of spending time in Yiguan Dao practices. In her family, her husband also blamed her because she did not spend enough time for housework and children. Even in the Yiguan Dao Buddha hall, male members with higher ranks criticized her because she was not inviting as many people as her vows required her to. Following these scenes, the female member cries in front of the Yiguan Dao altars with Jigong standing by her hearing her complain about her difficulties. This is followed by another scene on the second day of the drama performance. Another female member appears and hears about her difficulties and then comforts her. She takes Master Li[89] as example to show her firm will and the successful results today. When she came to Taiwan, she was also blamed by Master, captured by the government, and faced violence. However, those difficulties did not make her shrink back. This was why there are so many Yiguan Dao members and Buddha halls all over the world today.

In sum, in the teachings of Yiguan Dao, women are not different from men in terms of religion, but are asked to follow men and behave in accordance with traditional women's virtues in terms of the family. On first glance, it would seem that Yiguan Dao emphasizes a traditional, conservative view of the family. However, in light of Ueno's (1994) conceptual distinction between the family as an ideal and as a fact, "women's virtues" may be considered only a kind of ideal—an ideal that is overshadowed by the fact of female Yiguan Dao members' religious practices. In the

[89] Master Li or Yuming Li 李鈺銘 is one of the main leaders of the Yiguan Dao Fayi Lingyin group. She was born in Tainjin city in 1912. She became a Yiguan Dao member in 1938 when she was in Tianjin. She followed Master Liu, or Zhenqui Liu 劉振魁 (respected as Qingxian Xianzhang 清閒仙長 after passed away) to extend Yiguan Dao network to Taiwan in 1947. Because Master Liu passed away in 1961, she began to lead this subgroup, and set their base in Sanxia, Taipei. She passed away in 1983, and is respected by Yiguan Dao members as Wenci Bodhisattva 文慈菩薩.

following, I show that Thai female Yiguan Dao members use the framework of Yiguan Dao in Thailand to form transregional networks. Transregional networks formed under the auspices of Yiguan Dao are illustrative of the movement of Thai women in modern times.

Migration of Women and Network of Yiguan Dao in Thailand

The framework's facilitation of long-distance movement by women contests the constraints on women's mobility in Thai culture. In Chapter 4, I have proved that the organization of Yiguan Dao in Thailand is a widely distributed segmented network that enhances the transregional interactions among its members. On the other hand, as aforementioned, women are seen symbolically as the nurturers of the home in Thailand. Although they are not restricted in terms of economic activities, women who are mobile and travel frequently confront strong criticism (Mills 1995). However, many female Yiguan Dao members contravene this constraint.

> [Example 18] A female member in her 50s from Yasothon Province
>
> She works at a school providing school meals for a daily wage of around 100 baht (around USD$3.10). I met her in a three-day dharma seminar in Surin Province where she had come for assistance in September 2012. She said that it was typically impossible for her to travel so far away from home,[90] but she had gained her husband's consent and taken a break from work to come to Surin. She added, "There are many women who are not able to travel far, particularly now that it is the farming season."

This example strengthens the argument that female members use the framework of Yiguan Dao to break constraints on their mobility. However, this mobility does not only support female members who move from their hometown to other places or

[90] The distance from Yasothon to Surin is about 140 km.

urban cities; it also supports female members who came back to their hometown after living or working outside for a period or even leading a trans-regional life. As Kiso (2007) mentions, there are two ways for women from northeastern Thailand to migrate, migration for work and back to their hometown. Yiguan Dao members use this religious network to maintain the relationship between their destination of migration and their hometown, even extending it to various other places.

[Example 19] Female in her 30s, born in Chong Mek town, Ubon Ratchathani Province

> She went to Bangkok for computer control work in a textile factory in her 20s. Her colleague invited her to become a Yiguan Dao member. After her mother's death, she returned to her hometown and took care of her grandparents there. Although she could receive remittance from her brother working in Bangkok each month, she opened a small vegetarian restaurant and made some snacks as well. She helped establish the Buddha Hall in Chong Mek, and usually went to help the events and courses of the Buddha Hall in Ubon Ratchathani city as well.

[Example 20] 57-year-old female, born in Yasothon Province

> She worked in a plastic factory in Bangkok from 14 to 35. During this period, she was interested in the activities of Santi Asoke, and attended their events very often. She knew her husband from Yasothon Province when attending the event of Santi Asoke, and went back to Yasothon. After her husband's death due to an accident, she had to raise her daughter by herself. Because that life was quite difficult, she became a Yiguan Dao member when her friend invited her. She wishes that it could make her difficult life better and her daughter could grow up peacefully. When her

daughter planned to go to study in the university in Ubon Ratchathani Province, she moved with her there. She became acquainted with another Yiguan Dao member who was the owner of a vegetarian restaurant near the university, and then sought permission to work there. After that, she learned of other Yiguan Dao members gradually, and is attending the local Yiguan Dao event each Sunday.

[Example 21] Female in her 50s, born in Kueang Nai district, Ubon Ratchathani Province

She migrated to Bangkok in her 20s and worked in a café around Pratu Nam market. One regular customer invited her to become a Yiguan Dao member. Afterwards, she moved back to Ubon Ratchathani because of marriage. However, she moved back to Ubon Ratchathani city but not to her hometown in the countryside. She sells soymilk in the market with her husband, and helps with the affairs in the Buddha hall in the city.

[Example 22] 48-year-old female, born in Nakhon Ratchasima Province

She migrated to Bangkok in her 20s and did the work of textile around the Rama VI Bridge with her friends. When she was 24, because she felt that she had a difficult life in Bangkok, and thought that she could relieve the suffering, she became a Yiguan Dao member when other Yiguan Dao members invited her. Since then, she usually attends the events or courses in the Buddha hall in Bangkok. When she was 30, she moved to Yasothon Province, the hometown of her husband. Because she was busy with child rearing and work, she seldom went to the Buddha Hall for a long time. She closed her business several years ago, and returned to help in the Buddha Hall on being invited from other Yiguan Dao members. She

helped to establish a public Buddha hall in the neighborhood, and attends the events or courses very often. Moreover, after she closed her old business, she began to open a vegetarian restaurant.

In addition, movement has facilitated the formation of transregional networks among women. During Yiguan Dao events and activities, men (*qian dao* 乾道 in Mandarin) and women (*khun dao* 坤道 in Mandarin) are kept strictly separate. Because of this division, women are able to build strong relationships with each other during events; these relationships persist even after such events are completed. For example, one evening, two female members from Ubon Ratchathani took me by bus to Yasothon; we practiced sacred songs with six female members in the Buddhist hall there. The next day, we returned to Ubon Ratchathani by bus. In sum, Yiguan Dao events and the system of promotion facilitates long-distance movement and the emergence of transregional networks among women.

Women facing life crises utilize the transregional networks that Yiguan Dao facilitates.

[Example 23] Dao and Jan, who are sisters in their 50s, from a suburban area in Ubon Ratchathani Province.

Dao and Jan are second- and fourth-born sisters from a family in Ubon Ratchathani. Jan studied accounting in her high school degree, and began to play music bands from that period. After graduation, she went to Bangkok and did accounting work for a lady for two years. Afterwards, because her band went to Mahasarakham, and her sister, Dao, opened a small restaurant, Jan moved there and helped with the cooking, and did some performances there. She met her ex-husband who is three years old younger than her, and got married there. Then, because Dao was offered a

job to play her music in a hotel in Sisaket, both of them moved there. However, after working there for a short period, they opened their own restaurant there. Dao also composed songs and sold them to some singers. In their new restaurant, they served not only food, but alcohol as well. Moreover, there were music performances as well.

At first, their restaurant was a successful business; several government administrators came to their restaurant as well. However, because the business was open at night and sold alcohol, their restaurant was beset by fighting and trouble. In 1994, Jan and her husband divorced because of her husband having extramarital affairs. Although it appears that everything went well there, they gradually began to have some problems in their lives, and then became increasingly dependent on Yiguan Dao. In the same year, a friend of one of their sisters invited them to become a Yiguan Dao member. After becoming a member, they continued to sell meat and alcohol that contradicted with Yiguan Dao's teachings. However, because of the fighting and trouble they experienced, they began to depend on the sacred in Yiguan Dao, and began to believe that selling alcohol and meat was sinful. They closed their restaurant and threw themselves into disseminating the teachings of Yiguan Dao. They returned to Ubon Ratchathani and lived in the large house of a Yiguan Dao member who had migrated to the United States. The elder sister, Dao, is now the altar-keeper (*tanzhu*) of a public Buddhist hall in Ubon Ratchathani City. The younger sister, Jan, leads a religious life: using her restaurant experience, she has opened a small vegetarian restaurant, which she uses to spread vegetarianism and the teachings of Yiguan Dao.

Dao and Jan moved to another city and opened their own business; when their business went badly and when Jan experienced some martial problems, Yiguan Dao

helped them cope with the crisis they were facing.

[Example 24] A female member born in Taiwan in her 40s

She became a Yiguan Dao member when she was eight because her mother was a pious Yiguan Dao member. Her family came to Thailand in 1990 when she was in her 20s. Her family came to Thailand mainly for missionary work and opened a factory of vegetarian products in Thailand, but later, this factory was sold to another Yiguan Dao member, and her parents or her siblings returned to Taiwan or to other countries. She chose to stay in Thailand after that. She taught Mandarin in one Chinese association and in a university in Khon Kaen for three years. She married a Thai man but divorced him in 1999. Moreover, because of the economic crisis after 1997, she could not continue her work in Khon Kaen as well, and she moved to Bangkok. First, she opened a company for teaching Chinese in Bangkok, which did not go well. She said that she even borrowed money from underground banks and faced many problems. She returned to Yiguan Dao while experiencing a life crisis from 1999 to 2004. Because of the encouragement from Yiguan Dao, she started another language school for teaching Chinese. She aims at using the language school for her secular work on the one hand, but for missionary work on the other.

[Example 25] A 36-year-old female member born in Sisaket Province

She graduated from the university and had a boyfriend who was a soldier. She likes performances such as singing or dancing. When she lived in Kalasin Province, one of her friends invited her to a Yiguan Dao Buddha hall to help with the cleaning there. They began singing and dancing with

Yiguan Dao members there. She felt very happy. When her friend asked her to pass the initiation ritual to become a Yiguan Dao member, she agreed and went to another Buddha hall to pass the initiation ritual. However, after becoming a Yiguan Dao member, she did not put much effort on the courses or events of Yiguan Dao. After she broke up with her boyfriend, she returned to the Yiguan Dao Buddha hall, and began to attend Yiguan Dao events or courses very often. Now she lives in one Yiguan Dao Buddha hall in Sisaket Province with her two sons and other members. One of her sons is 17 years old, and the other is a primary school student. Although based on the Yiguan Dao Buddha hall in Sisaket, she traveled extensively to other Buddha halls or even members' houses to help with the cleaning and housekeeping. I occasionally met her at a Yiguan Dao member's house in Ubon Ratchathani Province. She stayed there to help with the cleaning for three days. At times, I met her in different Buddha halls in Bangkok or Uthumphon Phisai District, Sisaket Province.

Occasionally, female Yiguan Dao members use the networks and relationships they have built when they encounter difficulties. In the example previously mentioned, Dao and Jan were able to live in Ubon Ratchathani for free because of the goodwill of another female Yiguan Dao member; they were even able to use this goodwill as a foundation for building relationships and networks with other members.

[Example 26] A woman in her 30s from Surat Thani Province in southern Thailand

She worked in Penang, Malaysia for five years. She said that when she was in Malaysia, she drank alcohol and went dancing. Subsequently, she returned to Thailand and her friend introduced her to Yiguan Dao. Phan's

parents had already passed away, so when she got married, she went to live with her husband's parents in Nakhon Sawan Province in central Thailand. However, her husband received money from his parents and would use it to drink alcohol with friends and take drugs. Her husband was also violent at times. After Phan gave birth, she decided to leave Nakhon Sawan Province with her son. First, she went back to Surat Thani, in the south, to collect some belongings. She went to Bangkok, and then moved to Jan's house in Ubon Ratchathani, northeastern Thailand. Phan knew Jan from Bangkok—a friend of Phan's from Yiguan Dao had introduced her to a vegetarian restaurant where Jan was helping at the time. Subsequently, Phan and Jan met twice during Yiguan Dao events, but were not very close. Because they were "dharma relatives" (*daoqin* in Mandarin, or *yatitham* in Thai),[91] Phan called Jan to ask whether she could move into her house; Jan agreed. Several days later, Phan's husband called Phan and said that he missed his child. He moved to Ubon Ratchathani and became a Yiguan Dao member as well. At first, they lived in Jan and Dao's house and helped with the housework and worked at Jan's vegetarian restaurant. Jan and Dao also took care of Phan's child. Half a year later, Phan's family moved out to rent a house near the public Buddhist hall; they continue to help Jan with work and religious events.

This example reveals that women who have lost their parents and faced the problem of domestic violence use the transregional network built by the Buddha halls to have a new life. Moreover, members usually consult with each other about the problems they face with their family or work.

[91] Yiguan Dao members call each other "dharma relatives." The term refers to the fact that such "dharma relatives" practice the dharma together and are all, in a religious sense, children of the Eternal Mother.

Summary and Discussions

In the Thai context, in contrast to men, women cannot be ordained, and as nurturers of the home, are limited in their mobility. In the contemporary period, religious practices in reform Buddhism and urban folk religion, as well as those undertaken by rural women and those that have resulted from women's labor migration, have had a reshaping influence. However, these practices have typically compromised with, rather than challenged, the established framework.

Upon first glance, Yiguan Dao, with its Confucian teachings, would seem to take a conservative stance in regard to women's virtue. However, as it is outside the framework of Thai established Buddhism, it offers its female members more freedom in regard to practices. All Yiguan Dao members, regardless of whether they are men or women, can engage in religious practices and become lecturers. Based on Yiguan Dao's framework for activities and system of promotion, women can contravene constraints on their mobility and build transregional networks. In addition, women who migrate and lead mobile urban lives can use the networks they have built to face the problems and difficulties that are occurring in their lives. In sum, it is not the ideal family virtues put forth by the teachings of Yiguan Dao but the fact that Yiguan Dao members' practices are centered on the notion of a "family" comprising all "children of the Eternal Mother" that is relevant; such practices help members to face problems they confront in their lives in modern Thailand.

It has been argued that some Chinese folk religious sects, such as Yiguan Dao, began to lose their millenarian character in the 20th century amid dramatic politico-economic changes and have become increasingly conservative (Freedman and Topley 1961). In Taiwan, Malaysia, and Singapore, Yiguan Dao has also been considered part of a movement to revive Chinese culture (Seiwert 1981; Sung 1997, 2003). However, studies that have made arguments in this vein have overlooked the actual narratives

and practices of members; hence, they have been unable to reveal the myriad possibilities of Chinese folk religious sects. As Jordan and Overmyer (1986) point out, Chinese folk religious sects differ from Chinese popular religious practices based on the space of the village: members are strongly individualistic and it is difficult to analyze the movements of which they are a part. Thus, I argue that we should pay more attention to the practices and narratives of members and their contexts. For example, in the early period of the Way of Former Heaven in Singapore and in Thailand, it served a mutual-aid function for single female migrants from Guangdong; other Chinese referred to the Way of Former Heaven as a "women's religion" (Freedman and Topley 1961; Shiga 2010). This study examined Yiguan Dao in Thailand. Although Yiguan Dao has been considered acceptable to Thai members because of its similarities with Buddhism, for women, Yiguan Dao contravenes the gender framework of Thai-established Buddhism. Consequently, for Thai female members, Yiguan Dao could be considered a millenarian movement for the erasure of the gender constraints of established Buddhism in modern Thailand.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Instead of considering Yiguan Dao in Thailand as a "Chinese religion" or extension of Thai Buddhism, in this study, I argue that we should consider it to be a new religious organization in Thailand, and focus on the dynamic relationship among Yiguan Dao, Thai Buddhism, and Thai society in terms of members' agency. By adopting this view, this study mainly makes two contribution to the studies on religions in Thailand. First, I challenge the syncretic or complimentary view of Thai Buddhism and other religious practices, and discuss Thai Buddhism and Yiguan Dao in Thailand from the perspective of competition. On the other hand, contradicting the view of individualization of Thai religion, I argue that different from traditional territory-based Buddhism or individualized urban religious practices, Yiguan Dao is developing in a niche in the Thai religious market as a new religious group forming new communities for its members.

In this concluding chapter, I will extend the discussion on two issues, the Thai religious market and Yiguan Dao as a new religion in Thailand.

Thai Religious Market

As I have argued and hopefully adequately established several times in this study, Yiguan Dao in Thailand should not be perceived only as a religious group composed of ethnic Chinese migrants or an alien cult unrelated with the mainstream Thai society, but a religious group competing with Thai Buddhism in changing Thai society. However, how can this competitive view help us understand more about the Thai religious scene?

First, I want to examine the views about religious markets in other regions. The

theory of religious market was first proposed to comprehend the prosperity of religious practices in the United States where there were no long-term religious traditions regulated by the state. Although there are opinions that the theory is not suitable to explain the secularized western Europe, Stark (2004[2000]) argued strongly that it is nevertheless applicable for understanding the religious economy in western Europe. On shifting our focus to Malaysia, we can see that it is possible to build a competitive religious market even if there is a long tradition of relationship between the established religion and the state, if the state does not strictly regulate specific religious practices. As Ackerman and Lee argue, in Malaysia, because of a different relationship with politics, the secularizing process of Muslims and non-Muslims is different (Ackerman and Lee 1988; Lee 1993). Non-Muslim religious groups express more creativity and competition in the process of urbanization. Moreover, these religious groups are strongly influenced by ethnic identities (Ackrman and Lee 1988; Lee 1993). Similar to Islam in Malaysia, the Buddhist Sangha in Thailand is relatively more regulated by the state and plays a public role. There is indeed more creative energy in the religious practices outside Buddhist Sangha. However, unlike the straightforward division at the religious market level in Malaysia, religious practices outside Thai Buddhist Sangha are more in competition with the Thai Buddhist Sangha. In addition, its ethnic distinction is also not as definite as in Malaysia.

Therefore, although many studies indicate the long relationship between Thai Buddhist Sangha and the state, it does not necessarily mean that the religious regulations from the state on the folk level are as strong as the Catholic model in the history of western Europe. For example, O'Connor (1993) indicates that various local religious practices were present before the centralization and institutionalization of Thai Buddhist Sangha. McDaniel (2008) argued that even after the centralization, the impact is only limited to Bangkok and its surrounding areas. However, in northern or northeastern rural areas, the impact on the practice level is very minimal. In other

words, although it may not be a religious market like the present mobile society, there can be various competitive religious practices unlike the well-regulated structure as Catholic western Europe.

This competitive view could also challenge some existing understanding about "Buddhistization" in modern Thailand. As we see in Yiguan Dao's case, although Yiguan Dao members attend Buddhist rituals or even conduct Buddhist meditation, for them, those rituals or meditation are only "old-fashioned practices" or "customs" that do not hold any religious meaning. In some cases, Yiguan Dao members adopt Buddhist meditation into Yiguan Dao creatively, and impart those religious practices new meanings. Instead of taking those discourses or creativity as Buddhistization of Yiguan Dao, I have revealed how it is a more competitive method of handling Buddhist critics in the Thai religious market. In the same vein, although there are some research studies about Mor Tham in northeastern Thailand and Chao Pho in central Thailand (Hayashi 1989; Mori 1974a, 1974b, 1978a, 1978b) indicating their Buddhistization in the new conditions, if we consider the competitive view mentioned above and focus on its adoptive agency rather than perceive it from a structural view, it may make apparent the creativity of these new religious experts or their efforts toward remaining competitive in the new environment.

As Yiguan Dao in Thailand revises our understanding of "Chinese religion" in Southeast Asia, the competitive view of Yiguan Dao in Thai religious market also challenges the basic assumption of comprehending Thai religion based on "Buddhism." On the one hand, despite its strong relationship with the state, it may not be as firmly embedded in the folk level as the European Catholic model, but it has a greater number of and variety of religious practices in its history. On the other hand, the institutionalization of Buddhism in modern Thailand was also not as strict as many studies indicated, but many alternative religious practices and creativity emerged and competed with each other. Therefore, although examining this

perspective in those different contexts is beyond the scope of this study, instead of syncretism or hybridization based on the openness of Thai Buddhism, we should shift our focus to this competitive view and the interactive process in the religious market.

Yiguan Dao as a New Religion in Thailand

Compared with traditional Buddhism that is more regulated by the state, Yiguan Dao plays a competitive role in the Thai religious market in the context of the modernization of Thai society. However, I cannot fully agree with the secularist view on modern Thai religious change, particularly regarding the issue of individualization. In this section, I discuss Yiguan Dao in Thailand from the perspective of studies on new religions.

According to its functional differentiation, Ikado (1974) indicated four categories of religions in modern societies: "cultural religion," "institutional religion," "organized religion," and "individual religion." As many studies indicate the important roles of Buddhism as the cultural and institutional religion in Thailand, and some others argue that the Thai religious practices are becoming more "individualized" (O'connor 1993; Taylor 1990), the case of Yiguan Dao in Thailand reveals that "individualization" might not be the only answer for "communal dislocations" (Robbins 1988:45) in the modern mobile Thai society. Instead, Yiguan Dao, as an "organized religion," reveals characteristics that are different from both traditional Buddhism or postmodern individualized religious practices. I will examine Yiguan Dao in Thailand from the three perspectives of "individualization" that I have mentioned in the introduction: (1) Privatization (2) De-institutionalization (3) Commercialization.

Regarding the last point, commercialization, we can say that the choices of religion are personal freedom in contemporary Thailand, but it is not necessarily a

change because of modernization. Certainly, because of migration or globalization, an increasing number of religious groups or practices have originated in Thailand or have come to Thailand from other countries. This indeed enriches the choices of religious practices in contemporary Thailand. Urban lifestyle with high mobility also helps people contact more ideas. However, in Thailand, the concept of affiliation with Buddhism is not as strongly defined as Christianity or Islamism. Moreover, although the state is strongly related with the Buddhist Sangha, its control over the local is weak or incomplete (McDaniel 2011). In addition, its control is primarily related to monks who are ordained rather than laypersons (Kataoka 2012). It is difficult to say that this freedom of religious choice is a historically changing process. In other words, we can say that Yiguan Dao is one of the choices on the basis of religious freedom, but it is not necessarily a product of the commercialization process of religion.

With regard to privatization, although the function of Yiguan Dao in Thailand is primarily to ensure each member's salvation practically or spiritually rather than solving communal problems, it also aims at saving the world by helping others and inviting others to become Yiguan Dao members. In Chapter 2, I showed that Yiguan Dao provides salvation from personal problems, such as sickness, smoking or drugs, business failure, or broken relationships, but does not solve communal problems such as those faced by a village society. It also offers members the concept of the order of the self and the world, and teaches them how to advance their own moral ethics in their teachings. However, on the other hand, because Yiguan Dao also emphasizes on saving the world by helping others to become members and supports their religious practices as well, it is difficult to perceive Yiguan Dao in Thailand entirely as a product of privatization.

Finally, the religious practices of Yiguan Dao are also not about "de-institutionalization," but related with the trans-regional widely distributed segmented network. In Chapter 2, I discussed how Yiguan Dao transformed from a more ethnic-

Chinese oriented group to a group that is not strongly related with specific territory or ethnic groups. In Chapter 4, I indicate the segmented organizational character of Yiguan Dao, and its connection with the forming of the trans-regional network of Yiguan Dao members. The religious practices and ranking systems of Yiguan Dao oblige members to be more intimate with this network. The relatedness formed in this network is connected with the members' migration for higher education, work, or even overseas labor, all of which are increasing in a modern mobilized society. This is also related with what Robbins indicated in relation to the issue of "Cult and Family." Similar to a highly mobilized society, Yiguan Dao in Thailand helps it members to form a new transregional relationship without necessarily forming territorial or kinship relations. Members form a fictive relationship of "family" by calling each other "Dhamma relatives" (*yatitham*). It offers solutions for people who have problems with their original "family" through this network. Therefore, it is difficult to say that religious practices in Yiguan Dao are "de-institutionalized," but instead, the network of its organization helps to form new relatedness other than the territorial or kinship relations in this more mobilizing modern Thai society.

This refusal of individualization leads to classical discussions about society and community in social sciences. In the classical sociological work of Tönnies (1887) or Durheim (1964[1893]), the difference between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, or mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity has already been mentioned. In the same vein, Yiguan Dao is different from Thai Buddhism that is both "cultural religion" and "institutional religion" in traditional local or modern national Thai communities. It is also different from the de-institutionalized and privatized postmodern cult of "individual religion," but plays the role of grouping people in modern Thai society, provides solidarity within the groups, and interactions with the society outside the group.

Moreover, although teachings of Yiguan Dao emphasize the traditional moral

ethics to its members and are called cultural revival movement in some other areas (Seiwert 1981), it provides new belongings or new subjectivities for its members in modern Thai society. Although Yiguan Dao strongly promotes the value of family even in the modern society, as I revealed in Chapter 4 and 5, it offers solidarities among their transregional members and even belongings for marginalized people who are excluded from their families or original communities.

In addition, rather than recognizing different selves and potentials as New Age movements,[92] Yiguan Dao in Thailand offers new subjectivities about the self, the world, and the gender roles for its members. In Yiguan Dao, every member is Buddha and can achieve nirvana if he/she becomes a member and continues his/her practice, and nirvana is not only for kings, monks, or intellectuals. In other words, it challenges the authority of the privileged groups in the religious domain.

Regarding the gender issue, although Confucian teachings in Yiguan Dao promote conservative women's role in supporting their families, husbands, or sons, it offers more possibilities for religious salvation and ranking system than its Buddhist counterpart. In the face of the changing society, Yiguan Dao works to restore moral ethics, particularly under the Confucian value, that teaches women to fulfill their role in their families. However, although it offers a specific conservative value of gender role in comparison with the multiple gender roles in the contemporary society on the one hand, it also provides more freedom on seeking religiosity for women than Buddhism and reform groups based on it in Thailand on the other hand. In Chapter 5, I show that instead of being limited by the Theravada Buddhist order, Yiguan Dao claims that members, regardless of their gender, can achieve salvation without ordination as monks, which is offered only for men in the Thai Theravada Buddhist

[92] In Japan, by comparing New Age movements and Aum Shinrikyo in Japan, Yumiyama (2004) argues that in responding to the "era of value relativism," there are two paradigms of new religious movements. The first in based on value relativism, and people are inclined to accept their own status. The other reaction of new religious movements is to reject the value relativism and using single value as the Truth to converge diverse values of each persons. We could say that Yiguan Dao in Thailand belongs to the latter part of these two paradigms.

order. Moreover, women can follow the same ranking system in Yiguan Dao and become high-rank leaders in Yiguan Dao. In other words, although conservative on aspects of family, Yiguan Dao frees the hierarchy of men and women and pursues religious equality for both men and women systemically.

However, while providing new subjectivities for its members, there are flexibilities within the interactions and practices of Yiguan Dao in Thailand. Scholars have already indicated that Yiguan Dao is flexible via re-interpretations or by re-inventing the "classics" of holding a séance (Yu 1998; Chung 2006; Ting 2008). In addition, in Chapter 2, I showed that although Yiguan Dao members emphasize "order" and "moral ethics" as their values, the details of those terms are sometimes formed by interactions and communications among members, but not in a very systemic manner. Moreover, in Chapter 3, I revealed that under pressure from the Buddhist critics in Thailand, Yiguan Dao members also form their discourses and practices with flexibility, but not merely by reinterpreting or reinventing the "classics" structurally. In other words, although Yiguan Dao offers a value norm for members to comprehend selves and the world, it is flexible enough in answering the changing society and environments even when they face external pressure.

In sum, as an organized new religious group in modern Thai society, Yiguan Dao in Thailand provides solidarity and new subjectivities for its members. Moreover, the flexibility of Yiguan Dao makes it easily adaptable to changing conditions Yiguan Dao in Thailand thus maintains its pace and develops gradually via interactions within the Thai religious market.

Summary and Limitations

As Yiguan Dao in Thailand has crossed over the ethnic boundary and does not serve as a religious group only for Chinese community ethnically or territorially, in

this study, I argue that we should perceive it as a new religious group in the competitive Thai religious market. However, on the one hand, in contrast to the syncretic or all-inclusive view of Thai religion, I show that Yiguan Dao in Thailand addresses the critics and creates discourses against them in the less-regulated competitive religious market. On the other hand, in contrast with the secularists' view of individualization on modern Thai religion, I indicate that Yiguan Dao in Thailand offers trans-regional networks for members' interactions and securities in the modern Thai society, particularly for women seeking religious salvation or mobility in the changing period. In other words, different from traditional territory-based Buddhism or individualized urban religious practices, Yiguan Dao develops in one of the niches in the Thai religious market as a new religious group coming from abroad.

This study also has some limitations. First, I did not focus on the transnational connection of Yiguan Dao in its global development. As the development of Yiguan Dao is related with members' mobility, its distribution is not limited to Thailand domestically but also internationally to Thai members' migration. However, as I mainly conducted my fieldwork within Thailand, the actual situation of the overseas Yiguan Dao halls created by Thai members is seldom investigated. In addition, their connection with members or institutions in Thailand or the interaction among Thailand, Taiwan, and other areas also need further research.

Furthermore, this study emphasizes Yiguan Dao's location within the Thai religious market as a whole, but pays less attention to its internal variations. First, as there are more than 26 Yiguan Dao groups and other related groups that have split from the main Yiguan Dao groups, such as Nine Lotus Tao 九蓮聖道 or Maitreya Great Tao 彌勒大道 that have actively developed in Thailand, it is difficult to investigate the differences among all the groups. For example, one of the Yiguan Dao groups coming from China directly through Myanmar merged into Maitreya Great Tao, which is a group that had split from the main Yiguan Dao groups in Taiwan and

has changed its rituals or teachings profoundly in the past years. One of the other groups merged the role of the master and the meditator, and called their leader *sancaidianchuanshi* 三才點傳師, and there are several stories from many past Thai kings or about other roles obtained by holding a séance in this group. In addition, although most of the Yiguan Dao groups in Thailand registered themselves as charity foundations (*mulaniti*) with the government, some groups regardless chose to work underground without registering with the government. Most of those groups continue with the methods they originally used when they were suppressed in China or Taiwan under martial law, and they claim that their teachings are "the Truth" and not "religion," which eliminates any need to register as a religious organization or foundation under the control of the state. In other words, as Chapters 3 and 4 reveal, Yiguan Dao includes many segmented groups, and sometimes, it is difficult to call it a whole. Simultaneously, it also shows it flexibility with the teachings, practices, and organizations.

Finally, this study does not touch on the issue of Yiguan Dao's influence on other religious practices in Thailand. The best example is "*riu chitsamphat*." He became famous because of his appearance on the TV variety show *khonuatphi*. He claims that he got messages from Guan Yu 關羽 (*kuan u* in Thai), who is also a figure of the pantheon in Yiguan Dao. He uses those messages to solve the problems of others and advises them to exhibit good behaviors and practices. His message is not only related with the concept of Karma which is common in most Buddhist-related ideas, but also connected with the idea of karmic creditors (*yuanqinzhaizhu* in Mandarin, or *chaokamnaiwen* in Thai). Many Yiguan Dao members claim that *riu* is also a member of Yiguan Dao, but use it to solve others' problems. Those phenomena need further investigation as well.

References

Ackerman, Susan Ellen and Raymond L. M. Lee. 1988. *Heaven in Transition: Non-Muslim Religious Innovation and Ethnic Identity in Malaysia*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

Aidala, Angela A. 1985. Social Change, Gender Roles, and New Religious Movements. *Sociological Analysis* 46(3): 287-314.

Angurarohita, Pratoom. 2003. Soka Gakkai in Thailand: Its Rationale, Strategy and Tactics. *Inter-Religio* 44: 2-26.

Aoki, Tamotsu 青木保. 1974. *Bun* and Form: To Understand Thai Buddhism「ブン」と形式--タイ仏教理解のための一試論. *Quarterly Journal of Institute of Developing Economies Japan External Trade Organization アジア経済* 15(7): 2-21.

Apinya Fuengfusakul. 1993. Empire of Crystal and Utopian Commune: Two Types of Contemporary Theravada Reform in Thailand. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 8(1): 153-183.

Apinya Fuengfusakul อภิญญา เฟื่องฟูสกุล. 1998. Religion of Urban People in the New Age: Study on Wat Phra Dhammakaya ศาสนทัศน์ของชุมชนเมืองสมัยใหม่: ศึกษากรณีวัดพระธรรมกาย *Warasan Phutthasat Su'ksa. Chulalongkon Mahawithayalai* วารสารพุทธศาสน์ศึกษา 5(1): 4-88.

Beasley, Tamerlaine, Philip Hirsch, et al. 2014. *Thailand in Australia*. Sydney: The University of Sydney.

Beckford, James A. 1985. *Cult Controversies: The Societal Response to New Religious Movements*. London: Tavistock.

Bellah, Robert N. 1967. Civil Religion in America. *Daedalus* 96(1): 1-21.

Berger, Peter L. 1967. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Berger, Peter L. 1996. Secularism in Retreat. *The National Interest* 46: 3-13.

Brasher, Brenda E. 1998. *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power*. New

Brunswick, USA and London, UK: Rutgers University Press.

Brown, Callum. 2001. *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*. London and New York: Routledge.

Brown, Callum. 2006. *Religion and Society in Twentieth-century Britain*. London: Longman.

Bruce, Steve. 2000. The Supply-Side Model of Religion: The Nordic and Baltic States. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 39(1): 32-46.

Cannell, Fenella. 2010. The Anthropology of Secularism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39(1): 85-100.

Casanova, José. 1994. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Casanova, José. 2006. Rethinking Secularization: A Global Comparative Perspective. *Hedgehog Review* 8: 7-22.

Casanova, José. 2011. The Secular, Secularizations, Secularisms. In *Rethinking Secularism*, edited by Craig J. Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, pp. 54-74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Casanova, José. 2013. Is Secularization Global? In *Neue Räume öffnen: Mission und Säkularisierungen weltweit (Weltkirche und Mission)*, edited by Gregor Buß and Markus Luber, pp. 69-81. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet.

Chang, Shao-cheng 張紹城. 2007. *Social and Cultural Studies on Missionaries of Yiguan Dao Fayi Chongde Group in Nepal 老水還潮──一貫道發一崇德在尼泊爾傳道之社會文化研究*. Master's thesis, National Yunlin University of Science and Technology.

Chang, Xiao-wei 張曉威. 1997. Statistic Analysis of Theses and Dissertations of Southeast Asia Studies in Graduate Schools in Taiwan 1963-1996 台灣各大學研究所有關東南亞研究博碩士論文統計分析(1963-1996). *Southeast Asia Quarterly 東南亞季刊* 2(2): 74-79.

Chen, Tsung-Yuan 陳琮淵. 2013. Southeast Asian Chinese Studies in Taiwan:

Reconsideration of Historical Contexts and Creative Methods 臺灣的東南亞華人研究：發展脈絡與創新路徑的再思考. In *New Southeast Asia Studies in Taiwan: Paradigms and Directions 臺灣東南亞研究新論：圖象與路向*, edited by Alan Hao Yang 楊昊 and Tsung-Yuan Chen 陳琮淵, pp. 143-162. Taipei 台北市: Hungyeh Publishing 洪葉文化.

Chung, Yun-yin 鍾雲鶯. 2006. The Model of Interpreting the Analects' Paragraphs By I-Kuan Tao For "Ultimate" and "Un-Ultimate" 論一貫道「本」與「非本」之思想的解經模式：從論語的幾則解釋談起. *Journal of World Religion 世界宗教學刊* 8: 39-70.

Clart, Philip. 2000. Opening the Wilderness for the Way of Heaven: A Chinese New Religion in the Greater Vancouver Area. *Journal of Chinese Religions* 28: 127-144.

Cohen, Erik. 2001a. *Chinese Vegetarian Festival in Phuket: Religion, Ethnicity and Tourism on a Southern Thai Island*. Bangkok: White Lotus.

Cohen, Paul T. 2000. A Buddha Kingdom in the Golden Triangle: Buddhist Revivalism and the Charismatic Monk Khruba Bunchum. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 11(3): 141-154.

Cohen, Paul T. 2001b. Buddhism Unshackled: The Yuan 'Holy Man' Tradition and the Nation-State in the Tai World. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 32(2): 227-247.

Comaroff, Jean. 1985. *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, John L. and Jean Comaroff. 1991. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, John L. and Jean Comaroff. 1997. *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Coughlin, Richard J. 1960. *Double Identity: The Chinese in Modern Thailand*. New

York: Oxford University Press.

Davie, Grace. 1994. *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing Without Belonging*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Dobbelaere, Karel 1981. Secularization: A Multi-Dimensional Concept. *Current Sociology* 29(2): 1-216.

Durkheim, Emile. 1964(1893). *The Division of Labor in Society*. IL: Free Press.

Errington, Shelly. 1990. Recasting Sex, Gender and Power: A Theoretical and Regional Overview. In *Power and Difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia*, edited by J. Atkinson and S. Errington, pp. 1-58. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Fisher, Humphrey J. 1973. Conversion Reconsidered: Some Historical Aspects of Religious Conversion in Black Africa. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 43(1): 27-40.

Formoso, Bernard 2010. *De Jiao: A Religious Movement in Contemporary China and Overseas: Purple qi from the East*. Singapore: NUS Press.

Freedman, Maurice and Marjorie Topley. 1961. Religion and Social Realignment among the Chinese in Singapore. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 21(1): 3-23.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. Internal Conversion in Contemporary Bali. In *The Interpretation of Culture,* pp. 170-189. New York: Basic Books.

Goh, Yu Mei 吳玉美. 2011. Environment, Attributes and Choice: A Study of the Development of Yiguandao (Unity Sect) Baoguan Jiande and Fayi Tian'en (Qunying) Sub-Branches in Singapore 環境、條件、抉擇：新加坡一貫道寶光建德和發一天恩（群英）組線發展研究. Master's thesis, National University of Singapore.

Griffith, R. Marie. 2000. *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, USA and London, UK: University of California Press.

Hage, Ghassan. 2005. A Not So Multi-Sited Ethnography of a Not So Imagined

Community. *Anthropological Theory* 5(4): 464-475.

Hanks, Lucien M. Jr. 1962. Merit and Power in the Thai Social Order. *American Anthropologist* 64(6): 1247-1261.

Hanks, Lucien M. Jr. 1975. The Thai Social Order as Entourage and Circle. In *Change and Persistence in Thai Society: Essays in Honor of Lauriston Sharp*, edited by G. William Skinner, A. Thomas Kirsch and Lauriston Sharp, pp. 197-218. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press.

Hayashi, Yukio 林行夫. 1989. The Making of the Power of Thamma: Mo Tham and Thai Buddhism in the History of Thai-Lao Peasants ダルマの力と帰依者たち：東北タイにおける仏教とモータム. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 国立民族学博物館研究報告* 14(1): 1-116.

Hayashi, Yukio 林行夫. 2000. *Religion and Cultural Change of Lao Society: Ethnography on Region and Religion in the Northeastern Thailand ラオ人社会の宗教と文化変容―東北タイの地域・宗教社会誌*. Kyoto 京都市: Kyoto University Press 京都大学学術出版会.

Hayashi, Yukio 林行夫. 2009. The Phase of 'Thai Buddhism' and Practical Buddhism: Discussing the Development of Institutions and Sects from Dhammakaya Movement in the Northeastern Thai Countryside「タイ仏教」と実践仏教の位相―東北農村のタマカーイにみる制度と教派の展開. In *Practical Religions: Topologies of Religion within Mainland Southeast Asia＜境域＞の実践宗教―大陸部東南アジア地域と宗教のトポロジー*, edited by Hayashi Yukio 林行夫, pp. 235-304. Kyoto 京都: Kyoto University Press 京都大学学術出版会.

Hefner, Robert W. 1993. Introduction: World Building and the Rationality of Conversion. In *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, edited by Robert W. Hefner, pp. 3-44. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Heikkilä-Horn, Marja-Leena. 2010. Santi Asoke Buddhism and the Occupation of

Bangkok International Airport. *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies* 3(1): 31-47.

Hervieu-Léger, Danièle. 2003. Individualism, the Validation of Faith, and the Social Nature of Religion in Modernity. In *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Religion*, edited by Richard K. Fenn, pp. 161-175. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Hirai, Kyonosuke. 2002. Exhibition of Power: Factory Women's Use of the Housewarming Ceremony in a Northern Thai Village. In *Cultural Crisis and Social Memory: Modernity and Identity in Thailand and Laos*, edited by Shigeharu Tanabe and Charles F. Keyes, pp. 185-201. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Horton, Robin. 1971. African Conversion. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 41(2): 85-108.

Horton, Robin. 1975. On the Rationality of Conversion. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 45(3-4): 219-235;373-399.

Horton, Robin and J. D. Y. Peel. 1976. Conversion and Confusion-A Rejoinder on Christianity in Eastern Nigeria. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 10(3): 481-498.

Hsieh, Shih-chung 謝世忠. 2008. Bilateral Inheritance and Sexual Equality: on Cultural Base in Tai-Buddhist Communities in Mainland Southeast Asia 雙邊繼承與性別等位—大陸東南亞「泰語系-南傳佛教」的文化基質. In *Essays in Honor of Professor Pin-Hsiung Liu 劉斌雄先生紀念論文集*, edited by Mei-rong Lin 林美容, Pei-yi Guo 郭佩宜 and 黃智慧 Chih-Hui Huang, pp. 507-531. Taipei 台北: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica 中央研究院民族學研究所.

Huang, Julia C.黃倩玉. 2009. Religious Transnationalism, Transnational Religion: Linkagne of Tzu Chi among the United States, Japan, Malaysia, and Taiwan 宗教跨國·跨國宗教：台灣慈濟在美國、日本、馬來西亞及其與台灣的連結模式初探. In *To Cross or not to Cross? : Transnational Taiwan, Taiwan's*

Transnationality 流轉跨界：跨國的台灣 台灣的跨國, edited by Pei-yi Guo 郭佩宜 and Hong-Zen Wan 王宏仁, pp. 73-103. Taipei 台北: CAPAS 中央研究院亞太研究中心.

Huang, Ying-Kuei 黃應貴. 1991. Dehanin and Social Crisis: The Restudy of Religious Change Among the Bunun in Take-Tonpu Dehanin 與社會危機：東埔社布農人宗教變遷的再探討. *Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology 臺大考古人類學刊* 47: 105-126.

Huang, Yun 黃蘊. 2011. *Chinese Religious Organization and the Belief of Spirit-writing in Southeast Asia: Development and Expansion of Dejiao 東南アジアの華人教団と扶鸞信仰ー徳教の展開とネットワーク化*. Tokyo 東京: Fukyosha Publishing 風響社.

Ifeka-Moller, Caroline. 1974. White Power: Social-Structural Factors in Conversion to Christianity, Eastern Nigeria, 1921-1966. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 8(1): 55-72.

Iikuni, Yukako 飯國有佳子. 2011. *Religious Practices and Gender in Modern Burma 現代ビルマにおける宗教的実践とジェンダー*. Tokyo 東京: Fukyosha Publishing 風響社.

Ikado, Fujio 井門富二夫. 1974. The Era of Antitheism 神殺しの時代. Tokyo 東京: NIKKEI 日本経済新聞社.

Inaba, Keishin. 2004. Conversion to New Religious Movements: Reassessment of Lofland/Skonovd Conversion Motifs and Lofland/Stark Conversion Process. *人間科学研究* 11(2): 33-47.

Ishii, Yoneo 石井米雄. 1975. Political Sociology of Theravada Buddhism: The Structure of National Religion *上座部仏教の政治社会学-国教の構造*. Tokyo 東京: Sobunsha 創文社.

Ishii, Yoneo. 1986. *Sangha, State, and Society: Thai Buddhism in History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Ito, Masayuki 伊藤雅之. 1997. The Sociology of Conversion: A Critical Appraisal 入

信の社会学:その現状と課題. *Japanese Sociological Review 社会学評論* 48(2): 158-176.

Ito, Tomomi 伊藤友美. 2009. Thai Women's Samaneri and Bhikkhuni Ordination in Contemporary Theravada Buddhism: Overt Rationale and Covert Reality 現代タイ上座部仏教における女性の沙弥尼出家と比丘尼受戒－理念のアピールと語られない現実. *Southeast Asia: History and Culture 東南アジア：歴史と文化* 38: 64-105.

Ito, Tomomi. 2012. *Modern Thai Buddhism and Buddhadasa Bhikkhu: A Social History*. Singapore: NUS Press.

Jackson, Peter A. 1997. Withering Centre, Flourishing Margins- Buddhism Changing Political Roles. In *Political Change in Thailand*, edited by Kevin Hewison, pp. 75-93. London: Routledge.

Jackson, Peter A. 1999. Royal Spirits, Chinese Gods and Magic Monks: Thailand's Boomtime Religions of Prosperity. *South East Asia Research* 7(3): 245-320.

Jordan, David K. and Daniel L. Overmyer. 2005[1986]. *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan 飛鸞：中國民間教派面面觀*. Hong Kong 香港: The Chinese University Press 中文大學出版.

Kao, Chen-yang. 2013. Church as “Women’s Community”: The Feminization of Protestantism in Contemporary China. *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* 78: 107-140.

Kashio, Naoki 樫尾直樹. 2004a. The Field of Generating Religious Commonality: about the Sharing of Languages, Emotions, and Actions 宗教的共同性が生成する場―言葉・感情・行為の分有について―. In *Sociology of Spirituality: A Study of Religiosity in the Contemporary World スピリチュアリティの社会学：現代世界の宗教性の探求*, edited by Masayuki Ito 伊藤雅之, Naoki Kashio 樫尾直樹 and Tatsuya Yumiyama 弓山達也, pp. 110-121. Kyoto 京都市: Sekaishisosha 世界思想社.

Kashio, Naoki 樫尾直樹. 2004b. Spirituality, Creation of Feeling of ‘Relatedness’:

Cases of Japanese Religion in France スピリチュアリティ、ある＜つながり＞の感覚の創出―フランスの日系宗教の事例―. In *Sociology of Spirituality: A Study of Religiosity in the Contemporary World スピリチュアリティの社会学：現代世界の宗教性の探求*, edited by Masayuki Ito 伊藤雅之, Naoki Kashio 樫尾直樹 and Tatsuya Yumiyama 弓山達也, pp. 165-186. Kyoto 京都市: Sekaishisosha 世界思想社.

Kataoka, Tatsuki. 2012. Religion as Non-religion: The Place of Chinese Temples in Phuket, Southern Thailand. *Southeast Asian Studies* 1(3): 461-485.

Kataoka, Tatsuki 片岡樹. 2014. Thai Buddhism Reconsidered from the Viewpoint of Chinese Temples: Reflections on the Case Study of Phuket, Southern Thailand 中国廟からみたタイ仏教論―南タイ，プーケットの事例を中心に―. *Asian and African Area Studies アジア・アフリカ地域研究* 14(1): 1-42.

Kataoka, Tatsuki 片岡樹. 2015. Religious Activities of Chinese Philanthropic Foundations in Thailand: Chinese Religion, Thai Buddhism, and Ngi Tek Tung タイ国における中国系善堂の宗教活動: 泰国義徳善堂に見る中国系宗教とタイ仏教. *Southeast Asian Studies 東南アジア研究* 52(2): 172-207.

Kato, Maliko 加藤真理子. 2009. The Buddhist Paean *Saraphan*: Religious Practices and Social Changes of Women in Northeastern Thai Rural Villages サラパン仏教讃歌－東北タイ農村における女性の宗教実践と社会変容. In *Practical Religions: Topologies of Religion within Mainland Southeast Asia＜境域＞の実践宗教―大陸部東南アジア地域と宗教のトポロジー*, edited by Hayashi Yukio 林行夫, pp. 411-447. Kyoto 京都: Kyoto University Press 京都大学学術出版会.

Keyes, Charles F. 1984. Mother or Mistress but Never a Monk: Buddhist Notions of Female Gender in Rural Thailand. *American Ethnologist* 11(2): 223-241.

Keyes, Charles F. 2002. Weber and Anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31(1): 233-255.

Kilbourne, Brock and James T. Richardson. 1989. Paradigm Conflict, Types of

Conversion, and Conversion Theories. *Sociological Analysis* 50(1): 1-21.

Kirsch, A. Thomas. 1975. Economy, Polity and Religion in Thailand. In *Change and Persistence in Thai Society: Essays in Honor of Lauriston Sharp*, edited by G. William Skinner, A. Thomas Kirsch and Lauriston Sharp, pp. 172-196. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press.

Kirsch, A. Thomas. 1977. Complexity in the Thai Religious System: An Interpretation. *Journal of Asian Studies* 36(2): 241-266.

Kirsch, A. Thomas. 1985. Text and Context: Buddhist Sex Roles/Culture of Gender Revisited. *American Ethnologist* 12(2): 302-320.

Kiso, Keiko 木曽恵子. 2007. Labor Migration and the Norms Regarding Women in Northeast Thailand: Transitions in Women's Labor Migration Since the 1970's 東北タイ農村における移動労働と女性をめぐる規範--1970 年代以降の女性の移動労働の展開を通して. *The Journal of Thai studies タイ研究* 7: 55-78.

Koizumi, Junko 小泉順子. 2006. Reappraisal of Studies of Overseas Chinese in Thailand in Historical and Geo-political Contexts タイ中国人社会研究の歴史性と地域性 : 冷戦期アメリカにおける華僑・華人研究と地域研究に関する一考察. *Southeast Asian Studies 東南アジア研究* 43(4): 437-466.

Kox, Willem, Wim Meeus, et al. 1991. Religious Conversion of Adolescents: Testing the Lofland and Stark Model of Religious Conversion. *Sociological Analysis* 52(3): 227-240.

Lee, Gyoung-won 李京源. 2014. An Overview of the Development of Yiguan Dao in Korea 韓國一貫道發展概述. *Studies in Chinese Religions 華人宗教研究* 4: 147-166.

Lee, Raymond L. M. 1993. The Globalization of Religious Markets: International Innovations, Malaysian Consumption. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 8(1): 35-61.

Lim, Francis Khek Gee. 2012. The Eternal Mother and the State: Circumventing Religious Management in Singapore. *Asian Studies Review* 36(1): 19-37.

Lim Khay-thiong and Fang-lin Lin 林開忠, 林坊玲. 2008. Theses and dissertations of Southeast Asia Studies in Taiwan: Phenomenon and Analysis 台灣的東南亞研究碩博士論文：現象與分析. *Asia-Pacific Forum 亞太研究論壇* 41: 66-76.

Lin, Jung-tse 林榮澤. 2007. Fayi Lingyin: History of Development of One Yiguan Dao Organization in Taiwan 發一靈隱：一個臺灣一貫道組織的發展史. In *Essays on Folk Religious Studies in Taiwan 臺灣民間宗教研究論集*, pp. 129-168. Taipei 台北: I-kuan Tao Editing 一貫義理編輯苑.

Lin, Yu-sheng 林育生. 2014. Mobility and Making Merit: The Gender Politics and the Meaning of Actions of Transnational Migrant Workers from Northeast Thailand 遠行與作功德：泰國東北社會男性跨國移工的性別政治與行動意義. *Taiwan Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 台灣東南亞學刊* 10(1): 33-70.

Liu, I-Chun 劉怡君. 2014. A Review of Graduate Theses Concerning the Research of Yiguan Dao (I-kuan Tao) in the R.O.C. 國內一貫道學位論文的綜合回顧. *Studies in Chinese Religions 華人宗教研究* 3: 197-230.

Lofland, John. 1977. "Becoming a World-Saver" Revisited. *American Behavioral Scientist* 20(6): 805-818.

Lofland, John and Rodney Stark. 1965. Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective. *American Sociological Review* 30(6): 862-875.

Lu, Yunfeng. 2008. *The Transformation of Yiguan Dao in Taiwan: Adapting to a Changing Religious Economy*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Luckmann, Thomas. 1967. *The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society*. New York: Macmillan.

Mackenzie, Rory. 2007. *New Buddhist Movements in Thailand: Toward an Understanding of Wat Phra Dhammakaya and Santi Asoke*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Martin, David. 1965. Towards Eliminating the Concept of Secularisation. In *Penguin Survey of the Social Sciences 1965*, edited by Julius Gould, pp. 185-197.

Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Martin, David. 1978. *A General Theory of Secularization*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Matsumoto, Yasunori Sean 松本泰典. 2014. A Comparative Study on Religious Conversion Theories 宗教的コンヴァージョン研究の比較理論的考察. *Journal of Comparative Thought and Culture 比較思想・文化研究* 5: 42-56.

McDaniel, Justin. 2008. *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

McDaniel, Justin Thomas 2011. *The Lovelorn Ghost and the Magical Monk: Practicing Buddhism in Modern Thailand*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mills, Mary Beth. 1995. Attack of the Widow Ghosts: Gender, Death and Modernity in Northeast Thailand. In *Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia*, edited by Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz, pp. 244-273. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mills, Mary Beth. 1999. *Thai Women in the Global Labor Force: Consuming Desires, Contested Selves*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Mitsuishi, Zenkichi 三石善吉. 1991. *The Millennium Kingdom in China 中国の千年王国*. Tokyo 東京: University of Tokyo Press 東京大学出版会.

Mori, Mikio 森幹男. 1974a. Chao Phou Worship in Central Thailand: Preliminary Report タイ国中央平野部の Chao Phou 信仰 : 第一次予察. *Journal of Asian and African Studies アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究* 7: 121-145.

Mori, Mikio 森幹男. 1974b. Some Observations on Chao Pou Worship タイ国 Chao phou 信仰に関する若干の知見. *Journal of Asian and African Studies アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究* 9: 175-192.

Mori, Mikio 森幹男. 1978a. The Rite and Custom of Chao Phou Worship 2 タイ国 Chao Phou 信仰における儀礼と慣行 (2) : Chao Phou Thongchai の定例年祭 (1) *Journal of Asian and African Studies アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究* 16: 90-119.

Mori, Mikio 森幹男. 1978b. The Rite and Custom of Chao Phou Worship 1 タイ国 Chao Phou 信仰における儀礼と慣行 (1*) Journal of Asian and African Studies アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究* 15: 111-142.

Mu, Yu 慕禹. 2002. *Yuguan Dao at a Glance 一貫道概要*. Taipei 台北: Republic of China I-Kuan Tao Association 中華民國一貫道總會.

O'Connor, Richard A. 1993. Interpreting Thai Religious Change: Temples, Sangha Reform, and Social Change. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 24(2): 330-339.

Onozawa, Masaki 小野澤正喜. 2005. Religious Revitalization and Civil Societies in the Southeast Asia: (1) A Typology of Buddhist Fundamentalism and New Ethical System in Civil Society 東南アジアにおける宗教の再生と市民社会(1)タイにおける仏教的原理主義の 2 つの類型と世俗内倫理. *AREA STUDIES Tsukuba 筑波大学地域研究* 24: 181-192.

Pattana Kitiarsa. 2005. Beyond Syncretism: Hybridization of Popular Religion in Contemporary Thailand. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 36(3): 461-487.

Pattana Kitiarsa. 2009. Beyond the Weberian Trails: An Essay on the Anthropology of Southeast Asian Buddhism. *Religion Compass* 3(2): 200-224.

Pratoom Angurarohita. 2003. Soka Gakkai in Thailand: Its Rationale, Strategy and Tactics. *Inter-Religio* 44: 2-26.

Reynolds, Frank E. 1977. Civic Religion and National Community in Thailand. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 36(2): 267-282.

Richards, Elizabeth. 1991. The Development of Sekai Kyuseikyo in Thailand. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 18(2-3): 165-188.

Richardson, James T. 1985. The Active vs. Passive Convert: Paradigm Conflict in Conversion/Recruitment Research. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 24(2): 163-179.

Robbins, Joel. 2004. *Becoming Sinners: Christianity and Moral Torment in a Papua New Guinea Society*. Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press.

Robbins, Joel. 2007. Continuity Thinking and the Problem of Christian Culture:

Belief, Time, and the Anthropology of Christianity. *Current Anthropology* 48(1): 5-38.

Robbins, Thomas. 1988. *Cults, Converts, and Charisma: The Sociology of New Religious Movements*. London: Sage.

Sakurai, Yoshihide 櫻井義秀. 2008. *Development Monk in the Northeastern Thailand 東北タイの開発僧*. Chiba 千葉: Azusa Publishing 梓出版社.

Sakurai, Yoshihide 櫻井義秀. 2013. The Restructuring of Local Society and Social Capital 地域社会の再編とソーシャル・キャピタル. In *Thai Theravada Buddhism and the Social Subsumption: Religions as Social Capital タイ上座仏教と社会的包摂 - ソーシャル・キャピタルとしての宗教*, edited by Sakurai, Yoshihide 櫻井義秀, pp. 26-61. Tokyo 東京: Akashi Shoten 明石書店.

Seiwert, Hubert. 1981. Religious Response to Modernization in Taiwan: the Case of I-kuan Tao. *Journal of Hong Kong Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* 21: 43-70.

Shaw, Rosalind and Charles Stewart. 1994. Introduction: Problematizing Syncretism. In *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*, edited by Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, pp. 1-26. London: Routledge.

Shen, Yeh-ying 沈曄瀅. 2015. The Revival of Chinese Religions after Indonesia's Post-New Order Age: the Example of Yiguan Dao's Development 印尼後新秩序時代之華人宗教復興：以一貫道之發展為例 以一貫道之發展為例. *Taiwan Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 台灣東南亞學刊* 10(2): 105-128.

Shi, Cangjin 石滄金. 2014. Yiguan Dao 一貫道. In *Overseas Chinese Folk Religion Research 海外華人民間宗教信仰研究*. pp. 142-174. Kuala Lumpur 吉隆坡: Xue Lin Bookstore 學林書局.

Shiga, Ichiko 志賀市子. 2010. The Rise and Development of Xiantiandao (The Great Way of Former Heaven) in Modern Guangdong and Southeast Asia: Focusing on its Diffusion and Adaptation from Chaozhou to Thailand 近代広東における先天道の興隆と東南アジア地域への展開：潮州からタイへの伝播と適応を中心に. *Journal of Ibaraki Christian College, I. Humanities 茨城キリスト教大*

学紀要. I, 人文科学 44: 145-162.

Skinner, G. William. 1957. *Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Snow, David A. and Cynthia L. Phillips. 1980. The Lofland-Stark Conversion Model: A Critical Reassessment. *Social Problems* 27(4): 430-447.

Soo, Khin Wah 蘇慶華. 2003. The History and Recent Development of Yiguan Dao in Malaysia 馬來西亞一貫道的歷史及其發展近況. *Newsletter of Religious Studies in Taiwan 臺灣宗教研究通訊* 5: 99-112.

Sparkes, Stephen. 2005. *Spirits and Souls: Gender and Cosmology in an Isan Village in Northeast Thailand*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press.

Stark, Rodney. 2005(1996). *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History 基督教的兴起：一个社会学家对历史的再思*. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Guji Publishing 上海古籍出版社.

Stark, Rodney and William Sims Bainbridge. 1985. *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival, and Cult Formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Stark, Rodney and William Sims Bainbridge. 1987. *A Theory of Religion*. New York: Peter Lang.

Stark, Rodney and Roger Finke. 2004(2000). *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion 信仰的法则：解释宗教之人的方面*. Beijing 北京: China Renmin University Press 中国人民大学出版社.

Sumika, Masayoshi 住家正芳. 2005. The Market in Sociological Theories of Religion: Criticism on the Rational Choice Theory of Religion 宗教社会学理論における「市場」: 宗教の合理的選択理論批判. *Journal of Religious Studies 宗教研究* 79(3): 677-699.

Sung, Kuang-yu 宋光宇. 1992. The Political and Economic Strength of Yiguan Dao: One Small Yiguan Dao Life is Equal to Three Political Party Headquarters 透視一貫道政經實力：一貫道一個小支線，抵上三個區黨部. *Wealth Magazine 財*

訊 4: 192-199.

Sung, Kuang-yu 宋光宇. 1997. Religious Dissemination, Business Activities, and Cultural Identity—The Dissemination and Development of Yiguan Dao in Singapore 宗教傳播、商業活動與文化認同--一貫道在新加坡的傳播與發展. *Bulletin of the College of Liberal Arts 國立臺灣大學文史哲學報* 47: 213-258.

Sung, Kuang-yu 宋光宇. 2003. Yiguan Dao, Professor Li, and Me: A Review and Some Ideas Regarding 30 Years of Research on Yiguan Dao 一貫道、李老、我：調查一貫道三十年的回顧和一些想法. *The Newsletter of Taiwan Religious Studies 臺灣宗教研究通訊* 5: 73-98.

Sung, Kuang-yu 宋光宇. 2010(1983). *Tian Dao Gou Chen 天道鉤沉*. Taipei 台北: Wanjuanlou 萬卷樓.

Suzuki, Chusei 鈴木中正. 1982. *Studies in Popular Movements of the Millenarianism: in China and Southeast Asia 千年王国的民衆運動の研究-中国・東南アジアにおける-*. Tokyo 東京: University of Tokyo Press 東京大学出版会.

Swatos, William H. 1994. *Gender and Religion*. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction.

Swearer, Donald K. 1995. The Popular Tradition: Inclusive Syncretism. In *The Buddhist World of Southeast Asia*, pp. 5-61. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Tai, Kuo-hui 戴國煇. 2011[1974]. Perspectives on Chinese studies in Southeast Asia 東南亞華人研究的觀點. In *Essays of Kuo-hui Tai 11: Overseas Chinese and Economy 戴國煇全集 11：華僑與經濟卷*, pp. 79-106. Taipei 台北市: Wenhsun 文訊.

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja. 1970. *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-east Thailand*. Cambridge: University Press.

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja. 1976. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. Cambridge

[Eng.] and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja. 1984. *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tan, Chee-Beng. 1985. *The Development and Distribution of Dejiao Associations in Malaysia and Singapore: A Study on a Chinese Religious Organization*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Taylor, Jim. 1990. New Buddhist Movements in Thailand An Individualistic Revolution, Reform and Political Dissonance. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 21(1): 135-154.

Taylor, Jim. 1993. *Forest Monks and the Nation-State: An Anthropological and Historical Study in Northeastern Thailand*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Taylor, Jim. 1999. (Post-) Modernity, Remaking Tradition and the Hybridisation of Thai Buddhism. *Anthropological Forum* 9(2): 163-187.

Taylor, Jim. 2001. Embodiment, Nation and Religio-politics in Thailand. *South East Asia Research* 9(2): 129-147.

Taylor, Jim. 2008. *Buddhism and Postmodern Imaginings in Thailand: The Religiosity of Urban Space*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Terwiel, B. J. 1994. *Monks and Magic: An analysis of Religious Ceremonies in Central Thailand*. Bangkok: White Lotus.

Ting, Jen-chieh 丁仁傑. 2008. Revitalizing the Sacred Books by Revelation: Comparing the Case of the I-Kuan Tao with Fundamentalist Scripturalism 在啟示中看見經典：以一貫道的經典運用為例與原教旨主義概念相對話. *Taiwanese Sociology 台灣社會學* 14: 1-49.

Ting, Jen-chieh 丁仁傑. 2015. New Religions and New 'Religiosity': Under the Context of Chinese Religion in Taiwan 新興宗教與新「宗教性」：台灣漢人宗

教的脈絡. In *Current Religion in Everyday Life: Religious Individualization and Relational Being 日常生活中的當代宗教：宗教的個人化與關係性存有*, edited by Ying-Kuei Huang 黃應貴, pp. 27-77. New Taipei City 新北市: Socio Publishing 群學.

Tong, Chee Kiong and Kwok Bun Chan. 2001. *Alternate Identities: The Chinese in Contemporary Thailand*. Singapore: Times Academic Press with Brill Academic Publishers.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. 1887. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Abhandlung des Communismus und des Socialismus als empirischer Culturformen*. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag.

Topley, Marjorie 1963. The Great Way of Former Heaven: A Group of Chinese Secret Religious Sects. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 26(2): 362-392.

Tsai, Chiung-yao 蔡瓊瑤. 1996. Dissemination of Yiguan Dao in Philippines: The Case of Xiantian Shengdaoyuan in Cebu 台灣一貫道在菲律賓的傳佈—以宿霧市先天聖道院為例. *Shih-Hui 史匯* 1: 87-98.

Ueno, Chizuko 上野千鶴子. 1994. The Fluctuation of the Modern Family 近代家族のゆらぎ. In *The Modern Family in Japan: Its Rise and Fall 近代家族の成立と終焉* pp. 1-65. Tokyo 東京: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店.

Van Esterik, Penny. 1982. Lay Women in Theravada Buddhism. In *Women of Southeast Asia*, edited by Penny Van Esterik, pp. 42-54. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University.

Vokes, Richard. 2007. Rethinking the Anthropology of Religious Change: New Perspectives on Revitalization and Conversion Movements. *Reviews in Anthropology* 36: 311-333.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. 2003. *Revitalizations and Mazeways: Essays on Culture Change*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press .

Wallis, Roy and Steve Bruce. 1982. Network and Clockwork. *Sociology* 16(1): 102-

107.

Wallis, Roy and Steve Bruce. 1986. *Sociological Theory, Religion and Collective Action*. Belfast: The Queen's University.

Wang, Chien-chuan 王見川. 1996. A Preliminary Study of the Early History of the Former Heaven Way: Its Relationship with Yiguan Dao 先天道前期史初探：兼論其與一貫道的關係. In *Vegetarian Sects and Phoenix Halls in Taiwan 台灣的齋教與鸞堂*, pp. 75-114. Taipei 台北: 南天書局 SMC Publishing Inc.

Wang, Chien-chuan 王見川. 1999. Review and Prospect of Studies on Yiguan Dao in Taiwan 台灣一貫道研究的回顧與展望. *Thought and Words 思與言* 37(2): 103-129.

Wang, Gungwu 王賡武. 2002. The Status of Overseas Chinese Studies 海外華人研究的地位. In *Macro Perspectives and New Directions in the Studies of Chinese Overseas 海外華人研究的大視野與新方向-王賡武教授論文選*, edited by Hong Liu 劉宏 and Jianli Huang 黃堅立, pp. 60-77. Singapore 新加坡: Global Publishing 八方文化.

Wang, Mei-hsia 王梅霞. 2003. Exploring the Social Characteristics of the Dayan Multiple Meanings of *Gaga* 從 gaga 的多義性看泰雅族的社會性質. *Taiwan Journal of Anthropology 臺灣人類學刊* 1(1): 77-104.

Warner, R. Stephen. 1993. Work in Progress Toward a New Paradigm for the Sociological Study of Religion in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology* 98(5): 1044-1093.

Wilson, Bryan R. 1966. *Religion in Secular Society: A Sociological Comment*. London: Watts.

Wolf, Margery. 1972. *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Woodhead, Linda. 2001. Feminism and the Sociology of Religion: From Gender-blindness to Gendered Difference. In *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Religion*, edited by Richard K. Fenn, pp. 67-84. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Woodhead, Linda. 2008. Gendering Secularization Theory. *Social Compass* 55(2): 187-193.

Woodhead, Linda and Paul Heelas. 2000. *Religion in Modern Times: An Interpretive Anthology*. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Wu, Xiao An 吳小安. 2003. Rethinking Ethnic Chinese Studies: A Southeast Asian Historian's Perspective and Experience 華僑華人學科建設的反思：東南亞歷史研究的視角與經驗. *Overseas Chinese History Studies 華僑華人歷史研究* 3: 19-29.

Wuthnow, Robert. 1981. Two Traditions in the Study of Religion. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20(1): 16-32.

Wuthnow, Robert. 1987. *Meaning and Moral Order: Explorations in Cultural Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Xu, Li-Qing and Mei-Rong Lin. 2010. A Preliminary Study of Preaching Model and Internal Split of I-Kuan Tao – A Case Study of Shin-Yi Sect and its Kee-Shin Branch 一貫道的傳播模式與分裂初探─兼論興毅組及其基興單位的發展與分裂. *Bulletin of History Department National Cheng Kung University 成大歷史學報* 39: 149-176.

Yamanaka, Hiroshi 山中弘. 2006. Dispute over Secularization and the Church: From the Secularization Theory of Wilson 世俗化論争と教会ーウィルソン世俗化論を手がかりにして. In *Religion and Modernity 宗教とモダニティ*, edited by Takezawa Shoichiro 竹沢尚一郎, pp. 15-48. Kyoto 京都市: Sekaishisosha 世界思想社.

Yang, Hung-Jen 楊弘任. 2015. Syncretism and Translation: An Actor Network Analysis of Yiguan Dao in England 綜攝與轉譯：一貫道英國道場的行動者網絡分析. In *Current Religion in Everyday Life: Religious Individualization and Relational Being 日常生活中的當代宗教：宗教的個人化與關係性存有*, edited by Ying-Kuei Huang 黃應貴, pp. 235-274. New Taipei City 新北市: Socio Publishing 群學.

Yang, Jian-cheng 楊建成. 1983. Digest of Theses and Dissertation of Graduate Schools in R.O.C. *中華民國各大學研究所有關東南亞研究博碩士論文摘要匯編*. Taipei 台北市: Nanyang Research Institute of Chinese Academy 中華學術院南洋研究所.

Yano, Hidetake 矢野秀武. 2000. Internalized Body and Sacralized Production/Consumption: Identity-seeking of New Urban Thai Middle Class in Globalization 内なる身体と聖なる生産/消費 : グローバル化状況におけるタイ都市新中間層のアイデンティティ模索. *Religion and Society 宗教と社会* 6: 101-108.

Yano, Hidetake 矢野秀武. 2001. Self-construction of Production and Consumption: The Meditation and Religious Events of Thai Urban Buddhist Movements 生産と消費の自己構築 : タイ都市部の仏教運動における瞑想と教団イベント. *Religion and Society 宗教と社会* 7: 111-131.

Yano, Hidetake 矢野秀武. 2003. Urban Buddhist Movements and Images of Villages 都市の仏教運動と村落イメージ. *Intriguing Asia アジア遊学* 57: 69-78.

Yano, Hidetake 矢野秀武. 2006. *Buddhist Movements in Contemporary Thailand: Thammakai Meditation and Thai Society in Transition 現代タイにおける仏教運動―タンマガーイ式瞑想とタイ社会の変容*. Tokyo 東京: Toshindo 東信堂.

Yano, Hidetake 矢野秀武. 2013. The Appearing Western Religious Studies in Thailand: Thai Religious studies between *Sasana* and Religion タイを流れる欧米宗教学の微風：サーサナー(宗教)と Religion をめぐるタイ宗教学の模索. *Annual Review of Religious Studies 東京大学宗教学年報* 30: 51-70.

Yeh, Chuen-rong 葉春榮. 1993. New Direction for the Anthropological Study of Overseas Chinese Communities 人類學的海外華人研究：兼論一個新的方向. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica 中央研究院民族所集刊* 75: 171-201.

Yoshihara, Kazuo 吉原和男. 1997. Folk Religious Groups in Chinese Societies in

Thailand タイ華人社会の民衆教団. In *Modernity of Religion 宗教の現代*, edited by Tamotsu Aoki 青木保, pp. 109-134. Tokyo 東京: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店.

Yu, Chien 游謙. 1998. How Yiguan Dao Cites Bible from the Perspective of Rhetorical Discourses 從修辭論述看一貫道如何引用聖經. *The New Messenger 新使者雜誌* 49: 18-20.

Yumiyama, Tatsuya 弓山達也. 2004. The Responses to Value Relativism: Aum Shinrikyo and New Age Movements 価値相対主義への応答：オウム真理教とニューエイジ運動. In *Sociology of Spirituality: A Study of Religiosity in the Contemporary World スピリチュアリティの社会学：現代世界の宗教性の探求*, edited by Masayuki Ito 伊藤雅之, Naoki Kashio 樫尾直樹 and Tatsuya Yumiyama 弓山達也, pp. 249-267. Kyoto 京都市: Sekaishisosha 世界思想社.

Zehner, Edwin. 1990. Reform Symbolism of a Thai Middle-Class Sect: The Growth and Appeal of the Thammakai Movement. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 21(2): 402-426.

Publications of Yiguan Dao

2000. The Founding of the Association of Yiguan Dao in Thailand 泰國一貫道總會成立・張培成老前人率員進泰國皇宮. *General Correspondence 一貫道總會會刊* 105: Inside Front Cover.

2000. *Dhamma Rain: The Relationship of Elder Pure Water with Buddhist Kingdom 法雨甘霖：白水老人的佛國因緣* อมฤตธรรม: เหตุปัจจัยแห่งบุญระหว่างท่านผู้เฒ่าน้ำใสกับประเทศพุทธะ. Nantou 南投: Guangming Jikan Journal 光明集刊雜誌社.

2003. *Vows and Practices of Bodhisattvas: Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the Passing Away of Wenci Bodhisattva Master Li 菩薩愿行：文慈菩薩李前人成道廿週年紀念.* Taipei 台北: Tiandaozhiguang Press 天道之光出版社.

2011. *30th Anniversary of Fayi Chongde Group in Thailand* **ครบรอบ *30* ปี ฟาอีฉงเต๋อ อาณาจักรธรรมประเทศไทย.** Nakhon Pathom นครปฐม: Chongter-book สำนักพิมพ์เทิดคุณธรรม.

2012. *Dao of Heaven in the Middle: In Commemoration of the Completion of the Tianzhong Foyuan 天道惟中：天中佛院落成紀念*. Bangkok 曼谷：Tianzhong Foyuan 天中佛院.

2012. *20th Anniversary of Chong Hui Subgroup, Fayi Chongde Group in Thailand 發一崇德泰國道場崇慧道務慶祝 20 週年特刊* **ครบรอบ *20* ปี งานธรรมกิจฉงฮุ่ย**. Buriram: Thaimiao Foundation 泰妙佛堂慈善會 พุทธสถานไท่เมี่ยว (มูลนิธิไท่เมี่ยวธรรมสถาน).