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Review Of "The Role Of The Sangha In Modern Thailand" By R.-I. Heinze

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Extensive revisions have been made in the chapter on the early history of Thailand in order to incorporate comments on the Mons and their kingdom of Dvaravati. Other revisions have been made in the sections on Pagan and on the activities of the Dutch in Java. The remaining chapters and sections, along with the appendix, remain as they were in the third edition. Only a few changes have been made in the bibliography, which retains its emphasis on retrospective European publications. The maps and illustrations are those that appeared in the first edition.

As valuable as the European contributions to Southeast Asian scholarship are—the outline of chronology is, after all, a major historical achievement—they remain fixed in time, place, conceptual approach, and particular sources used. The past two decades have also witnessed an expansion of scholarship on Southeast Asia outside of Europe—in the United States, Japan, Australia, and in Southeast Asia. Much of this recent work—which differs from the classic European tradition in emphasis, techniques, and sources—is unrecognized in the revisions of Hall's text and bibliography. Many modern specialists are involved in other problems on which he does not touch, as, for example, the following: the applications of new techniques in archaeology that are in the process of radically revising the prehistory of the region; the failure of archaeologists to locate a site for Srivijaya; the delayed development of urban centers; the debate over the meaning of the "deva-rajā"; the impact of colonialism on indigenous social and economic life; the frequent peasant rebellions; the role of language, literature, and ideas in the growth of nationalism; the persistent failure of democratic political institutions; or the economic and social background of two devastating Indochina wars. People with an interest in aspects of Southeast Asian history that extend beyond chronology and an outline of major events might begin their search for information with the annual *Bibliography of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies), Shiro Saito et al., *Southeast Asian Research Tools . . .* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Asian Studies Program, Southeast Asian Studies, Southeast Asia Paper No. 16, parts 1–8), and the more specialized bibliographies published during the 1970s.

Hall's work is unique. The incredible expansion in new research on Southeast Asia in the past two decades and the spread of research to institutions scattered throughout the world make it very unlikely that any person will attempt a similar historical synthesis for all of Southeast Asia in the future.

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The Role of the Sangha in Modern Thailand. By RUTH-INGE HEINZE. Taipei: Orient Cultural Service with Chinese Association for Folklore (Asian Folklore and Social Life Monographs 93), 1977. xiv, 279 pp. Maps, Plates, Tables, Glossary, Bibliography, Appendixes. N.p. (Distributed by E. Langstaff Orient Culture Service, South Pasadena, CA)

Ruth-Inge Heinze's *The Role of the Sangha in Modern Thailand* was written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1973. The author's residency in Thailand from October 15, 1971, to October 4, 1972, included participant-observer fieldwork in Bangkok and Chiang Mai, consultation with meditation masters in southern and northeastern Thailand, and the distribution of 300 questionnaires, which provided information for her description of the Thai monastic order (pp. 62–108).

The author characterizes her work as an attempt to give an account of what constitutes a Buddhist community in presentday Thailand. This account is divided into six chapters: an historical backdrop for the formation of Buddhism in Thailand, a section on the basic tenets of Thai Buddhism, a chapter on three types of Buddhist communities, a section on the *wat* (monastery-temple) as an arena for monastic activities, and two final chapters on cyclical and noncyclical activities of the Buddhist monastic order (*sangha*) and on the *sangha* in a changing society. The author has an obvious sympathy for Buddhism and a clear respect for those monks with whom she was in close contact, especially Sasana Sobhana, the abbot of Wat Bovoranives in Bangkok, who gave generously of his time and wisdom to her. This sympathetic approach is to be applauded; it leads, however, to occasional confusion between normative and descriptive considerations on the part of the author.

On the whole, Heinze's study of Thai Buddhism must be classified as descriptive. Indeed, in her preface she makes no claim to any analytical approaches to her subject matter. The descriptive character of the volume is its greatest strength and one of its greatest weaknesses. The book often reads like a catalogue of notes taken from primary and secondary sources, sometimes scantily footnoted, combined with personal observations with no underlying theme, structure, or approach to focus or integrate the material described. Although the historical section contains a significant amount of detail, the information lacks development, and the author offers no explanation for her particular choice of materials. The section on the basic tenets of Thai Buddhism focuses less on the ideology of world view of Thai Buddhism than on motivational or behavioral themes taken from three different secondary sources with no attempt made at correlation, evaluation, or analysis.

The author divides the chapter on *sangha* types, which occupies half the length of the book, into three parts: the *ariya* or ideal *sangha*, the monastic *sangha*, and the lay community. The explication of the *ariya sangha* takes the form of biographical statements about three historically important Thai monks. Readers are left to draw their own conclusion about what constitutes the monastic ideal in Thai Buddhism in any formal or analytical sense. The description of the monastic order includes numerous statistical tables compiled from the author's questionnaire on the views of monks toward their vocation, previous occupations, reasons for staying in the monkhood, reasons for dissatisfaction, characteristics of a good monk, and so on. These are divided into three geographic groups: Bangkok, Chiang Mai, and Udorn. It should be pointed out that the information derived from these three areas gives Heinze's profiles a decidedly urban slant. Other topics considered in this chapter include a discussion of *sangha* education (with special attention to Mahachulalongkorn University), daily and weekly monastic routines, and the participation of monks in development programs. Although the author's discussion of the Thai *wat* includes some material on what she refers to as *sangha* activities, this chapter is dominated by a description of the physical layout of Wat Bovoranives in Bangkok.

The two concluding chapters follow the same descriptive pattern that characterizes the entire volume. Heinze's observations about traditional monastic activities in chapter 5 and the issues of modernization raised in chapter 6 could provide a basis for an interesting discussion of patterns of conflict in the monastic order and between the *sangha* and lay society.

The Role of the Sangha in Modern Thailand brings together a relatively wide range of material about Thai Buddhism. One wishes, however, that Heinze had used this

material as the basis for a book which offered more assessment, analysis, and interpretation of Theravāda Buddhism in Thailand.

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Women, Politics and Change: The Kaum Ibu UMNO, Malaysia, 1945–1972.

By LENORE MANDERSON. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1980. xvii, 294 pp. Glossary, Appendixes, List of Persons Interviewed, Select Bibliography, Index. \$34.95.

Although Lenore Manderson is a social anthropologist, the perspectives of this book range into the territory of the political scientist and historian, permitting the author to present a three-dimensional portrait of a large and complex national institution and to show its significance in social and political life.

The book is about the Kaum Ibu, or women's section of the dominant Malay political party, senior partner in the governing national coalition of Malaysia. Despite its recent emergence and modern appearance in formal terms, the author traces its roots in two directions and sees in the Kaum Ibu many continuations from the past. One strand stretches to the innovations of colonial society in education, employment, sexual attitudes, and the political structures that set the tone for the modern state. The other, more important, strand unravels indigenous Malay attitudes to female roles and to the status of women in traditional society. For most women, the latter provided a rather limited sphere of nurturant wifely and motherly roles, with little opportunity for secular education, travel, or other occupation. Indeed, Manderson shows clearly how this image of the somewhat conservative village woman has persisted tenaciously in the presentday Kaum Ibu, despite its formal political status. Whatever the myth of the relative independence of the Malay female compared with her South and East Asian sisters, it was always tempered by the considerable deference shown to males and to authority in general and by a commitment to family, home, and religion. In these respects, Manderson asserts, the role of the Malay female has changed remarkably little, even when she participated in the Kaum Ibu.

In no sense was Kaum Ibu a "women's liberation" movement of the Western type. On most issues Kaum Ibu members, even those long exposed to urban and Western lifestyles and education, have loyally followed established party policies rather than challenging or creating them, serving as assistants or the traditional "helpmate" to UMNO males. Both Malay men and women still agree that women's participation in public life is acceptable only so long as it does not deflect her from the fulfillment of domestic duties and virtues. Accordingly, most of Kaum Ibu's activities are concerned with health, welfare, charities, morals and religion, resulting in a proliferation of sewing, cooking and religious classes, spiced with cake baking for soldiers on the front.

Given Kaum Ibu's status as a branch of a political party, it is instructive that the fielding of actual candidates for elections was long in coming, despite the fact that membership (and also the number of female voters) equaled that of males. In principle, women became eligible for election at Independence (1957), although only at the state level; the first female representatives elected to Parliament were non-Malays of other parties. Not until 1964 was the first Malay woman senator appointed,