# Buddhism and Tourism at Pu-Tuo-Shan, China

A thesis submitted in fulfilment

of the requirement for the degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

in

**Tourism Management**

at

**The University of Waikato**

by

Cora U. I., Wong



THE UNIVERSITY OF
**WAIKATO**
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

2011

**Abstract**

This thesis is a study of pilgrimage and religious tourism in a Chinese Buddhist context, with a focus on both the host monastic community and visitors. The selected research site is Pu-Tuo-Shan, one of the Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains of China. While the Western literature on pilgrimage and religious tourism in the context of Buddhism in China remains thin and the many studies in Chinese have their research focus primarily on how to make use of religions to develop tourism and stimulate economic growth, this thesis aims to present the perceptions of Buddhist monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism. The perceptions of religious hosts towards tourism development, and how they cope with the subsequent challenges created by tourism in China, are subjects that have not been studied. Additionally the thesis analyses data derived from a survey of 777 visitors to the island; the quantitative analysis sheds light on the profile of visitors.

As elsewhere in the world, the religious sites of China attract not only believers, but also leisure and cultural tourists. The popularity of Pu-Tuo as a tourist destination inevitably disturbs the serenity of the monastic life of the approximately thousand monks and nuns who live there in their monasteries and nunneries. The first objective of this research is to generate a typology of visitors, and this was done through a quantitative approach grounded in post-positivism. The visitor survey was used to construct a visitor typology. The second objective of this thesis, to address how Buddhist monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and tourism, and their ways to manage visitors' behaviours, is achieved by adopting a qualitative approach grounded in an interpretive-constructivist paradigm. In-depth interviews with 25 monks and nuns were conducted to capture rich contextual data of their understandings. The two objectives of the thesis are related in the sense that the impact of the visitors on the monastic community and how the monks and nuns

perceive their presence in Pu-Tuo depend on the visitors' reasons for their visits, their behaviour and the strength of their belief in Buddhism.

The findings provide insight into how the concepts of 'pilgrimage' and 'pilgrim' are understood from a Buddhist perspective.  The attitudes of the Pu-Tuo Buddhist monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism are found to be mostly welcoming and supportive.  This contrasts with the literature on sites belonging to religions other than Buddhism which indicates that tourism is perceived by religious hosts as a burden and as a threat to the sanctity of their religious/sacred sites.  Yet, there are challenges created by the visitors in Pu-Tuo and these are noted by the monks and nuns.  Their 'Buddhist way' of undertaking visitor management is found to be different from what is described in the existing literature about non-Buddhist sites.  It is suggested that the empathetic nature of Buddhism is at the root of the visitor management strategies adopted at Pu-Tuo. The findings thereby contribute to the existing scholarly knowledge of how Buddhist sites are managed in the Buddhist way.

**Preface and Acknowledgements**

The journey of my PhD started in July 2008 and I have to express my sincere gratitude to a number of people, in particular to my supervisors Professor Alison McIntosh and Professor Chris Ryan for their kindness, love and care given to me.

To Alison and Chris: Thanks for having been brave enough to accept me as your PhD student and having thereby opened for me the door to the academic world of tourism studies. Thank you so much for your love given the fact that both of you were always willing to spend hours after hours to transfer your knowledge, to share your research experience and to guide me step by step in the path of understanding what the meanings of doing research is. Your passion inspired me a lot and let me appreciate both the value and the fun of doing academic research. I thank both of you for taking good care of me along my PhD journey so that the learning process was always filled with bliss and joy. I feel truly lucky and I am grateful for having the two very wonderful, knowledgeable and renowned scholars as my supervisors and mentors in my life.

To my guru: Thank you so much for your encouragements and blessings.

To my family: for all the love and support given to me.

To all the monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo who have supported my research: I thank all of you for being so kind to me. Thanks so much for all the tea and meals in your

# Table of Contents

# Lists of Tables and Figures

**Chapter 1: Introduction**

This introductory chapter presents the research objectives of the thesis. It highlights its intended contribution to knowledge and the originality of the work. It also outlines the structure of the thesis by giving a short overview of its eight other chapters.

The intention of this thesis is to study a major Chinese Buddhist sacred site, to reveal how it faces the challenges of being not only a Buddhist pilgrimage site, but also a recreational destination. In particular, the thesis aims to reveal how Buddhist monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and tourism, as well as to describe how the sacred site is managed from the point of view of visitor control. In today's China, since the religious revival that started some thirty years ago, the major Buddhist sites attract large numbers of pilgrims and tourists. For a study which intends to understand Buddhist pilgrimage and tourism in the context of China, it was deemed appropriate to select one of the Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains of China that are the most conspicuous religious destinations of the country. Pu-Tuo was selected because, of those four Sacred Mountains, it is the one most accessible to the public in terms of proximity to a large population living in neighbouring large cities; it is also the sacred mountain which records the highest number of tourist arrival among the four. According to the Pu-Tuo-Shan Tourism Bureau, Pu-Tuo received 5,255,800 visitors in 2008 (Pu-Tuo Government Tourism News 2008) while the other three sacred mountains had visitor arrivals all numbering less than three million.

Pu-Tuo was also selected as the research site to reflect the challenges that other religious sacred sites in China are facing today. Pu-Tuo is in fact an island located in

the Zhejiang Province.  It has for centuries been revered as a holy land exclusively dedicated to the Bodhisattva of Compassion, who is probably the most popular, powerful and respected divinity in China.  However, all major religious sites in China are nowadays popular destinations not only for their religious significance, but also for the fact, that since 1979, they have been incorporated into the touristic infrastructure of the country by the authorities, as part of the national policy to promote harmonious co-existence between religions and ethnicities, and ultimately, to generate economic growth.  As a result, during the recent decades, the major Buddhist sites of China have been visited not only by adherents to Buddhism but also by large numbers of travellers devoid of religious motivation, who visit them for their historical, cultural and aesthetic significance, or simply to enjoy a few days of relaxation.

Previous research on pilgrimage and religious tourism in the context of Chinese Buddhist sacred sites remains relatively thin and is mostly published in the Chinese literature.  Most of this literature focuses on how to utilise Buddhism as a cultural resource to promote tourism development and economic growth at the religious sites.  The objectives of this thesis on the contrary are quite different and they are discussed below.

This thesis has two main research objectives.  (1) The first research objective is to generate a visitor typology which offers an insight into 'Who visits Pu-Tuo?', on the basis of reasons for the visits, activities on site as well as strength of belief in Buddhism. (2) The second objective is to reveal the perceptions of the Buddhist monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo towards receiving visitors and tourism, as well as to explain the visitor management strategies they have adopted to preserve the sanctity of their sacred site and the serenity of their monastic life in modern China. The two main objectives are related in the sense that the impact of the visitors on

the monastic community and how monks and nuns perceive their arrival, depend on the nature of the visitors, their behaviour and their relationship to Buddhism.

In a spirit of pragmatism, the two objectives of this thesis are approached in two different ways according to the nature of each research aim. The investigation of the visitors is done through the administration of a questionnaire to a large number of departing visitors at Pu-Tuo. The investigation of the perceptions of the monks and nuns on the other hand is done through in-depth interviews of 25 Buddhist monks and nuns of various ranks and functions in the monasteries and nunneries of Pu-Tuo.

The first research objective is to generate a typology of the visitors to Pu-Tuo, on the basis of a self-completion survey. The visitor typology subsequently constructed from the data offers insight into the different kinds of visitors who visit Pu-Tuo. Using cluster analysis, the sample of visitors is divided into five segments on the basis of their reasons for visiting the sacred site. These five segments are further characterised on the basis of the activities of the visitors while at Pu-Tuo as well as the strength of their belief in Buddhism. The analysis shows that there is a continuum of religious motivations as well as one of sightseeing purposes across the population of visitors to Pu-Tuo. The results indicate, for example, that some visitors devoid of religious motivation will still engage in some religious activities. It is also noted that among the visitors who come out of religious devotion, one finds a range of motivations, from worshipping for the pursuit of materialistic desire to a quest for religious self-transcendence. The empirical findings derived from the statistical results were found to have a high degree of congruence with the responses of the monks and nuns when they categorise the people who visit Pu-Tuo.

Regarding the second objective, the monks' and nuns' perceptions towards hosting tourism as well as their ways of dealing with visitors are reported and substantiated in the thesis with the use of excerpts from in-depth interviews with monks and nuns. Such a research approach allows the informants to share their inner-world about how they feel about being involved in tourism and receiving visitors in their daily monastic life, using their own words and seeing it through their own lenses. In addition, this research approach helps elucidate how the constructs of 'pilgrimage' and 'pilgrim' are interpreted in a Buddhist context. The responses of the monks and nuns indicate that, in their Buddhist understanding, their conception of pilgrim appears to be different from the one found in most of the literature on religious tourism. The findings thus contribute to the existing knowledge of how the term pilgrim is understood in a Buddhist context and help clarify the traditional academic dispute about whether a pilgrim is a tourist with reference to this particular research's context. The ways the monastic community of Pu-Tuo copes with the challenges created by the presence of many visitors are also found to be influenced by the Buddhist worldview. It is noted that the conventional visitor management strategies adopted at other religious sites are not used in Pu-Tuo; those strategies are found not to be wholly applicable in a Chinese Buddhist context. The Buddhist monastic community is found to have its own visitor management strategies based on the Buddhist worldview.

## Rationale and Contribution of the Research Study

The decision to investigate the research subject of this thesis was influenced by the researcher's personal desire to understand how Buddhist monks and nuns find ways to cope with the challenges created by tourism to their monastic life, their community and their sacred land. The researcher herself is a Buddhist who has received Buddhist teaching throughout her upbringing, and who feels a personal

commitment to generate a better understanding of the Buddhist pilgrimage for those who live outside the cultural and religious sphere of Buddhism.  The findings aim to offer insight into how pilgrimage and tourism is understood from a Buddhism worldview in China and to contribute some original scholarly knowledge to this subject.  In particular the findings of this thesis fill the gaps in the existing literature on the subject of how Buddhist monks and nuns in China feel about being involved in tourism and how they cope with it; those areissues that have not been revealed.  Ultimately the researcher hopes that this thesis will publicise the opinions of the Buddhist monks and nuns and create an awareness of a need to pay greater respect, and to be more empathetic and sensitive when one travels to Buddhist sacred sites as a visitor.

**Organisation of Thesis**

Chapter 1 is this introduction.  Chapter 2 builds on the interpretation of pilgrimage proposed by Mircea Eliade (1968) which explains the rationale for human beings to undertake pilgrimages to religious sacred sites.  The origins of the Buddhist pilgrimage and Buddhist monasticism are also presented in this chapter.  Chapter 3 reviews the literature on pilgrimage and religious tourism and identifies some knowledge gaps that support the research objectives and originality of this thesis.  Chapter 4 presents the rationale for having selected Pu-Tuo as the research site in terms of its religious, historical and cultural significance.  In addition, it gives an overview of the Pu-Tuo monastic community of today.  Chapter 5 presents the research design of this thesis and the rationale for having adopted the combination of research approaches and methodologies.  Chapter 6 reports the empirical findings derived from the statistical data of the self-completion survey of visitors at Pu-Tuo and presents a visitor typology.  Chapter 7 presents the perceptions of the Buddhist monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism while Chapter 8 reports on the Buddhist visitor management strategies adopted at Pu-Tuo.  Chapter

9 is the concluding chapter which summarises the most novel and important findings of this thesis and offers some suggestions for future research.

## Chapter 2: Buddhist Monasticism and Pilgrimages

The focus of this chapter is the understanding of the concept of pilgrimage. It first introduces the key concepts and theories that are important to understand why human beings undertake pilgrimages. It builds on Mircea Eliade's "Centre of the World" theory and shows how the theory provides a rationale for religious people, of any religion, to undertake a pilgrimage. Subsequently, it describes the genesis of Buddhist monasticism as well as its historical evolutions in China. The concept of a 'pilgrim' from the Buddhist perspective is also discussed in this chapter.

## 2.1 Pilgrimages and Sacredness: Eliade's Centre of the World

Pilgrimage is one of the oldest forms of travelling (Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Rinschede, 1992; Vukonic, 1996). In many religions, the believers are told that, according to the doctrines and traditions of their faith, to visit the holy place(s) of their religion is an essential undertaking in one's lifetime. Such a journey to one's religious sacred land, when undertaken with religious devotion, is called a pilgrimage (Pavicic, Alfirevic, & Batarelo, 2007; Rotherham, 2007). Hall points out that nearly all the core pilgrimage sites of the world's religions are those "places emphasised by the gods as locations where the pious and faithful should go" (Hall, 2006, p. 175). Vukonic comments that "All the religions of the world, from the ancient mythologies onward, have promised believers that a visit to a holy place will solve some or all of their spiritual or material troubles. Such visits to holy places have the aims of purification, salvation, healing and so on" (Vukonic, 1992, p. 80).

From such a perspective, a traveller who visits a holy place of a particular religion is of course expected to be a believer of that religion. Referring to the Holy Koran, Griffin says that "Mohamed, inspired by Jewish (and subsequent Christian) pilgrimages, encourage all Muslims to 'Accomplish the Pilgrimage and the Experience for God's sake' ". This has inspired many millions of Muslims to undertake a pilgrimage (which is one of the five pillars of Islam) to Mecca and Madinah every year" (Griffin, 2007, p. 17). This is an example of how, typically through the commendations of a sacred text, an ordinary space is transformed into a sacred one with a privileged meaning for the faithful of a particular religion. Undertaking a pilgrimage in this sense is wholly an act of religious devotion and a spiritual journey.

In addition to study pilgrimage from a pure theological perspective, other approaches to religion have been consulted. The French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1912), adopting a sociological perspective which treated the totem as the symbo of the God. By the fact that he refers to that God as a personification of the clan, worshipping symbolises social relationship and functions as an extension of the social group. Durkheim provides a scientific sociological and practical way of studying religion. Mircea Eliade's (1968) study has similarities with Emile Durkheim's but from a religious, historical and functional perspective. Eliade is more direct in linking religion and pilgrimage and in his work, the connection is immediate. Eliade's seminal work is articulate in separating at the outset the world into "sacred and profane" regions which creates distance, both physically and spiritually and thereby calls for religious believers to travel between the regions. Elidade's work has been also widely referenced in tourism literature, such as by Victor Turner (1973) and Erik Cohen (1992). Eliade's seminal work thus appears to be highly relevant in explaining why humans undertake pilgrimage and how undertaking pilgrimage affects the communal life of a religious person as well as his/her secular life.

Mircea Eliade's concept of the "Centre of the World" emerges from his study of religion based on the distinction between the sacred and the profane world. According to Eliade (1968), the pilgrimage centre is typically the "Centre of the World" for the believers who live their everyday life in the ordinary world, which is at the periphery of the sacred "Centre of the World". Eliade says that "religious man can live only in a sacred world, because it is only in such a world that he participates in being, that he has a *real existence*" (Eliade, 1968, p. 64) and that "every religious man places himself at the Centre of the World and by the same token at the very source of absolute reality" (Eliade, 1968, p. 65). In his interpretation, religious believers can only achieve transcendence, the real self-existence and spiritual satisfaction, when they are at their "Centre of the World".

In other words, it is of significance for an individual to pursue a pilgrimage journey and place him/herself into his/her "Centre of the World", where he/she can find his/her true existence and the meaning of life. Eliade's theory provides an explanation of why pilgrimages are undertaken even though, traditionally speaking, they can be arduous, dangerous and may require physical efforts and material sacrifices for the purpose of fulfilling religious obligations and responding to the calls of the gods. Eliade further notes that a religious believer can only find his/her self-existence when he/she is in his/her "Centre of the World" because it is the place where he/she can find the many others who share his/her religious beliefs, share the same values and the same understanding of what is sacred. Once in the sacred space of the Centre, they together form a communal sphere which is transcendent and separate from the mundane world.

Eliade comments that religious believers, by being physically present at their "Centre of the World", and by participating in the ritual recitations of the cosmology and symbolic annihilation, are thereby reborn with new energy and begin their life anew. Such a rebirth is necessary for religious believers because they can afterward feel much freer and purer, freed from the burden of their sins and failings endured in the world of the profane (Eliade, 1968, p. 79). Yet the memories of the rituals and the new life infused with the fresh energy so generated can only support a religious believer for a certain period of time after he/she has left the sacred space; for when he/she returns back to, and lives in, the world of the profane, new sins, disappointments, sorrows and failings will again be accumulated. He/she thus needs to return periodically to his/her "Centre of the World" for therapeutic healings and the quest for his/her life's regeneration. Eliade thus says:

> "… through annual repetition of the cosmogony, time was regenerated, that is, it began again as sacred time … The cosmogony is the supreme divine manifestation, the paradigmatic act of strength, superabundance and creativity. The religious man thirsts for the real. By every means at his disposal, he seeks to reside at the very source of primordial reality, when the world was in *statu nascendi*. It is easy to understand why the memory of that marvellous time haunted religious man, why he periodically sought to return to it" (Eliade, 1968, p. 80).

In other words, following Eliade's interpretation, the pilgrimage's role is to bring new energy and spiritual therapeutic support back from the "Centre of the World" to the pilgrim's mundane world of daily responsibilities. When the religious believer again longs for the need for self transcendence and searches for the meaning of life, he/she returns to his/her "Centre of the World". This is the logic of undertaking religious pilgrimage according to the logic of Eliade's "Centre of the World" theory. A pilgrimage by a religious believer serves as the regeneration process of creating new life, getting communal support and receiving spiritual therapy to sustain his/her life in the world of the profane. According to Eliade, the universality of such needs

explains that engaging in pilgrimages can be found in many religions, including Buddhism.

According to some Buddhist scriptures, when Buddha Shakyamuni was alive, one of his ten disciples, Ven. Punna (富樓那尊者), took the initiative of travelling around to preach Buddhism in uncivilised and remote districts far away from his teacher.  Ven. Punna was famous for his courage and for the fact that he understood the essence of Buddhism very well.  When Ven. Punna asked for the permission from Buddha, his mentor, to preach in those far-away areas, Buddha asked him how he would handle it if he were assaulted, mauled or even murdered by those who lived in those rural districts.   Ven. Punna replied that he would consider such occurrences to be fortunate because he could then practice what he had learned from Buddha, such as emptiness, tolerance and compassion.  He further explained that whenever he felt tired, discouraged and needed new strength to carry on his preaching mission, he would come back to visit his venerable teacher, that Buddha's teaching would always be the best healing and strongest source of energy that could sustain his mission and his life (Bhikkhu, 1997; Hsingyun, 1959, pp. 84-86).  From Ven. Punna's reply, it is obvious that the return to the Buddha, his Centre of the World, was a process of rebirth, a chance to renew his strength, to get fresh vigour from his teacher and other *arhats* (羅漢) brothers, monks who have freed themselves from the bonds of desires and illusions and will not be reborn in samsara again), and to spend some sacred time with them before going back to the mundane world.  In effect, Ven. Punna was already talking about undertaking a pilgrimage as evidenced by his periodic return to visit the Buddha.

## 2.2 Buddhist Monasticism

### 2.2.1  The Birth of Buddhist Monasticism

Buddhism is the dominant religion of the Chinese.  According to the China Buddhist Association, over 50% of the population of China believes in Buddhism.  China is the country with the largest Buddhist population (BDEA, 2008).   Another statistical source provided by the "Adherents.com" reports that in 2005 China was the country with the largest Buddhist population.  There were 360 million Buddhists in the world, of which 102 million lived in China (Adherents.com, 2008).  The Chinese people had their first acquaintance with Buddhism through traders who came from Central Asia.  It is widely believed that Buddhism spread into China during the first century A.D. (Naquin & Yu, 1992; L. X. Wang, 1999; C. F. Yu, 1992).  At the time, the Han Dynasty (202 B.C. to 220 A.D.) had made China a very strong and prosperous country.  The silk route not only brought considerable wealth to the people who were involved in the trade, but it also contributed to the spreading of Buddhism in China.   Zhang et al. say: "In the mid-Dong-Han dynasty, Chinese and Indian Buddhism factions began to make contact with each other" (M. Zhang et al., 2007, p. 99).  Buddhism thereby started to take roots in China.  Furthermore, Buddhism was adopted and supported as the national religion during several dynasties, such as during the Tang (618–907), the Yuan (1271-1368) and the Qing (1644-1911) dynasties.  In the course of history, many monasteries and shrines in China, such as the ones of Pu-Tuo, received imperial patronage from the imperial court of China, which contributed to their development as culturally significant Buddhist sacred places.

During the lifetime of Buddha Shakyamuni, many of his disciples and students surrended their wealth, status, families and belongings and became determined to learn Buddhism with a wish to become the 'enlightened one'.  They left their homes and followed Buddha.  From then on, they were no longer ordinary lay people, but

were now Buddhists (literally meaning the sons of Buddhism) and, in Buddhist terminology, they became known as *bhikkhu* (比丘 monks) and *bhikkhuni* (比丘尼 nuns) (Hsingyun, 1959; Too, 2003).

At the time, there were two kinds of dwellings for these Buddhist practitioners. The earliest and most primitive one was called *avasa* and the other one was called *arama*. An *avasa* was usually a temporary hut that was once built in a forest by a monk himself as a simple shelter where he could practice meditation and asceticism. Such a shelter could accommodate at most two or three monks at a time. On the other hand, an *arama*, which literally means 'pleasant park', was usually donated by rich people and was dedicated to Buddha, his disciples and students. It was a more permanent and spacious place to study Buddhism than an *avasa*. When Buddha was alive, it became a common practice for the rich to donate land to Buddha as a venue for teaching *Dharma* (正等正覺 the enlightened path), and where Buddha and his disciples could rest. Buddha had prescribed that a monk could own only one alms bowl and a basic set of three robes. No other personal possessions, such as a house, were allowed. Therefore, the monks relied on the *aramas* which provided simple communal accommodation where all monks from different regions could come and practice Buddhism together. It belonged to no one in particular. This marked the beginning of the *sangha* (僧伽團 Buddhist monasticism) and the birth of Buddhist monasticism.

In order to ensure that his students remained detached from illusions, focused on meditation and lived in *Dharma*, Buddha Shakyamuni prescribed a number of rules for his *sangha* (Buddhist monasticism). Later on, after the *parinirvana* (涅槃 physical disappearance) of Buddha, those rules became the foundations of a more complete code of monastic conduct, articulating how the *sangha* members should conduct their lives in their Buddhist community. This code of monastic conduct is today known as the *Patimokkha.* It contains 277 rules that monks should follow and

311 rules for the nuns to abide to (Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2007). There are, of course, variations across different schools of Buddhism. These rules nevertheless always put a strong emphasis on the principles that monks and nuns should live in an altruistic way, focus on the understanding of emptiness and always be detached from any materialistic longing, lust or desire. Buddha explained as follows the need for having rules and a code of monastic conduct as recorded in the beginning of the *Patimokkha*:

> "Discipline is for the sake of restraint, restraint for the sake of freedom from remorse, freedom from remorse for the sake of joy, joy for the sake of rapture, rapture for the sake of tranquillity, tranquillity for the sake of pleasure, pleasure for the sake of concentration, concentration for the sake of knowledge and vision of things as they have come to be, knowledge and vision of things as they have come to be for the sake of disenchantment, disenchantment for the sake of dispassion, dispassion for the sake of release, release for the sake of knowledge and vision of release, knowledge and vision of release for the sake of total unbinding through non-clinging" (Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2007, p. Pv. XII. 2).

In the Buddhist monastic code, there is a section containing the Thirteen *Sanghadisesas* which is about personal belongings. Clause no. 6 says that a monk should not ask someone else to build a hut for him without first having the permission from the *sangha*. In the section of the Thirty *Nissaggiya Pacittiya,* which concerns personal possessions, one finds clauses prescribing that monks and nuns should live in the simplest possible way and should not own any unnecessary material possession. Clause no. 22 says that a monk should not ask for a new bowl when the old one can be mended (Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2007). In fact, except for the allowance of one alms bowl and the basic set of three robes, a monk/nun should possess nothing material at all (Hsingyun, 1959; Karmapa, 2008). As mentioned above, those particular rules illustrate that monastic members should not encumber their lives with more than what their very basic needs require. The rationale is due to the emphasis on 'emptiness' (空) and 'karmic effect' (因果) in Buddhism. The former concept originates in the *Prajna Paramita Hridaya Sutra*, commonly known

as the Heart Sutra and the latter one originates in the Four Noble Truth which explains the reasons for endless sufferings and reincarnation (Karmapa, 2008). Emptiness in a Buddhist context, refers to the true nature of the existence of all objects and phenomena on earth while karmic effect refers to the consequences that one has to endure as a result of one's past actions (Karmapa, 2008; Too, 2003). These two Buddhist concepts are often interrelated and they are further articulated below.

According to Buddhist theology, the cause of suffering is the illusion arising from believing that everything on *samsara* (娑婆世界, the existing world) is real "in its own existence". From the Buddhist perspective, nothing is independently real because things are only real in the comparative term of existence (Too, 2003). If it were not for the fact that we want a cup to make drinking easier, there would be no need for the existence of a cup. A cup itself does not exist until it is needed. The same holds for its name. Its name does not exist until humans name it 'a cup'. Such an object (a cup) is indeed made of the Four Elements (clay, water, fire, wind) so as to satisfy the needs of humans, and thus there is nothing originally prescribed about the shape of such a container or even about its independent existence. This is the Buddhist notion of emptiness. However, humans are easily tempted by their six senses (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind), for humans believe that what they see, hear, smell, taste, feel and think is real (Hsingyun, 2006). Hence they develop desires to obtain whatever on earth they see, hear, smell, taste, feel or consider desirable in order to satisfy their six senses.

Humans believe that obtaining what they want will bring them contentment and happiness. Motivated by such desires, humans engage in all kinds of activities which are interpreted in the Buddhist faith as the causes of reincarnations which, in turn, endlessly generate all kinds of karmas (effects) whereby humans endure the consequences of past actions. This results in the need to reincarnate in the six

realms of the reincarnation system according to one's accumulated karma (Hsingyun, 2005; Too, 2003).  By understanding the cause and effect relationship, the only solution to the cessation of reincarnation is to eliminate the production of the causes of reincarnation (Karmapa, 2008).  The Buddhist monastic code of conduct is thus a set of rules meant to eliminate all materialistic desires in monks and nuns and to guide them to live properly, that is, according to Buddha's teaching.

During his lifetime, Buddha prescribed that monks and nuns were not allowed to engage in any type of productive activity or commercial transaction, such as selling or buying commodities (Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2007, p. XIX).  In order to concentrate on unearthing their innate Buddha-hood, monks and nuns did not involve themselves in agricultural production.  As a result, monks and nuns relied on the alms, food and garments given to them by lay people.  In Buddhist theology, accepting alms given by lay people in fact generates mutual benefits for both the giver and the receiver.  All people, regardless of whether they are rich or poor, have been given an equal chance to accumulate virtues and good karma.  Being generous and making donations can help reduce bad karma that people may have accumulated in this lifetime or in previous lives.

In addition, lay people have a chance to receive some Buddhist teaching from monks and nuns which can guide them onto the enlightened path.  At the same time, monks and nuns who benefit from lay people's offerings no longer worry about the issue of sustaining their physical body and can thus concentrate on their meditation and be detached from any desires.  Moreover, receiving alms from lay people provides the opportunity for monks and nuns to preach Dharma to fulfil one of the altruistic roles of a Buddhist disciple, which is to preach Buddhist Dharma and help ignorant people[1] attain Buddha-hood (Hsingyun, 1959).  One can thus see that, in

---

[1] Ignorant people: In Buddhist theology, ignorant people are those who are still dwelling in a world of lust and desires.

effect, when Buddhist monasticism was first established in India, it was not a pure eremitic system; having some minimal connection with the secular world was inevitable, both in order to survive and to preach. Yet, preserving the solitude, asceticism and the tranquillity of the monastic life remained of the highest importance in Buddhist monasticism.

## 2.2.2 The Evolution of Buddhist Monasticism in China

When Buddhism began to be preached in China in the Han dynasty (202 B.C. - 220 A.D.) (Z. Y. Wang, 2002), Buddhist monks still followed the tradition of Buddhist monasticism originating from India, meaning that they were dependent on alms and offerings given by lay people to survive. However, as Yang (2009) mentions, the practice of begging by an able-bodied person was not welcomed in China, for the Chinese did not respect people who did not engage in agricultural production or who made no contribution to society. Begging was thus a practice that violated traditional values of the Chinese: being hard working and self-sustained. Those who were physically fit and could take care of themselves but chose to beg tended to be despised and disliked by the Chinese.

As a result, the practice of following traditional mendicant Buddhist monasticism, as in India, survived in China only until the Tang dynasty. At some time between the years 785 to 806, two monks, Dao Yi and Wai Hai, decided that, in order for Buddhist monasticism to survive in China, and for more people to have the opportunity to become monks and nuns and focus on studying Buddhism, some changes in the traditional Buddhist monastic model had to be made. They proposed that all the monks and nuns should be allowed to farm to make the monasteries and nunneries self-sufficient. Monks and nuns should produce enough to satisfy their common basic needs and they were to share the work and its agricultural products, so that they no longer needed to wander and beg for alms from lay people. Such an

adjustment and the consequent changes in the monastic life style resulted in a very unique form of Buddhist monasticism in China, that became known as the "Chinese Buddhist Forest System" (Tian, 2006; Too, 2003; L. X. Wang, 1999).

Since then, the Chinese Buddhist monastic members, instead of following the original Buddhist tradition of wandering in the secular world to collect alms and preach Dharma, have mostly dwelt in their monasteries/nunneries. It is the faithful who would go to the monasteries to participate in religious rituals and receive Buddhist education, rather than the opposite. For example, it is a common practice in China for lay people to arrange a Buddhist puja in a monastery in order to help the soul of a deceased family member come to rest in Nirvana, the Land of Eternal Happiness. Such participation in a religious ritual for the deceased is, to a certain extent, in addition to the belief in Buddhism, also influenced by the spirit of Confucianism. Confucianism is considered to be one of the three most fundamental schools of thought in China that have shaped its peoples' thinking (Feng & Shi, 2001; D. Yu, Zhong, & Lin, 2004). The two central theories of Confucianism are *Ren* (仁: benevolence) and *Li* (理: propriety). In Confucianism, *Ren*, benevolence refers to loving and caring. Filial piety, loyalty and obedience, for example, are concepts derived from *Ren* and these are recognised as virtues in the Chinese community (Ren et al., 2006; D. Yu et al., 2004), while *Li*, propriety, in addition to its literal meaning of courtesy, decency or good manners, actually represents a code of social conduct that one should adopt and accordingly to which one should behave.

Due to filial piety, it is a tradition in many Chinese families that if any family member passes away, particularly an elder, such as a grand-parent or a parent, the grieving family members will ask a Buddhist monastery to perform a special puja for the departed, in order to help and guide his or her soul into the path to Nirvana (L. X. Wang, 1999; Z. Y. Wang, 2002). Filial piety thus serves as a catalyst to induce many Chinese people to engage in pilgrimage in a quest for blessings for their parents and

family members (Hsingyun, 2005). The arrangement of special Buddhist pujas for lay people thus provides a form of 'alms income' which complemented the agricultural production of the monastery. Starting in 800 A.D. and until recently, the Buddhist monasteries of China have been organised on the basis of this "Chinese Buddhist Forest System" (Tian, 2006; L. X. Wang, 1999). Yet, as the next section indicates, due to the recent political and policy changes, the system has been modified in modern China.

### 2.2.3 Sources of Income in the Chinese Buddhist Monasteries Today

Catholic monasticism allows commercial activities to be undertaken in the convents, meaning the selling of commodities and services (Shackley, 2001). O' Gorman describes, for example,

> "… (Catholic) monasteries did operate at the commercial level in other areas, for example: conference facilities; apiaries; brewing and distilling; public commercial restaurants; stained glass window manufacturing; printing and publishing; illumination and illustration; farming and agriculture and retail" (O' Gorman, 2009, p. 13).

The Catholic monks of some Belgian monasteries for example still make and sell specialty beer and cheese, a century old tradition, in an openly commercial way, complete with brand names and advertising. Chinese Buddhist monasticism, on the contrary, never had the kind of commercial activities that one used to find, and still finds, in some Catholic monasteries and convents in Europe. Even though, as mentioned earlier, Buddhist monasticism in China could, according to the 'Chinese Buddhist Forest System', engage in farming, their agricultural production was meant to be used only to sustain the basic needs of the monastic members; it was not for sale (Tian, 2006). This policy was strictly followed until the late 1970s when some alterations were made to the system, allowing, for example, the sale of books and

souvenirs related to Buddhism in shops located within or nearby many Buddhist monasteries, and operated and managed by the monasteries themselves as the source of part of their income (Fang & Wang, 2005).

A much more significant change was to come with the economic reformation policies initiated by Den Xiao Ping in 1979. Many important Buddhist monasteries and nunneries were included into the scope of tourism development, for example the Shou Lin Monastery and the monasteries of the Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains in China (Bao & Bai, 2008; D. Zhao, 2009). Many monasteries and nunneries were instructed by the civil authorities to stop engaging in farming in order to create a cleaner and more attractive environment (free from the smell of manure, for example) in the monasteries for tourists (L. X. Wang, 1999). Those Buddhist monasteries have since become not only important Buddhist sites with religious significance, but cultural attractions as well in a new era characterised by strong economic and tourism growth (M. Zhang et al., 2007; D. Zhao, 2009). For instance, the Wu-Tai Mountain International Cultural Festival of Buddhism is a clear example of how a Buddhist sacred site and Buddhism are framed within the government's policy to boost tourism and local economic growth (C. Ryan & Gu, 2008). Another example is that, between 2002 and 2007, the PRC government allocated 330 million RMB for a five-year restoration project of the Potala Palace, Norbulingka and the Sagya Monastery in Tibet to spur the growth of tourism in Lhasa (CTIC, 2005).

The income that sustains monastic life today has, as a result, become the visitors' donations, the admission charges, and the fees that are generated by performing special Buddhist rituals on request from lay people. From her observation inside monasteries and nunneries at Pu-Tuo, the researcher also noticed that visitors, particularly the Chinese, are quite willing to donate money to the Buddhist monasteries and nunneries, with perhaps different kinds of motivations, such as accumulating good virtues or simply in the hope of getting good luck in return. The

admission fee that the tourists are charged is another source of income for the Chinese monasteries. Those issues will be further discussed within the specific context of Pu-Tuo in Chapters 4 and 8.

## 2.3 The Buddhist Pilgrimage

### 2.3.1 Concepts of Pilgrim from a Buddhist Perspective

As mentioned earlier, a pilgrimage is a journey to one's religious sacred land and is thus an act performed out of religious devotion. The individual who engages in such a religious journey is called a pilgrim (Pavicic et al., 2007; Rotherham, 2007; Vukonic, 1996). This definition of a pilgrim seems to be the one commonly adopted in the Western literature on religious tourism. Yet, the researcher experienced, both from studying the literature and having conversations with Buddhist monks and nuns, that the way a pilgrim is defined in a non-Buddhist context seems to be different from the one understood by Buddhist monks and nuns. The way Western literature describes Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage also appears to be incomplete.

In an influential paper on pilgrimage, Turner says that there are two major types of motivations in the Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage, *"… hsu yuan* and *huan yuan*. *Hsu yuan* is the making of a wish before the God with the vow that, if the wish should come to be realised, one would come back to thank, worship and offer sacrifices. *Huan yuan* is worship and sacrifice to the God as an expression of gratitude after the wish had come true"* (V. Turner, 1973, pp. 197-198). Yet there are two issues worth noting from the views of Turner. First, Turner describes hsu yuan and huan yuan as if they are something exclusive to Buddhism and, second, he takes the view that they are the only two reasons that motivate people to engage in Buddhist pilgrimage. Both claims seem to be in need of substantial qualifications. The first thing to note is that hsu yuan and huan yuan are not specific to any particular

religion of China; they are simply traditional worshipping rites or symbolic ways to make wishes and to show gratitude for realised wishes. *Hsu yuan* is written 許願 in Chinese; the first character *hsu (許)* means 'to make', 'to pray', while the second one, *yuan* means 'a wish'. The combination of these two characters thus means 'to make wishes'. Likewise, the first character of *huan-yuan*, *huan (還)* means 'return', 'going back to'. Thus *huan yuan (還願)* means 'wish-related return'.

Since time immemorial, human beings have believed in certain kinds of supernatural powers which provide an explanation for the birth of the world, its existence, as well as how one should live one's life on earth. Because of this, humans have long practiced different ways of worshipping their supreme powers (Bowker, 1997; Eliade, 1968). Chinese people do the same. They are used to paying respect to and worshipping multiple supreme powers; they always seek help from supernatural powers and hsu yuan is a form of rite, a process to pray for blessings and for being free from disasters, sufferings, to pray for getting something from any divinity or even a ghost who can help. Bowker says, "Chinese people do not, in general, feel that they must choose one religion or philosophy and reject the others. They choose whatever seems most suitable or helpful - whether at home, in public life, or for one of their rites of passage" (Bowker, 1997, p. 89). Chao (2004) in his book interpreting one of the Confucius and his students' classical records, the Rites (*Li-Ji 禮記*) (475 BC - 221 BC), which antedates Chinese Buddhism, points out that those Rites already refer to hsu yuan. Chao says:

> "To offer tributes to gods and ghosts must be done in a respectful manner. Gods and ghosts are not humans; by nature, they do not need food and drink. We treat them and offer tributes as we offer to humans in order to show our sincerity. Being sincere will enable men's souls to connect with gods and ghosts, to show their gratitude, to thank for their blessings, to *hsu yuan* to be free from disasters; this is the reason why one must adopt a respectful manner to perform the rite, to offer tribute" (Chao, 2004, p. 86).

In other words, it is clear that hsu yuan and huan yuan are in fact traditional rites associated with offering tributes and praying to obtain divinities' interventions and that they are not particularly Buddhist. The second point about Turner's characterisation of Buddhist pilgrimage is that the motivations that he attributes to Chinese Buddhist pilgrims are 'hsu yuan and huan yuan'. Yet these two motivations can also be found in other religions, for example in Catholic pilgrimage, under a different form of expression, but in the same spirit (Shackley, 2001). Pilgrimages have always been a special opportunity to ask for divinities' interventions, as the hardship of the pilgrimage suggests a reward. Fátima and Lourdes for instance are famous Catholic religious sites where many pilgrims pray for a miraculous cure of their physical diseases (Eade, 1992; Gesler, 1996). In the light of such instances, the motivation of some Western pilgrims' for undertaking pilgrimages to Fátima or Lourdes is not that different in nature from the one of some Chinese who undertake pilgrimage with 'hsu yuan and huan yuan' as their main motivation, as Turner describes.

In other words, it is very likely that a form of conditional reverence in the nature of hsu yuan and huan yuan is elicited by the nature and specific appeal of any pilgrimage site. What is important to note is that, in the Western discourse on pilgrimage and pilgrims, there is no specific terminology to define and separate those who engage in pilgrimage for obtaining a favour from their God(s) and those who do so for genuine religious insight and enlightenment. They are all called 'pilgrims' as long as they undertake a journey with some degree of religious motivation (Pavicic et al., 2007; Rotherham, 2007; Vukonic, 1996). Yet, in a Buddhist context, there are probably different terms to differentiate between the two groups of visitors - those who are in search for enlightenment versus those who are simply asking for favours from divinities. According to Venerable Master Hsingyun, "To believe in Buddhism, one must progress from beseeching, believing in and

worshipping the Buddha to studying Buddhism and doing as the Buddha did to become a Buddha, which is the highest faith of all" (Hsingyun, 2005, p. 79).  In Buddhism, the ultimate purpose of Buddha's teaching was not to teach people to beseech and pray for the realisation of all kinds of material desires or to pray for solving all kinds of problems in one's life.  Instead, the message of the Buddha's teaching is that one should aim at unearthing one's own innate Buddha-hood, attaining enlightenment and finally becoming Buddha oneself.

The meaning of undertaking a pilgrimage for a Buddhist practitioner - as opposed to a mere worshipper - is to put all of Buddha's teaching into practice.  Along the pilgrimage journey, one should maintain a mindset of being always in a serene state, with no sorrows and fears, by realising that emptiness is the real nature of everything.  When one truly understands and applies this mindset along the journey, there is indeed no favour that one needs to ask for.  A pilgrimage is then a process to awaken and practice inner Bodhi-wisdom (*prajna 般若*), the Buddha's intelligence, in order to achieve spiritual contentment and Buddhist enlightenment. In such a Buddhist context, those who undertake a journey to a Buddhist place with the motivation of asking for a favour that concerns this lifetime's needs are still at the elementary level of learning Buddhism and perhaps they are called something else other than pilgrims (Hsingyun, 2005, 2006; Karmapa, 2008; Too, 2003).  As such, a number of questions are raised: What are then the conditions that make someone visiting a Buddhist sacred site a real Buddhist pilgrim?  How do the Buddhist monks and nuns perceive the category of visitors who engage in pilgrimage only in the hope of having their materialistic desires satisfied?  The next section reviews the origin of the Buddhist pilgrimage which deals with the issues arising in defining a Buddhist pilgrim.

**2.3.2 The Origins of the Buddhist Pilgrimage**

In his lifetime, Buddha guided his disciples and students to form a Buddhist monastic community, which, in *Pali* (the language that is believed to be the one spoken by the Buddha) is called the *Sangha*. The *Sangha* was entrusted with the mission to continue to preach the Buddha's teaching after his *parinirvana* (physically disappearance) (Armstrong, 2000; T. Bhikkhu, 2007). In order to ensure that lay people would continue to be attracted to and listen to the *Sangha*'s preaching, Buddha told one of his ten disciples, Ven. Ananda, to arrange for his remains to be cremated, to separate them into eight parts and enshrine them into stupas (a monument similar to a Chinese tower where some relics of the Buddha are enshrined). Stupas were then used as an instrument to aid the *Sangha*'s preaching mission by the fact that disciples and seniors from the *Sangha* would station nearby the different stupas and whenever someone would come by the stupas to pay reverence to the Buddha, the *Sangha* would have the chance to carry out its preaching mission. Stupas have since then been seen as hallowed places where genuine relics of the Buddha are kept and they became the symbol of Buddhism whenever the religion plants its root in a new place. Moreover, they are also considered as holy places Buddhist believers travel to and where they pay reverence to the Buddha (Keyes, 1987, p. 348).

Another kind of Buddhist pilgrimage destination has an association with apparitions or other manifestations of Buddhist Great Beings, *i.e.* hierophanies. In Buddhism, it is believed that there are many Bodhisattvas, Great Beings who are already enlightened; they have thus left the reincarnation system and are no longer reborn. Yet due to their compassion and desire to save all sentient beings that are still trapped in the reincarnation system, they manifest themselves in a variety of ways and at times appear in the world to preach Buddhism. Guan Yin, also known as Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, the only deity of Pu-Tuo, is one of the eight great

Bodhisattvas whose apparitions on earth have been recorded in many Buddhist scriptures and are believed by many Buddhists. Potalaka in Tibet and Pu-Tuo in China are the two special lands where Bodhisattvas are believed to have appeared to humans (Naquin & Yu, 1992; L. X. Wang, 1999; C. F. Yu, 1992).

It should be noted that undertaking a pilgrimage journey to Buddhist holy places is, in a Buddhist context, interpreted as being only a journey to find the Buddha in the external world. In fact what the Buddha had told his disciples and students to do, and which is much more important, is to conduct one's own internal pilgrimage. A Buddhist should undertake a journey of meditation to discover the inner *buddhahood* within him or herself. Due to the emptiness theory in Buddhist theology, engaging in internal pilgrimage brings an individual much closer to the Buddha and to enlightenment than undertaking an external pilgrimage. To engage in the latter will only be useful in achieving enlightenment if one has reached the correct understanding of the idea of pilgrimage. The quest for *Dharma* (Buddhist enlightenment) along the journey should be the real and the only motivation for a Buddhist to engage in a pilgrimage.

The elation and difficulties that one may encounter during the pilgrimage journey are considered exercises through which a Buddhist should put into practice what he/she has learned from Buddhism, so that what he/she experienced through the journey will be transformed into seeds of enlightenment. Buddhist holy places in this context are thus interpreted as being only markers on earth that help Buddhists progress forward along the path of enlightenment (Karmapa, 2008). In other words, a true pilgrim, in Buddhism, should understand and experience that his/her purpose is to orient him/herself towards the Buddha and to take the path of enlightenment. The same holds for all the activities taken part in during the pilgrimage journey. All the worshipping rites (such as kneeling and bowing) and ritual recitations (such as chanting holy mantra with mala) are meant to physically and mentally prepare the

pilgrim to be focused on unearthing the inner Buddha-hood in his/her soul. Venerable Master Hsingyun comments that it is meaningless to simply chant the mala or recite Holy Scriptures if one does not understand their meanings. Such acts in themselves are not different from simply talking or singing a song (Hsingyun, 2006). His holiness the 17th Gyalwang Karmapa says:

> "… even if someone makes circumambulations, reads holy books, practices meditation, it does not necessarily mean that he has reached the real Dharma. If these things are not real dharma, then what is? If you would cast aside your regard away from this lifetime and instead focus on your future lifetimes and strive to attain liberation and omniscience, then that would be the true practice of the dharma" (Karmapa, 2008, p. 21).

Such an understanding appears to be different from the one of those who engage in pilgrimage with the motivation of simply accumulating merits, gaining access to magical powers or asking for a favour from the Buddha and the Bodhisattva as described by Turner (1973) who sees hsu yuan and huan yuan as the sole motivations of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim (see Section 2.3.1). One of the objectives of this thesis is to reveal how Buddhist monks and nuns perceive the constructs of 'pilgrimage' and 'pilgrim' in a Chinese Buddhism context, specifically in relation to Pu-Tuo, potentially offering an interpretation different from the one of Turner and of previous research on non-Buddhist pilgrimage.

## 2.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter introduces the rationale of undertaking a pilgrimage from the Western perspective according to Mircea Eliade's "Centre of the World" construct. It also gives an account of the birth of Buddhist monasticism and the origin of the Buddhist pilgrimage. Explanations are offered as to why the traditional Buddhist monasticism

of India was modified in China and to how Buddhist monasticism in China evolved. It also reveals that there is limited understanding of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage in the Western literature.  The construct of 'pilgrim' from the Buddhist perspective appears to be different from the generic definition adopted in the published literature.  The next chapter presents an overview of the existing literature on pilgrimage and religious tourism.

# Chapter 3: Literature Review - Pilgrimage and Tourism

This chapter reviews the existing literature on pilgrimage and tourism. In particular it identifies some knowledge gaps that support the research aims and originality of this thesis. The review of the scholarly literature suggests that research on pilgrimage and tourism contains five main themes: the evolution in the nature of pilgrimage (see 3.1.1), the "pilgrims versus tourists" debate (see 3.1.2), the motivations and behaviour of visitors at religious/sacred sites (see 3.1.3), the impacts of tourism on religious/sacred sites (see 3.1.4) and the host and guest relationship at religious/sacred sites (see 3.1.5). Each of them is discussed in turn.

## 3.1 Overview of the Literature on Pilgrimage and Tourism

In Eliade's "Centre of the World" theory, as discussed in Chapter 2, religious sacred sites are only sacred to those who hold and share the same belief in the religion the site belongs to. Atheists or believers in another religion would have little reason to visit a particular religious site which is not sacred to them. Such was once the case in the history of religious travel, particularly in the medieval ages (Towner & Wall, 1991). Before the subsequent progress in transportation systems, as well as due to the many constraints on travel, such as limited free time, lack of discretionary income and lack of freedom to travel, ordinary peoples' visits to a sacred place were generally restricted to their local religious centres, such as churches, temples or mosques (Rinschede, 1992; Towner, 1985; Towner & Wall, 1991). However, today, there are many visitors who travel to religious sites and do not necessarily hold the same religious belief or journey for religious reasons. Olsen and Timothy comment: "As a result of marketing and of a growing general interest in cultural tourism, religious sites are being frequented more by curious tourists than by spiritual pilgrims and are thus commoditised and packaged for a tourism audience" (Olsen &

Timothy, 2006, p. 2).  Nolan and Nolan (1992) also comment that visits to famous European churches (such as London's Westminster Abbey or Kloster Andechs in Bavaria) "by tourists greatly outnumbered those made by pilgrims" (Nolan & Nolan, 1992, p. 73).

Ample research related to recent religious tourism and pilgrimage has been published; yet most of those works study Roman Catholic Pilgrimages in Europe, Eastern Christian pilgrimages in the Palestine region where almost all the sacred places listed in both the Old Testament and New Testament are located, Jewish pilgrimages, Muslim pilgrimages, Hindu pilgrimages, Tibetan pilgrimages in Tibet and Nepal or Buddhist pilgrimages in South-East Asia countries such as Burma, Thailand and India (see Digance, 2006; Din, 1989; Eade, 1992; Gesler, 1996, p. 65; Ioannides & Ioannides, 2006; Jackowski & Smith, 1992; Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Shackley, 2001; Shinde, 2007a; R. P. B. Singh, 2006).  Only a limited amount of research about contemporary Buddhist pilgrimage in China has been published, and they are discussed below.

The book *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Naquin and Yu (1992), constitutes a significant scholarly contribution to the understanding of the historical and cultural significance of different Buddhist sacred sites in China.  Additionally it provides general information about pilgrimages in China, in the past and the present.  According to Naquin and Yu (1992), the very first group of people who engaged in Buddhist pilgrimage in China were monks, scholars and literati, starting around 265 A.D.  Undertaking pilgrimages became common and the practice peaked during the Tang dynasty (618-907) when many lay people, regardless of their social class, started making pilgrimages to the Buddhist Sacred Mountains of China.  In *The Encyclopaedia of Religion* edited by Eliade (1987), a short article written by Hoshino Eiki about pilgrimage in East Asia contributes to the general understanding of pilgrimage to the Scared Mountains of China, as well as to pilgrimage sites in Japan.

However, the information given is limited due to the space allowed in the *Encyclopaedia* and thus the article gives only a very brief introduction to pilgrimages to two sacred mountains of China: the Wu-Tai Mountain and the Tai Mountain.

Zhang et al. (2007) discuss how the meaning of undertaking a pilgrimage is, today, perceived differently by the Hans who mainly populate in the Eastern part of China and the minority ethics groups who practice Tibetan Buddhism in the North-West region of China (2007, pp. 103-106).  According to the authors, the Han visitors from the Eastern part of China, even though many of them are not Buddhist believers, tend to visit monasteries and temples in order to immerse themselves into traditional and cultural elements at religious sites where they look for a "sense of their cultural depth" while the people from the North-West region of China visit for their religious faith in Tibetan Buddhism (M. Zhang et al., 2007, p. 105).  However not much discussion is found to explain what differences there are between the two groups in their respective understanding of a pilgrimage and how different their actual behaviour is at the monasteries: nor is their respective impacts on thereligious sites discussed.

Today, the ancient monasteries and temples of China are important tourist magnets (M. Zhang et al., 2007).  Zhao comments that "To the Chinese State ideologues, the spiritual or intangible nature of the religious heritage, which reflect the belief system and social morality, has been used to enforce the Chinese pursuit of unity and harmony, to embody the nation, to boost the economy and to reconstruct national collective identities"  (D. Zhao, 2009, p. 2).  In other words, religious places in China are used as political and economic instruments, for the pursuit of goals of political stability, ideological control and economic development.  As a result, they are promoted as historical and cultural attractions for tourists.  Taking the standpoint of secular spectators who attend a religious festival at the Wu-Tai Mountain, Ryan and Gu (2008) look critically at how Buddhism is used by the

political establishment as an instrument to create an image of a harmonious society and how the Wu-Tai festival is commoditised for the purpose of commercial gains from the visitors who come to see the festival as spectators. Nevertheless the authors also point out that the festival is used by the members of Buddhist monastic community as an opportunity to meet, to participate in Buddhist pujas and to have discussions in the monasteries after the festival. Shi reports in her study about tourist experience at the Wu-Tai Mountain that the majority of the tourists interviewed perceived that the holy mountain has been largely commercialised and has lost its authenticity (Shi, 2009). Zhao made similar comments to the effect that the Shou-Lin Monastery in China, which was renowned as the place of origin of Chinese Kung-Fu, has as well become very much commercialised (D. Zhao, 2009). These scholarly works all similarly document a phenomenon taking place all over China, that is, that many Buddhist sites today are used for generating goodwill which is either economic or political in nature.


While the English literature on the Buddhist sacred sites of China is rather thin, there is a quite larger Chinese literature. One of the more frequently studied Buddhist sacred sites is in fact Pu-Tuo, the research site of this thesis. This is possibly due to the fact that Pu-Tuo is one of only Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains in China and hence one of the four most important Buddhist pilgrimage sites of the country (Eiki, 1987; Naquin & Yu, 1992; L. X. Wang, 1999; Z. Y. Wang, 2002). However, most existing Chinese studies about Pu-Tuo either adopt a marketing perspective and concentrate on making recommendations on how to best market this Buddhist sacred site as a cultural asset to attract more tourists to Pu-Tuo (Gong, 2005; J. Li, Zhang, Fang, & Li, 2000; Zhu, Yang, & Cao, 2007), or adopt a 'brand management' perspective concerned with how to better manage the destination's features so as to attract a larger number and a wider variety of visitors (X. Z. Yang, Lu, Zhang, Lu, & Xuan, 2004a; Yao, Sun, & Jia, 2008).

A third perspective found in the Chinese literature on Pu-Tuo is the one of enhancing tourist satisfaction, leading to discussions of what strategies Pu-Tuo should adopt when at its various positions in its life cycle as a destination (Gong, 2005; Xia, 2007; X. Z. Yang, Lu, Zhang, Lu, & Xuan, 2004b; X. F. Zhao, 2004; Zhu et al., 2007). For instance, according to Yang, Lu, Zhang, Lu, Xuan (2004b), Pu-Tuo has been an important Buddhist pilgrimage destination since the Tang dynasty. Regarding the product life cycle of Pu-Tuo in modern times, they report that from 1924 to 1979, Pu-Tuo was in the "participatory stage". From 1979 to 2001, Pu-Tuo was in its "developing stage" and starting from 2001 onwards, Pu-Tuo entered its "mature stage". The increase in the number of visitor arrivals and the number of hotel beds available provides strong evidence to support their statements (X. Z. Yang et al., 2004b, p. 503). They comment that since Pu-Tuo is a major Buddhist pilgrimage destination in China, the number of visitors will continue to grow because it is a well established, conveniently located multi-purpose destination, and because the religious nature of the destination guarantees repeated visits. Their study suggests that Pu-Tuo can continue to benefit from its religious appeal to attract tourists and that, at the same time, Pu-Tuo still has room to diversify its market by combining its natural scenery with man-made cultural attractions (X. Z. Yang et al., 2004b). Only a few studies on the impacts of tourism at Pu-Tuo are concerned with the issue of maintaining the holiness of Pu-Tuo and controlling the carrying capacity of the place (H. Chan, 2008; Ieong, 2008; Xia, 2007).

Scant attention is paid to whatthe monastic communities who live in the different sacred sites of China think about the transformations and developments that have lately taken place. Some online articles written by the Buddhist monastic communities themselves say in effect very little about how monks and nuns personally feel about the impacts of modernity and tourism development. Instead, these commentaries focus on what festivals and activities the monastic communities have recently organised, or advertise future ones, and suggest that the meaning of the participation in these events is a sign of the harmonious coexistence of

Buddhism and society at large, as well as of the friendship between Buddhists from different parts of the world (Fa, 2006).

Another theme found in the contemporary Chinese literature is how Buddhism is used in soothing sorrows and how it is to be applied in one's daily life (Xue, 2006). Rarely does one find an article that probes into how difficult or easy the Buddhist monks find it to survive in the modern materialistic world. Shik's (2009) article is one of the few exceptions. As a Buddhist monk himself, he reveals how he feels in general about the materialistic way Buddhist monasteries are being highly commercialised and transformed into tourist attractions. He says:

> "After the economic reforms in China, there were people who were interested in gaining profits from religious tourism because they believed that such an industry would be a lucrative business. These businessmen then build new temples and applied their marketing and economic concepts as the principles to run the temples, regardless of how the Buddhist monks felt about it" (Shik, 2009).

Yet, what Shik discusses is in fact merely the practical side of how donations and revenues are generated for monasteries and he spends most of his efforts lecturing on how monks and nuns should calm their mindsets and apply Buddha's teaching to overcome the many challenges created by the materialistic world. Shik does not reveal much about his own personal feelings and how he and other Buddhist monks feel about the transformations happening to the monasteries and to their monastic life. These are in fact important questions to be addressed because, if the concerns and expectations of Buddhist monks and nuns are not properly voiced and respected, conflicts may arise between the civil authorities and the monastic communities, such as when the Famen Buddhist monastic community became dissatisfied with the tourism development that took place in their Famen Monastery and they went on a rampage (R. Li, 2009).

In summary, there are in fact significant gaps in the Chinese literature which remains generally silent on a number of important issues, including how Buddhist monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and tourism, what actual behaviour is adopted by different kinds of visitors, and what are the Buddhist ways of managing visitors to cope with the challenges created by the robust development of tourism in China today.

## 3.1.1 The Evolution in the Nature of Pilgrimage

In the eyes of atheists, religious places appear as cultural and historical places that are worthwhile to visit out of curiosity, possibly in combination with various non-religious reasons (Bremer, 2004, 2006; Digance, 2003; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Pearce, 1982; Pearce & Stringer, 1991; Shuo, Ryan, & Liu, 2009). Arguably, the traditional nature of religious sacred sites as being mostly destinations for pilgrims and believers is getting blurred today and indeed many such sites have been transformed into cultural destinations for leisure travellers. It is, for example, not true that nowadays the Holy See is of interest only to Catholics. A non-catholic can also very well visit the Vatican to admire the masterpieces of Michelangelo and the outstanding architectural and artistic features of its many buildings and plazas (Nolan & Nolan, 1989; Vukonic, 2006). Scholars from different disciplines have accordingly noticed such an evolution in pilgrimage travel around the world and have made considerable efforts at studying the phenomena.

One theme emerging from a review of the literature is that the nature of undertaking a pilgrimage today is no longer what it used to be and that the pilgrimage has lost its traditional meaning. Blackwell (2007) comments that, before the 19th century, when a mass transportation system was not yet developed, a

religious pilgrimage, which could take weeks or months of travel on foot, was seen as an opportunity for adventure with the attendant risks. Pilgrims were expected to encounter risks and hardships during their pilgrimage journey; having to go through the arduous process and difficulties of the journey was meant to enhance the pilgrim's inner spiritual fulfilment and religious experience. Thereby, the very real hardships of a pilgrimage of the past actually contributed to the process of seeking purification and earning intrinsic rewards, such as self-actualisation. However undertaking a pilgrimage today is much easier because of the ease of transportation and the existence of modern tourism infrastructures. Cohen (2002) comments:

> "… tourism has become a major modern mass phenomenon after World War II. International travel has since expanded and is now embraced by practically all social classes. Such expansion was made possible by rising standards of living and the shortening of the work year, which took the form of longer paid vacations in the industrialized Western countries, and a rapid improvement in the means of transportation" (Cohen, 2002b, p. 54).

Many religious/sacred sites all over the world are no longer remote or difficult to reach. In addition, the pilgrimage sites have at the same time become "multiple-purposes places" that visitors may visit simply out of curiosity or for more intellectual reasons (Shuo, Ryan, & Liu, 2009). Pavicic, Alfirevic & Batarelo (2007) conclude that undertaking a pilgrimage today is often considered an activity in the nature of a family reunion. Undertaking a pilgrimage offers an opportunity to travel together with family and friends and such an experience satisfies both sacred aspirations and a therapeutic need to strengthen family and social ties. "Pilgrimage experience is therefore being deconstructed to various communications and multiple interpretations" (Pavicic et al., 2007, p. 61).

Shinde (2007a) comments that originally the pilgrimage was about "… endurance, the beautiful pain of journeying, the time to think and to immerse in spirituality",

but today all of this seems to be fading away.  Shinde further describes many so-called "modern pilgrims", for whom, even if they go to religious sacred sites with religious motivations, undertaking a pilgrimage is also perceived as taking time out of their daily routines and a chance to travel, at the same time as it also fulfils religious needs.  Shinde points out that in today's India, for example, many "modern pilgrims" do not engage in elaborate rituals and they spend relatively little time inside the temples; instead, they spend more time wandering around, buying souvenirs, eating and getting there (Shinde, 2007a, pp. 192-193).   From her observations, the researcher discovered a similar trend in China.  It seems that the above studies all report a similar phenomenon: there has been a transformation taking place in the nature of pilgrimage.

## 3.1.2 Pilgrims versus Tourists

Much literature has considered the dichotomy between pilgrims and tourists.  This section reviews the literature on the issues of whether pilgrims are tourists or whether any visitor to a religious/sacred site is some combination of a pilgrim and a tourist.  The definition of a tourist given by the World Tourism Organisation (W.T.O.) is: "A tourist is someone who travels temporarily, for at least 24 hours but less than a year, away from home to another region".   The definition of a pilgrim in the Oxford Dictionary reads: "one who journeys to a sacred place as an act of religious devotion".   From this perspective, a pilgrim who engages in pilgrimage also has to leave his/her home to get closer to the Centre of his religion; a pilgrim is thus a kind of tourist according to the definition of W.T.O.

Olsen and Timothy (2006) and Bremer (2004, 2006) comment that it is difficult to draw a clear dividing line between pilgrims and tourists today because, once on site, both groups make use of the same tourist facilities, such as the local transportation system, accommodation and infrastructure.  Olsen (2010) further notes that it is in

fact unrealistic to expect a clear separation in the dichotomy of pilgrim/tourist because a transformation has taken place in the nature of the traditional pilgrimage and it is a mismatch to compare reality with the "ideal type" of the characteristics of a traditional pilgrim. Gupta (1999) makes a note that "apart from devotional aspects, looked at from the broader point of view, pilgrimage involves sightseeing, travelling, visiting different places and, in some cases, voyaging by air or sea, etc. and buying the local memorabilia" (1999, p. 91).

In agreement with Adler (1989), Smith (1992) says that both tourists and pilgrims basically share the same prerequisites and facilities associated with the activity of travelling. In this vein, pilgrims and tourists are not completely distinguishable in terms of observable behaviour; they are at the opposite end-points of a continuum, and between the two extremities one can find many possible sacred/secular combinations (V. L. Smith, 1992). Shinde (2007a) draws attention to the fact that transformations have taken place over time in the nature of pilgrimage and that today "pilgrimage seems to be a precursor of tourism as it tends to lean more towards leisure-oriented travel" (Shinde, 2007a, p. 194). Shinde says that the removal of hardship in today's pilgrimage journey certainly weakens the spiritual connection between the journey and the experience of the place, which together are traditionally supposed to constitute the essence and uniqueness of a pilgrimage. Shinde thus argues that much "pilgrimage" today is neither pilgrimage nor tourism, but a mixture of the two in which tourism tends to dominate.

Smith (1992) further comments that in the 1990s, it was difficult to distinguish between pilgrims and tourists in Western countries because, in addition to the fact that these two groups of visitors share the same infrastructure and consume much of the same goods and services, religion is increasingly secularised. Smith's perspective in this case is similar to the one of Turner and Turner (1978) in that, from the tourism industry's perspective, there is no clear difference between a

tourist and a pilgrim.  The Turners write that in the Christian culture, "A tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist" (1978, p. 20).

Bremer (2004) notes that pilgrims often participate in touristic activities, such as posing for photos, buying souvenirs and visiting nearby attractions which may be unrelated to religion.  Similarly, tourists, out of cultural curiosity sometimes actively engage in religious practices, such as participating in religious rituals.  They may touch sacred objects and they can be truly emotionally overwhelmed by the sanctity of the place.  Thus, Bremer says that "there is no particular definition to identify whether an individual is a pilgrim or not because that individual may participate in some sacramental exercises at one place before resuming his/her touristic persona" (Bremer, 2004, p. 4).  Eade (1992), who observed and interacted with pilgrims and tourists for the 22 years he worked in Lourdes as a volunteer helper, comments that although it is not easy to differentiate tourists from pilgrims, researchers should still try to go beyond the Turnerian structural approach and try to unearth the rich diversity lying behind the category of 'pilgrim'.  As a whole, previous research in this vein holds the perspective that pilgrims are not different from tourists.

Another school of thought, on the contrary, holds the opposite understanding that pilgrims are *not* tourists.  Research done in this perspective differentiates pilgrims from tourists by examining the motivation of the actors who engage in pilgrimage, the direction of the journey, as well as the theoretical position of the religious site.  As quoted in Griffin (2007, p. 18), Wiederkehr has the following opinion about traditional pilgrimage.

> "A pilgrimage is a ritual journey with a hallowed purpose.  Every step along the way has meaning.  The pilgrim knows that the journey will be difficult and that life-giving challenges may emerge.  A pilgrimage is not a vacation: it is a transformational journey during which significant change takes place…Deeper understanding is attained…Blessings are

received. Healing takes place. On return from the pilgrimage, life is seen with different eyes. Nothing will ever be quite the same again" (Wiederkehr, 2001, p. 11).

With the advances in means of transportation, many pilgrimage sites are no longer remote but easily accessible and thereby the religious journey is unlikely to be difficult or "life-threatening" (Blackwell, 2007, p. 45). Yet Wiederkehr (2001) argues from a very religious point of view that a religious journey to a religious sacred site can only be called pilgrimage if it is undertaken exclusively with spiritual motives. Griffin (2007) also comments that travel can only be pilgrimage when it involves pure, internalised spiritual motives. Some rituals and arduous practices are sometimes imposed on pilgrims to a particular site such that no element of entertainment can be found in the pilgrimage journey. The result is that tourists will not participate. When describing the pilgrimage undertaken to the Lough Derg Island in Ireland, Griffin (2007) says:

> "…A further exercise is to undertake an all-night vigil of prayer, repeating the stations, but one does not make up for lost sleep the next day. An additional penance of this pilgrimage is frugal eating and drinking, with a single meal of black tea or coffee and dry toast permitted each day. When pilgrims depart, they commit to continue fasting until midnight that day" (Griffin, 2007, p. 21).

The hardship and penance as described by Griffin presents a clear notion that the inclusion of such a hardship in the journey is for penance, for the forgiveness of one's sins and achieving spiritual transcendence. Such an arduous journey appears to be only endured by devout pilgrims dedicated to redeeming themselves through their pilgrimage journey to, and stay at, the sacred site. Pilgrims are thus, from that perspective, different from tourists.

Cohen (1992), from the perspective of the direction of journeying to religious/sacred sites, offers a different framework to distinguish between pilgrims and tourists. On the basis of the spatial perception and the experience of the significance of the place perceived by tourists, Cohen proposes a typology of five types of tourist experience for understanding the phenomenon of pilgrimage. They are: "recreational mode", "diversionary mode", "experiential mode", "experimental mode" and "existential mode" (Cohen, 1979, p. 183). Cohen says that the tourists who travel in the "existential mode" are pure pilgrims, while those who travel in the "recreational mode" are pure tourists. He further argues that pilgrims journey towards the centre of their world while tourists leave their centre for a pleasurable periphery. The concepts of *concentric* and *eccentric* proposed by Cohen (1992) indeed correspond to the theory of the "Centre of the World" proposed by Eliade (1968) who refers to a pilgrimage centre as the "Centre of the World" to its believers. Cohen explains:

> "… the traditional religious pilgrimage is a sacred journey to a centre which, though geographically *eccentric*, is still the centre of the pilgrim's religion; it is the charismatic centre from which the pilgrim's life derives meaning, the spiritual centre of his society. Hence, though living away from the centre, the pilgrim is not living in 'exile' as Turner says. His world and daily abode is hallowed, or given meaning through the centre. The centre, however, is given; it is not elective, not a matter of choice" (Cohen, 2002a, p. 101).

In a study of behavioural characteristics of Christian pilgrims, Kreiner and Kliot (2000) test the typology of Cohen (1979, 1992) and their results support Cohen's claim that pilgrimage and tourism differ in terms of the direction of the journey undertaken. They note that "The pilgrim and the 'pilgrim-tourist' peregrinate towards their socio-cultural centre, while the traveller and the 'traveller-tourist' move in the opposite direction" (Kreiner & Kliot, 2000, p. 65). Research in this vein tends to similarly support the notion that pilgrims are not tourists.

The above literature presents different understandings of pilgrimage, and of the spatial relationship between 'religious centre' and 'centre of one's daily life' and uses these concepts to help define pilgrims and tourists. Yet these constructs may not be fully applicable in the context of Buddhism. For instance, Cohen's work (1979) provides a more comprehensive interpretation of pilgrimage and tourism by taking into account the tourists' experiences at religious sites. Yet his typology is developed on the basis of an assumption that the 'religious centre' and the 'centre of one's daily life' are located in two different and separate worlds and under the further assumption that the individual seeks to adhere to his/her 'religious centre' because he/she feels discomfort and feels alienated from his/her own society. In this case, the individual who quests for meaning and chooses to commit completely to the religious centre is travelling in the "existential mode" and is thus equivalent to a pilgrim, as interpreted by Cohen. However what if there are individuals who can simultaneously adhere to more than one centre and may not necessarily feel an alienation from his/her own culture and society? The spirit of Buddhism emphasises emptiness that there is actually no one place better than another. Perhaps in addition to looking at the geographical and spatial dimensions of religious centres versus centres of daily life, one also needs to take into account the specific religious context in defining taxonomies of tourists and pilgrims. In Buddhism, the strength of belief and realisation of 'emptiness' may also play significant roles in the pilgrim/tourist classification.

### 3.1.3 Motivations and Behaviour of Visitors at Religious Sites

Since the first objective of the thesis is to reveal "Who visit Pu-Tuo", uncovering the visitors' reasons for visiting as well as their behaviour at religious sites can help achieving the categorisation of visitors. This section first reviews the motivation literature in a broader sense before the discussion on the pilgrimage motivation literature.

The topic of tourist motivation has been extensively studied in the tourism literature. Dann (1977) identifies push and pull factors as contributors to travel phenomenon. Dann states that the two basic kinds of of push factors which lead to participation in travelling are anomie and ego-enhancement. Anomie refers to a desire to transcend the feeling of isolation inherent in everyday life and to simply get away from it, while the ego-enhancement refers to the need for recognition. Crompton (1979) identifies nine motives of which seven of them were classified as "socio-psychological motives", including: escape from a perceived mundane environment; exploration and evaluation of self; relaxation; prestige; regression; enhancement of kinship relationships; and facilitation of social interaction. The other two motives were in an "alternate cultural" category which covers novelty and education. Pearce and Caltabiano (1983) adopt Maslow's hierarchy of needs as a framework to evaluate whether or not travel motivations fit with the hierarchy and the findings appear to fit nearly within Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

Iso-Ahola (1983, p. 55) states that the individual's tendency to search for psychological rewards by participation to leisure activities emanates from two motivational forces: "escaping of routine or stressful environments and seeking of opportunities for certain psychological rewards". Ross and Iso-Ahola (1991) argue that motives for leisure behaviours can be categorised into two main dimensions: seeking and escaping and they suggest that the two basic motivational dimensions operate simultaneously in influencing tourists' decisions to take on travel and enjoy leisure. Their empirical findings suggest that the seeking dimension is of greater importance to sightseeing tourists, although they also acknowledge that the escaping dimension exists but with comparatively less importance.

Fodness (1994) administers a scale to measure tourist motivation based on a functional approach and that the author makes measurements along four dimensions that are: (1) the knowledge function of leisure travel which consists of "an escape from the daily routine toward some well-defined goal" as the positive polarity on the one hand, such as "seeing great monuments", and "a more undirected form of escapism without any purpose other than to just rest and relax" as the negative polarity on the other; (2) the social adjustive function which is related to social needs, family bonding and reunion; (3) value-expressive function which is related to symbolism and self-expression; (4) the utilitarian function which concerns of maximising the benefit of travelling, making the travel experience to its fullest (Fodness, 1994, p. 560-564).

The scale developed by Fodness (1994) shares a great deal of similarity with the Holiday Motivation Scale developed by Ran and Glendon (1998). The latter developed a shortened motivation scale based on the Leisure motivation scale developed by Beard and Ragheb (1983). Those scholars propose four motives that determine that satisfaction to be gained from undertaking leisure travel, including: (1) the intellectual motive which involves learning and discovering; (2) the social motive which covers the need for friendship and the need for the esteem of others; (3) the competence-mastery component; (4) the avoidance motive in which to avoid social contacts, to seek solitude and calm conditions are emphasised. As a result, the full Leisure Motivation Scale was applied to see whether the dimensions could be replicated in a British context; 14 items were identified as providing the highest predictive power. Ryan and Glendon (1998) then developed a Holiday Motivation Scale which consists of 14 items, including: "relax mentally; discover new places and things; avoid the hustle and bustle of daily life; relax physically; be in a calm atmosphere; increase one's knowledge; have a good time with friends; be with others; build friendships with others; use one's imagination; gain a feeling of belonging; challenge my abilities; use one's physical abilities/skills in sport; and develop close friendships (C. Ryan and Glendon, 1998, p. 175).

The above literature on motivation have in common the notion that the individual's different internal psychological factors generate certain tensions leading to the resultant actions undertaken to release those tensions. A review of the above studies provides a good understanding of why tourists engage in leisure travel. Yet they do not help explain why religious devotees undertake pilgrimage on a regular basis towards the center of their faith nor do they explain why atheists would like to travel to pilgrimage sites. Pilgrimage studies, on the contrary provide insight of travel motivations which not only take into account the leisure motives encompassed by the atheists, but also the devout pilgrims in which specific religious influences are as well covered. Though this thesis is not a pure motivational study and the first objective of this study aims to reveal "Who visit Pu-Tuo", understanding the reasons why people travel to Pu-Tuo, serves as one of the important criteria for identifying potentially different groups of visitor. As a result, it is of interest to review the discussion of motivation and behaviour in the motivation literature specifically framed within the religious and pilgrimage context, as done below.

The literature related to the subject of the tourist/pilgrim distinction has looked at the motivations and behaviour of visitors at religious sites. There are researchers who identify pilgrims as being religiously oriented towards a religious/sacred site and who long for visiting shrines and having chances to pray and meditate, while tourists visit a religious/sacred site for the purpose of leisure and want to see the world, to experience the ambience and the historical and cultural significance of the site (Nolan & Nolan, 1989). Blackwell (2007) comments that, even if religious tourism and pure pilgrimages possess similar features, they are different because inherent elements of pilgrimage are the austerity and mediation dimensions while religious tourism places a lighter emphasis on them.

Conversely, there are scholars who disagree with the traditional view that tourists are pleasure-seeking hedonists and are satisfied with having only superficial contact and experience with the destinations. They argue that tourists can be motivated to travel to a religious/sacred place for various reasons, not necessarily for pleasure-seeking (Graburn, 1989; MacCannell, 1999). MacCannell (1999) conceives tourism as equivalent to religious pilgrimage because both are quests for authentic experiences. MacCannell's argument is that modern man finds that his daily life is inauthentic and meaningless because of the pretension in his daily life setting and that the reason he engages in travelling is to search for the meaning of life. The individual believes that such authentic experiences are not available at home, but can be found in another country and another life-style (MacCannell, 1999). Therefore MacCannell claims that tourism is similar to pilgrimage; the motivation to engage in a pilgrimage journey for a pilgrim is the same for a tourist who starts a journey because "The motive behind a pilgrimage is similar to that behind a tour: both are quests for authentic experiences" (MacCannell, 1973, p. 593). Cohen comments that such an assumption in MacCannell's authenticity theory may not be applicable to all the tourists. This is because not all tourists necessarily endeavour to search for the meaning of life or for serious authentic experiences from the journey. There are tourists who are aware of the artificiality of the touristic experience but are quite happy and satisfied with it. This kind of tourist, who is primarily looking for entertainment and relaxation, rather than self-realisation, is indeed very different in nature from a traditional pilgrim (Cohen, 2002a). In short these works focus on using motivations to differentiate visitors at religious/sacred sites.

Rinschede (1992) reports different forms of religious tourism on the basis of pragmatic and measurable variables such as visitors' length of stay at the site, distance of travel from the visitors' origin, means of transportation, seasonality, size of the group and social status. Other academic research, in contrast, focuses on the activities that the visitors engage *in situ* to categorise their core motivations for

visiting a religious/sacred site.  Gesler (1996) says that: "Pilgrimage began at Lourdes when people were attracted by the possibility of miraculous cures at the spring that Bernadette had uncovered … Lourdes fulfils a need for those who have sought in vain biomedical cures" (Gesler, 1996, p. 99).  In Kreiner and Kliot, the findings indicate that major reasons for pilgrims to go to Jerusalem are "to get to know the Bible", "to improve my religious faith" and "to strengthen my belief" (2000, pp. 60-61).  Nothing in their findings suggests that anyone travels to Jerusalem for the purpose of being cured of a medical condition.


Kreiner and Kliot (2000) uncover differences of interest between the Catholics and the Protestants who visit Jerusalem.  They say: "The Roman Catholics perceive themselves as pure pilgrims who concentrate on the religious aspects and disregard the touristic ones" while the Protestants, in their study, were classified as closer to being pilgrim-tourists rather than pure pilgrims.  The authors explain that it is because the Protestants are interested in various non-religious activities and in visiting sites that combine religion with the history of the place (Kreiner & Kliot, 2000, p. 65).  Fleischer (2000) also points out that "Christian pilgrimage is not a unified phenomenon: there are differences between the Protestants and the Catholics in their needs" (2000, p. 315).  Fleischer notes that Catholic pilgrims are only interested in biblical sites and that Catholic pilgrimage tours are strictly organised in terms of what to visit; the participants are expected to attend daily prayers and mass, while Protestants are more flexible in this respect.  Belhassen, Canton and Stewart also comment that "Protestants who travelled to the Holy Land sought to distinguish their tours from Catholic pilgrimage traditions by emphasising motives other than the search for sites that had been authenticated by the papacy and/or to answer the call of a higher authority to embark on a pilgrimage" (Belhassen, Canton, & Stewart, 2008, p. 676).  Poria, Bulter and Airey (2003) report that the major factors that induce differences in tourists' behaviour at religious sites are linked to the tourists' religious belief and the strength of this belief.  They say: "Those participants with a high strength of religious belief perceived the site to be

more linked to their own heritage; they were more emotionally involved and expressed a stronger intention to visit the site again in the near future" (Poria et al., 2003, p. 358).

The above literature illuminates two important issues in pilgrimage studies. The first is that the sacred places of any given religion have their own special features that in turn create heterogeneity in motivations and in behaviour exhibited by visitors. For example Catholic pilgrims who go to Lourdes often hope to benefit from a miraculous cure. Yet, such wishes are not reported by those Catholics who journey to Nazareth or Jerusalem. Visitors at Nazareth or Jerusalem instead want to feel the places where footprints were left by Jesus Christ, to get closer to Him and better understand the Bible. Blackwell explains that those who have a need for social interaction and seek a sense of belonging to their religious belief may wish to satisfy their social needs by taking part in an organised pilgrimage to a "religious destination" while pilgrims who travel alone or with a small party are frequently travelling to their "sacred site" (Blackwell, 2007, p. 41). Blackwell's understanding of the differentiation between a religious destination and a sacred site is very similar to Nolan and Nolan's (1992) view that a sacred site is not necessarily a popular religious tourism attraction able to accommodate the interest of casual tourists. In their article about religious sites in Europe, Nolan and Nolan (1992) mention that there are basically three different kinds of Christian religious attractions in Europe: pilgrimage shrines, religious tourist attractions and festivals with religious associations. They suggest that different religious sites have their own appeal and attractiveness for different visitors and that, thus, not all the religious attractions appeal to the same types of visitors. They comment:

> "A pilgrimage shrine may or may not be a religious tourism attraction by virtue of its historical, artistic, or architectural endowments. Many of Europe's most popular religious tourist attractions are not pilgrimage shrines, and many shrines hold little of interest for the casual tourist. To this extent, pilgrims and tourist

are at least partly segregated from each other by virtue of the places they chose to visit" (Nolan & Nolan, 1992, p. 70).

These comments are useful for they suggest that there are some sites that only pilgrims would want to visit while there are other ones, which, in addition to their religious significance, have historical and architectural values which attract both the devout and non-devout (Shackley, 2001; Shuo et al., 2009). For instance, the non-devout may visit Notre-Dame in Paris just to admire its architecture, but additionally many Catholics would also visit essentially for a cultural experience, at times outside of mass celebration, confessions and benedictions. Neither, arguably, experience a sacred time, nor do they mean to. In this thesis, the account of how Pu-Tuo is perceived by visitors will offer an explanation of why certain types of visitors choose to visit Pu-Tuo.

The second issue, evident from a review of the literature, is that there are differences in motivations at the same religious/sacred site between pilgrims with different religious beliefs; for example, what the Catholic pilgrims want to experience in Jerusalem is different from the Protestant ones. Yet, there is still a lack of delineation about what should be (if any) the determining factors that allow one to define pilgrims and tourists at religious/sacred sites, given the fact that motivations for undertaking a journey to a religious/sacred place seem to be multilayered and multifaceted. Shinde (2007a) advocates that "any explanation of religious tourism needs to emphasise the aspects of journey and the behaviour of visitors rather than simply motivation" (Shinde, 2007a, p. 195). However, it is argued that even taking into account the behaviour of the visitors at sacred sites may not be enough to tell whether a visitor is a pilgrim. In his book, Bremer (2004) mentions that some tourists can also get emotionally touched when they attend liturgical rituals such as masses at churches. Curious tourists at Lourdes, even if they are neither Catholic nor believers in the miraculous power of the holy water, will still

put their fingers in it and touch sacred objects; they might also purchase holy water in bottles and Catholic souvenirs to bring back home (Eade, 1992).  In other words, tourists may adopt certain kinds of behaviour that, seen in isolation, are undistinguishable from the ones of devout pilgrims.

With the first objective of this thesis in mind, that it aims to generate a typology of visitors which describes "Who visit Pu-Tuo?",  taking into consideration the above discussion, the researcher aims to go beyond the question of *what* behaviour is adopted by visitors to the one of *why* it is adopted at a religious/sacred site in order to examine the visitor/tourist/pilgrim nexus.  It is necessary to understand the meanings of certain forms of behaviour because, as Ryan mentions in several of his publications (C. Ryan, 1995a, 1995b, 1997), the same behaviour may have quite different motivations and thus the meaning of adopting some given behaviour may differ from one individual to another.  Such emphasis is in line with Buddhism according to which the genuine realisation of the way people think can be grasped only by looking at the *meanings* of certain acts rather than by simply focusing on observable behaviour.  This is because different individuals may give different meanings to the very same act that leads to the observation of similar actions.  For example in the Daoist tradition, the incense smoke symbolises a link between personal energy and celestial power (Eberhard, 1986; Ma, 2006; Ren et al., 2006; D. Yu et al., 2004) while in Buddhism, burning incense sticks in front of statues of Buddha and Bodhisattvas is, to an enlightened Buddhist, simply a manifestation of respect.  Not burning any incense sticks will not affect at all the quest for Buddha-hood (Karmapa, 2008).  In other words, the incense smoke, in the Buddhist understanding, is not meant to create a channel to better communicate with the Great Beings.  It is because, in Buddhism, what is important is what is in one's mind, not one's observable behaviour.  The 17th Venerable Gyalwang Karmapa says:

"… if one engages in hearing, contemplation, and meditation simply for the purpose of this life, not only will this not become a cause for the attainment of liberation and omniscience; it will not even lead to achieving the state of a human or god in one's future lives. Why? Because one is simply focusing on the benefits to this life or one is simply striving to attain fame and fortune and gratification for one's body. If one engages in prayers, contemplation, and meditation with such a motivation, one's attitude is faulty, and one will not be able to attain Buddha-hood" (Karmapa, 2008, p. 20).

Yet, many worshippers, without realising the true Buddhist meaning of burning incense sticks from an enlightened perspective, believe that offering incense sticks is a form of sacrifice or tribute offering and that, thereby, burning incense sticks facilitates wishes to be granted. Master Hsingyun comments:

"The causes and effects that lead to happiness and long life are discussed in the sutras (Buddha Shakyamuni's teachings), but some people believe that they should pray to the gods, the bodhisattvas and the Buddha instead. Their faith is built on a longing for having and taking more than they need ... If one does not cultivate the *causes* of happiness and long life, they will not come on their own … If we do not strive for happiness ourselves and instead place the burden of bringing it to us on the Buddha, we will not be living in accordance with the law of karma" (Hsingyun, 2005, p. 46).

The un-enlightened lay people nevertheless believe that by offering tributes to the Great Beings, they will be given something in return. Therefore, by simply looking at a person's behaviour, in this instance, the one of burning incense sticks, one cannot distinguish the real Buddhists from the worshippers or even from curious tourists devoid of any understanding of Buddhism. Thus, it may not be sufficient to use only reasons for visits or activities alone to differentiate visitors. It is argued that integrating the spirit of Buddhism into the reasons for visit and activities performed by visitors may help define the concepts of pilgrim in a Buddhist context.

## 3.1.4 Impacts of Tourism on Religious Sites

Another main theme of religious tourism emerging from a review of the published literature is the impacts of tourism on religious/sacred sites.  On the one hand, there are substantial economic benefits resulting from the development of tourism for religious/sacred places such as Santiago de Compostela, Medjugorje and Lourdes (see Bremer, 2004; Eade, 1992; Vukonic, 2006).  Tourism, in many cases, is seen as a way to diversify or even rescue a weak or declining local economy.  Vukonic (1992) and Jackowski & Smith (1992) recognise the important economic contribution that tourism has made to Poland and Yugoslavia, that were originally poor countries but contain some of the most important Catholic pilgrimage sites in Europe and that those are significant economic assets.  Jackowski and Smith (1992), in their study of Polish pilgrim-tourists, document the economic contributions made by tourism, "visitors at the pilgrimage centres remain at the site city for at least two days.  Their stay generates substantial economic opportunities for local entrepreneurs providing lodging, meals and multiple other services, as well as the manufacture and sale of devotional and secular crafts" (Jackowski & Smith, 1992, p. 105).  In a Chinese context, the economic contribution brought by tourism to Buddhist monasteries does in fact free the monastic members from the need to sustain themselves through agricultural activities, which leaves them with more time for their religious practices and monastic life (Shik, 2009).  The presence of tourists at the site also gives the monastic members a chance to preach their faith.  Those are certainly non-negligible benefits produced by tourism.

On the other hand, there is also much concern with the negative impacts brought about by tourism to religious holy places, as well as the resulting issues of how to preserve the sanctity of these places and minimise the negative impacts to both the sites and their religious communities (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Olsen, 2006; Shackley, 2001, 2002, 2006; Shinde, 2007b; Singh, 2005; Wilson, 1997).  Eade (1992)

documents the existence of commercial exploitation at religious sites; for example, many souvenirs shops at Lourdes sell plastic water bottles, either with the pictures of, or in the shape of, the Virgin Mary. The sale of illuminated Madonnas and of a winking Christ on the cross, as well as other tacky devotional knickknacks contributes to make the religious site appear to be highly commercialised and undermine the sanctity of the place.

Commercialisation is as well reported in the Eastern world. Zhao (2009) in his study of the Shou Lin Monastery, one of the Buddhist sites in China, criticises the current situation where the Buddhist religion is perverted by over-commoditisation in and around the Shou Lin Monastery. This monastery is regarded as an important monastery in China because it is the birthplace of the Chinese *Chan Buddhism* that was introduced by Bodhidharma 1,500 years ago. Yet, very few people today come to this monastery motivated by Buddhism. Many visits to the monastery are due to its exposure to the mass media of Hong Kong and Hollywood movies about the Chinese Shou Lin Martial Arts (Kung Fu), which originates from the monastery. Shou Lin Kung Fu has become a powerful tourist magnet for this monastery. Given that Chinese Kung Fu is so marketable and tremendously profitable, shops surrounding the Monastery, in the so-called Shou Lin Village, sell programmes teaching Shou Lin martial arts and souvenirs about *Shou Lin Kung Fu* such as books and videos tapes (D. Zhao, 2009).

In addition to the risk of having extensive commercialisation that may taint the original sacredness of religious sites, there is also a concern about tourism's impacts on the physical fabric of many religious/sacred sites. For instance, a large number of visits to Buddhist sacred places in China worsens the problem of maintaining ageing wooden constructions when the venues are always fully packed with tourists, such as Tai Mountain, and where many visitors burn huge amount of incense sticks inside

the ancient halls.  Zhang et al. (2007) comment about religious tourism in Chinese religious sacred sites that:

> "It is not unknown for some tourists to destroy and pollute the environment with litter, graffiti and rowdy behaviour, which jeopardizes the unique tranquillity and holy atmosphere of the religious relics … For example, the world famous Dunhuang Murals of the Buddhist Grotto have been affected by the huge influx of tourists. The internal temperature of the grotto is so high that it has already caused great damage to the murals" (M. Zhang et al., 2007, p. 109).

Crick explains that tourists feel that they do not belong to the culture they visit and that they have stepped beyond their ordinary social reality into a 'fancy' place located outside of it.  Without social obligations, commitment and responsibility at the destination, tourists may engage in "ludicrous behaviour" that they would not have dared to engage in when in their own hometown (Crick, 2002, p. 37). McKercher (1993) comments that, in general, tourists perceive themselves as consumers, not anthropologists, at a destination; tourism is essentially a form of entertainment and tourists' sense of responsibility ultimately depends on their self discipline and on voluntary implementation.   The common notion of these scholarly works is that tourists can be a burden to the visited sites if they decide to abandon their self-discipline and behave wildly at sites of visitations.

Conversely, Shackley (2001) analyses the possible negative impacts generated *in situ,* not necessarily by the tourists only, but by all visitors, including the pilgrims. She lists eight categories of negative agents of change to the religious/sacred sites, including: theft of artefacts, vandalism/graffiti, accidental damage, physical pollution, noise pollution, littering, microclimate change as well as overcrowding. Shackley gives some examples of these challenges:

(1) "Visitors to sacred sites often seem to require some
    actual physical contact with a sacred object or element

of the site fabric: merely to be in its presence or within the site is not enough. This is often manifested either in touching the object or kissing the object" (2001, p. 37).

(2) "Problem of souvenir-taking was experienced at Uluru (Ayers Rock) in Australia, a site sacred to Aboriginal people" (2001, p. 39).

(3) "The removal of a piece of a site may seem to us as vandalism but for the believer it can appear as the acquisition of a sacred relic" (2001, p. 38).

Shackley (2001) emphasises that physical damage to religious/sacred sites is not necessarily done by tourists, but that the "souvenir hunters" who engage in vandalism at religious sacred sites may include pilgrims. The urge to have physical contact with or even removing some physical artefacts or items from sacred sites can be motivated by religious fervour. Shackley comments: "sites are plagued by a type of vandalism where domestic visitors and Muslim pilgrims occasionally remove tiles or pieces of plaster as souvenirs of the holy places", "Taj Mahal where small pieces of inlay are frequently removed, although here it is likely to be for religious purposes rather than for resale to international tourists as souvenirs" (Shackley, 2001, p. 39). Thus, the so-called "pilgrims", who appear to be people who are fanatically religious, may try to bring some sacred objects back home to worship, even at the cost of damaging their own religious sacred sites.

In Buddhism, that someone is a very *devout* worshipper does not necessarily make him/her a true Buddhist practitioner (enlightened Buddhist); the latter would in principle never engage in any activities that would damage a Buddhist sacred site due to his/her understanding of Buddhist *emptiness* and *karmic effect* (see section 2.2.1). On the other hand, a fanatical worshipper may insist on engaging in all kinds of folkloric auspicious practices even at the cost of causing damage to the site. This thesis, using Pu-Tuo as a case study, reveals how Buddhist monastic members perceive visitors' behaviour at their sacred site; their responses appear to be in line with Shackley's (2001) comments but are different from the majority of previous

research claiming that the ones who are responsible for misconducts at religious/sacred sites are mostly tourists.  In Buddhism, it is believed that the different levels of enlightenment are the real cause to induce different kinds of behaviour, not simply a visitor's identity.  It is because, though two individuals may both claim to be Buddhists, an enlightened one may perform differently from a non-enlightened one at a Buddhist site.

How to manage the "competition" for space and access to religious/sacred sites among local residents, visiting pilgrims and mass tourists is another topic discussed in the literature.  Digance (2003) comments that pilgrims in many cases have some difficulties in accessing their sacred places because of the crowds of tourists and, even if they manage to do so, the quality of their pilgrimage experience may be spoiled because their needs are being sacrificed when space and resources are allocated to mass tourists.  Some published research thus reports on various kinds of visitor management techniques being adopted at religious/sacred sites to cope with the tourists' arrival, such as charging admission fees, implementing queuing controls, controlling the visitors' flow and having restricted zones reserved for pilgrims to separate them from tourists (Garrod, Fyall, & Leask, 2006; Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Shackley, 2001, 2002).

In her study of Hindu pilgrimage, Singh (2005, p. 219) says that a strict code of conduct is imposed inside the Hindu shrines for rites and rituals, sacrifices, meditation, donations, penance and worship.  Nolan and Nolan (1992) comment that in order to solve the potential conflicts between tourists and pilgrims, administrators of religious sites "may schedule important pilgrimage events during a time of the year when relatively few tourists visit" and "have special areas set aside for the devout" (Nolan & Nolan, 1992, p. 73).  Smith (1992) suggests that "societies have sometimes removed portions of their culture from tourist view to protect them from ridicule" (1992, p. 14).  In this vein, "staged authenticity" (MacCannell, 1973)

emerges to serve as a cultural preservation strategy at some other religious sites. Yet, such a preservation strategy may not be compatible with the Buddhist culture. It is because staging is equivalent to lying and lying is certainly incompatible with Buddhism which emphasises honesty (Hsingyun, 2005; Karmapa, 2008). Shackley expresses a similar opinion on this issue. She says:

> "In most regions tourists can see only the 'front regions' of their destinations and the spaces specially prepared for them. However, festivals like Techni [a part of Tibetan Buddhist ritual] are not staged for visitors, thus providing an unusual opportunity to see the 'back space' where real living takes place … [yet] dances are often long, puzzling and boring after the first excitement has worn off … the visitor who has been attracted to the dances by the chance of seeing something authentic is often dismayed by the fact that he does not enjoy it, with the discomforts and irritations not compensated for by interest in the proceedings" (Shackley, 2001, pp. 112-113).

Therefore it is likely that Buddhist sacred sites are managed in a different way than other religious sites due to the Buddhist philosophy which emphasises honesty, tolerance and respect of one's free will. Shackley (2001) comments that Buddhism is traditionally a tolerant religion and active measures in regulating the visitors' activities are against its philosophy. One may then wonder what the visitor management strategies at Buddhist sacred sites are and how they are (dis)similar to what is described in the literature on other religions. In this thesis, this issue is addressed on the basis of the responses of the monastic members at Pu-Tuo.

### 3.1.5 Host-Guest Relationship

Another area of religious tourism research focuses on the issue of host-guest relationship. Nash and Smith (1991) and Crick (2002) both comment that the impacts of tourism at the host community include both the positive and negative.

McKean (1978) protests against the general idea that tourism is detrimental to the indigenous culture of the host community by arguing that tourism can actually help preserve the host community's culture in that its traditions, cultural pride and ethnic identity are recognised as valuable and worth preserving. The standard of traditional craftsmanship and artistic creativity thus is intentionally maintained. Scholars in this vein support the view that societal and cultural changes will nevertheless take place as a matter of natural evolution regardless of whether there is tourism development or not. On the other hand, some research reports that tourism development not only leads to commercialisation of the indigenous culture, but also leads the host communities to depend on tourism (Mbaiwa, 2005; Oppermann, 1993). Greenwood (1978) has the following comments:

> "Culture is being packaged, priced and sold like building lots, rights of way, fast food, and room service, as the tourism industry inexorably extends its grasp. For the moneyed tourist, the tourism industry promises that the world is his/hers to use. All the 'natural resources', including cultural traditions, have their price and, if you have the money in hand, it is your right to see whatever you wish" (Greenwood, 1978, pp. 136-137).

Pinho and Pinho (2007) comment about tourism development in Fátima that "Life in Fátima has changed with the apparitions of Our Lady. The local population can no longer cultivate the land near Cova da Iria and they saw the selling of religious items and other articles (from wooden kiosks) as the only way to improve their financial situation" (2007, p. 218). Such kind of development, in other words, is argued to further accelerate the religious site's dependence on tourism and degrade the sacredness of the place. Tourism is therefore a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it is because of tourism that the pre-existing cultural ambience and the natural environment of the place are modified to accommodate tourism development. On the other hand tourism can help preserve or even revitalise the traditional culture of the host community or else, some cultures may otherwise

become extinct in the absence of tourism and the economic support that it provides (ATLAS, 1999).

Din (1989) suggests that cultural dissimilarities between the host community and the guests may generate a cultural shock (Oberg, 1960) to the former and create tensions in the host-guest relationship. Joseph and Kavoori (2001) for example, comment that the presence of tourists in a Hinduism holy place always results in an unbalanced relationship; negative consequences typically burden the host community, and its members have to adjust to the shocks generated economically, culturally and socially. A critical point noted in their research is that tourism is often seen as a threat by local community, because it can damage local religious traditions and social values resulting, for example, in the consumption of drugs by young community members and other behaviour alien to the norms and values of the local community (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001).

In the Buddhist context, there appears to be few reports about how Buddhist monks and nuns look at tourism and receive visitors at Buddhist sacred sites. One of the very few studies which briefly note this is Shackley (2001). She says: "The attitude of [Buddhist] monastic authorities to visitors is ambiguous. Most welcome increased foreign attendance principally for the chance of gaining cash contributions and the opportunity to display local traditions and promote Buddhist principles" (Shackley, 2001, p. 112). In this thesis, it is the second research objective to find out how Buddhist monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and tourism as well as to document their ways to deal with visitors. Whether the results are in line with what is found in some previous research (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Raj & Morpeth, 2007) to the effect that religious hosts have a preference for pilgrims over tourists will also be examined. Whether tourists are solely responsible for creating challenges to the monastic community, and how the Buddhist spirit may play a role in this context are issues to be examined as well in this thesis. The findings thus mean to fill the gaps in

knowledge about the host-guest relationship in the context of Buddhist sacred sites in China.

## 3.2 Chapter Summary

The research site of this thesis, Pu-Tuo, today is a place for both the secular and the holy.  As one of the Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains in China dedicated to the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Guan Yin), it is an important Buddhist pilgrimage destination in China.  Yet, at the same time, its historical and cultural significance also attracts many tourists.  Does a tension exist between tourism and Buddhism at Pu-Tuo or do the Pu-Tuo Buddhist monastic members hold a different perspective from their Western counterparts in looking at tourism?  One of the research objectives of this thesis is to report how Buddhist monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo perceive receiving visitors and tourism, thereby seeking to correct a deficient coverage in current research literature.  From the review of the published literature, there appears to be a lack of research investigating Buddhist pilgrimage in a Chinese context.  In particular how the constructs of 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage' are understood from the Buddhist worldview is a neglected issue.  The existing literature on tourism impacts mainly focuses on the perspective of the host community, but rarely with respect to a Buddhist host monastic community.  In particular the literature is silent on how different religious worldviews may play a role and influence the perceptions of receiving visitors and managing the impacts of tourism.  The subsequent empirical chapters of this thesis intend to offer some insights into those neglected issues.

The next chapter presents the historical and cultural significance of the selected research site, Pu-Tuo Mountain, and the rationale for the selection of this site for

this thesis.  It also gives an account of the current situation of Pu-Tuo's monastic community.

## Chapter 4: The Pu-Tuo Monastic Community

This chapter describes the research site of this thesis. It reviews the historical, cultural and religious significance of Pu-Tuo, China. In addition, it presents the rationale for having selected Pu-Tuo as the research site for this thesis and gives a description of Pu-Tuo's current monastic community.

## 4.1 Mountain Pu-Tuo, China

The selected research site of this thesis is called Pu-Tuo-Shan (shan = mountain). It is a small island off the East coast of the Zhejiang province of China with an area of only 12.5 square kilometres; it is part of the Zhoushan archipelago, which is made of more than 1,300 islands. Pu-Tuo is 8.6 km long and 3.5 km wide, with a coastline of 30 km.

Although geographically speaking, Pu-Tuo is an island rather than a mountain, in China, Pu-Tuo is usually not called 'an island' but rather 'a mountain' and it is one of the Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains of China. While the other three Sacred Mountains of China are truly mountains, with an elevation ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 meters, Pu-Tuo is hilly rather than mountainous. The highest elevation on the island is a modest 291 meters. Pu-Tuo is located quite close to the large city of Ningbo and is 150 kilometres away from Shanghai. It is easy to take a ferry from either one of these two cities to reach Pu-Tuo and the sea journey from either one takes approximately two hours, with a slow ferry from Ningbo or a fast one from Shanghai. Another large nearby city is Hangzhou, the capital of the Zhejiang province. As a result, Pu-Tuo, as a destination for visitors, religious or not, has a particularly large catchment area. Though this thesis is not a comparative study,

number of visitor arrivals among the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in China, which are the key Buddhist pilgrimage destinations of the country was compared and Pu-Tuo had the most visitors. In 2008, Jiu Wa Mountain received 2,763,000 visitors; E-Mei Mountain received 1,642,500 visitors; Wu Tai Mountain received 2,510,900 visitors and Pu-Tuo Mountain received 5,255,800 visitors (Jiu-Wa-Shan Tourism Board 2008; E-Mei-Shan Sightseeing Management Board, 2008; Wu-Tai-Shan Tourism Bureau, 2008; Pu-Tuo Tourism Bureau 2008).

The first impression one gets from Pu-Tuo upon arrival on the island is that it has a pleasant hilly landscape which is not particularly remarkable in itself, but is scattered with Buddhist shrines, monasteries and nunneries. It allows for long scenic walks between the Buddhist monasteries/nunneries and mobility is facilitated by a public bus service. While Pu-Tuo is a Buddhist sacred site, its natural scenic beauty and beaches offer visitors other leisure activities even if one has no interest in Buddhism. Seafood is highlighted in the tourist guidebook published by the Pu-Tuo-Shan Government Tourist Bureau (Xiang, 2006). Pu-Tuo is thus promoted not only as a traditional Buddhist sacred site, but also as a recreational place for visitors to spend some leisure time and where no religious activity is mandatory and where the scenic beauty of the island and its tourism infrastructure are available to accommodate the tastes of non-religious visitors.

For someone with no religious interest, the only thing that distinguishes Pu-Tuo from a secular bucolic holiday destination is that the whole island landscape is sprinkled with religious buildings located at a walking distance from each other. The island is quite beautiful and its coast is mostly rocky including a couple of serviceable beaches. It also has non-religious man-made and natural attractions such as a cable car to its highest peak, gigantic boulders and caves. The cable car actually leads to one of the three largest monasteries but any tourist, religious or not, would find the ride attractive as it gives an opportunity to admire the landscape of Pu-Tuo.

Another attraction of the island is a set of enormous boulders in a surprising precarious equilibrium on the top of a hill with a history of more than 15,000 years (L. X. Wang, 1999). As such there are the kinds of 'natural wonder' that one would find in a national park, such as Yosemite. Those boulders, though, have acquired a religious dimension by having been carved with large religious inscriptions. There are also a number of caves, some of which have also acquired a religious dimension by being transformed into small Buddhist shrines.

## 4.2 The Historical, Cultural and Religious Significance of Pu-Tuo

There are Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains in China which are the key Buddhist pilgrimage destinations of the country. They are: Wu-Tai, Jiu-Wa, E-Mei and Pu-Tuo; the latter is the research site of this thesis. These mountains are called the Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains of China because they are believed to be the homes of four Bodhisattvas: Wen-shu (*Manjusri*), Ti-tsang (*Ksitigarbha*), Pu-hsien (*Samantabhdra*) and Guan-Yin (*Avalokitesvara*), respectively (Eiki, 1987; Naquin & Yu, 1992; Z. Y. Wang, 2002). Those places are sacred, either because of alleged apparitions of Bodhisattvas or because of their geographical resemblance to holy lands that are described in Buddhist scriptures. Among the Four Sacred Mountains, Pu-Tuo is the most significant for Chinese Buddhists because Pu-Tuo is the place dedicated to Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, who is the most popular divinity in China;as noted above Pu-Tuo is the Sacred Moutain that receives the largest number of visitors. According to Buddhist holy scriptures, Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is supposed to have preached Buddhist *Dharma* at Pu-Tuo (Bao & Bai, 2008; Fang & Wang, 2005; Naquin & Yu, 1992).

Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is believed to be the bridge between the samsara[2] and nirvana[3]. Too (2003) writes: "Revered by the Chinese as the Goddess of mercy, Kuan-yin, and cherished by the Tibetans as their patron, the Compassion Buddha Chenerzig, Avalokitesvara can be regarded as one of most visible faces of Buddhism. This - female - enlightened being is universally known to come to the aid of all suffering beings" (Too, 2003, p. 128). Too (2003) further comments that "...there are very few households in Asia that do not have an image of her" (2003, p. 136). Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is, among the Great Beings, the most popular in China (Bao & Bai, 2008; Too, 2003). If one looks at the Buddhist calendar, one finds for example that there are four holy days for celebrating Buddha Shakyamuni, three days for Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, while at most two days are dedicated to any other Bodhisattva or divinity.

There are many legends about apparitions of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara at Pu-Tuo and these legends constitute the 'historical' foundation of the sacredness of the site and of its appeal as a pilgrimage destination for Buddhist worshippers and practitioners who want to undertake a pilgrimage to this sacred site. According to the legend, in the year 916, a Japanese monk, called Wei Ee came to China to study Buddhism. On his journey back to Japan, he brought back with him a white marble statue of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara that he took from Wu-Tai Mountain (the legend suggests that Monk Wei Ee took away the marble statue without getting the permission). On its way out, his vessel sailed through the sea channel off Pu-Tuo, it became stuck in and surrounded by many iron lotus flowers. Monk Wei Ee's vessel could not sail away for nearly three days. On the third day, in despair, he understood that he was facing a supernatural event. Monk Wei Ee decided to land at Pu-Tuo together with the statue of Bodhisattva. He then prayed sincerely to the statue of Bodhisattva, asking why the iron lotus flowers were there to obstruct the sea passage and begging for a remedy. According to the legend, Monk Wei Ee

---

[2] Samsara: the world of reincarnation and rebirth (Too, 2003).
[3] Nirvana: the world of the ending of sufferings and place of eternal happiness (Too, 2003).

promised in his prayers that if his predicament was due to the fact that he was trying to take the statue away from China, then he would rather leave it in the country. At this moment, the iron lotus flowers disappeared and Wei Ee did as he had promised and left the statue of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara on Pu-Tuo (Bao & Bai, 2008; Naquin & Yu, 1992; L. X. Wang, 1999; C. F. Yu, 1992).

The statue was then worshipped by the locals in what is supposed to have been the very first shrine on Pu-Tuo dedicated to the Bodhisattva, and is today known as the "*Not-Going Guan Yin Shrine*". The small shrine is thus the cradle of the sacredness of Pu-Tuo (Bao & Bai, 2008; C. F. Yu, 1992; J. Zhang, 2004). Since then, many people who went to Pu-Tuo claimed to have seen or felt a manifestation of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, including Dr. Sun Yat Sen when he visited Pu-Tuo in 1916 (Fang, 1995; Fang & Wang, 2005). Another prominent apparition took place more recently. On the 30th of October 1997, the day of the inauguration ceremony of the 33-meter tall Bronze Guan Yin Statue, more than 5,000 visitors who were there at the time witnessed an apparition of the Bodhisattva. The Great Being is said to have shown his merciful facial likeness in the shape of clouds in the sky (Bao & Bai, 2008; Fang & Wang, 2005; L. X. Wang, 1999). Those are typical hierophanies (manifestations of the sacred), in the word of Eliade (1968); all these legends and apparitions give Pu-Tuo credence as an important Buddhist pilgrimage destination.

Subsequent to the many alleged miracles and apparitions of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara that originally qualified Pu-Tuo as a holy site, a number of historical events reinforced its status and fame as a Buddhist sacred land. From the late tenth century on, Pu-Tuo received imperial recognition and patronage. Land and grain were given to the monasteries that had been built on Pu-Tuo. Many monasteries and nunneries at Pu-Tuo received donations for the purpose of their construction, enlargement and maintenance from the Imperial Court from successive dynasties. In 1080, the ambassador Wang Xun Fen on his way back from North Korea to China,

sailed by Pu-Tuo and witnessed an apparition of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. This apparition was duly reported and, as a result, the Imperial Court financed the building of a monastery and the emperor bestowed the plaque "Monastery of Guan-Yin" *to* the monastery, which is today known as the Pu-Ji Monastery, the largest Buddhist monastery at Pu-Tuo. In 1131, the Imperial Court of the Song Dynasty proclaimed Pu-Tuo to be a sacred land exclusively dedicated to Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara and reserved to its monastic community; 700 fishermen families were as a result ordered to leave Pu-Tuo and moved away to live in nearby settlements (L. X. Wang, 1999).

In 1214, the Emperor Ning Zhong of the Song Dynasty offered a tribute of 100,000 taels of silver bullion to the "Monastery of Guan-Yin" for its reconstruction. During the Yuan dynasty, in 1313, the Imperial Court gave 868 taels of silver bullion and three hectares of lands to the "Monastery of Guan-Yin". In 1327, another thousand taels of silver bullion and 26 hectares of lands were given to the monastic community of Pu-Tuo. During the Ming dynasty, starting in 1602, the Imperial Court made several donations to support the reconstructions of monasteries at Pu-Tuo. During the Qing dynasty, in 1699, in the reign of Emperor Kang Xi, the Imperial Court ordered the demolition of the old imperial palace in Nanjing and allowed the salvaged construction material to be used to reconstruct the "Monastery of Guan-Yin" and the "Zhen Hai Monastery"; they were later renamed to be the Pu-Ji Monastery and the Fa-Yu Monastery, respectively. They are today the two largest monasteries of Pu-Tuo. In 1793, during the reign of Emperor Chien Lung, the Pu-Ji Monastery and the Fa-Yu Monastery were given land in Zhu Jia Jian (a city on the mainland close to Pu-Tuo) covering a total area of 1,800 hectares and the product of those lands was dedicated to supporting the monastic community of Pu-Tuo (Bao & Bai, 2008; Fang, 1995; L. X. Wang, 1999; J. Zhang, 2004).

As evidenced by the historical documentations, through several dynasties, many emperors sent envoys to Pu-Tuo in order to pay tribute to the Bodhisattva. Twenty-two Chinese emperors from different dynasties went to Pu-Tuo to pay homage and reverence in person. Pu-Ji Monastery for instance was visited by Emperor Chien-Lung (Qing Dynasty) who paid homage to the Bodhisattva (Fang, 1995; Fang & Wang, 2005; L. X. Wang, 1999). Yu comments that "Pu-Tuo continued to receive imperial patronage under the emperors (of the Qing dynasty) Yung-Cheng and Chien-Lung; that made the place continue to be a famous sacred land in China" (C. F. Yu, 1992, p. 213). In other words, from the historical point of view, Pu-Tuo became recognised as a sacred land exclusively dedicated to Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara and has been widely known in China as such for more than a thousand years.

One can thus see that Pu-Tuo is famous as an important Buddhist pilgrimage site in China because of its long history as a sacred place and as a place where many miracles are believed to have taken place. Yet, there is another key element that contributes to the exceptional reputation of Pu-Tuo. It is the fact that it had been described for centuries as Potalaka, the home of the Great Being, Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Bao & Bai, 2008; J. Zhang, 2004). It is supposed to be the place where the Great Being preached *Dharma* and, what is probably most important to pilgrims and worshippers today, it is a place where epiphanies of Bodhisattva may still happen and wishes may be granted if one prays sincerely enough (Fang, 1995; C. F. Yu, 1992). All these reasons explain why visitors go to Pu-Tuo, many come repeatedly, in quest for favours or to fulfil a vow. Such a motivation for going to Pu-Tuo is typical of what Turner (1973) describes as the key motivation for Buddhist pilgrimages: the twin worshipping rituals of "hsu yuan (making a wish) and huan yuan (worship and sacrifice to the god as an expression of gratitude after the wish has been granted)", see Section 1.3.1. Through history, those who believed in the efficacy of the power of Pu-Tuo and who returned every year reinforced the image of Pu-Tuo as a Buddhist pilgrimage destination. Yu (1992) puts it as follows:

> "Many ordinary pilgrims went to Pu-Tuo down the centuries…they assuredly made as much contribution to the creation of the Chinese Potalaka as their more articulate fellow pilgrims. They did so by going to Pu-Tuo en masse and thereby existentially confirming the ideological transformation of the island into Potalaka performed by the abbots and members of the religious elite" (1992, p. 226).

Through history, Pu-Tuo has also endured some predicaments. It was attacked and looted several times by the Dutch during the 17th century (Fang, 1995; Fang & Wang, 2005). Many precious statues, holy scripts, and copper chimes of monasteries were taken away by the invaders (Fang, 1995; L. X. Wang, 1999; J. Zhang, 2004). During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), most of the monasteries and shrines of Pu-Tuo were severely damaged. The practice of Buddhism in China was banned during this period. In August to November 1966, approximately 17,000 statues of Buddha, Bodhisattva and other divinities together with 34,000 holy scripts and Buddhist books were burned or otherwise intentionally destroyed (Fang, 1995; L. X. Wang, 1999). Several monasteries and nunneries were even bombarded. The treasure and properties that belonged to the monastic community were all confiscated. It was a tragedy for the Buddhist monastic community of Pu-Tuo; many monks and nuns were tortured and humiliated; some were either starved or forced to eat meat. They were ordered to leave Pu-Tuo and many were forced to become lay people again (L. X. Wang, 1999).

Pu-Tuo was gradually restored to be a Buddhist sacred land only after the PRC government, in 1979, changed its religious policies; it allowed and recognised Buddhism as one of its political strategic instruments to boost the economy and to maintain a society of harmonious coexistence (C. Ryan & Gu, 2009a; L. X. Wang, 1999; D. Zhao, 2009). In 1982, together with another 43 sites in China, Pu-Tuo was put on the first list of "Important National Sightseeing Sites of China". Pu-Tuo was listed as an "AAAAA National Tourism Destination" in 2001 and its three main

monasteries (the Wei-Ji, the Fa-Yu and the Pu-Ji monasteries) were rated as important monasteries in China in 1983 (Fang, 1995; L. X. Wang, 1999).  In June 2007, the Chinese Central Government included Pu-Tuo into the tentative list of sites for nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage List.  In the official tourist guidebook published by the Pu-Tuo Government Tourist Office, Pu-Tuo is described as follows. "Pu-Tuo is not only a place for pilgrims who go and worship Guan Yin (Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara), it is also a place for leisure travellers" (Xiang, 2006).

Historically, the monks and nuns constitute the central component of the local community of Pu-Tuo.  During most of its history as a religious sacred site, Pu-Tuo was a place exclusively reserved for monks and nuns; it was not for lay people to live there.  Today there are fewer than 5,000 lay people who live with their families on the island (source: interview with Pu-Tuo Government Tourist Office, held in December 2008).  Some locals have transformed their houses into guesthouses or restaurants.  Some offer transportation services to tourists and some have opened stores selling souvenirs.  Approximately another 10,000 labourers who originally did not reside in Pu-Tuo, have come to work in the island because of the tourism development and economic opportunities.  Most of them work in hotels and restaurants (Source: interview with an officer of the Pu-Tuo Government Tourist Office, held in December 2008).  As a result, Pu-Tuo is now endowed with modern tourism facilities, including hotels, restaurants, several scheduled maritime routes to neighbouring cities, and a tourist-oriented transport system on the island.

## 4.3 Rationale for Selecting Pu-Tuo as the Research Site

The religious features and natural attractiveness of Pu-Tuo result in the situation that, while some visitors are motivated by religion, others are leisure/cultural travellers and some are a mix of the two (Xia, 2007; Z. L. Yang, 2009; X. F. Zhao,

2004). According to the Pu-Tuo Government Tourist Office Statistics, Pu-Tuo received 4.65 million visitors in 2006, 5.26 million in 2007 and 5,255,800 visitors in 2008 (interview with an officer in the Pu-Tuo Tourist Bureau held in December 2008). Such a large number of visits is likely due to the cultural and historical significance of Pu-Tuo as well as to the fact that it is the most important Buddhist pilgrimage mountain in China due to the enormous popularity of Guan Yin, Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (C. F. Yu, 1992). On the one hand, considering the many apparitions and efficacious events that are believed to have taken place in Pu-Tuo, it is understandable that it would have its own unique religious appeal in attracting Buddhist pilgrims and worshippers. On the other hand, as Zhang et al. (2007) mention, there are many Han Chinese devoid of any religious belief who visit the monasteries and temples of China. They do not necessarily perceive monasteries and temples as holy but simply as interesting places with a rich historical and cultural background that are worthwhile to visit and that give them a 'sense of cultural depth' (M. Zhang et al., 2007, p. 105).

All these characteristics make Pu-Tuo an interesting and representative place for other religious sacred sites in China which have similar features. Therefore Pu-Tuo was selected as the site of this thesis for the focus of the research is to understand how Buddhist monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and tourism and how 'what used to be a tranquil Buddhist holy place' can cope with robust tourism development in contemporary China. The next sections describe the Pu-Tuo monastic community and its monasteries, shrines and nunneries.

## 4.4 The Pu-Tuo Monastic Community of Today

Today one finds at Pu-Tuo 28 Buddhist monasteries, nunneries and shrines that have been restored after 1979 and opened to the public. From private conversations

with monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo, as well as from archival research, it appears that today a total of approximately 1,089 monks and nuns live in the sacred site (Fang, 1995; L. X. Wang, 1999) and they constitute therefore a relatively large monastic community given that the size of Pu-Tuo is not large, only 12.5 square kilometres. For the sake of comparison, the Wu-Tai Sacred Mountain, another Buddhist sacred land in China, has an area of 2,837 square kilometres and currently about 3,000 monks and nuns live in Wu-Tai (Shi, 2009).   All the monasteries, nunneries and shrines of Pu-Tuo are managed by the Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association which formulated the general visitor management strategies adopted as well as the attribution of functions and roles to each monastery and nunnery.  For instance, the three largest and most popular monasteries at Pu-Tuo, the Pu-Ji Monastery, the Fa-Yu Monastery and the Wei-Ji Monastery offer Buddhist pujas and lectures to which lay people can participate while other monasteries and nunneries do not.   The Shuang Chuan Shrine is dedicated to hosting Buddhist workshops and intercultural exchange activities with other Buddhist associations.  The Fu Chan Shrine, site of the Pu-Tuo Buddhist Institute, is the internal training centre for monks and nuns and, according to the observations of the researcher, it is not frequented by visitors; details are presented in Chapter 8.

As mentioned in Section 2.2.2, many Chinese Buddhist monastic communities were for centuries based on the Buddhist Forest System which allowed the monks and nuns to engage in self-sustaining but not commercial activities.  After the economic reform policies initiated by Deng Xiao Ping in 1979, many important Buddhist monasteries and nunneries were included into the scope of tourism development (Bao & Bai, 2008; D. Zhao, 2009).  Monasteries and nunneries in China have since then been instructed to stop engaging in farming in order to present a clean, attractive environment for tourists (L. X. Wang, 1999).  Buddhist monasteries in China are now promoted as historical and cultural attractions rather than only as religious sacred places (C. Ryan & Gu, 2009a; M. Zhang et al., 2007; D. Zhao, 2009). The income source which sustains monastic life today consists mostly of the visitors'

donations, admission charges, fees that are generated by performing special Buddhist pujas for lay people, as well as the sales of Buddhist books and souvenirs related to Buddhism.  Large monasteries in Pu-Tuo have also adopted the practice of allowing lay people to stay overnight, in principle to participate in morning pujas. Guests have to register at the guest hall of a monastery in order to attend the puja that is held every day at 3:30 a.m. the next day.  Since the morning puja is held before dawn, by that time, the entrances to the monastery are not yet opened. Therefore, only those who have registered at least one day ahead can attend the morning puja and those registered participants have to stay overnight in the monastery in order to be able to access the Grand Hall of the monastery on time.

Those who choose to participate in a morning puja have a chance to experience the life inside a monastic cloister.  Each participant is charged 300 Yuans in total for the morning puja and one night's accommodation in a room located in the guest house of the monastery.  Breakfast is included.  According to the researcher's experience (she stayed in the Pu-Ji Monastery during her fieldtrips at Pu-Tuo in June and December 2008, and May and December 2009), while the accommodation provided by the monastery is definitely not a lavish one, it is certainly a comfortable lodging with basic, clean and tidy rooms.  There is no indication of how much of the 300 Yuans fee is an accommodation fee and how much is for attending the puja.

Allowing lay people to stay in a monastery and let them participate in the morning pujas was originally supposed to be an act of compassion: to take care of devout Buddhist pilgrims and worshippers who would want to stay in the monastery for religious and spiritual reasons.  However, from the researcher's own observations and private conversations with some monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo, she learnt that it is not unusual during July-September, which is the peak tourism season at Pu-Tuo, that some visitors who stay inside the monasteries in fact use them as cheap accommodation.  "Some may not attend the morning puja because the time is

relatively early for lay people; some simply want to get cheaper accommodation at Pu-Tuo and thus do not attend any puja at all." (Private conversation with a monk at the *Pu-Ji Monastery,* December 2008).  Such a comment is very similar to the concern raised by a guest master in the Abbey of Pluscarden, Scotland, as recorded in the hospitality study carried out by O' Gorman and MacPhee, "I spoke to Brother Gabriel about this.  The only thing that perhaps irritated him was people using the monastery as a one-night stop-off and treating the monk's hospitality as a bed-and-breakfast; this is disrespectful behaviour and it is understandable why Brother Gabriel takes this view" (O' Gorman & MacPhee, 2006, p. 19).

At Pu-Tuo, there is no rule set by the monastic community to select the kind of guests who are allowed to stay in the monasteries and to participate in morning pujas from those who are not.  Therefore the guests who stay in the monasteries of Pu-Tuo may include Buddhist pilgrims, devout worshippers or even curious secular tourists, or, those on a tight budget but utterly devoid of Buddhist belief.  By the same token, the participants who attend the morning pujas may include Buddhist pilgrims, worshippers and curious secular spectators.  It is unlike the situation of most European Catholic convents where "the guests who usually visit the monastery are priests taking time out from their daily routine for a period of reflection, meditation and relaxation or other people with other links to the monastic community.  The monastery is welcoming, but does not just open its doors to anyone" (O' Gorman & MacPhee, 2006, p. 19).

At Pu-Tuo, there are also no restrictions on what kinds of visitors are allowed to enter into the monasteries and nunneries generally.  The door is always open.  It is thus foreseeable that different visitors with different reasons for visiting and perceptions of the sacred place are likely to behave differently inside the Buddhist monasteries and nunneries.  On the one hand, there is a possibility that tourism development may induce some challenges for the monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo and,

yet, on the other hand, tourism may also be an important source of income to sustain the monasteries and the Pu-Tuo monastic community. How the monks and nuns of Pu-Tuo perceive receiving visitors and how Chinese Buddhist monasticism copes with such kind of modern challenges are issues worth noting. What are their management strategies that allow tourism while preserving a balance that lets them continue to live in the enlightened path? These questions are examined in this thesis in order to contribute to the knowledge about how tourism is perceived by the Buddhist monks and nuns. Answering those questions in the context of Pu-Tuo may help reflect the challenges that monks and nuns living in other pilgrimage sites and holy lands in today's China may be facing as well.

The next chapter discusses the research methodologies adopted to satisfy the two main objectives of this thesis, namely (1) to construct the typology of visitors; "Who visit Pu-Tuo", and (2) to understand the Pu-Tuo Buddhist monks' and nuns' perceptions towards receiving visitors and tourism and their visitor management strategies.

## Chapter 5: Research Methodology

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview and a justification of the research design adopted in this thesis. It discusses in particular the research paradigms that this thesis is grounded in, and the selected methods of data collection and analysis. The worldview adopted for this research is grounded in pragmatism, which is a "real-world practice" (Patton, 2002, p. 136) that allows more than one research paradigm and methodology to be adopted in a single piece of research (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2007; Patton, 2002). It is argued that the worldview(s) and assumption(s) about the nature of reality and knowledge that a researcher adopts in a particular research will have significant influence on the research design and the findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Hollinshead, 2004). The researcher also needs to take into account the nature of the investigated subjects and the purpose(s) of the research when selecting the research approach(es) (Clark & Creswell, 2008; Creswell & Clark, 2007; Diggins, 1994; Morgan, 2007). Taking into account the practicalities needed to successfully complete the research project, this thesis adopted two research approaches as being the most appropriate to address the two research objectives. The reasons for adopting these approaches are discussed below.

The first objective of this thesis, as explained in the previous chapters, is to generate a typology of visitors at Pu-Tuo while the second objective is to understand the perceptions of the Buddhist monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism at Pu-Tuo and to document their ways of dealing with visitors, if any. The visitor typology, as the first objective, describes who visit Pu-Tuo, what are their reasons for undertaking such a visit, what activities they participate in when they are in a

Buddhist site and what level of religious devotion they have.  It is a premise of the thesis that visitors having different reasons for visiting Pu-Tuo are likely to adopt different behaviour that may affect how they are perceived by the monks and nuns. By connecting the findings about the 'demand' (guests) and 'supply' (monks) sides, one will be able to generate a more comprehensive picture of who visits Pu-Tuo, on the basis of both the visitor survey and an account of the perceptions of the monks and nuns who have to cope with those visitors.  The second research objective throws light on how Buddhist monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and tourism and how they assess alternative strategies to manage visitors in their daily practice when they have, on the one hand, to preserve the safety and sanctity of the monasteries and, on the other, to satisfy the needs of the visitors.

## 5.2 The Paradigm of Pragmatism

Pragmatism derives from the work of Peirce, James, Mead, and Dewey (Cherryholmes, 1992; Creswell, 2003; Diggins, 1994).  It is a worldview that connects theory with praxis and is not grounded on any particular system of philosophy but rather on "action outcomes and the intended consequences" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 53).  Creswell says that "researchers should emphasise the research problem and use all approaches available to study it" (Creswell, 2003, p. 10). Creswell identifies four worldviews in social research: post-positivism, constructivism, the advocacy & participatory paradigm and pragmatism (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2007).  Morgan (2007, p. 61) praises the work of Creswell, saying that it is "a notable effort to extend the metaphysical paradigms standard list to include pragmatism".  The uniqueness of Creswell's categorisation is that, instead of viewing paradigms in the same way as Guba and Lincoln (2005), he points out the possibility of having mixed and multiple worldviews such that a researcher can use different paradigms, such as social constructivism and post-positivism paradigms, in the same piece of research.

Thus, using a combination of different paradigms and research methods in the same piece of research is grounded in pragmatic philosophy. Creswell says: "pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis in a single piece of research" (Creswell, 2003, p. 11). Due to the different nature of the two main research objectives of this thesis, there is a *prima facie* case for adopting a separate approach to achieve each one of them. By holding the worldview of pragmatism, which is a "real-world-practice approach" (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2007; Patton, 2002), this thesis adopts a quantitative survey approach grounded in a post-positivist paradigm to generate a visitor typology and a qualitative methods grounded in the interpretive-constructivism paradigm for the purpose of revealing the monastic members' perceptions of receiving visitors andtourism. The pragmatic perspective is adopted because it focuses on the research problems at hand and enables the researcher to use multiple paradigms and methods in a single piece of research (Clark & Creswell, 2008; Creswell, 2003; Morgan, 1998; Rossman & Wilson, 1985). The use of multiple methods can be found in a number of previous tourism and cultural studies (see Carr, 2004; Cave, Ryan, & Panakera, 2007; A. J. McIntosh, 1998).

The next section presents an overview of the different research paradigms and Section 5.4 provides a more detailed justification of the decision to use post-positivism to generalise a visitor typology at Pu-Tuo and interpretive-constructivism to reveal the monks' and perceptions and their ways to deal with visitors. The two core research objectives of this thesis are argued to require different research methodologies.

## 5.3 The Epistemological Options

There are many definitions of epistemology.  A common view of epistemology is that it is the belief that one holds towards the nature of reality, knowledge and values (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Goodson & Phillimore, 2004; Morgan, 2007).  In other words, it is the nature of the relationship between the researcher and what can be known of the researched subject.  Goodson and Phillimore (2004) describe epistemology as the examination of the nature of the relationship between the researcher and what can be known.  From this definition, one can approach the choice of epistemological assumptions about reality from different perspectives and those are commonly called paradigms.  Each paradigm has its own characteristics and underlying philosophical assumptions (Creswell, 2003).

The choice of a particular philosophical line of inquiry to approach a research question will eventually shape the research design and influence how the findings are reported.  For instance, Zweig (1948) conducted a comprehensive study about the income distribution and household consumptions of the working class in London after WWII by using what he calls "a new and unorthodox technique" (Zweig, 1948, p. 1), which was a qualitative interpretative approach that made use of casual conversations as the method of data collection.  Zweig explains that the same research questions could have been approached in a positivistic stance using statistical tools, as had been done in the past, but he takes the view that the outcomes from a statistical approach could show only the average expenditures on various goods and services, their dispersion and other statistical parameters, but may say little about how those labourers actually spend their income.  Zweig considers that "it was better to use a qualitative approach" which would reveal the individual story of each labourer rather than simply provide information about

income and consumption in a statistical form (Zweig, 1948, pp. 4-5).  Zweig produces a fascinating account of working class consumption that no amount of statistical material could have provided.  Zweig's work can be used to illustrate how the same research question can be studied by adopting different epistemological stances and research approaches.   It is thus of considerable importance to understand the different paradigms and their philosophical assumptions.

Arguably, since data cannot speak for themselves, an interpretation of the data is needed.  The worldview that the researcher adopts will thus not only influence how the research is designed but also how the data are interpreted.  Denzin and Lincoln (2005) have produced noteworthy work on different paradigms and on how each worldview is often associated with a certain research approach and method.  Denzin and Lincoln (2003, 2005) identify four major paradigms in social science research: (1) positivism and post-positivism, (2) the constructivist-interpretive paradigm, (3) critical theory and (4) the feminist-post-structural paradigm.   Guba and Lincoln (1994), argue that paradigms are of an axiomatic nature, because these metaphysics must be accepted on faith, as it is not possible to determine their ultimate truth value.   They classify paradigms into four main types: positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and constructivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, 1994).

In the following sections, four paradigms proposed by Guba and Lincoln (1994) are discussed: positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and constructivism.

## 5.3.1 Overview of Positivism

Positivism is the traditional paradigm of the natural sciences. According to its followers, science is characterised by empirical research. Positivists capture knowledge by falsifying hypotheses on the basis of data generated from the observed variables in order to refute or confirm an existing theory, as well as to identify the cause-and-effect relationships between the variables of the study (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Datta, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

In social sciences, positivists test hypotheses broadly to see if they apply to large groups of people. Their research findings can be utilised to establish facts or laws because the findings are results generated from testing hypotheses on a sample that contains observations of variables from a large population and thus allows the building of a model, a representation of a situation (Creswell, 2003; Render, Stair, & Hanna, 2006; C. Ryan, 1995b). Any knowledge that cannot be scientifically and statistically verified is not considered true science in this paradigm. Regarding methodology, the verification of hypotheses is mostly done using quantitative methods (Creswell, 2003).

Regarding the power relation between the researcher and the researched in the social sciences, a positivist researcher has the tendency to be manipulative, authoritative and to adopt the position of an expert in the research process. The research design is usually pre-defined by the researcher before going out for data collection and the data collected are used to support or refute a theory formulated beforehand; the findings of the research are considered to be true and "verified hypotheses become facts or laws" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). The researched play a relatively passive role in the sense that they respond to the pre-defined instrument, such as a questionnaire that has been constructed by the researcher. In tourism research, the positivism paradigm is commonly adopted in areas that focus

on forecasting tourism trends and economic development at tourist destinations, marketing and other areas that are easily amenable to a quantitative approach (Datta, 1994; J. K. Smith, 1983). The predictions are often used by local governments as parameters to facilitate decisions and resource allocation (see CLSA, 2005; Ministry of Tourism NZ, 2010; Seddighi & Shearing, 1997; Xu & Kruse, 2003; W. Zhang, 1997).

### 5.3.2 Overview of Post-Positivism

This paradigm is similar to positivism and both of them are widely used in tourism research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, 2005; Goodson & Phillimore, 2004; Jamal & Everett, 2007). There are differences though. Post-positivism is generally regarded as being less rigid than positivism. Followers of this metaphysic still adopt the assumption that knowledge is afar from the researcher and exists externally and independently, as in positivism. However post-positivists admit that there is a probability that there might be other truths that can also explain reality and that, therefore, it is difficult to fully capture 'the' truth. Yet, knowledge and reality can still be approximately comprehended. Post-positivists still endeavour to capture knowledge as much as possible by taking the imperfectly and probabilistically apprehensible approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Guba & Lincoln, 2004; Riley & Love, 2000).

Both positivism and post-positivism emphasise that research should be undertaken on a ground of objectivity and should be free from individual biases. But post-positivism accepts that knowledge is only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehensible (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 203). Nevertheless a rigorous analytical procedure is still carefully applied to capture and validate generalised knowledge, to see how the data support or refute an existing theory and thus this paradigm is also usually associated with quantitative methods, though qualitative methods may

occasionally be used (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2007; Datta, 1994; Echtner & Jamal, 1997; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Render et al., 2006; C. Ryan, 1995b; Walle, 1997; X. Yu & Weiler, 2001).

The post-positivist paradigm works better when the research problems hinge on knowing the frequency of occurrence of certain phenomena, the prediction of future trends, the generalisation of a model as representation of reality and the correlation between several observed variables (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2007; C. Ryan, 1995b). The epistemological assumptions of this paradigm are more appropriate for addressing the first research objective of this thesis, which is to generate a visitor typology which reveals, through a survey, what kinds of people visit Pu-Tuo on the basis of their stated reasons for their visits, preferred activities and their strength of religious belief. It is because the typology is not meant to reflect "universal facts or laws" in the spirit of positivism, but may suggest a characterisation of the population of visitors to Chinese sacred sites similar to Pu-Tuo. A piece of research of a similar nature, also grounded in post-positivism, though it is a cultural tourism study rather than a religious tourism study, is the 'cultural tourism typology' created by McKercher (2002, p. 32) using 'centrality of purpose' and 'depth of experience' as the core dimensions and the model was empirically tested in a Hong Kong case study, where 2,066 tourists were surveyed (McKercher, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2003).

### 5.3.3 Overview of Critical Theory

The basic assumption of the critical theory paradigm as an approach to study the social world is that society is structured and manipulated by those holding a power historically acquired, and that they impose the structured and the organised constructs and settings that have gradually been developed as the norms and values of a society (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Critical theorists embrace the assumption that

society is controlled and shaped by a hidden power structure that is "in a position to exploit and subjugate the powerless and the minorities" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 304). A researcher adopting this paradigm will go into the research site with certain presuppositions and he/she will aim to use the research findings to help bring about changes for the participants; thus, at this level, external knowledge or presuppositions are inevitably brought into the research setting (Patton, 2002). At the same time, the researcher involves the participants as active members in the research. Knowledge is thereby acquired on the ground of subjectivism through negotiations with the participants about an interpretation of the situation (an interactive process). Guba and Lincoln (2005) make the following comment about the critical theorists' epistemological perspective:

> "Rather than locating foundational truth and knowledge in some external reality 'out there', such critical theorists tend to locate the foundations of truth in specific historical, economic, racial, and social infrastructures of oppression, injustice and marginalization. Knowers are not portrayed as separate from some objective reality, but may be cast as unaware actors in such historical realities (false consciousness) (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 204).

Critical theory is today more often associated with the qualitative approach than with the quantitative one because the research methodology of critical theory is dialogical and dialectical and means to address neglected or concealed problems in a society. The depth of the research lies in the richness of individual discourses (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Datta, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). The adoption of this paradigm is meant to provide insights into the research problems and, if possible, to introduce transformative intellectual praxis that could at least raise some concerns for the social issues at stake, so that the society could be changed for the better and those who were subjugated would feel more empowered and liberated (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). Yet not much existing religious or cultural tourism research is

grounded in this paradigm, with the exception of some work on 'enclave tourism' where researchers investigate the domination by foreign capital of tourism in under-developed and developing countries, resulting in their political and socio-economic dependency on the rich countries (Britton, 1982; Mbaiwa, 2005; Oppermann, 1993).

The two main objectives of this thesis are unrelated to any concern about emancipation from power or proposal for political changes; rather this thesis aims to generate a visitor typology at Pu-Tuo in order to understand the religious tourism that is taking place in China as well as to reveal how Buddhist monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and tourism.  Thereby the epistemological stance of the critical theory paradigm does not seem to be in line with the nature of the research objectives of the present work and, thus, this paradigm was not adopted.

### 5.3.4 Overview of Constructivism

Unlike positivism, for which the nature of reality exists independently of human perceptions, constructivism takes the view that there are multiple realities and that knowledge exists in the minds of the researched.  Thereby, knower and knowledge cannot be separated.  As Guba and Lincoln (2005) say: "if knowledge of the social world resides in meaning-making mechanisms of the social, mental, and linguistic worlds that individuals inhabit, then knowledge cannot be separate from the knower, but rather is rooted in his or her mental or linguistic designations of that world" (2005, p. 202).  The understanding of a certain phenomenon is thus formed by the participants' subjective views, their social interactions with others and their personal histories.

When adopting the constructivist paradigm, researchers make use of the participants' views to build themes, patterns and produce a theory that explains

how the research phenomenon is perceived by the participants (Patton, 2002). From an epistemological perspective, for research undertaken on such a background of subjectivism, only close interactions with participants can enable the researcher to comprehend the phenomena. Seen from this angle, knowledge or truth is in fact co-produced by the researcher and the researched. During the interaction process, the researcher may articulate to the participants some issues not previously considered by the latter, and the interaction process can be a catalyst for generating or modifying the truth. Sale, Lohfeld & Brazil (2002) further elaborate on the role of the constructivist researcher as a catalyst to co-construct the truth together with the participants. They comment:

> "The investigator and the object of study are interactively linked so that findings are mutually created within the context of the situation which shapes the inquiry" (Sale et al., 2002, p. 45).

For researchers who adopt the constructivist paradigm as the epistemological foundation of their research, a qualitative approach is usually used (Creswell, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Riley & Love, 2000). The intent is to learn from research participants about their contemporary understanding of a certain phenomenon. Since different individuals may provide different interpretations, this may lead to many diverse and complex responses. Researchers in this case focus on learning a single phenomenon in depth, and whatever the knowledge generated, it reflects only a part of reality.

Constructivists adopt different kinds of strategies to get closer to the participants. Typically, researchers visit participants where they are located in order to collect data. Since the intent of this worldview is to understand the participants' perceptions, establishing a high level of interaction and relationship will not be seen as contamination of or interference with the research. To the contrary, it is viewed as necessary for the purpose of getting close to the participants in order to generate

rich descriptions from their subjective views (Creswell, 2003; Decrop, 2004; Patton, 2002).  The contribution of this paradigm is to engender a deep comprehension of the contextual meanings of a certain phenomenon, in which the knowledge generated is made valuable by all involved in the research.  The researcher thereby unearths one of the many truths on the basis of the meanings as interpreted by both the researcher and the researched (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Sallaz, 2008; White, 2007).  This is important and useful, in particular, in research which aims to understand the meanings of the behaviour of the researched.

In this thesis, the second research objective is to understand the perceptions of the Buddhist monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism at Pu-Tuo.  It is argued that in order to achieve this research objective, the qualitative methodological approach adopted is more appropriately grounded in the interpretive-constructivist paradigm than in any other.  This is because "there are issues that are known only by the ones who are living in the research setting" (Crotty 1988, p. 43) and they are the only ones who can share how they feel about receiving visitors and tourism.  In addition, such an approach will allow Buddhism metaphors to emerge.  The Buddhism spirit may have an influence on the perceptions of monks and nuns and will, to a certain extent, affect how they perceive tourism and visitors.  This paradigm allows the informants to share with the researcher how they think about receiving visitors and tourism by seeing through their own lens and using their own words (Patton, 2002).  Therefore, taking into consideration the nature of the second research objective of this thesis leads one to select the constructivist paradigm as the most relevant and appropriate one to achieve this objective.  Research grounded in constructivism paradigm can be found in many previous tourism and cultural studies (K. B. Chan, 2005; A. J. McIntosh, Zygadlo, & Matunga, 2004; Ong, 1987; C. Ryan & Martin, 2001; Schanzel & McIntosh, 2000; Shi, 2009).

## 5.4 Combining Methodological Approaches - Pragmatism

In view of the pragmatic research paradigm which emphasises the workability and the fitness of the research approaches to the nature of the research questions, a combination of different worldviews and methodological approaches can be adopted in a single research, which can offset the limitations of using a single paradigm and a research approach (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Diggins, 1994).

In this thesis, in order to satisfy the first research objective, a quantitative methodological approach grounded in the post-positivism paradigm (see Section 4.3.2) is adopted to generate a visitor typology. A quantitative methodological approach allows the generalisation of the observable facts to model a representation of reality. A model so generated is an abstraction of reality that represents the investigated phenomena, and it is used to explain and predict how the existing reality operates (Creswell, 2003; Datta, 1994; J. K. Smith, 1983). Likewise, to satisfy the second research objective which reveals the perceptions of Buddhist monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism as well as their ways to deal with visitors, a qualitative methodological approach grounded in interpretive constructivism is adopted (see Section 4.3.4). It is because a qualitative methodological approach grounded in the constructivism paradigm focuses on the contextual data and thus a deeper understanding of how monks and nuns think about tourism is achieved through dialogical interactions during the research process (Bryman, 1988; Creswell, 2003; Patton, 2002; Riley, 1996; Walle, 1997).

While the quantitative methodological approach must be concerned with the number of respondents being large enough to allow meaningful statistical analysis, the qualitative methodological approach must instead be concerned with the depth and richness of the contextual data. Researchers taking the latter approach often focuses on relatively few individuals because "more individuals participating in a

study means that the researcher will obtain less depth from each participant" (Creswell & Clark, 2007, p. 30). Saturation in the process of data collection is perceived when the content given by an extra participant makes no difference to the understanding of the research phenomenon; the researcher will then stop interviewing further participants (Holliday, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Silverman, 2005). Therefore research grounded in a qualitative constructivist approach uses a scientific benchmark different from the one of a quantitative research (Decrop, 2004).

Since qualitative data are context oriented, subjectivity is essential and legitimated, and, importantly, contextual data are not to be quantified (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Both Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp. 301-328) and Decrop (2004, p. 159) thus propose "trustworthiness" as a qualitative analogue to the combination of the concepts of validity and reliability in a quantitative research. According to Decrop (2004), trustworthiness can be measured by four dimensions: "credibility", "transferability", "dependability" and "confirmability" (Decrop, 2004, pp. 159-160).

Regarding credibility, Patton (2002) advocates that qualitative researchers should reinforce the strength of the evidence of the data collected by presenting the summaries of findings to key participants of the study and asking them if what is written properly reflects their understandings that the researcher has tried to capture during the process of data collection. Credibility in this thesis was achieved through audio-recorded the in-depth thematic interviews with Buddhist monks and nuns and the data collected from the fieldwork were written down and kept in the researcher's journal. Yet, asking monks and nuns to check the researcher's notes not only may disturb their monastic life, but also clash with the culture of Buddhism which emphasises trust and self-discipline. Nevertheless, repeating the core messages and asking clarification questions to monks and nuns were undertaken

during the interviews and this provided sufficient opportunities for the monks and nuns to confirm or correct immediately what was understood by the researcher before a final version of the statements was written down in the researcher's journal.

Transferability, as noted by Decrop is, "associated with external validity, the researcher gives details about the context of the study, integrates findings with existent literature and describes how related objects are similar" (2004, p. 159). In this thesis, transferability was facilitated by generating thick descriptions of the activities and behaviour that were recorded during the data collection. Data were then thematically organised into main themes and sub-themes which correspond to the research objectives. Undoubtedly, how thick or thin the resulting description is depends on the willingness of the monks and nuns to share much or little with the researcher. The researcher experienced that, in general, the monks and nuns were willing to share their personal understandings of the research phenomena with the researcher. Each interview with an informant lasted approximately one hour. Repeat visits were made to some of the same informants and each visit was carefully audio-recorded and then written down by hand in the researcher's journal. Dependability is related to reliability (Decrop, 2004, p. 159), and it was achieved by keeping track of the details of the conduct of the research, including the dates and times of the fieldtrips and the locations of the interviews made, together with the informants' personal details. Confirmability was achieved through auditing the research process and carefully keeping records of the conduct of the research, such as hand-written notes, tapes and transcribed data that were securely kept by the researcher.

The methods of data collection adopted in this thesis essentially included the use of self-completion questionnaires to construct a visitor typology and of thematic

interviews with monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo to study their perceptions of receiving visitors and tourism. Each method is discussed below.

## 5.5 The Quantitative Analysis of Visitors

### 5.5.1 Quantitative Data Collection - Survey

A structured self-completion survey was developed as a statistical instrument to satisfy the first research objective of this thesis: to generate a visitor typology of Pu-Tuo. Previous research on religious tourism and pilgrimage (see Chapter 3) related to the motivational and behavioural patterns of the visitors contributed to the design of the survey questions. It is important to note that since the first objective aims to reveal "Who visit Pu-Tuo" by generating a typology of visitors and since the thesis is not meant to be a general motivational study, therefore the existing motivational scales (such as Beard and Ragheb, 1983; Ryan and Glendon, 1998), see section 3.1.3, from the non-pilgrimage literature were not used to inform the design of the questionnaire, but a number of pilgrimage studies due to the lack of a comprehensive scale available that can fit with the specific religious context of Pu-Tuo (see Table 1). The questionnaire comprises three sections. The first section relates to the current visit to Pu-Tuo and focuses on (a) the reasons for the visit, (b) the relative importance to the respondent of various activities while in Pu-Tuo and his/her actual behaviour during the stay and (c) a self-assessment of the respondent's level of belief in Buddhism. The second section relates to past pattern of visitation. The third section relates to socio-demographic information. An English translation of the questionnaire, whose original is in Chinese, can be found in Appendix 1.

The selection of questions and variables was in particular based on the following. A review of the literature suggested that questions on reasons for the visit, actual

participation in different activities on site as well as strength of religious belief are factors commonly used to differentiate visitors at religious sacred sites (Bremer, 2004, 2006; Cohen, 1979; Eade, 1992; Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Poria et al., 2003; Shackley, 2001, 2002, 2006; Shi, 2009; V. L. Smith, 1992).  As a result, three scales were developed in the questionnaire corresponding to variables meant to measure these three constructs.  The 14 items under Question 3 in the questionnaire were used to construct the scale of reasons for visits.  The 14 items under Question 9 refer to the importance of activities in Pu-Tuo and the 18 items under Question 26 measure the visitor's strength of belief in Buddhism.  Some published research advocates the travel patterns and the fact that pilgrims' journey towards the centre of their faith as important factors to differentiate visitors at sacred sites (Cohen, 1992; Eliade, 1968; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Rinschede, 1992), and thus the questionnaire also includes questions on those issues.

As a result, the combined use of reasons for visits, importance of activities, actual behaviour and the strength of belief in Buddhism, as well as the researcher's personal Buddhist upbringing and familiarity with the research site, were all incorporated into the questionnaire design in an effort to generate a visitor typology.  Table 1 below summarises how specific previous research was used as a source of inspiration to formulate questions asked in the survey.

**Table 1: Main Literature that Contributed to the Design of the Questionnaire**

| Sections of the survey | Focus | Question number in the questionnaire | Previous research |
|---|---|---|---|
| I) Current visit | a) Motives for the visit | 1, 2, 3, 7, 13, 14, 27 | • Krenier and Kilot's (2000) empirical research about the motivations of Catholics and Protestants undertaking pilgrimage.<br>• Cohen's five types of tourist experience (1979).<br>• Smith (1992) suggests the polarities of pilgrims and tourists.<br>• Shackley's (2001, 2002) study of different religious motivations for undertaking a pilgrimage.<br>• The researcher's understanding of Buddhism. |
| | b) Relative importance of activities and actual behaviours | 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 | • Shackley's (2001, 2002, 2006) study of activities and behaviours of visitors at religious/sacred sites.<br>• Rinschede (1992) presents the different forms of religious tourism in terms of travel patterns.<br>• Poria, Butler and Airey's (2003) study about the factors that induce differences in behaviour at sacred sites.<br>• Nolan and Nolan (1992) discuss the activities and behaviour of pilgrims and tourists at religious sites in Europe.<br>• Buddhist ought-to-do practices (Hsingyun, 2005; Karmapa, 2008; Too, 2003).<br>• The researcher's understanding of Pu-Tuo. |
| | c) A self assessment of the strength of belief in Buddhism | 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 25, 26 | • Eliade's "Centre of the World" theory (1968) suggests that pilgrimages are for religious men to journey to the centre of the world.<br>• Cohen's "Pilgrimage Centre: Cocentric and Excentric" theory (1992, 2002a) suggests that the perceived distance to and location of the sacred places can be the differentiating factors between a religious and a non-religious visitor.<br>• Krenier and Kilot's (2000) empirical research about the devotion to and understanding of a religion as criteria to differentiate a pilgrim from a tourist.<br>• Shackley's (2001) about visitors' possible intrusions and impacts on religious/sacred sites.<br>• Poria, Butler and Airey's (2003) study about the role of strength of religious belief. |
| II) Past visit | Patterns of visitation | 28, 29, 30 | • Repeat visits as a predictor of behaviour. |
| III) Socio-demographic | | 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 | • Used to profile respondents for analysis. |

The self-completion questionnaires were distributed with the help of local tourist information staff in the departure hall of the Ferry Terminal (the only point of exit of Pu-Tuo), which insured that the respondents would have completed their current visit to the island.  Convenience sampling was used in the sense that tourists who were not occupied and appeared to have free time were chosen at random and approached.  The data collection took place between May 2009 and February 2010; the researcher did some of the data collection herself in December 2009 and January 2010.  Lacking knowledge of the socio-demographic characteristics and behaviour of visitors at Pu-Tuo, the researcher could not use stratified or quota samplings.  The time periods of the distribution of the questionnaires covered both the peak and off-season period of a year; some of the dates had a special significance for those of the Buddhist faith while others did not.  The dates of data collection included the lunar New Year (February), the golden week (May), the summer break for school children (July and August) and the three birthdays (in February, June and September) of the Bodhisattva of Compassion; these are the peak periods of visitation for Pu-Tuo.  It also included periods in November, December (there is no Christmas celebration in Pu-Tuo) and January, which covered the off-season at Pu-Tuo.  In all 2,000 copies of the questionnaire were printed and a thousand copies were distributed with an expectation that 500 valid questionnaires would be collected.  Eventually, 777 valid completed questionnaires were obtained. The sample size obtained thus met the minimum suggested by Salant and Dillman (1994) and Hair et al. (2010) to perform statistically significant tests.  Yet, not all 777 completed questionnaires were used in the statistical analysis; an explanation for this is given in Section 6.1.


A pilot survey using a first version of the questionnaire was made during the period of 24th to 30th of December 2008.  The purpose was to test the appropriateness of the questions to determine whether improvements were called for (Floyd, 1998;

Hair, Bush, & Ortineau, 2006). The importance of the pilot survey is to find out whether the original set of questions is useful for the research purpose. Therefore, to achieve this, the researcher adopted a face to face survey approach. There were 19 pilot questionnaires administrated. The researcher found that some of the original questions were inappropriate and did not serve the purpose of the study. As a result, ambiguities were removed and modifications were made. The final version of the questionnaire was then again tested by adopting the face to face survey approach, and 16 valid questionnaires were collected during May 2009 before the main period of data collection commenced. The result indicated that the improved version of the questionnaire was an appropriate instrument for the purpose of constructing a visitor typology. The pilot survey was thus instrumental in helping to generate a better and more purposeful questionnaire (Floyd, 1998; Salant & Diliman, 1994).

## 5.5.2 Quantitative Data Analysis

The collected data were coded and inputted into SPSS and various bivariate and multivariate tests were performed. Descriptive statistics were generated to depict the general profile of the sample regarding the socio-demographic background, travel patterns and level of religiosity of the respondents. Exploratory Factor Analysis was performed to present the main constructs being measured by the three scales developed in the questionnaire. The first scale relates to the importance of reasons for visits, the second one to the importance of alternative activities on the island, and the third one to the strength of belief in Buddhism. Reliability tests were performed beforehand in order to ensure internal consistency, that is to insure that the different variables within each scale are highly correlated with each other (Hair et al., 2010; C. Ryan & Glendon, 1998).

Afterwards, a cluster analysis was performed to generate a visitor typology. Hair et al. (2010) say that "Cluster analysis is a method for quantifying the structural characteristics of a set of observations" (2010, p. 504). Cluster analysis can be divided into two main types: the hierarchical and the non hierarchical methods. Hierarchical method sequentially connects the two most similar observations from the data to form a cluster and eventually it will produce a tree-shaped hierarchical structure with lines connecting all the observations. However this classification method is not good at dealing with a large dataset with many observations (Hair et al., 2010). In this thesis, a non-hierarchical clustering method was adopted. The most common non-hierarchical clustering algorithm is known as K-means clustering and it works by "allocating the data into a user-specified number of clusters and then iteratively reassigning observations to the pre-determined number of clusters" (Hair et al., 2010, p. 512). The purpose of performing K-means clustering is to minimise the distance of observations from one another within a cluster and to maximise the distance between the clusters.

There is no absolute rule to prescribe the number of clusters that one should adopt and thus subjective judgments need to be made. In this thesis, a five cluster solution appeared to be appropriate on the ground that it produced evenly distributed number of cases across the clusters without over-generalised. Hair et al. (2010) suggest that the ultimate aim of performing clustering analysis is to group all the observations to the relevant subsets while still presenting the complexities of reality in a simple, condensed but manageable way. Having many clusters certainly can better and more precisely reflect the complexities of the reality but it also counteracts the original purpose of performing cluster analysis, which is, "to get the simplest structure possible that still represents homogeneous groupings of the sample" (Hair et al., 2010, p. 492).

Nevertheless Hair et al. (2010) suggest that "researchers should perform statistical tests to validate whether the chosen number of cluster solution is appropriate" (Hair et al., 2010, p. 535). Cluster analysis is not amenable to statistical inference, and a canonical discriminant analysis was thus performed for this purpose (Hair et al., 2010, p. 239). The 'combined groups plot' generated by performing discriminant analysis helps indicate two important issues which can validate the appropriateness of the number of clusters by showing to what extend the centroid (group mean) of each cluster is apart from the centroids of the other clusters as well as how closely the observations are clustered together in the sense that the observations belonging to one cluster are not overly intertwined with the observations belonging to other clusters. As Hair et al. say, "The resulting clusters of objects should exhibit high internal homogeneity and high external heterogeneity. If the process is successful, the objects within clusters will be close together when plotted geometrically, and different clusters will be far apart" (Hair et al., 2010, p. 540). Discriminant analysis is thus a relevant and effective statistical technique to check the appropriateness of the chosen number of clusters. In this thesis, a five clusters solution was found to be appropriate to represent the population of interest. The visitor typology was developed by cross-tabulating cluster membership with variables not used to construct the clusters, and some of those variables were found to be discriminatory, meaning that they were significantly associated with cluster membership according to either Chi-square test for nominal data or ANOVA test for interval data. Those procedures are explained in detail in Chapter 6.

## 5.6 The Qualitative Analysis of Monastic Members

### 5.6.1 Qualitative Data Collection - Thematic Interviews

The second research objective of this thesis is to reveal the perceptions of Buddhist monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism as well as their ways to deal with visitors. Thematic interviews were used as the relevant data collection method

to achieve this objective because such a method allows rich contextual data to be revealed through interactions and conversations between the researched and the researcher (Creswell, 2003; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2005), see Section 5.3.4. Previous tourism studies adopting such a research approach were found to allow the informants to express their perceptions and experiences from their own perspectives and in their own words (A. J. McIntosh, 1998; A. J. McIntosh et al., 2004; C. Ryan, 1995a; C. Ryan & Martin, 2001; Schanzel & McIntosh, 2000).

A thematic interview is, in the words of Kahn and Cannell, "a conversation with a purpose" (1957, p. 149).  Patton (2002) suggests that having some basic pre-defined themes related to the research objectives(s) will help both the researcher and the researched to stay focused during the research process; yet the interviewer is still "free to explore, probe and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject.  Therefore the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area that has been predetermined" (Patton, 2002, pp. 343-344).  In this thesis, the monks' and nuns' perceptions towards receiving visitors and tourism as well as their ways to deal with visitors were revealed and recorded through conducting thematic interviews.  The main questions that guided the interviews were as follows:

- Who do you think are the people who come to Pu-Tuo and what do they do when they are inside a monastery/nunnery?
- How do you feel about receiving visitors in your monastery/nunnery?
- How do you feel about having tourism at Pu-Tuo?
- Can you share with me some experiences you had in dealing with visitors?

These main questions were developed on the basis of the need to address the second research objective; they were not deductively derived from any particular model, though the researcher's prior theoretical understanding of the phenomenon

under study may have influenced the choice of questions (Holliday, 2007; G. W. Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Probing questions emerged according to the instantaneous context of the conversations for the purpose of clarifications of some specific statements of the informants or to elicit a deeper understanding (Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2005). It is because not all the interviewed monastic members explained the 'why' of their answers to some key questions asked in the interview. For instance, some monks and nuns may simply have stated that they feel that "it is good to have tourism at Pu-Tuo", without offering further explanation. The researcher would then ask a probing question to elicit the rationale for the response.

The interviews were all individually conducted. This was to allow the researcher to pay close attention to what every informant shared in the interviews and be able to record as many details as possible. Additional considerations were the protection of the informants' privacy and the creation of a more comfortable atmosphere for them to share their views. The adoption of individual interviews rather than group interviews or the use of focus group discussions was also due to the consideration of the special culture of Buddhism. Buddhists are taught not to compete, or argue, or be pushy, either in their mind or in their behaviour (Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2007; Hsingyun, 1959, 2005; Karmapa, 2008). They are supposed to be gentle and calm in their mind and in their form of expression. Buddhist monks' and nuns' mentality is to avoid profiling themselves and thus not to strive to be heard in a group discussion. If it was in a group setting, many will likely not join the discussion at all but simply listen quietly. Moreover it is not appropriate in the Buddhist culture for a monastic member to discuss publicly someone else's behaviour in a negative way, such as visitors' misbehaviour and potential tensions (if any) created by tourism. Given this mentality of the informants, having group discussions would have greatly limited the potential depth of contextual data that the researcher would have been able to collect. Monks and nuns may have shared little if the interview setting had

been to put many monks and nuns together for a discussion, assuming that they would have been willing to participate at all.

As a result, twenty five monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo were approached and agreed to participate individually in the interviews.  Monsk and nuns were interviewed on the basis of convenience sampling in the sense that monks and nuns who were not occupied and appeared to have free time were approached.  Informants attached to large monasteries and nunneries, as well as small and remotely located ones were included.  There were nineteen monks and six nuns who contributed to this thesis. The informants had been living in Pu-Tuo for periods ranging from two to thirty years and their ages ranged from 20 to over 80.  The sample of informants included junior monks and nuns who guard the halls of the monasteries and nunneries; monks who are in charge of offering Buddhist interpretation service in a monastery; monks who take care of the registration of visitors wishing to attend pujas; teachers who deliver Buddhist lectures to pilgrims and teach at the local Buddhist Institute; abbots and senior monks who oversee the monasteries.  The interviews were audio-recorded and lasted for an hour on average, with some lasting several hours.  Many interviews took place inside or just outside the halls or in the courtyards of monasteries and nunneries where the researcher was invited to sit next to the monks and nuns.  Many of the monks and nuns interviewed were on guard duty. Occasionally the researcher was invited in and served tea in meeting rooms inside the monasteries and nunneries; this typically happened when she interviewed senior monks and nuns, like abbots or vice-abbots.

The researcher stopped soliciting more interviews when she felt that a level of saturation had been reached (Creswell, 2003; Ezzy, 2002; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Holliday, 2007; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2005).  After 18 in-depth interviews were completed, the researcher started to find much similarity and consistencies in the responses of the monks and nuns and certain common themes were quite apparent

already.  The researcher conducted a few more interviews and noticed that the new interviewees introduced nothing that had not been mentioned by previous participants.  The researcher therefore stopped interviewing new monks and nuns after 25 in-depth interviews were made.  The key questions presented above were used to guide the interviews.

Although the qualitative methodology adopted in this thesis is interview-based and is not an observation-based evaluation research, "naturalistic observations" (Patton, 2002) were also recorded in the researcher's journal.  Particularly the researcher felt a need to record the non-verbal responses (if any) of monks and nuns during the interviews as well as during the Buddhist pujas to visitors' behaviours and such observations were noted in the researcher's journal as part of the observations naturally occurring in the fieldtrips.  Some qualitative studies report that observations and interviews are complementary methods (Ezzy, 2002; O' Reilly, 2005; Patton, 2002).  In this thesis, observational data were primarily used to describe the on-site visitor management methods implemented by the Buddhist monasteries and nunneries.  Furthermore, naturalistic observations were integrated as part of the data recorded during the thematic interviews.  In this vein, the researcher observed the instant responses of monks and nuns during the interviews and was, as well, able to capture how they reacted when occasionally the interviews were interrupted by visitors' inquiries and/or when they intervened to prevent visitors from doing something contentious.  The richness of these first-hand experiences and impressions complemented the interview notes and allowed the researcher to acquire a holistic and extensive base for data analysis and interpretation (Holliday, 2007).

### 5.6.2 Gaining Trust

The determinant of success for the qualitative part of this thesis is whether the researcher can gather the richness of the contextual data recording the informants' perceptions of receiving visitors and tourism. This kind of contextual data may involve personal experiences of what the Buddhist monks and nuns have to deal with in real life. Their experiences with the visitors may include both happy and unhappy or challenging moments and the latter may lead them to express some negative feelings towards receiving visitors and tourism. The nature of the potential responses thus requires trust and rapport to be established between the researcher and the researched, or else the researcher may only collect superficial or even suspect discourses from the informants. This is because there are different levels of trust which can affect what kind of information an individual decides to share with an outsider (Fetterman, 1989). The *Johari Window* invented by Joseph Luft and Harry Ingham in 1955, describes the process of human interactions and of the circumstances under which one will reveal one's own personal secrets to others. This theory divides personal awareness into four different types: the "open", the "blind", the "hidden" and the "unknown", of which the "open" and the "hidden" areas correspond to different levels of trust being required in different phases of human interactions. The "open" area represents information that I both know about myself and leave open for others to know. Usually information of this type consists of factual and descriptive data; no salient meaning or personal secret information is involved (Duen, 1999; Kelly & McKillop, 1996). When a researcher first approaches a research participant, the level of interaction is usually not deep and is within the "open" area; the degree of openness of this area depends on the amount of time allowed for disclosing information, as well as on how the researcher communicates with the participant.

There is a huge amount of information concealed in the "hidden" area such as personal life history, secret information, intimate details and traumatic experiences. Participants will not easily open this "hidden" area until trust and rapport are established with the researcher. Ryan and Martin (2001) present an example to

demonstrate the difference between before and after gaining trust from strippers who were their research informants.  Before gaining trust from the participants, the authors note that "inconsistencies were recorded in the stories told" (C. Ryan & Martin, 2001, p. 145).  The authors nevertheless explain in the paper that the data were not suspect, but represented truths for that stage of the relationship that research participants were comfortable with.  Only after working over a period of time with the participants, were trust and rapport successfully established and provided an access for the researchers to understand the inner world of the strippers that was originally closed to them.  In other words, the opening of the hidden area symbolises the real beginning of a circle of constructing and interpreting meanings about the studied phenomena by both the researcher and the researched.  It is the researched who chooses whether or not to engage in the meaning-constructing process and only when trust is established, will genuine detailed information from the salient level of the participants be disclosed.  This may help explain why paradigms associated with the quantitative approach are strong in collecting data on observable variables from large number of individuals because those data are usually from the "open" area, but are weak in capturing the salient contextual discourses (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Morgan, 1998; C. Ryan, 1995b).

Each interaction between the researcher and the researched serves as a catalyst to generate meaning, to continue the cycle of further interpretations and constructions of meanings about the study phenomena.  Yet it can also be a step leading to the intermission or even cessation of the research process if the researched feels that the threat of revealing further becomes overwhelming, or that the sores from untouchable past experiences are too painful to overcome at that moment.  Kelly and McKillop say, "Revealing secrets involves risks, such as the possibility of being rejected by and alienated from the listener" (1996, p. 450).  Furthermore, some informants might fear that the information will be passed on to the police/authority or any party hostile to the participant.  He/she may also be afraid that the pledge of anonymity will not be respected (Akeroyd, 1984; Fetterman, 1989; Sallaz, 2008;

White, 2007).  Therefore, to obtain the breakthrough and access to the "hidden" area, establishing trust and rapport is crucial for the success of a study.

A researcher needs to build trust with the research participants on the basis of honesty, and promise confidentiality whenever the need arises.  The participants will also evaluate "if the researcher is trustworthy" during the process of interactions (Fetterman, 1989, p. 132).  Nevertheless trust cannot be created instantly.  Time and patience are needed in order to gain a deep level of trust and go beyond the 'on-guard' level of the participants (C. Ryan & Martin, 2001).  Previous studies suggest that repeat visits and/or long duration of stay in the research area where the researched lives may help the researcher to build trust (Fetterman, 1989; Van Maanen, 1988).  The researcher did in the course of the conduct of her fieldworks at Pu-Tuo establish a good relationship with a number of monks and nuns, possibly due to repeat visits and stays in the monasteries that provided time and opportunities for the monks and nuns to observe the researcher, as well as allowed both parties to get familiar with each other. The Buddhist identity of the researcher also provided her with some advantage in gaining trust of the informants without difficulties.

The researcher was lucky enough to be at once welcomed by a few of the senior monks and nuns who oversee the monasteries and nunneries.  The researcher always paid genuine respect to them and appeared to represent no threat to the informants which also helped in gaining trust from them.  The junior monks and nuns gained the confidence to talk to the researcher afterwards.  All were promised anonymity and their occasionally candid comments suggest that they trusted the researcher and the promise.  Friendship and rapport were established successfully. The fact that the researcher is a Buddhist who understands well the Buddhist culture and was able to have meaningful discussions about Buddhism with them also contributed to the success of establishing rapport with the informants.  This is

because, in the Buddhist world, there is a natural bonding between Buddhists (Too, 2003).  It has been observed, and is taken to be true by the researcher, that the monks and nuns are more willing to share their personal thoughts when talking to someone who is also a Buddhist and is expected to respect and understand the Buddhist world.

In this thesis, trust is particularly important not only to facilitate the in-depth interviews with monks and nuns, but also observations about the on-site management were made possible because the senior monks granted special access to the researcher and enabled her, for example, to participate in different kinds of pujas.  Some of those were open to the public while others were internal and attended by the abbots, senior monks and nuns and Buddhist practitioners only. The researcher could observe and record what is the Buddhist way of protecting the serenity of Buddhist rituals, how lay visitors behaved in public pujas and how the Jushis (Buddhist practitioners) behaved differently in the special internal pujas.  The observational data were mainly used to describe the visitor management practices of the monasteries and nunneries and are presented in Chapter 8.  The rapport the researcher established with the monks and nuns in fact continued to be maintained even after the period of data collection had been completed.  The researcher and some monks and nuns continue to communicate by post and she still receives letters with supporting messages and invitations to stay in a monastery at the occasion of her next visit.

### 5.6.3 Positioning the Researcher

The nature of the interpretive constructivist paradigm, in which the second research objective of this thesis is grounded, calls for the positioning of the researcher in the research to be conducted.  It is because the epistemological stance of this paradigm emphasises that knowledge is to be co-constructed by both the researched and the

researcher (see section 4.3.4). The personal background of the researcher may have an influence on what to look at and how the raw field data is to be interpreted (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995; Holliday, 2007). Previous research indicates that positional reflexivity has to do with the researcher's self-questioning his/her personal experiences, with viewing him/herself either as an "observer" or as a "participant" in the research process and be aware that this will shape and influence the research (Cooper, 2007; A. McIntosh, 2008). In this thesis, the researcher perceived herself alternatively as "observer as participant" or as "participant as observer" (Cole, 2004) due to the fact that her research role did vary from time to time subject to the circumstances of the situation. The alternation of being an 'insider' (participant) and an 'outsider' (observer) of the research setting is explained below.

The fact that the researcher is a Buddhist practitioner clearly offered her an advantage in conducting research in a Buddhist sacred site. As mentioned above, the religious background of the researcher helped her gain trust and rapport with monks and nuns without difficulties. The researcher's ethnicity is Chinese and she reads Chinese and speaks Mandarin well. Therefore her ethnicity and religious identity qualify the researcher to act more as an 'insider'. The benefit of acting as an insider in this research is that the researcher was able to experience empathy, that is, to bond emotionally with the feelings expressed by the monks and nuns and thus gain a deeper understanding of their perceptions, in addition to having an easier access to their inner world. Escalas and Stern (2003) say, "Sympathy stems from the perspective of an observer who is conscious of another's feelings while empathy stems from that of a participant who vicariously merges with another's feelings" (Escalas & Stern, 2003, p. 566). Therefore to adopt an 'insider' status, to be a participant, is important to build a good rapport and achieve a deeper understanding of the research phenomenon. This helped generate more fruitful conversations with the informants than would otherwise have been the case. Evidence is noted in the researcher's journal which records not only data related to

the research but also the researcher's personal emotions during the process of data collection.  The following excerpt is an example.

> "I thanked Monk Zhi Wei sincerely for the fact that he trusted me and shared with me many of his experiences.  He had shared with me a lot of his personal feelings as well.  This monk behaved quite differently from Monk Xin Xia or Monk Qi Ming in the sense that he was much too shy to talk to people; yet, he was also much more genuine and much more willing to let me enter his inner world.  I felt very happy because he truly shared with me what difficulties and ridiculous questions he, as a junior monk, had endure in his contacts with tourists.  During the sharing, I felt strongly how my emotions fluctuated.  I felt happy when I saw him to be happy, like when he gave all his water to the old man, I saw satisfaction on his face.  I also felt sad when I listened to how he was mocked by visitors and badly treated.  He brought me into his inner world where I can find very genuine human emotions and that certainly is very valuable to me.  In fact, before we Buddhists can step forward into the world of the sacred, we should always treasure and preserve the feelings and emotions that we truly have when we are still in the world of the profane" (Pu-Tuo field notes, May 2009).

Most of the monks and nuns accepted to be interviewed and seemingly shared frankly their perceptions and experiences, both good and bad, in dealing with visitors when they saw the researcher as a 'fellow Buddhist' who shared the same beliefs and understood the Buddhist culture.  Their genuine sharing facilitated the richness of their discourses.  Yet, there were also moments when the researcher acted as an 'outsider' in the research, that is, as a researcher.  To 'branch out' not simply as a Buddhist practitioner but as a researcher was necessary to allow the researcher to detect issues that are of relevance to the phenomena under study.  The researcher, on the one hand, felt happy for her success at establishing rapport with the informants because of her personal background.  On the other hand, ambiguities of having the dual identities (of a Buddhist and a researcher) were also noted from time to time by the researcher during the research process.  For

instance, the researcher wrote in her journal how she felt the need to act as an 'outsider' when she participated in a Buddhist puja to observe how lay people behaved and how monks reacted when such a 'cultural intangible' - the puja - was 'desecrated' by visitors' curiosity and camera flashes.

"Emotionally speaking, I also felt a bit nervous on that day too. It is because as a Buddhist, having a chance on that day to join a puja to celebrate the Buddha's birthday, I should have been very focused while chanting the holy mantras. Yet, the need to be able to accomplish my PhD study forced me to act as an outsider, a researcher, in order to be able to observe what was going on, how some monastic members reacted and betrayed their emotions on their faces when they encountered such a challenge. If I had simply focused [on my own participation to the puja], I would not have been able to do any observation. I would not have been looking around but I would have just closed my eyes and immersed myself in the meditation and visualisation. I do not think that this would have helped me much in my research. Therefore, in the puja I actually did not really chant the script with my heart; it was only my mouth that was moving. I felt I had to do something about it and thus at night on that day, I prayed for two hours to compensate for my 'deception' " (Pu-Tuo field notes May 2009).

Another reason for the need to act as an 'outsider' is the fact that no matter how deeply the researcher may understand Buddhism, she is after all not a nun at Pu-Tuo. There are situations that only the monks and nuns have encountered and know about; those issues are precisely the ones that the researcher, as an outsider to the Buddhist monastic community of Pu-Tuo, was looking forward to learning about. Therefore, in this vein, the researcher at times played the role of an 'outsider' to ask questions which can contribute to the understanding of the study phenomena.

As a whole, the position of a researcher in the research does have an effect on the research process. It is acknowledged that there is a degree of bias but the subjectivity allows for depth and richness of the research phenomenon that a non-Buddhist researcher may not be able to uncover. In this thesis, the second research objective, concerned with the perceptions of monks and nuns towards tourism, is crucially dependent on securing the help of those informants, with whom establishing trust and rapport is crucial to the success of the undertaking. It is undeniable that the Buddhist identity and Buddhist upbringing of the researcher helped develop rapport with the monks and nuns and thus enabled the collection of meaningful and in-depth understanding of the research phenomenon. The position of the researcher in this research alternated between the one of an 'insider' as a Buddhist fellow and the one of an 'outsider' as a researcher, for the good sake of the success of this research. Yet, the researcher also noted that balancing the role of a Buddhist fellow and the one of a researcher can be a challenge. Nevertheless if the ultimate aim is to gain rich insights into the researched phenomenon and to secure the success of the research; then to be an 'insider' certainly offers advantage in obtaining an open and honest account of the informants' perceptions towards tourism.

### 5.6.4 Qualitative Data Analysis

Scholars of qualitative evaluation methods have presented analytical processes about how to rationalise the raw field data, to discover what is said from the collected "corpus of data" and to eventually provide evidence to support the argument in the written study (Atkinson & Delamont, 2005; Ezzy, 2002; Holliday, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). In this thesis, the analytical procedure of handling the qualitative data follows the suggestions of Marshall and Rossman (2006) of how to transform the raw field data into a written scholarly account. Each step of the procedure that was followed is discussed below.

The first step is to organise the raw field data.  In addition to the fact that the interviews with monks and nuns were audio-recorded, the researcher kept a personal journal to record the observations and the content of the in-depth interviews with monks and nuns.  Afterwards the raw field data were transcribed in a neater Word document format.  The second step is for the researcher to immerse herself into the data; it is suggested in the methodological literature that a researcher should read the data several times to become fully familiarised with them (Holliday, 2007).  The researcher analysed the raw field data manually and by repeatedly reading through the organised material.  She became thereby familiar with the data and able to identify the "meaningful descriptions" corresponding to the first research objective of this thesis.  "Meaningful descriptions" were induced from "the co-constructed meanings being shared and revised with the informants" (Holliday, 2007, p. 94).  Nevertheless methodological studies also posit that a researcher's mind, personal background and prior theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study inevitably have an influence on what is identified in the corpus of data (Holliday, 2007; G. W. Ryan & Bernard, 2003).  Basic filing techniques were used such as highlighting statements from the interview notes of a similar nature using same-colour pens.

The third and fourth steps, as suggested by Marshall and Rossman (2006), are to generate first categories and then themes.  Thematic analysis was used as the evaluation method in this thesis to identify categories and themes.  The initial unit of analysis was the individual case of each informant, meaning that individual quotes of informants from the in-depth interviews (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996, p. 112) as well as records of non-verbal responses of the informants and observations of unplanned intrusions or events that took place during the interviews were also included (Patton, 2002, p. 438).  Individual quotes in particular were carefully studied and statements of a similar nature across cases were identified and assigned

to existing or newly created categories.  Categories perceived as being of the same nature were then assigned to the same theme.  In total eight core themes were identified and are listed below.

- The 'Mundane-me' and the 'Buddhist-me' perspectives of looking at who comes to Pu-Tuo (see 7.1)
- Monastic members' preferences for certain visitors (see 7.2)
- Tourism at Pu-Tuo as seen through the lens of Buddhism (see 7.3)
- The different Buddhist methods of coping with visitors (see 7.4)
- Reactive versus proactive measures to protect Buddhist monasteries (see 8.2)
- Monks at arms (see 8.3)
- Managing non-hazardous superstitious acts (see 8.4)
- Courses of action towards challenges to the 'Buddhist Intangibles' (see 8.5)

The themes were inductively derived and were not drawn from the existing literature or according to any presupposition.  The researcher did not start with any specific propositions although it is undeniable that the researcher's priori theoretical understanding of the subject may have had an influence on the labelling of the themes (Patton, 2002; G. W. Ryan & Bernard, 2003).  It is further acknowledged that the researcher's familiarity with the existing literature may have had a certain influence on the way the thematic topics were identified, as well as on the way the findings were interpreted (Holliday, 2007).  Table 2 below exemplifies how a particular theme, taken from the above list, was derived from categories and is supported by individual excerpts from the monks and nuns interviews.

**Table 2: The Formation Process of a Theme**

| Quotes of monks and nuns | Categories | Theme |
|---|---|---|
| "They originally were not supposed to be allowed to put their bags on the offering table, but they said they came from far away and it is not easy to get to Pu-Tuo.  They just want to pay tribute and show respect to the Great Being and they ask us to allow them to put their bags on the table for a while.  Thus we let them do so because Buddhism emphasises kindness and if we can help, we will do it.  **In any case, their requests are not too pushy or harmful to the monastery, thus we leave the table empty and let them put their offerings on it"**  Monk Zhan Miao. | Category I:  How to deal with 'Conquering the offering tables inside the halls' | Buddhist way of "Managing non-hazardous superstitious acts" |
| "They usually come in groups and they carry lots of stuff and bags with them.  They just go right away to the hall and they put all their stuff on the offering table … they always try to find space and push aside the nunnery's offerings in order to have room to put their bags on the table.  Sometimes the nunnery's offerings end up on the floor!  The table was not large and it does not have enough space to accommodate so many things.  We are afraid by the fact that some of our offerings may drop on the floor, which can be dangerous, for example in the case of a lit candle that could start a fire.  **Therefore we decided to remove our own offerings from the table.   The visitors thereby make use of the empty space on the table to put even more of their offerings"**  Nun Che Jiang. | | |
| "… **as long as they are not throwing coins at the Buddha, Bodhisattva's statues, it is okay for them to do the things that they want to do** as long as it will not be harmful to others or damage the monastery.  They have their own freedom to do things that they want" Monk Yuan Guang. | Category II:  How to deal with 'Throwing coins at the incense pagodas in the courtyards of monasteries in order to attract auspiciousness' | |
| **"**In Buddhist doctrine, there is nothing about throwing coins and burning paper offerings.  Those are just local cults, superstitions meant to bring good luck or fortune… **some behaviour such as throwing coins, which is not really damaging to the monastery, we won't do anything special to prevent it**; if they come and ask us, then we will tell them what are the proper rites.  It is because you only preach Buddhism to the people who have the good seed and who want to learn.  Sometimes we also cannot monitor everything" Monk Zhan Miao. | | |

The fifth step is to offer interpretations and suggest meanings about certain phenomena on the basis of the themes identified from the raw field data. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) say that once several promising themes have been identified, the researcher should look for ways of relating some of these themes to one topic and then such a topic will provide a general focus and help the researcher to tie the excerpts from the raw field data to analytic commentaries in order to produce a coherent text which tells the underlying story of the study phenomena. Interpretations are thus elaborated according to emergent understandings growing within the researcher's mind through the whole research process (Emerson et al., 1995; Holliday, 2007). The researcher then assessed and reviewed carefully the interpretations in order to check whether there were other meanings or understandings that were missed out during the analytical process. There was a two week 'cool-down period' during which the researcher stepped out of the set of qualitative data and acquired a fresh pair of eyes before looking again at the written text. The last step was to edit and revise the coherent text so that the researcher could tell the story through the excerpts and commentaries, such that ideas and descriptive details support each other and guide the readers through the final account of the study (Atkinson & Delamont, 2005; Emerson et al., 1995; Holliday, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Richards, 2005; Silverman, 2005).

As a remark, it is to be pointed out that thematic analysis was used to analyse the qualitative dataset because such an evaluation technique permits the silences (minors) in the raw field data to be taken into account in the data analysis. This is different from what is done in content analysis where one "takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify the core consistencies and meanings" (Patton, 2002, p. 453), implying that content analysis focuses more on reoccurrences of discourses which may potentially lead to a neglect of the silences (minors). A discourse which only appears once in the whole set of raw field data may be ignored in content analysis, but in thematic analysis, if it is of relevance to the research phenomenon, it should be taken into account in the evaluation and interpretation

process (Holliday, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Patton, 2002). In this thesis, the second research objective is to look at the monks' and nuns' perceptions towards receiving visitors and tourism as well as their ways of managing visitors when in monasteries and nunneries. Since different monks and nuns have different personalities and may have different experiences in dealing with visitors, their perceptions may thus be different. Thematic analysis thereby will allow even the 'minors' to be taken into account for evaluation and interpretation.

## 5.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the research design of this thesis. It is grounded in pragmatism as the epistemological stance to conduct the research. Pragmatism emphasises the workability of the selected research methods to address the research aims and thus it allows more than one single research paradigm and method to be used in a single piece of research. Accordingly, two different research approaches were adopted to satisfy the two research objectives of this thesis. A quantitative approach grounded in the post-positivism paradigm was selected to satisfy the first research objective which is to generate a visitor typology of Pu-Tuo based on the administration of a self completion survey. As the second research objective is to understand the Buddhist monks' and nuns' perceptions towards receiving visitors and tourism as well as their ways to deal with visitors, it was deemed to be the most appropriate to adopt a qualitative approach grounded in the interpretive-constructivism paradigm. The researcher conducted thematic interviews with the informants to obtain an account of their personal understandings. The respective data analysis methods of the two kinds of dataset (quantitative and qualitative) were presented in turn in this chapter. Cluster analysis was used to generate a typology of visitors at Pu-Tuo on the basis of the quantitative data. The qualitative data was analysed using thematic analysis and in total eight core themes were identified. The empirical findings are presented in the following chapters. Chapter 6 is the presentation of the quantitative findings and

presents a visitor typology of Pu-Tuo.  Chapter 7 reports a part of the qualitative findings, focusing on the perceptions of the monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism.  Chapter 8 describes the Buddhist way of protecting the Buddhist sacred site; it is based on both the discourses from the interviews and the researcher's observations.  Lastly, Chapter 9 reviews the overall significance of the findings of this thesis.

Regarding the limitations of the research design, as Michael Patton says, "there are no perfect research designs" (Patton, 2002, p. 223) because, once a research is designed in a particular framework, a researcher will work on achieving the specific research objectives and ignore some other issues that may as well be worth noting.  In reality, there is limited time and resources available for conducting a piece of research and thus a research scope has to be specific and limited in the sense that it is impossible to research everything (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Patton, 2002).  In this thesis, the research scope focuses on visitors and monks and nuns; the two are interrelated because how the monks and nuns perceive visitors' presence at Pu-Tuo depend on the latter's reasons for their visit, their behaviour and the strength of their belief in Buddhism.  The scope of the present research on visitors is thus not meant to evaluate the visitors' experience at the Buddhist sacred site, or their level of satisfaction.  It is also not meant to be a pure motivational study, but it aims to generate a typology of visitors based on their reasons for visits, behaviour and strength of belief.  The silences in this regard leave room for future research.  Future research should also undertake empirical evaluation to see whether the typology of visitors at Pu-Tuo can be replicated in other religious context when using the same variables and analytical methods.  Morevoer, the researcher, in order to capture as much information as possible from visitors, used a rather long questionnaire with possibly some overlap between questions and some  unnecessary questions; this can be remedied to in future research on the basis of the experience gained here.

# Chapter 6: Visitors' Profile at Pu-Tuo

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of the quantitative data collected through the administration of a questionnaire to a sample of visitors in Pu-Tuo. Its objective is to generate a profile of the visitors to Pu-Tuo on the basis of the reasons for their visit, activities and the strength of their belief in Buddhism. The findings aim to satisfy one of the key research objectives of this thesis which is to generate a visitor typology. The resulting typology confirms and provides details about the nature of Pu-Tuo as a multi-purpose destination; Pu-Tuo is not only a Buddhist sacred land and a pilgrimage destination, but also a magnet for recreational and cultural tourism.

The quantitative dataset was obtained through a self-completion survey conducted at the departure hall of the Pu-Tuo Ferry Terminal from May 2009 to February 2010. A pilot study was undertaken in December 2008 and a revised version of the questionnaire was checked in May 2009; the revised version proved to be a better statistical instrument and was retained for the actual full-size survey. The questionnaire comprised three sections and the design of the questionnaire was discussed in details in the previous chapter (see section 5.5.1). In all 2,000 copies were made and a thousand copies were distributed with the expectation of getting back at least 500 valid questionnaires. The final result was better than originally expected. There were 777 completed and usable questionnaires collected. In the sample of visitors, 302 (38.9%) were male and 475 (61.1%) were female. The socio-demographic characteristics of the collected visitor sample are presented in Table 3.

| Socio-demographics | | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | Male | 302 | 38.9 |
| | Female | 475 | 61.1 |
| | | | |
| Age | Less than 18 year old | 118 | 15.2 |
| | 18 – 30 year old | 314 | 40.4 |
| | 31 – 40 year old | 224 | 28.8 |
| | 41 – 50 year old | 102 | 13.1 |
| | 51 – 60 year old | 15 | 1.9 |
| | 61 year old and above | 4 | 0.5 |
| | | | |
| Occupation | Secondary student | 112 | 14.4 |
| | University student | 116 | 14.9 |
| | Employed | 276 | 35.5 |
| | Self employed | 127 | 16.3 |
| | Retired | 9 | 1.2 |
| | Unemployed | 26 | 3.3 |
| | Home carer | 40 | 5.1 |
| | Other | 71 | 9.1 |
| | | | |
| Education | None | 4 | 0.5 |
| | Primary | 29 | 3.7 |
| | Secondary/technical | 308 | 39.6 |
| | University or above | 436 | 56.1 |

**Table 3: The Complete Visitor Sample (n=777)**

There are some issues worth noting about the initial visitor sample. First, 118 (15.2%) respondents were under 18 years of age, of which 21 reported that they were still in primary school. Such a phenomenon may be due to the possibility that while some questionnaires were distributed to senior family members, those members may have passed the questionnaires to younger accompanying family members for completion. This raises the question of how seriously one should take answers provided by adolescents. A second issue is that only 19 (2.4%) respondents were over 51 years of age; this is a number too small to permit a meaningful statistical analysis of this group (Hair et al., 2010).

As a result of the above considerations, it was decided to disregard the questionnaires filled by the 'less-than-18' and the 'more-than-50' year old groups. This left 640 valid questionnaires for data processing, a number sufficiently large as not to result in problems of statistical significance (Hair et al., 2010; Salant & Diliman, 1994). There is another reason to support the removal decision. Studies about Chinese tourism indicate that due to the "Open Door" economic reformation policy, radical changes in economic development took place in China during the last decades, which produced a typical profile of Chinese travellers, namely that they tend to be relatively young professionals, usually less than 45 year old and have received tertiary education (Y. W. Chan, 2008; C. Ryan, Gu, & Fang, 2009; C. Ryan, Zhang, Gu, & Ling, 2008). Ryan et al. (2009) further note that studying Chinese tourism is about studying the beneficiaries of the new China, the affluent, well educated upper income groups who both want to travel and can afford to do so (C. Ryan et al., 2009, p. 5). As a result, subsequent analyses were based on this sample (n=640). In this sample, 625 (97.6%) respondents were domestic travellers and they were primarily university students, employed or self employed people, housewives (all the home carers were female). The characteristics of the visitor sample retained are presented in Table 4.

| Socio-demographics | | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | Male | 242 | 37.8 |
| | Female | 398 | 62.2 |
| | | | |
| Age | 18 – 30 year old | 314 | 49.1 |
| | 31 – 40 year old | 224 | 35.0 |
| | 41 – 50 year old | 102 | 15.9 |
| | | | |
| Occupation | Secondary student | 16 | 2.5 |
| | University student | 112 | 17.5 |
| | Employed | 271 | 42.3 |
| | Self employed | 121 | 18.9 |
| | Retired | 2 | 0.3 |
| | Unemployed | 26 | 4.1 |
| | Home carer | 39 | 6.1 |
| | Other | 71 | 11.0 |
| | | | |
| Education | None | 3 | 0.5 |
| | Primary | 5 | 0.8 |
| | Secondary/technical | 205 | 32.0 |
| | University or above | 427 | 66.7 |

**Table 4: The Retained Visitor Sample (n=640)**

## 6.2. Socio-Demographic Profile of Visitors

This section presents the socio-demographic profile of the respondents (n=640). It is then compared to what is found in the existing literature.

**Gender**

As Table 4 indicates, there were more female (62.2%) than male (37.8%) respondents in the sample. Rinschede (1992) suggests that the predominance of a particular gender in the population of visitors to sacred sites may be due to the social position of a gender in a particular religion. Rinschede (1992) reports that there is a strong over-representation of women at all Catholic pilgrimage sites dedicated to the Virgin Mary; women dominate as well in church attendance in Western Europe and North America. On the other hand, there is a predominance of

male pilgrims in Mecca as a result of the social position of women in the Islamic world and religion (Rinschede, 1992, p. 62). Although not all the visitors at sacred sites are there for purely religious reasons, a predominance of female visitors was also found in the study of Taoist pilgrimage by Shuo, Ryan and Liu (2009). In their sample (n=427) collected at the Da-Lin Holy Mother Temple, which is dedicated to the Goddess Mazu, a reverend deity and patron of the Taiwanese, male visitors (42.2%) were outnumbered by female visitors (57.8%) and the authors reported that "the abbot [of the Shrine] confirmed that the sample was representative of the shrine's visitors" (Shuo et al., 2009, p. 584). In the current study, the predominance of female visitors at Pu-Tuo is possibly due to their admiration for the female image of the Bodhisattva (Too, 2003). There is also the possibility that there are more female than male Buddhists in China, although the data do not permit this to be more than a speculation, as there is no official record in China showing religious participation according to gender.

**Age**

A majority of the respondents (84.1%) were between 18 and 40 years of age. The age profile of visitors at Pu-Tuo is similar to the one found in other religious destinations in China. For example, at the comparable site of the Quiyun Mountain, a Daoist site in Anhui, China, Gu and Ryan (2010) found that 60% of visitors were between the ages of 21 and 50. The age profile can also be compared to the demographics of the population of the People's Republic of China. According to the Statistical Bulletin of the People's Republic of China for 2008, China had a population of 1.328 billion, of which 19% were less than 14 year old; 69% were between 15-59 years of age and 12% were 60 years of age or older (CPDRC, 2008). The age profile of the sample in other words is consistent with the overall social demographic characteristics of today's China, taking into account that, as several studies indicate, it is the newly emergent, affluent, well educated middle-aged Chinese who engage

most in travelling, both domestically and internationally (Y. W. Chan, 2008; C. Ryan et al., 2009).

**Education Level**

As shown in Table 4, two-thirds of the respondents in the sample had received undergraduate or higher university education (66.7%). The finding is consistent with what is reported in other studies about visitation of cultural sites and attractions in China. For example, the study of Ryan, Zhang, Gu and Ling (2008) indicates that 75% of the respondents who visited the Grand View Garden in Beijing had a university degree and the authors explain that it is possibly due to the pattern of economic development in China. Another study of Gu and Ryan (2010) indicates that 46% of the respondents who visited the Qiyun Mountain were university graduates. In addition to the income effect, it is perhaps due to the fact that a higher education level may enhance one's interest in culture, heritage and history and increase one's motivation to visit religious/sacred sites which are also rich in historical and cultural significance (C. Ryan et al., 2008; M. Zhang et al., 2007).

**Occupation**

Regarding the occupation of the respondents, 392 (61.2%) respondents were currently employed or self-employed while 128 (20%) respondents were studying and those were primarily university students. Combining the education and occupation profiles of the respondents, the findings are consistent with the visitors' profile in other studies which show that "leisure mobility is a new indicator of the modernity of China" (Y. W. Chan, 2008, p. 69) and that the group of people who can engage in travelling tend to be "the affluent, younger, professionally qualified group" (C. Ryan et al., 2008, p. 8). It is because this group has the necessary income, leisure time and good health to travel much more than the other groups (C. Ryan et al., 2009; Shuo et al., 2009).

**Patterns of Travel to Pu-Tuo**

In the sample, 131 (20.5%) respondents said that they had joined a sightseeing tour and 65 (10.1%) reported that they were on a pilgrimage tour; among those, six specified that they were on a tour organised by a Buddhist association. The majority of respondents (n=444; 69.4%) said that they had made their own travel arrangements. Such a finding is consistent with previous research which indicates that the believers who travel to a religious site in groups are outnumbered by those who travel individually; the latter often have both sacred and secular motives for visiting the sacred site (Rinschede, 1992, p. 59; Vukonic, 2006, p. 243). Only a small number of respondents in the sample (n=17; 2.6%) were on a day tour; the greater majority stayed either one night (n=171; 26.7%) or two (n=313; 48.9%). The majority of the remaining respondents spent three nights in Pu-Tuo and about 3% of the sample stayed longer. The average length of stay at Pu-Tuo was 50.85 hours, a little more than two days. Those results on the length of stay may have to do with the small size of Pu-Tuo (12.5 square kilometres) and the ease with which one can visit conveniently most of its attractions.

Regarding the type of accommodation used by overnight visitors, only 35 visitors, a little more than half a percent, stayed at a monastery; the majority (n=530; 82.9%) stayed at hotels or guest houses. Among the 640 respondents, there were 323 (50.5%) respondents who were first-time visitors to Pu-Tuo. On average, the repeat visitors had already visited Pu-Tuo 4.65 times. There were 15 visitors who were not Chinese and thus over 97.6% of the 640 respondents were Chinese citizens who originated from different parts of the country. Clearly, Pu-Tuo is presently not a favoured destination for international tourists. There were 108 visitors from Shanghai, 100 were from the Zhejiang province, 58 from the GuangDong province, 26 from Fujien, 36 from Jiansu and 297 came from the other regions of China. The results indicate that, in general, visitors came from places that are close to Pu-Tuo,

such as Shanghai, Zhejiang and Jiansu as well as cities having strong economic development, such as ShenZhen, Zhuhai, GuangZhou and the rest of the GuangDong province. People coming from these locations are in general richer and can afford to travel (Y. W. Chan, 2008; Oakes, 1998).

**Level of Religiosity**

There are questions in the survey inquiring into the extent to which the respondents considered Pu-Tuo to be an important centre of their faith and how religious they considered themselves to be. Those issues were approached by asking how frequently the respondents attended a local Buddhist place of worship where they lived, how much they thought they understood Buddhism and were devoted to Buddhism. The results indicate that 111 (17.3%) respondents did not go to their local temples or monasteries at all, while 529 (82.7%) respondents said that they did. Among them, 398 (62%) respondents said that they only visited their local temples a few times a year while 131 (20%) respondents said that they frequently visited them (more than six times a year). The results thus show a considerable degree of variation in levels of belief in Buddhism among the 529 respondents who attended Buddhist venues where they lived.

This was supported by the responses to a number of other questions. First, respondents were asked to self-assess their 'identity' at Pu-Tuo. In their responses, only 56 (8.8%) respondents described themselves as Buddhist pilgrims and such a figure is consistent with the number of respondents on an organised pilgrimage tour (n=65; 10.1%). About half of the respondents, (n=331; 51.7%), described themselves as religious tourists/worshippers (Xiankes). There were 186 respondents (29%) who identified themselves as leisure tourists and 62 respondents (9.6%) who identified themselves as cultural tourists. A second question asked the respondents to select from a number of alternatives what they thought to be the best description of the

main motivation for their visit to Pu-Tuo.  A majority of respondents (n=338; 52.8%) said that they had come 'mostly for hsu yuan and huan yuan' (making wishes and thanking the Bodhisattva) while 67 (10.5%) respondents were in Pu-Tuo 'for unearthing their Buddha-hood'; 201 (31.4%) respondents had come mostly 'for recreation and fun' as well 'for seeing historical and cultural sites'.  The results not only show consistency with the answers to previous questions, but also confirm that there are varying degrees of belief in Buddhism among the respondents.  While both 'to hsu yuan and huan yuan' and 'to unearth one's Buddha-hood' are religious motivations, they are of different natures (materialistic desires versus self transcendence).  Such a finding is consistent with some previous research about other religious sites which also take note of the diversity of religious motivations (Eade, 1992; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Shackley, 2001; Sizer, 1999).  In Buddhism, whether one sees Buddhism as a method to free oneself from attachment and illusions or whether it is perceived as an instrument to seek good fortune and auspiciousness is related to one's level of understanding of Buddhism.  The latter is regarded as a more elementary level of understanding of Buddhism (Hsingyun, 2005; Karmapa, 2008).  The results thus clearly indicate that the religiosity (level of belief in Buddhism) exhibits a great deal of variation among the respondents.


The respondents were also asked to self-assess their understanding of Buddhism on a 10 point scale where 10 represented the highest level.  On that scale, 448 (70.0%) respondents scored 5 or less, indicating that a majority of respondents admit to holding a relatively shallow or, at the most, a moderate level of understanding of Buddhism.  Only 57 (8.9%) respondents scored at 9 or 10, thereby claiming to have a very high level of understanding of Buddhism.  Such findings concur with many existing studies on religious tourism and pilgrimage which indicate that religious sites today are also seen as cultural attractions and that religious sacred places are visited by atheists for fulfilling social goals, satisfying leisure and educational motives.  Those visitors may have no or little understanding of the religion of the

site that they visit (Cohen, 2006; Moscardo, 1996; Rinschede, 1992; Shackley, 2001; Timothy & Iverson, 2006; M. Zhang et al., 2007).

The respondents were also asked explicitly whether they believed in Buddhism and, if they did, for how long they had been believers. It is noted that 223 (34.8%) respondents reported not to believe in Buddhism at all. The average mean score for those who believe in Buddhism is 13.5 years. The figure is in line with the above data indicating that 31.4% of the respondents were at Pu-Tuo mainly for leisure and cultural purposes. These results seem to indicate that the nature of the tourism that is taking place in Pu-Tuo is a mixture of religious, leisure and cultural tourism. Such a finding is not surprising and parallels can be found at other religious/sacred places, such as the Vatican, Fatima or Lourdes (Eade, 1992; Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Shackley, 2001, 2002). Although Pu-Tuo is one of the Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains of China to which Buddhist believers travel to, it is also appealing to non-religious tourists who are primarily interested in admiring its scenic natural beauty and the historical buildings that can be found there.

## 6.3. Data Reliability

The conventional tests of data reliability relate to scaled measures, and within the questionnaire, three scales were developed. These were, as described in Chapter 5, first a scale that relates to the importance of reasons for visiting Pu-Tuo, second a scale measuring the importance of alternative activities while on the island and third a scale constructed by asking respondents to express a degree of agreement about a number of practices associated with Buddhism.

The first statistical test performed is the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test for the adequacy of the sample. The test produces values ranging from zero to one and Kaiser (1974) suggests that if the value is larger than 0.9, the result is deemed to be "marvellous"; if it is in the 0.8s, it is "meritorious" and if it is in the 0.7s, the adequacy of the sample is "middling", implying acceptable, and basically it is the cut off point because if the value is in the 0.6s or less, the result is considered to be "poor" or "mediocre". In this thesis, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin score of sampling adequacy exceeded 0.80 in all three scales and the Bartlett's Test for Sphericity yielded a significant result for all three scales. The second statistical test performed, which measures the consistency of the entire scale was the Cronbach's alpha coefficient test. Hair et al. say that "the generally agreed upon lower limit for Cronbach's alpha is 0.7" (Hair et al., 2010, p. 125). In this study, the three scales had Cronbach alpha coefficients of 0.79, 0.85 and 0.80, respectively. Given these results, it is argued that the data are appropriate for further analysis.

## 6.4. Exploratory Factor Analysis

### 6.4.1 Reasons for Visits

The results of a factor analysis applied to the variables related to the reasons for visiting Pu-Tuo is presented in Table 5. The first three columns indicate the results of an exploratory factor analysis using an oblimin rotation. The three factors explained 59% of the variance and the communality scores (the amount of variance the three factors explain in each of the individual items) were well in excess of 0.5 for the most part, except for the variables measuring 'spending time with family/friends' (0.295) and 'eating seafood' (0.252). The correlation between the first and second factor was 0.276; between the first and the third factor it was -0.062; and between the second and third factor it was 0.267. The results indicate a fairly high degree of independence between the factors. In other words, these three factors are independent and distinct constructs in the scale of reasons for visits.

126

**Table 5: Reasons for visits - Factors and Mean Scores**

|  | Factor | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | Mean | SD |
| How important is it to come to Pu-Tuo to relax? | **0.807** | 0.043 | -0.101 | 5.99 | 3.11 |
| How important is it to see somewhere different? | **0.804** | 0.167 | -0.041 | 4.96 | 3.21 |
| How important is it to see something of Chinese cultural tradition? | **0.785** | 0.353 | -0.025 | 6.03 | 3.21 |
| How important is it to go sightseeing? | **0.739** | 0.075 | -0.134 | 6.56 | 2.94 |
| How important is it to visit cultural sites and historical buildings? | **0.586** | 0.455 | -0.151 | 5.65 | 3.14 |
| How important is it to spend time with family/friends/relatives? | **0.493** | 0.266 | 0.185 | 5.52 | 3.55 |
| How important is it to eat seafood? | **0.484** | 0.260 | -0.015 | 2.58 | 2.48 |
| How important is it to seek Buddhism spiritual enlightenment? | 0.149 | **0.815** | 0.252 | 4.24 | 3.39 |
| How important is it to attend Buddhism pujas in the monasteries? | 0.254 | **0.806** | 0.263 | 2.93 | 2.84 |
| How important is it to learn more about Buddhism from monks and nuns? | 0.294 | **0.803** | 0.153 | 2.56 | 2.45 |
| How important is Pu-Tuo as a sacred land for my faith? | 0.109 | **0.759** | *0.408* | 4.93 | 3.51 |
| How important is it to huan yuan? | -0.018 | 0.315 | **0.879** | 7.36 | 3.12 |
| How important is it to hsu yuan? | -0.002 | 0.269 | **0.871** | 6.07 | 3.81 |
| Percentage of variance explained | 30.5 | 19.9 | 8.9 | | |
| Eigenvalue | 3.96 | 2.58 | 1.16 | | |
| Cronbach Alpha Coefficient | 0.79 | | | | |

The variable content of the first factor appears to be consistent with the overall descriptive statistics suggesting that there are visitors at Pu-Tuo who come primarily for leisure and sightseeing purpose. Factors two and three are both grouping variables that are related to religious motivations but they are independent and distinct from each other. Such a result concurs with the qualitative findings presented in Chapter 7 and 8 indicating that the endeavour to seek good fortune and auspiciousness is perceived to be a kind of motivation different from wanting to learn Buddhism and seek enlightenment and self transcendence. The latter is perceived by monks and nuns as the real purpose for a Buddhist to undertake a pilgrimage (Karmapa, 2008). The independence of the second and the third factor is in line with some previous studies about other religious sites which indicate that

there are various kinds of religious motivations, such as making wishes, getting closer to Jesus Christ or know more about the Bible (Eade, 1992; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Shackley, 2001; Sizer, 1999).  All in all, the different variables are separated into three distinct factors and each factor contains variables which are closely related.

The three factors are seemingly based on three themes, namely:

**Factor one:** General sightseeing, accounting for 30.5% of the variance.

**Factor two:** Belief in Buddhism, accounting for 19.9% of the variance.

**Factor three:** Hsu yuan and huan yuan (to make wishes and thank to the Bodhisattva) accounting for 8.9% of the variance.

The status of Pu-Tuo as a symbol of Chinese culture shows in the mean scores of Table 5 (last-but-one column).  The main reasons why visitors come to the island are sightseeing, seeing something different and visiting places of historic and cultural importance.  The high importance of hsu yuan and huan yuan is not inconsistent with these motives as some visitors may very well have an interest in culture and at the same time also seek divine intervention in their lives in one way or another.  Such a finding concurs with some literature which suggests that while some tourists' visit to a religious site may not be motivated by religious purposes, they may still participate in liturgical activities; some may even experience a sacred moment with the divinities and some may make it as part of the travel experience, for religion is the culture of the destination too (Bremer, 2004, 2006; McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

## 6.4.2 Importance of Activities and Behaviour

The same analytical procedure was undertaken for a scale related to the types of activities in which visitors to Pu-Tuo were involved.  Table 6 provides the results of the exploratory factor analysis.  Again there were three factors with an eigenvalue larger than 1 and only those were retained.  The three factors explained 63.8% of the variance and the communality scores were acceptable at values ranging from 0.48 to 0.8.  The correlation between the first and second factor was -0.353; between the first and the third factor it was 0.265; and between the second and third factor it was -0.069.  The results indicate a high degree of independence between the factors.  In other words, these three factors are independent and represent distinct constructs in the activity scale.

The three factors are seemingly based on three themes, namely:

**Factor one:** Buddhist practices (to recite mantras, to mediate, to attend pujas), accounting for 37.9% of the variance.

**Factor two:** Folkloric and auspicious practices, accounting for 14.4% of the variance.

**Factor three:** Sightseeing and leisure activities, accounting for 11.5% of the variance.

**Table 6: Importance of Potential Behaviour - Factors and Mean Scores**

| | Factors | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | Mean | SD |
| How important is it to recite Buddhism holy mantras? | **0.897** | 0.103 | -0.344 | 2.56 | 2.45 |
| How important is it to discuss Buddhism theory with monastic members of Pu-Tuo? | **0.888** | 0.142 | -0.349 | 2.36 | 2.32 |
| How important is it to meditate? | **0.875** | 0.138 | -0.390 | 2.75 | 2.64 |
| How important is it to attend morning pujas in monasteries? | **0.831** | -0.006 | -0.357 | 2.89 | 2.86 |
| How important is it to purchase history books of Pu-Tuo in order to know more about the place? | **0.728** | 0.302 | -0.080 | 2.37 | 2.28 |
| How important is it to practice the every 3-steps-one-kneels and prays along the way to monasteries? | **0.564** | -5.35 | -0.35 | 4.43 | 3.60 |
| How important is it to burn joss sticks to Bodhisattva of Compassion for blessings? | 0.190 | **-0.827** | -.0.008 | 7.82 | 2.99 |
| How important is it to hsu yuan and huan yuan inside monasteries/ nunneries? | 0.241 | **-0.801** | -0.164 | 7.51 | 3.16 |
| How important is it to make donations to monasteries/ nunneries? | 0.421 | **-0.707** | 0.181 | 5.60 | 3.43 |
| How important is it to throw coins/ money to incense burners for good luck? | 0.330 | **-0.662** | 0.503 | 5.08 | 3.47 |
| How important is it to tie wind chimes on trees for good luck? | 0.513 | **-0.542** | 0.526 | 3.44 | 2.94 |
| How important is it to eat seafood? | 0.183 | -0.095 | **0.751** | 3.04 | 2.70 |
| How important is it to see boulders, caves, beaches and natural scenery? | 0.117 | 0.048 | **0.740** | 5.69 | 3.23 |
| How important is shopping at Pu-Tuo? | 0.331 | -0.040 | **0.665** | 1.98 | 1.97 |
| Percentage of variance explained | 37.9 | 14.4 | 11.5 | | |
| Eigenvalue | 5.31 | 2.01 | 1.61 | | |
| Cronbach Alpha Coefficient | 0.85 | | | | |

The three factors from the scale of activity are consistent with the three factors as identified in the motivational scale. While sightseeing activities (factor three) remain independent from religious activities (factors one and two), the activities associated with the deeper levels of Buddhist faith such as reciting mantras, meditation and attending pujas (factor one) also appear to be different from the practices of burning joss sticks and engaging in hsu yuan and huan yuan (factor two). The reason why factor two is independent and distinct from factor one, as discussed earlier in the context of the scale of reasons for visits, is due to the folkloric and

superstitious practices being different from the truly Buddhist practices, of which the ultimate aim of the latter is to seek enlightenment and cease reincarnation, while the former will only further consolidate attachment to illusionary happiness and trap one in the cycle of reincarnation (Hsingyun, 2005; Karmapa, 2008).

With regards to the mean scores, as shown in the last-but-one column of Table 6, the five activities receiving the highest mean scores are burning joss sticks (7.82), hsu yuan and huan yuan (7.51), seeing boulders and natural scenery (5.59), making donations (5.60) and throwing coins (5.08). All these most popular activities belong to factor two (folkloric practices) and factor three (sightseeing and leisure activities) respectively. On the other hand, the Buddhist practices associated with factor one all received very low mean scores, indicating that the real Buddhist practices do not seem to be activities that many visitors at Pu-Tuo wish to become involved in; rather, visitors tend to engage more in either sightseeing or folkloric activities. Those results are in line with the earlier descriptive statistics that indicate that, in the sample, 52.8% of the respondents claimed to be in Pu-Tuo mainly 'for hsu yuan and huan yuan', 31.4% reported that they came primarily 'for relaxation and sightseeing' while only 10.5% said that they were in Pu-Tuo 'for learning Buddhism and unearthing their innate Buddha-hood'. The findings again suggest that most of the visitors at Pu-Tuo are not Buddhist practitioners, but rather either leisure tourists or Buddhist worshippers, both with a relatively shallow understanding of Buddhism. The latter group was often commented upon by the monks and nuns as people who practice their folkloric rituals rather than the ones of Buddhism (see Chapter 7). Such a result is consistent with some studies of religious and cultural tourism in China that report that the majority of Chinese tend to hold a mixture of belief in various degrees, including Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism and folk beliefs (Guo, 2006; C. Ryan et al., 2008; Shuo et al., 2009).

## 6.4.3 Strength of Belief

The same analytical procedure was undertaken for the scale related to the strength of belief associated with Buddhism and Pu-Tuo. Three factors with eigenvalues larger than 1 emerged again from the data, and explained just over half the variance. Yet in this case, the ability to generate a clearer interpretation of the factors was improved by removing the item 'I truly enjoy attending early morning pujas'. The justification for removing this item is that if one does not remove it, one gets 'cross-loading', meaning that the weightings between this variable and each one of the three factors is about the same. This variable was thus deleted from the factor analysis for this scale as shown in Table 7.

The three factors are seemingly based on three themes, namely:

**Factor one:** Religious practices and Pu-Tuo's auspiciousness. It accounts for 29.1% of the variance.

**Factor two:** Mixture of items, including the ambience of Pu-Tuo as well as Pu-Tuo as a place for one to reach enlightenment and purify karmas, to go beyond the need for reincarnation. It accounts for 12% of the variance.

**Factor three:** The role of Pu-Tuo as a place for both the sacred and recreation, a place to obtain a 'good life', and also one for a Xianke having an imperfect knowledge of Buddhism and seeking auspiciousness rather than self transcendence. It accounts for 9.7% of the variance.

**Table 7: Strength of Belief - Factors and Mean Scores**

|  | Component | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | Mean | SD |
| I believe that burning lots of incense sticks will help get my wishes granted. | **0.824** | -0.034 | 0.178 | 6.95 | 3.17 |
| To make donations to the monasteries will accumulate future blessings for me and my family. | **0.820** | 0.016 | 0.199 | 7.35 | 2.94 |
| I visit Pu-Tuo because of its power in getting one's wishes granted. | **0.789** | 0.044 | 0.177 | 7.11 | 3.22 |
| To practice every- 3-steps-one-kneels (a form of prostration in Buddhism) is to show sincerity in hsu yuan/huan yuan. | **0.758** | 0.155 | 0.154 | 7.17 | 3.24 |
| I perceive Pu-Tuo as an important centre of my faith. | **0.739** | 0.284 | -0.207 | 6.89 | 3.23 |
| To attend and be sincere to Bodhisattva of Compassion will bless my family and wishes. | **0.727** | 0.129 | -0.013 | 6.40 | 3.32 |
| I hope this trip to Pu-Tuo can bring me blessings and good fortune. | **0.691** | 0.090 | 0.333 | 8.70 | 2.35 |
| Smoking should be prohibited in all areas of Pu-Tuo. | -0.013 | **0.682** | 0.074 | 7.52 | 3.44 |
| I find that Pu-Tuo has been commercialised. | -0.028 | **0.635** | 0.068 | 7.29 | 3.18 |
| Having sea food restaurants contradicts the sanctity of Pu-Tuo. | 0.173 | **0.621** | -0.003 | 5.66 | 3.42 |
| I would be interested in learning more about Buddhist theory if an interpretation centre was available in the monastery. | 0.339 | **0.544** | -0.096 | 6.87 | 3.30 |
| I hope the trip to Pu-Tuo can un-earth my Buddha-hood, purify karmas and help obtain enlightenment | 0.513 | **0.539** | -0.291 | 5.87 | 3.43 |
| Attending morning puja should be restricted to Buddhists. | -0.081 | **0.405** | 0.378 | 4.31 | 3.45 |
| In general I perceive myself to be a Xianke rather than a Buddhist. | 0.232 | -0.011 | **0.661** | 6.75 | 3.38 |
| To me, Pu-Tuo is a mixture of recreational and pilgrimage destination. | 0.074 | 0.003 | **0.614** | 6.29 | 3.43 |
| To me, a perfect life is to have prosperity, long life, happiness, social status and no suffering or sorrow. | 0.461 | -0.002 | **0.552** | 8.06 | 2.75 |
| I seldom talk to monks and nuns present in the monasteries other than to ask directions. | 0.153 | 0.333 | **0.471** | 6.75 | 3.33 |
| Percentage of Variance | 29.15 | 11.99 | 9.73 |  |  |
| Eigenvalues | 4.95 | 2.04 | 1.65 |  |  |
| Cronbach Alpha Coefficient | 0.80 | | | | |

The three factors explained 51% of the variance and the communality scores were at acceptable levels at values ranging from 0.4 to 0.8, with two exceptions that relate to talking to monastic members (0.328) and restricting pujas to Buddhist practitioners (0.326). The correlation between the first and second factor was 0.12; between the first and the third factor it was 0.096; and between the second and third factor it was 0.03. The results indicate a very high degree of independence between the factors. In other words, these three factors are independent and represent distinct constructs in the 'strength of belief' scale.

Regarding the mean scores, Table 7 indicates that there is a strong belief that visiting Pu-Tuo will bring good fortune (8.70), accumulate future blessings (7.35) and have one's wishes granted (7.11). It is also of interest to note that a perfect life is defined as one of prosperity, long life, social status and an absence of sorrow or suffering (8.06) – a definition that excludes any idea of altruism, charity, meditation, prayer or spirituality that may aid to find a path towards enlightenment. One is tempted to observe that if the burning of joss sticks (6.95) and making donations (7.35) also scored high, it was probably because they are activities associated with seeking good fortune and blessings. The mean score of how many joss sticks the visitors burned during their presence at Pu-Tuo on average is about 86 joss sticks per visitor, which is a relatively large amount and indicates that burning many incense sticks is a popular form of religious tribute in China. Such a result concurs with both the researcher's on-site observations and the responses of the monastic members about their observations of visitors' behaviour inside the monasteries/nunneries (see Chapters 7 and 8). To make donations (7.35) is also considered by the visitors to be auspicious and can produce good karma and reduce bad karma; thus it helps the individual to have a more serene life and facilitates the realisation of wishes. The descriptive statistical result indicates that the (mean) average amount of

donation to the monasteries was 176.8 RMB (about 15 US dollars). One can note that many visitors in spite of these auspicious beliefs will not, however, often speak to monastic members (the mean score for *not* doing so is 6.75). Many are of the view that Pu-Tuo is too commercialised (7.29). Reports of visitors finding Buddhist sacred sites "commercialised" can be found in previous research on other Buddhist venues in China (Shi, 2009; M. Zhang et al., 2007; D. Zhao, 2009). As discussed in Chapter 3, this commercialisation is probably due to the free-market economic reforms, the policy of using religious culture to boost local economic development and the political control of the religious sphere (C. Ryan & Gu, 2009a; D. Zhao, 2009).

The existing literature has pointed out that different religious sites tend to have different characteristics. Some places are sacred because they are the places of birth of some important gurus or saints, or where they have lived or taught. Adherents visit these places primarily for the purpose of having religious and spiritual connections with their divinities, for remembrance as well as for learning more about the religions; places such as Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Lumbini, Medina and Mecca are examples (Hall, 2006; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Shackley, 2001; Timothy & Iverson, 2006). Some other places are holy due to apparitions of saints and divinities and thus adherents believe that by going to these places, they can benefit from interventions from divinities to help improve their health or existing life; places like Medjourge, Fatima, Lourdes are classic examples of sites where many physically or spiritually 'sick' visitors typically seek healing (Eade, 1992; Gesler, 1996; Vukonic, 1992). Some places could be combinations of both and Pu-Tuo is an example. The above results from Table 7 confirm that Pu-Tuo is both the sacred place of the Bodhisattva, as written in Buddhist scriptures (Bao & Bai, 2008; Fang & Wang, 2005; C. F. Yu, 1992), and an efficacious place to get one's wishes granted. The findings also suggest that the majority of visitors taking the latter view as their motivation for visiting Pu-Tuo engage more in folkloric acts than in Buddhist practices, as reflected in the mean scores.

## 6.5. The Role of Socio-Demographic Variables

In this thesis, the test performed on the socio-demographic variables indicated that they were not statistically significant discriminatory variables in determining motivations or activities, with a few exceptions, all of which having to do with gender.  With reference to motivations to visit Pu-Tuo, gender was not a statistically significant discriminatory variable except on the items of hsu yuan and huan yuan. Females were more motivated than male visitors to hsu yuan (*mean scores*: 7.63 vs. 6.93; *df*=638, *p*=0.006) and huan yuan (*mean scores*: 6.33 vs. 5.62, *df*=638, *p*=0.022). Similarly with reference to the importance of activities one can become involved in, more females thought it was important to burn joss sticks than did males (*mean scores*: 8.06 vs. 7.42, df=638, *p*=0.009).  Females also considered that it is more important to hsu yuan and huan yuan inside monasteries than men did (*mean scores*: 7.87 vs. 6.91, *df*=638, *p*<0.001).  On the third scale about strength of belief, a common pattern was that females scored significantly higher (p<0.01) on most issues of belief than the males, except for six variables that are found to be insignificant.  Those variables are: 'In general I perceive myself to be a Xianke rather than a Buddhist' (*p*=0.462), 'To me Pu-Tuo is a mixture of recreational and pilgrimage destination' (*p*=0.311), 'I hope the trip to Pu-Tuo can unearth my Buddha-hood' (*p*=0.591), 'I seldom talk to monks and nuns' (*p*=0.018), 'Attending morning pujas should be restricted to Buddhists only' (*p*=0.295) and 'Smoking should be prohibited in all areas of Pu-Tuo' (*p*=0.042).  Hence the important finding is that both males and females tended to have common views other than on the matter of folkloric religious practices.  Females appeared to place a higher emphasis on folkloric belief and related specific activities, such as hsu yuan, huan yuan, burning joss sticks and seeking blessings.

If one now considers age as well, with older respondents scoring higher on folkloric and specific religious practices, one may wonder if the stereotypical notion that older females tend to adhere more closely to religious observance than younger ones (C. F. Yu, 1992) is supported by the data. Yet, it turns out that it is not supported at a statistically significant level. For example, of those respondents (n=480; 75%) scoring above 6.0 on the item of burning joss sticks for blessings, 316 (66% of this group) were female, of which 45 (14% of those) were over the age of 40. Those accounted for 86% of the women who were more than 40 year old (n=52). Yet tests of significance using chi-squared tests found that it was not a statistically significant hypothesis (at $p$=0.24) that older females scored higher than younger ones. All in all, age is not found to be a statistical significant discriminatory variable.

Education is also found not to be a statistical significant discriminatory variable (at p<0.01) in determining motivation or activities, except on the items of sightseeing and throwing coins. Respondents with no education or only primary education were found to score much lower (mean score: 4.33 and 3.80) on the item of sightseeing than those who received secondary or university education (mean score: 6.21 and 6.77; $df$=639; $p$=0.01). Respondents who received university or above education in particular scored the lowest on throwing coins for obtaining blessings (mean score: 4.67; $df$=636; $p$=0.00). On the third scale of the strength of belief, a common pattern was that respondents with university education scored significantly the lowest compared to the other three groups, i.e. respondents with no education; with primary education and with secondary education. Exceptions that were found to be statistically not significant include: "To me, Pu-Tuo is a mixture of recreational and pilgrimage destination ($p$=0.06); 'I find that Pu-Tuo has been commercialised' ($p$=0.086); 'Having seafood restaurants contradicts the sanctity of Pu-Tuo' ($p$=0.087); 'I hope this trip to Pu-Tuo can unearth my Buddha-hood' ($p$=0.274); 'I seldom talk to monks and nuns' ($p$=0.11); 'Attending morning pujas should be restricted to Buddhists only' ($p$=0.295); 'Smoking should be prohibited in all areas of Pu-Tuo'

($p$=0.05).  Hence the important finding is that respondents with university or above education tend to have a different understanding of the participation to religious practices for they scored significantly the lowest among the other groups on these items.  For instance, for 'Burning lots of incense sticks will help get wishes granted' as well as 'Making donations to monasteries to accumulate blessings', respondents with university or above education had mean scores of 6.61 and 7.01 respectively, while the rest of the three groups scored at least 7.58 and above as to agree with the statements.  One may thus potentially conclude that to become involved in religious practices is perceived to be less important to those who have a tertiary education.  Even if they engage in these practices, it may be more to satisfy a cultural curiosity than a religious need.

Occupation was found to generate a similar pattern as education where, in general, university students tended to have views similar to the ones of the other groups except on issues of folkloric and Buddhist practices.  University students were found to score significantly the lowest on religious practices compared to the other groups, for instance, in relation to: 'The importance to hsu yuan and huan yuan inside monasteries' (6.50), 'To burn joss sticks to Bodhisattva for blessings' (7.02), 'I believe by burning lots of incense sticks will help get wishes granted' (5.64), 'To make donations is to accumulate blessings' (5.81), 'I perceive Pu-Tuo as an important centre of my faith' (5.81), 'I visit Pu-Tuo because of its power in getting one's wishes granted' (5.86), 'I hope this trip to Pu-Tuo can bring me blessings and good fortune' (7.66).  These items all got the lowest mean scores for the university students compared to respondents who hold other occupations.  These results are thus consistent with the findings about education: even if university students perform folkloric or Buddhist acts, it is likely to be out of cultural curiosity.

## 6.6. Cluster Analysis: Reasons for visits

Having found that socio-demographic variables had little role to play in determining motives or behaviour, psychographic variables were assessed by undertaking a K-means cluster analysis, and then assessing the results through a canonical discriminant analysis. Such a classification technique also fits well with the research objective of this thesis of constructing a typology of visitors at Pu-Tuo (Hair et al., 2010, p. 504). Using the reasons for visit items as the basis of the psychographic analysis was done on the premise that motives tend to be relatively stable, at least on a short term basis, when compared to other variables such as level of satisfaction (C. Ryan, 1995a, 1995b). In addition, the responses of Buddhist monks and nuns provided a lot of information about their perceptions of the reasons for visitors to come to Pu-Tuo. As a result, items of the scale of reasons for visit are selected as cluster variables.

The number of clusters in the solution has to be predetermined in K-means cluster analysis and there is no absolute rule about prescribing a certain number of clusters. Subjective judgments have to be made. In the current study, a five-cluster solution appeared to be appropriate on the ground that it produces an evenly distributed number of cases across the clusters without being over-generalised. Undoubtedly the more clusters there are, the more precisely they represent the complexities of the population of interest; yet the ultimate goal of performing a cluster analysis is to develop a taxonomy among the observations and to group them into relevant subsets which still reflect the complexities of reality, but in a condensed and manageable way. To examine whether the decision of having a five-cluster solution was appropriate, a canonical discriminant analysis was performed and the results indicate that the observations were allocated to the clusters in a sensible way, as 94% of the cases were correctly allocated. The mean scores associated with the five-cluster solution are shown in Table 8.

**Table 8: The Five-Cluster Solution Based on the Scale of Reasons for Visits**

| | Cluster | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| How important is it to spend time with family/friends/relatives? | 8.55 | 5.18 | 3.61 | 5.36 | 5.52 |
| How important is it to go sightseeing? | 8.54 | 7.48 | 4.11 | 4.66 | 8.10 |
| How important is it to hsu yuan? | 9.07 | 3.77 | 8.48 | 8.36 | 8.71 |
| How important is it to huan yuan? | 8.19 | 1.99 | 7.20 | 7.53 | 7.24 |
| How important is it to eat seafood? | 3.81 | 2.61 | 1.23 | 2.00 | 3.54 |
| How important is it to seek Buddhism spiritual enlightenment? | 7.65 | 2.10 | 1.71 | 7.54 | 3.73 |
| Pu-Tuo is an important sacred land to my faith. | 8.37 | 2.07 | 3.14 | 7.97 | 4.83 |
| How important is it to attend Buddhism pujas in the monasteries? | 6.58 | 1.45 | 1.38 | 4.22 | 2.14 |
| How important is it to visit cultural sites & historical buildings? | 8.06 | 5.65 | 2.71 | 5.37 | 7.08 |
| How important is it to learn more about Buddhism from monks and nuns? | 5.85 | 1.45 | 1.29 | 3.12 | 1.95 |
| How important is it to see somewhere different? | 7.22 | 5.32 | 2.43 | 2.80 | 7.40 |
| How important is it to come to Pu-Tuo to relax? | 7.90 | 6.74 | 3.50 | 3.46 | 8.50 |
| How important is it to see something of Chinese cultural tradition? | 8.53 | 6.11 | 2.52 | 5.23 | 8.43 |
| Number of cases in the cluster | 110 | 168 | 133 | 115 | 114 |

Based on the mean scores of the five segments, the five clusters can be described as follows.

**Cluster One: General Traditionalists**

This cluster contains 110 visitors (17.2%) who tend to score high on most items, but temper their scores when it comes to learning more about Buddhism from the monks and nuns, and attending pujas. While any cluster analysis tends to produce one cluster with uniformly high scores, it might be noted that the respondents seem to have paid attention to what they were answering because one can see that the score for consumption of seafood is much lower than the other scores. Cluster one represents a segment of visitors who are drawn to the island because of its significance in Buddhism, but the high scores attributed to the Chinese cultural tradition and hsu yuan, huan yuan imply a more general interest in traditional places

140

and practices. However, there is probably a tendency to register high scores because the members of this cluster are possibly motivated by a wish to enjoy their holiday rather than really to learn Buddhism, as the score relating to the attendance of pujas is not consistent with either observations or the other statistical data; for instance, although this cluster scored the highest in the importance of attending Buddhist pujas, there were in fact only 20% (n=22) of this cluster who attended a puja, as shown in Table 12 below.

**Cluster Two: Casual Sightseers**

This cluster contains 168 visitors (26.3%) and they tend to score low on both the items related to Buddhist practices such as attending pujas and the ones related to folkloric auspicious activities, such as hsu yuan and huan yuan. They are drawn to Pu-Tuo primarily by a wish to see something different, to relax, to spend time with family and friends, to see sites of traditional cultural value and to go sightseeing. In other words, the visitors in this cluster appear to be not much interested in the religious aspects of Pu-Tuo, but rather visit it as a destination for satisfying socialising, recreational and relaxation goals.

**Cluster Three: Good Fortune Seekers**

This cluster contains 133 visitors (20.8%) and is noteworthy for generally low scores on all items other than the items 'hsu yuan' and 'huan yuan', which implies that a specific reason for visitors of this cluster to come to Pu-Tuo is to ask for divine intervention in some aspect of their lives, or to give thanks for such previous interventions, for wishes that have been granted in the past. In other words, this group of visitors is drawn to Pu-Tuo by its reputation for efficaciousness, because Pu-Tuo is the place to pray for a good life. The low mean scores on all the relaxation and touristic items make this group appear to be distinctly different from the first and the second clusters, as those two segments are both interested in sightseeing activities. The profile of this cluster corresponds to the one of the visitors that the

monks and nuns call 'Xiankes' (see Chapter 7 and 8), referring to visitors who are not much interested in other activities at Pu-Tuo than to make wishes, seek auspiciousness and return when their wishes have been realised, as they had promised the divinities.

**Cluster Four: Enlightenment Seekers**

The 115 respondents (18%) in this group are somewhat akin to the members of cluster three for they also scored high on 'hsu yuan' and 'huan yuan', but they attributed more importance to the Buddhist motivations, including: 'to seek Buddhism spiritual enlightenment' and 'the recognition of Pu-Tuo as sacred land'. They are the second highest scorers on attending pujas and asking the monastic orders about Buddhism, albeit at modest levels.  The highest scorers on these two items are the General Traditionalists who seem to have a tendency to score high on all items.  The profile of the current cluster concurs with the responses of monastic members who, in their Buddhist term, call the members of this group the 'Jushis' (the Buddhist practitioners) who visit Pu-Tuo primarily for enlightenment and self transcendence, and consequently, often discuss Buddhism with monastic members and attend Buddhist lectures and pujas during their stay in Pu-Tuo.

**Cluster Five: Cultural Sightseers**

This cluster contains 114 respondents (17.8%) and is in some ways similar to cluster two; both show relatively high scores on relaxation and sightseeing.  Yet it seems that this group of visitors placed a higher emphasis on seeing historical buildings and visiting places of cultural tradition.  Their sightseeing motive appears to be more oriented towards cultural items, while the casual sightseers comparatively have a more general sightseeing outlook with no particular focus in their sightseeing agenda.  In addition, the current cluster also scored high on 'hsu yuan' and 'huan yuan', items which appear to be differentiating characteristics from the casual

sightseers who give very low scores to these two items. It is argued that some visitors who visit Pu-Tuo primarily out of cultural interest may also consider 'hsu yuan' and 'huan yuan' as part of the Chinese cultural tradition and thus those visitors may also engage in these kinds of folkloric activities as part of their travel experience, or some may take, more or less seriously, a chance to seek the divinities' interventions in their life. Given this, the members of this cluster appear to have a moderate belief in Pu-Tuo as a Buddhist sacred land.

**Table 9: Summary of the Five Clusters Based on Main Reasons for Visiting Pu-Tuo**

| The Segments | Core Reasons for visiting |
|---|---|
| General Traditionalists; 17.2%. | Interested in everything, in particular in sightseeing and relaxation, hsu yuan and huan yuan and have a general interest in traditional cultural sites. |
| Casual Sightseers; 26.3%. | Wish to see somewhere different, to relax, to spend time with family and friends, to see sites of traditional culture and go sightseeing but not interested in hsu yuan and huan yuan. |
| Good Fortune Seekers; 20.8%. | Interested only in hsu yuan and huan yuan and nothing else. Typically ask for divine intervention in some aspect of their lives, or come to express gratitude for realised wishes. |
| Enlightenment Seekers; 18%. | Seek enlightenment and self transcendence; often discuss Buddhism with monastic members; attend Buddhist lectures and pujas; engage in hsu yuan and huan yuan as well. |
| Cultural Sightseers; 17.8%. | Have a specific sightseeing agenda; want to visit particularly historical buildings and places of cultural interest. |

A summary of the characteristics of the five clusters based on main reasons for visits is presented in Table 9. To have a better understanding of the five segments, one may wonder whether clusters three and four (the 'religious' clusters) are in close proximity to each other, and similarly for clusters two and five (the 'tourist' clusters). A canonical discriminant analysis was performed to check how close the centroids of each cluster are and how distinct the different segments are from with each other. Canonical Discriminant functions are linear combinations that separate

groups of observations and discriminant analysis is akin to ANOVA. Examining the spatial patterns provides an insight into possible discriminatory variables (Hair et al., 2010). The plot of combined groups in Figure 1 below shows that the five clusters are relatively distinct, as the centroids of each cluster are separated and the observations of each cluster do not overlap much. Yet clusters three and four seem to have a closer proximity to each other and so do clusters two and five, as Figure 1 shows. There are two dimensions retained with eigenvalues of 3.8 and 1.8 respectively and these two dimensions account for 88% of the variance, with the first dimension accounting for 60% of the total. Figure 1 implies that dimension one is on a continuum of a belief in Buddhism as a specific motive to visit Pu-Tuo on the one hand and a general traditional practice motive on the other. The second dimension runs from that belief in Buddhism to a general sightseeing motive. In total, 94% of the cases were correctly allocated indicating that a five-cluster solution is appropriate in this study.

**Figure 1: The Five Cluster Solution**



Canonical Discriminant Functions
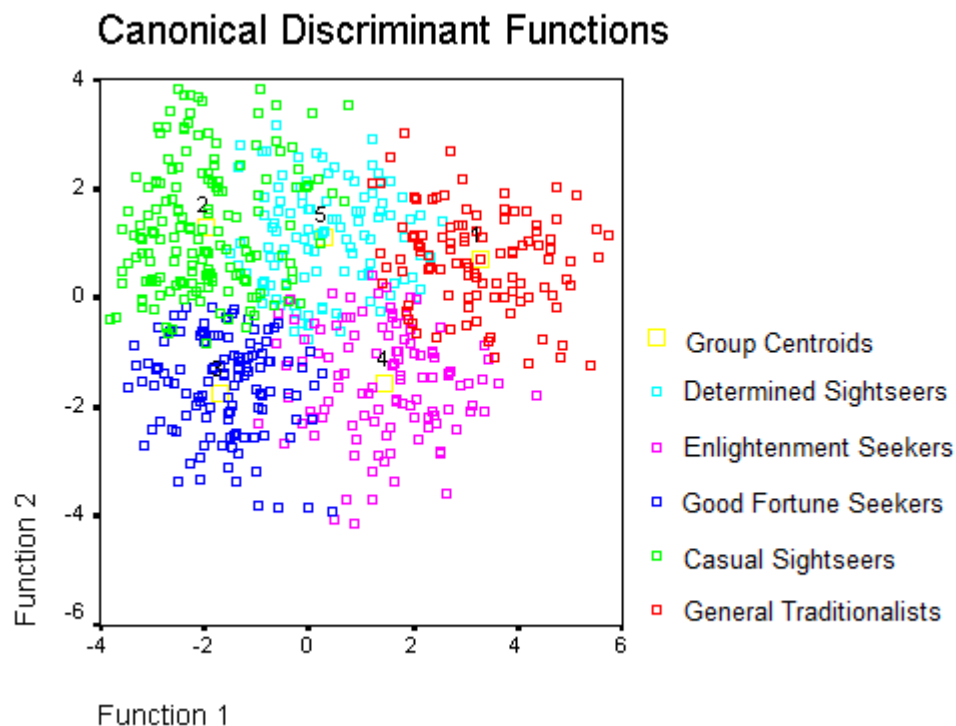
Given this five-cluster solution obtained using the motivational scale, the next step is to examine what variables (not used to construct the clusters) could be used as discriminatory variables to differentiate the five segments. Cross-tabulating cluster membership with socio-demographic variables using the Chi-square statistic found that there were no statistically significant relationships at p<0.01. The results confirm the earlier findings that socio-demographic variables were not discriminatory variables. The results, more generally, are not too surprising as they corroborate some existing research showing that the differentiating factors among visitors at sacred sites are more likely to be represented by psychographic rather than demographic variables. A number of previous studies have shown that variables measuring motivations and behavioural patterns, and the level of understanding of, and devotion to, a particular religion are more significantly discriminatory variables than socio-demographic ones (for example, Bremer, 2004, 2006; Cohen, 1979; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; McKercher, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2003; Rinschede, 1992).

Since the socio-demographic variables are not discriminatory, psychographic data are examined instead. An investigation using ANOVA was made to see whether the importance attributed to activities can be used as discriminatory variables for the motivational clusters. All sets of scores of the scale of importance of activities are found to be very statistically significant at *p*<0.001 and, thus, they are confirmed to be strong discriminatory variables for the motivational clusters. The data are shown in Table 10. Cluster one, labelled General Traditionalists again emerged as the one with the highest mean scores across the items and the results are thus consistent with the motivational pattern of this cluster. Cluster two, named Casual Sightseers emerged as the one with the highest score on wanting to see the natural scenery. Cluster three, the one of the Good Fortune Seekers, because of the importance its members attributed to 'hsu yuan and huan yuan', exhibits the second highest score on this item, compared to the other clusters. Furthermore, the members of this cluster scored significantly more on this 'hsu yuan and huan yuan' item than they

scored on any other listed items, other than burning joss sticks. Cluster four, entitled the Enlightenment Seekers, also scored high on 'hsu yuan and huan yuan' and on 'burning joss sticks'. Of interest is the fact that this cluster is the one that scored the second highest (after Cluster one) on Buddhist practices, including reciting mantras, meditating, attending pujas, discussing Buddhist theory with monastic members as well as practising the [4]every-3-steps-one-kneels ritual. It is noted that the members of this cluster also scored high on seeing natural scenery. The final cluster, called the Cultural Sightseers, tended not to score high on any of the items other than 'hsu yuan and huan yuan' as well as 'burning joss sticks'. This finding is possibly due to the fact that none of the remaining items relate to seeing places of historical or cultural importance. Yet the potential behavioural pattern still fits well the motivational pattern of this cluster for visitors belonging to this segment, albeit for having a specific interest in seeing places of cultural significance, are prone to take a chance to make wishes inside monasteries and nunneries as part of their experience of Chinese cultural traditions.

---

[4] Every-3-steps-one-kneels: it is a form of prostration in Buddhism, to express gratitude to the Three Precious Gems, that is, to the Buddha, to the Dharma and to the Sangha (monastic community)(Too, 2003).

**Table 10: Importance of Activities as Discriminatory Variables at p<0.001**

| Questions on Importance of activities | Trads | Sight | Seek | Enligh | Deter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | Mean | Mean | Mean | Mean |
| How important is it to hsu yuan and huan yuan inside monasteries/nunneries? | 9.03 | 4.26 | 8.99 | 8.59 | 8.00 |
| How important is it to throw coins/money to incense burners for good luck? | 7.13 | 3.43 | 4.17 | 6.07 | 5.60 |
| How important is it to tie wind chimes on trees for good luck? | 5.89 | 2.14 | 2.42 | 3.95 | 3.65 |
| How important is it to burn joss sticks to Bodhisattva of Compassion for blessings? | 9.06 | 5.40 | 8.42 | 8.86 | 8.44 |
| How important is it to make donations to monasteries/ nunneries? | 7.71 | 3.42 | 5.37 | 6.83 | 5.78 |
| How important is it to eat seafood? | 4.18 | 3.04 | 1.87 | 2.36 | 4.01 |
| How important is it to see boulders, caves, beaches and natural scenery? | 7.09 | 6.50 | 3.58 | 6.51 | 3.58 |
| How important is it to do shopping at Pu-Tuo? | 2.95 | 2.01 | 1.37 | 1.58 | 2.14 |
| How important is it to purchase historical books of Pu-Tuo in order to know more about the place? | 4.51 | 1.84 | 1.45 | 2.47 | 2.04 |
| How important is it to recite Buddhist holy mantras? | 4.60 | 1.42 | 1.60 | 3.67 | 2.28 |
| How important is it to meditate and visualize? | 4.92 | 1.66 | 1.82 | 3.87 | 2.24 |
| How important is it to attend morning pujas in monasteries? | 5.35 | 1.49 | 2.24 | 4.06 | 2.19 |
| How important is it to discuss Buddhism theory with monastic members of Pu-Tuo? | 4.63 | 1.38 | 1.42 | 3.08 | 2.00 |
| How important is it to practice the every 3-step-one-kneels and prays along the way to monasteries? | 6.64 | 2.51 | 3.71 | 5.79 | 4.59 |

While the data do not wholly 'hang together', for the most part there are good reasons for believing that the data possess integrity. Table 11 presents other psychographic variables related to actual behaviour and strength of belief that are found to be discriminatory (*p*<0.001) among the five motivational segments. For example, the two sightseeing groups had the lowest scores for the self-assessment of understanding of Buddhism and the lowest scores for duration of belief in the religious tenets of Buddhism, as well as for donations made to monasteries. They also tended to have the lowest mean scores on the likelihood of returning to Pu-Tuo while the Good Fortune Seekers and Enlightenment Seekers appeared to have the highest mean scores for repeat visits. The Enlightenment Seekers scored 6.73 for their self assessment of devotion - just 0.2 behind the General Traditionalists - and

both clusters scored significantly higher than the other ones.  It is of interest to note that when asked whether they agreed that 'I am a Xianke (worshipper) rather than a Buddhist', the Enlightenment Seekers scored the lowest, reflecting their unwillingness to be perceived as Xiankes rather than Buddhists.  The Good Fortune Seekers on the contrary scored the highest on this item.  Such findings are to be expected because the Enlightened Seekers, according to their profile, seem to be Buddhists who have gone for refuge to the Buddha in a formal ceremony – where they vow a heartfelt reliance on the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha for guidance on the path to enlightenment.  Taking refuge is the procedure by which one becomes officially a Buddhist, thereby entering into a guru-disciple relationship.  As such, those Buddhists who have gone for refuge to the Buddha would probably not like to be identified as 'Xiankes', who are, in all likelihood, people who have not yet gone for refuge.

Another question inquired whether one sees the visit to Pu-Tuo as being for the purpose of unearthing Buddha-hood; the question was meant to elicit how dedicated to Buddhism a visitor is.  As shown in Table 11, only the Enlightenment Seekers scored high on this item, which contributes to distinguish this segment from the one of the Good Fortune Seekers, as well as from the one of the Casual Sightseers, who had the lowest score on this item.  On a different religious item, asking whether one agreed that one's visit to Pu-Tuo was motivated by its power to get one's wishes granted, the Good Fortune Seekers, as expected, scored the highest.  For the question asking whether one agreed that Pu-Tuo is a mixture of a recreational and a pilgrimage destination, the Enlightenment Seekers were found to have the lowest score of all segments.  It is also noted that the Enlightenment Seekers lodged in monasteries during their visit to Pu-Tuo while the remaining segments did not.  Overall the results indicate that the motivational clustering discriminates well both in terms of activities, actual behaviour and in terms of strength of belief.

**Table 11: Actual Behaviour and Strength of Belief as Discriminatory Variables at p<0.001**

| Questions on Actual Behaviour and Strength of Belief | Trads | Sight | Seek | Enligh | Deter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | Mean | Mean | Mean | Mean |
| Donation made to a monastery and nunnery (Yuan) | 193.9 | 54.9 | 162 | 323.8 | 126.1 |
| Duration of belief in Buddhism (years) | 10.64 | 4.46 | 10.07 | 11.61 | 8.95 |
| Self assessment of devotion to Buddhism | 6.91 | 3.42 | 4.92 | 6.73 | 5.21 |
| Self assessment of understanding of Buddhism | 5.74 | 3.25 | 4.27 | 5.26 | 4.55 |
| Likelihood of return next year (1=yes, 0=no) | 1.66 | 1.36 | 1.69 | 1.82 | 1.62 |
| Number of visits to Pu-Tuo (including the current visit) | 2.86 | 1.76 | 3.72 | 3.98 | 2.09 |
| I believe that burning lots of incense sticks will help get my wishes granted | 7.98 | 5.02 | 8.18 | 7.09 | 7.18 |
| To make donations to monasteries will help get blessings | 8.32 | 5.42 | 8.36 | 8.00 | 7.36 |
| In general I perceive myself to be a Xianke rather than a Buddhist | 6.89 | 6.41 | 7.64 | 5.66 | 7.15 |
| I hope the trip to Pu-Tuo can unearth my Buddha-hood and purify karmas and help obtain enlightenment | 7.72 | 3.79 | 5.23 | 7.86 | 5.88 |
| I visit Pu-Tuo because of its power in getting one's wishes granted | 8.01 | 4.76 | 8.32 | 7.70 | 7.65 |
| To me, Pu-Tuo is a mixture of recreation and pilgrimage destination | 6.90 | 6.60 | 6.20 | 4.93 | 6.72 |
| The best description of your visit to Pu-Tuo (1=mostly for hsu yuan huan yuan; 2=unearthing Buddha-hood; 3=for recreation; 4=seeing historical and cultural sites; 5=visiting friends; 6=accompanionship) | 1.75 | 3.33 | 1.41 | 1.47 | 2.41 |
| Did you lodge in monasteries? (0=No, 1=Yes) | 0.08 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.14 | 0.026 |

The above psychographic variables that are found to be discriminatory variables were cross-tabulated with the five motivational segments to reveal further characteristics of each segment. The most significant data are presented in Table 12, which is followed by a detailed discussion.

Table 12: The Motivational Clusters Summarily Described in Terms of the Potential Activities, Actual Behaviour and Strength of Belief.

| Motivational Cluster | Nature of core motivation (mean scores) | Distinguishing potential activities (score from 1 lowest to 10 highest) | % of sample | Distinguishing actual behaviour (score from 1 lowest to 10 highest) | % of sample | Distinguishing strength of belief (score from 1 lowest to 10 highest) | % of sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cluster 1 General Traditionalists 17.2% N=110 | Interested in everything; in particular in: Hsu yuan (9.07) and huan yuan (8.19) Sightseeing (8.54) Relaxation (7.9) Seeing traditional culture (8.53) Visiting places of cultural or historical significance (8.06). | High importance on: (77.3%) hsu yuan and huan yuan, scored 9 to 10. (63.6%) throw coins, scored 8 to 10. (40%) tie wind chimes, scored 8 to 10. (77.3%) burn joss sticks, scored 9 to 10. (67.3%) make donations, scored 8 to 10. (54.4%) eat seafood, scored 5 to 10. (65.5%) see boulders, caves, natural scenery, scored 7 to 10. (61.8%) recite mantras, scored 5 to 10 (63.5%) meditate, scored 5 to 10. (62.7%) attend pujas, scored 5 to 10. (59.2%) discuss Buddhism with monks, scored 5 to 10. (78.3%) practice the every 3-steps-one-kneels, scored 5 to 10. | 13.2% 10.9% 6.8% 13.2% 11.5% 9.3% 11.3% 10.6% 10.9% 10.7% 10.1% 13.4% | (54.5%) claimed to have high devotion level to Buddhism, scored 8 to 10. (33.6%) claimed to have high level of understanding of Buddhism, scored 8 to 10. (43.6%) claimed this is the first visit to Pu-Tuo. (66.4%) said definitely will re-visit Pu-Tuo next year. (19.9%) did attended pujas (32.7%) made donation from 50-100 RMB (69.1%) said the best description of their visit to Pu-Tuo is mostly for hsu yuan and huan yuan. (8.2%) stayed overnight in monasteries. | 9.3% 5.7% 7.5% 11.4% 3.4% 5.6% 11.9% 1.4% | (57.2%) believed that burning lots of incense sticks will help get wishes granted, scored 9 to 10. (55.5%) believed that making donations to monasteries will help get blessings, scored 10. (77.4%) visited Pu-Tuo because of its power in getting one's wishes granted, scored 7 to 10. (76.4%) hoped the trip to Pu-Tuo can unearth Buddha-hood, scored 6 to 10. (32.7%) agreed that Pu-Tuo is a mixture of recreational and pilgrimage destination. | 9.8% 9.5% 13.2% 13.1% 5.6% |
| Cluster 2 Casual Sightseers 26.3% N=168 | A wish to go sightseeing (7.48), to relax (6.74), to see sites of traditional culture (6.11), visit sites of historical and cultural significance (5.65). | High importance on: (48.2%) see boulders, caves, natural scenery, scored 8 to 10. | 12.6% | (78%) claimed to have none at all to moderate level of devotion to Buddhism, scored 0 to 5. (62%) claimed to have none to low level of understanding of Buddhism, scored 0 to 3. (75.2%) first visit to Pu-Tuo. (68.5%) said perhaps will re-visit Pu-Tuo next year. (94.6%) did not attend pujas. (38.1%) did not make donations at all. (69.1%) claimed the best description of their visit to Pu-Tuo is for recreation and fun, as well as seeing historical and cultural sites. (1.2%) stayed overnight in monasteries. | 20.5% 16.2% 19.8% 17.9% 24.8% 10% 18.1% 0.32% | (54.2%) agreed that Pu-Tuo is a mixture of recreational and pilgrimage destination. | 14.2% |

| Motivational Cluster | Nature of core motivation (mean scores) | Distinguishing potential activities (score from 1 lowest to 10 highest) | % of sample | Distinguishing actual behaviour (score from 1 lowest to 10 highest) | % of sample | Distinguishing strength of belief (score from 1 lowest to 10 highest) | % of sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cluster 3 Good Fortune Seekers 20.8% N=133 | Only interested in hsu yuan (8.48) and huan yuan (7.20). | High importance on: (88.7%) hsu yuan and huan yuan, scored 8 to 10. (69.9%) burn joss sticks, scored 9 to 10. (28.6%) make donations, scored 9 to 10. | 18.4% 14.5% 5.9% | (45.1%) claimed to have moderate level of devotion to Buddhism, scored 5 to 6. (50.4%) claimed to have moderate level of understanding of Buddhism, scored 4 to 6. (35.3%) claimed this is the first visit to Pu-Tuo. (69.9%) said definitely will re-visit Pu-Tuo next year. (18%) attended pujas. (36.1%) made donation from 50-100 RMB (85%) said the best description of their visit to Pu-Tuo is mostly for hsu yuan and huan yuan. (3%) stayed overnight in monasteries. | 9.3% 10.4% 7.3% 14.5% 3.7% 7.5% 17.6 0.62% | (72.0%) believed that burning lots of incense sticks will help get wishes granted score 8 to 10. (74.4%) believed that making donations to monasteries will help get blessings, scored 8 to 10. (63.2%) agreed they perceived themselves as Xiankes rather than Buddhists, scored 8 to 10. (75.9%) visited Pu-Tuo because of its power in getting one's wishes granted, scored 8 to 10. (34.6%) agreed that Pu-Tuo is a mixture of recreational and pilgrimage destination. | 14.9% 15.4% 13.1% 15.7% 7.2% |
| Cluster 4 Enlightenment Seekers 18% N=115 | Seek enlightenment (7.54), attend pujas (4.22), discuss Buddhism with monastic members (3.12), want to hsu yuan (8.36) and huan yuan (7.53) too. | High importance on: (83.4%) hsu yuan and huan yuan, scored 7 to 10. (71.3%) burn joss sticks, scored 9 to 10 (32.2%) make donations, scored 10. (43.4%) recite mantras, scored 5 to 10. (46.2%) meditate, scored 5 to 10. (46%) attend pujas, scored 5 to 10. (31.2%) discuss Buddhism with monks, scored 5 to 9. (64.2%) practice the every-3-steps-one-kneels, scored 5 to 10. | 15.0% 12.8% 5.8% 7.8% 8.3% 8.2% 5.6% 11.5% | (68.6%) claimed to have moderate to high level of devotion to Buddhism, scored 6 to 10. (70.4%) claimed to have moderate to high level of understanding of Buddhism, scored 5 to 10. (36.5%) claimed this is the first visit to Pu-Tuo. (82.6%) said definitely will re-visit Pu-Tuo next year. (28.7%) attended pujas. (24.4%) made donation from 200-500 RMB (63.5%) said the best description of their visit to Pu-Tuo is mostly for hsu yuan and huan yuan. (30.4%) claimed they were mostly for unearthing innate | 12.3% 12.6% 6.6% 14.8% 5.15% 4.4% 11.4% 5.5% | (56.5%) believed that burning lots of incense sticks will help get wishes granted, scored 8 to 10. (67.9%) believed that making donations to monasteries will help get blessings, scored 8 to 10. (56.6%) visited Pu-Tuo because of its power in getting one's wishes granted, scored 9 to 10. (76.5%) hoped the trip to Pu-Tuo can unearth Buddha-hood, scored 6 to 10. | 10.2% 12.1% 10.1% 13.7% |

| Motivational Cluster | Nature of core motivation (mean scores) | Distinguishing potential activities (score from 1 lowest to 10 highest) | % of sample | Distinguishing actual behaviour (score from 1 lowest to 10 highest) | % of sample | Distinguishing strength of belief (score from 1 lowest to 10 highest) | % of sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Buddha-hood. (14.8%) stayed overnight in monasteries. | 2.7% | | |
| Cluster 5 Determined Sightseers 17.8% N=114 | In addition to sightseeing (8.10), have specific cultural motives to see sites of cultural and historical significance (7.08) as well as to see something of traditional culture (8.43); want to hsu yuan (8.71) and huan yuan (7.24) too. | Moderate to high importance on: (38.6%) hsu yuan and huan yuan, scored 6 to 9. (82.5%) burn joss sticks, scored 8 to 10. (29.8%) eat seafood, scored 6 to 10. (72%) see boulders, caves, natural scenery, scored 6 to 10. | 6.9% 14.6% 5.3% 12.8% | (41.2%) had low to moderate level of devotion to Buddhism, scored 3 to 5. (59.7%) had low to moderate understanding of Buddhism, scored 3 to 8. (52.6%) claimed this is the first visit to Pu-Tuo. (60.5%) said definitely will re-visit Pu-Tuo next year. (12.3%) did attended pujas. (25.4%) did not make donations at all. (42.1%) claimed the best description of their visit to Pu-Tuo is for recreation and fun, as well as seeing historical and cultural sites. (2.6%) stayed overnight in monasteries. | 7.3% 10.7% 9.4% 10.8% 2.2% 4.5% 7.5% 0.46% | (46.6%) believed that burning lots of incense sticks will help get wishes granted, scored 5 to 9. (63.1%) believed that making donations to monasteries will help get blessings, scored 7 to 10. (45.6%) visited Pu-Tuo because of its power in getting one's wishes granted, scored 10. (38.6%) agreed that Pu-Tuo is a mixture of recreational and pilgrimage destination. | 8.2% 11.3% 8.1% 6.9% |

Table 12 shows that the five motivational segments were distinguishable by the activities, the behaviour, as well as the strength of belief in Buddhism. The members of cluster one, entitled the General Traditionalists, appear to be interested in everything in general, with a particularly high emphasis on hsu yuan and huan yuan. As this segment tended to give high scores on all items, therefore it is not surprising to find out that although 76.4% of this segment expressed that they hoped that the trip to Pu-Tuo can unearth their innate Buddha-hood, their actual behaviour indicated that 80.1% of this segment did not attend pujas and that only 8.2% of them stayed overnight in monasteries. To the contrary, the desire for relaxation and for visiting cultural and historical places, as well as the desire to hsu yuan or huan yuan appear to be the more 'genuine reasons' for this segment to visit Pu-Tuo.

For the members of cluster two, the Casual Sightseers, the motivations to visit Pu-Tuo seem to be consistent with the activities that they actually engaged in. For instance, as shown in Table 12, 94.6% of this segment did not attend pujas and 69.1% reported that the best description of their visit was for recreation and sightseeing. It is noted that 75.2% of this segment were first-time visitors to Pu-Tuo and constituted a large portion of all first-time visitors. Over 60% of this segment reported to have a low devotion to Buddhism and 78% of them reported a low understanding of Buddhism, which sets them apart from the other segments, in particular cluster five, the Cultural Sightseers. While the Casual Sightseers showed little interest in religious activities and admitted to have a low understanding of Buddhism, the Cultural Sightseers showed a moderate interest in Buddhism and a certain understanding of it, in addition to their participation in cultural and general sightseeing activities.

Clusters three and four distinguish themselves in their religious dimensions. Cluster three - the Good Fortune Seekers - are almost exclusively interested in hsu yuan and huan yuan and their actual behaviour matches the cluster's

motivational pattern. That is, a large majority, 82% of the members of this segment, did not attend pujas and, thus, it is not surprising that 97% of them did not stay overnight in the monasteries. Approximately half of this segment claimed to have at least a moderate level of devotion and understanding of Buddhism. The majority of the members of this segment are repeat visitors; only 35.3% of them were first-time visitors. Such a feature parallels the comments of the monastic members who told the researcher that those who come to Pu-Tuo to seek auspiciousness tend to come every year, to 'follow-up' on the previous year's visit, to pay back for granted good fortune. Their belief that Pu-Tuo is an efficacious place in getting one's wish granted is consistent with their repeat visit: 75.9% of the members of this segment believe in the power of Pu-Tuo. In contrast, the members of cluster four, the Enlightenment Seekers, claimed to have moderate to high devotion to, and understanding of, Buddhism. This segment is found to be the one with the largest percentage of respondents who stayed overnight in the monasteries (14.8%), attended pujas (28.7%) and claimed to seek enlightenment (30.4%). It is also of interest to note that the Enlightenment Seekers tended to donate more than the Good Fortune Seekers, as the former donated RMB 200 to 500 while the latter donated RMB 50 to 100, on average.

The members of cluster five, the Cultural Sightseers, showed a moderate interest in religious rituals, in addition to seeing natural and cultural places. They also showed a higher degree of devotion to Buddhism than the Causal sightseers. It is of interest to note that the Cultural Sightseers and the General Traditionalists have in common a certain tendency to be interested in everything. Yet, comparatively, the Cultural Sightseers are generally less religious than the General Traditionalists for the former perceived it to be of less importance to hsu yuan and huan yuan (38.6% scored at 6 to 9), while in the latter group, 77.3% considered it is of extreme importance (scored at 9-10) to do so. The most frequent description of the nature of their trip is that it is 'for recreation and fun' as well as 'for seeing cultural and historical sites', while, for the General Traditionalists, it is to 'hsu yuan and huan yuan'.

**Wider Discussion of the Characterisation**

Churches, mosques, temples are, in the words of Mircea Eliade, the imitation of paradise or of the celestial world being symbolically reproduced in the profane world (Eliade 1957, p. 61), and the religious man experiences sacred time only periodically during his presence at such sacred venues and through participation in the liturgical rituals and religious festivals where he is "… reborn, for he began a new life,… for he was delivered from the burden of his sins and failings" (Eliade, 1968, p. 79). Eliade says that it is because of all these reasons that a religious man places himself at the sanctuary of God to find his true existence and that such an attitude differentiates a religious from a non-religious man (Eliade 1957, p. 70). The above results seem to be in line with Eliade's views, which are, for example, mirrored in the profile of Casual Sightseers compared to the one of Good Fortune Seekers. The former are not interested in participating in any religious activities. Yet the results also raise a concern: where is the cut-off point whereby a man can be called a religious person? The statistical results show that there are visitors, such as the Cultural Sightseers, who come toPu-Tuo primarily to see cultural places and declared to have low to moderate interest in and understanding of Buddhism. In fact, they also visited Buddhist monasteries, experienced some degree of sacred time and engaged in religious activities such as burning joss sticks. Similarly, the Good Fortune Seekers also admit to have only low to moderate interest in and understanding of Buddhism, but they typically went to monasteries for making wishes and to allow themselves to experience some sacred time (by their own standard). This suggests that the reality is more complex than it being the case that there are simply religious and non-religious believers, or that the former feel the need to put themselves in sacred venues and experience some sacred time while the latter do not.

In this thesis, the five motivational clusters and the corresponding behavioural (activities) and attitudinal (belief) characteristics suggest two dimensions that might help to understand the complexities of the reality in Pu-Tuo. The first

dimension is sightseeing and it is on a continuum. Starting at one end with the general sightseeing motive, the dimension evolves towards the more specific motive of understanding cultural tradition, visiting places of historical and cultural significance and engaging in religious/folkloric practices as part of the cultural experience. The finding that visitors can be located all along this continuum corroborates existing research reporting that visits to religious and cultural sites offer visitors "educational benefits" (Shackley, 2001, p. 105), that is, opportunities for tourists not only to see the destination, but also to engage in learning and understanding the culture or religion of the places they visit (MacCannell, 1999; McKercher, 1993; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Moscardo, 1996). Such learning can be an enjoyable experience for tourists due to novelty or surprises (Prideaux & Timothy, 2008).

The second dimension is the diversity of religiosity and is on a continuum going from the constellation of folkloric beliefs and traditional pursuit of auspiciousness to the 'serious' longing for Buddhist self transcendence. The results clearly indicate that there is considerable heterogeneity in levels of religious motives. Evidence of this can be found by comparing the profile of the Good Fortune Seekers to the one of the Enlightenment Seekers. The former group, as its name indicates, looks for auspiciousness in their life, while the latter one seeks self transcendence, freedom from materialistic desires and ultimately the elimination of the need to reincarnate. Some monastic members commented that, although humans all make wishes, some wish for their own well-being only and for benefits in their current life, while others pray for benevolence for all sentient beings and for oneself to have the courage to resist any temptation that can prevent one from achieving enlightenment (see Chapter 7). It is apparent that both groups make wishes but the nature of those wishes may be different. This finding is in line with some scholarly works which point out the existence of different religious motivations at sacred sites (Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Shackley, 2001; Sizer, 1999); building on this published literature, the present work further introduces nuances, that is, to separate religious visitors into two groups and provides names and specifications of the profiles of these

two groups in details: the Good Fortune Seekers who ask for favours from deities versus the Enlightenment Seekers who strive for enlightenment.  The existence of those clusters is thus in line with Shackley's comments that "Pilgrims travel for healing, and also for deepening and strengthening of faith" (Shackley, 2001, p. 120); details of the profiles and names were given to the two clusters in this thesis.   The characterisation of those two religious tourists groups was incorporated with the theology of Buddhism, which at present is rarely discussed in religious tourism studies.

## 6.7 Visits to Monasteries and Nunneries at Pu-Tuo

This section presents the results of the survey which deal with the extent to which the various monasteries and nunneries of Pu-Tuo were visited by the respondents.  Table 13 summarises those results.

As shown in Table 13, there are today 28 Buddhist venues at Pu-Tuo which are accessible to the public; they are different in terms of size, cultural significance, scenic setting and role, as well as in terms of the services they offer (see Chapter 4).   The descriptive statistics are in agreement with the researcher's on-site observations and the information provided by the monastic members.  That is, they appear to confirm that the Pu-Ji Monastery is the most popular monastery at Pu-Tuo for 92.3% of the sample visited it.  The Pu-Ji Monastery has enormous cultural significance as one of the oldest monasteries of Pu-Tuo and is the largest monastery.  It was mostly built with resources granted by Emperor Kang Xi in 1699.  In addition, this monastery has been positioned by the Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association as a monastery which offers Buddhist pujas to the public (a discussion of the roles of the various Buddhist venues in Pu-Tuo is presented in Chapter 4 and 8).  The Guan Yin Bronze Statue is the second most visited site (89.1% of the sample); its popularity is probably due to the recent apparition of the Bodhisattva on the 30th of October 1997 (Bao & Bai, 2008; Fang & Wang, 2005; L. X. Wang, 1999) at the occasion of its inauguration.  The Fa Yu and Wei Ji

Monasteries, being the second and the third largest monasteries, were visited by 71.9% and 68.4% of the sample respectively. The Zhi Zhu Lin Shrine, visited by 60.8% of the sample, is located by the seaside next to the Not Going Guan Yin Shrine, which is the very first shrine of Pu-Tuo dedicated to the Bodhisattva. The results indicate that the monasteries and shrines of Pu-Tuo which have a rich and long history are the ones most commonly visited.

**Table 13: Visitations to the Buddhist Venues of Pu-Tuo**

| Name of the Buddhist venue | Visited | % | Did not Visit | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1.  Pu Ji Monastery | 591 | 92.3 | 49 | 7.7 |
| 2.  The Guan Yin Bronze Statue | 570 | 89.1 | 70 | 10.9 |
| 3.  Fa Yu Monastery | 460 | 71.9 | 180 | 28.1 |
| 4.  Wei Ji Monastery | 438 | 68.4 | 202 | 31.6 |
| 5.  Zhi Zhu Lin Shrine | 389 | 60.8 | 251 | 39.2 |
| 6.  Not Going Guan Yin Shrine | 352 | 55 | 288 | 45 |
| 7.  Cave of Tidal Wave | 233 | 36.4 | 407 | 63.6 |
| 8.  Guan Yin Tong Nunnery | 194 | 30.3 | 446 | 69.7 |
| 9.  Lok Jia Mountain | 165 | 25.8 | 475 | 74.2 |
| 10. Fang Yin Tong Shrine | 145 | 22.7 | 495 | 77.3 |
| 11. Mei Fu Nunnery | 134 | 20.9 | 506 | 79.1 |
| 12. Yuan Tong Nunnery | 122 | 19.1 | 518 | 80.9 |
| 13. Shan Cai Cave | 91 | 14.2 | 549 | 85.8 |
| 14. Da Cheng Shrine | 79 | 12.3 | 561 | 87.7 |
| 15. Chi Un Shrine | 72 | 11.3 | 568 | 88.8 |
| 16. Guo Fu Shrine | 16 | 10.5 | 573 | 89.5 |
| 17. Xiang Wei Shrine | 60 | 9.4 | 580 | 90.6 |
| 18. Pu Wei Nunnery | 59 | 9.2 | 581 | 90.8 |
| 19. Ning Shi Nunnery | 58 | 9.1 | 582 | 90.0 |
| 20. Xian Yuan Shrine | 56 | 8.8 | 584 | 91.3 |
| 21. Si Fang Shrine | 51 | 8.0 | 589 | 92 |
| 22. Yan Zhi Shrine | 38 | 5.9 | 602 | 94.1 |
| 23. Yin Shou Shrine | 38 | 5.9 | 602 | 94.1 |
| 24. Fu Chan Shrine and Pu-Tuo Buddhist Institute | 33 | 5.2 | 607 | 94.8 |
| 25. Chang Lue Shrine | 30 | 4.7 | 610 | 95.3 |
| 26. Shuang Chun Shrine | 28 | 4.4 | 612 | 95.6 |
| 27. Jie Ping Shrine | 25 | 3.9 | 615 | 96.1 |
| 28. Pan Shan Shrine | 24 | 3.8 | 616 | 96.2 |

Since each one of the Buddhist venues at Pu-Tuo has its own characteristics, a natural question to ask is whether cluster membership has an effect on the pattern of visitation, with perhaps the phenomenon that those wishing

158

exclusively to seek good fortune may visit more shrines, or some particular Buddhist venues. Consequently the patterns of visitations were examined using Chi-square tests. The results were not all statistically significant. Only six Buddhist venues were found to be significant ($p<0.05$) as shown in Table 14. The results therefore indicate that the characteristics of the five segments have an influence on the visitations to these six Buddhist venues.

The General Traditionalists, basically in line with their tendency to be interested in everything, visited practically all six of those Buddhist venues, except the Fa Yu Monastery. It is of interest to note that the Casual Sightseers tended not to be interested in visiting Buddhist venues because for all of the six monasteries and shrines, the actual count of this segment for visiting them is less than the expected count, as shown in Table 14. The result thus concurs with the motivational and behavioural pattern of this segment, confirming that they are not interested in religious life but primarily come for recreation, sightseeing, and seeing caves and boulders. Similarly, the visitation pattern of the Good Fortune Seekers is consistent with their motivational characteristics. Since they are primarily in Pu-Tuo for making wishes and thanking the Bodhisattva for granting their wishes, they visited all the Buddhist sites that are either famous for apparitions, such as the Lok Jia Mountain and Guan Yin Bronze Statue (L. X. Wang, 1999), or major monasteries known to be efficacious places for wishes to be granted. A monastic member told the researcher that the Pu-Ji monastery is believed to be auspicious because, allegedly, no spiders or spider webs can be found inside its main hall, while they are common in the halls of other monasteries. According to folk tales (completely alien to Buddhism), spiders are manifestations of evil spirits and a spider-less building is thereby auspicious. It is not surprising to find out that this segment did not visit the Fu Chan Shrine because it is a Buddhist Institute which is the training centre for monastic members and in general has very little to do with the public.

The Enlightenment Seekers, in addition to visiting some popular and efficacious Buddhist venues, differentiate themselves from the Good Fortune Seekers by visiting the Buddhist Institute as well as the Not Going Guan Yin Shrine.  Their reason for visiting the Institute may possibly be that they were on a pilgrimage tour organised by some Buddhist organisations and that some educational or cultural exchange activities were scheduled at that Institute as part of the pilgrimage.  The Not Going Guan Yin Shrine is quite small, but it is of particular historical significance as the oldest Pu-Tuo shrine dedicated to the Bodhisattva.  Its erection marked the birth of Pu-Tuo as a pilgrimage destination, giving it a great significance to Buddhists and it is accordingly highly visited by the members of this segment.

Not surprisingly, given that the main motivation of this segment is to explore sites of cultural significance, the Cultural Sightseers visited Buddhist venues which are of cultural and historical significance, in particular both the Pu-Ji and the Fa Yu monasteries, the two largest monasteries that are also AAAAA protected heritage buildings in China since 1982.  Consistent with the motivational pattern of this segment, they rarely visited other Buddhist venues which have a higher religious status.

**Table 14: Cluster Membership Cross-Tabulated with Visitations of Buddhist Venues**

| | | General Traditionalists | Casual Sightseers | Good Fortune Seekers | Enlighten-ment Seekers | Cultural Sightseers | Chi-square tests |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fa Yu Monastery | Did not go | 37 (33.6%) | 61 (36.3%) | | | | Chi-square =13.58 p=0.009 |
| | Go | | | 107 (80.5%) | 87 (75.7%) | 86 (75.4%) | |
| Pu-Ji Monastery | Did not go | | 22 (13.1%) | | | | Chi-square =12.84 p=0.012 |
| | Go | 103 (93.6%) | | 130 (97.7%) | 106 (92.2%) | 106 (93%) | |
| Lok Jia Mountain | Did not go | | 140 (83.3%) | | | 88 (77.2%) | Chi-square =15.89 p=0.003 |
| | Go | 33 (30%) | | 36 (27.1%) | 42 (36.5%) | | |
| Fu Chan Shrine & Buddhist Institute | Did not go | | 161 (95.8%) | 130 (97.7%) | | 109 (95.6%) | Chi-square =10.21 p=0.037 |
| | Go | 12 (10.9%) | | | 6 (5.2%) | | |
| Not Going Guan Yin Shrine | Did no go | | 84 (50%) | 68 (51.1%) | | 54 (47.4%) | Chi-square =11.72 p=0.020 |
| | Go | 66 (60%) | | | 77 (67%) | | |
| The Guan Yin Bronze Statue | Did not go | | 28 (16.7%) | | | 14 (12.3%) | Chi-square =10.59 p=0.032 |
| | Go | 104 (94.5%) | | 120 (90.2%) | 106 (92.2%) | | |

**\*The table shows only the cases where "actual count > expected count" is significant (p<0.05)\***

## 6.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter fulfils one of the key research objectives of the thesis: to generate a typology of visitors at Pu-Tuo on the basis of the results of a questionnaire. Five motivational segments have been constructed through cluster analysis and each segment has been characterised in terms of behavioural pattern and strength of religious belief. Two dimensions are identified through canonical discriminant analysis and found to be the important issues in explaining the diversity of visitors' motivations. The first dimension is the degree of interest and focus in sightseeing and the second relates to the degree of religious beliefs, (see Figure 1).

Consider first the sightseeing dimension. There are three groups that score high in this dimension: the General Traditionalists, the Cultural Sightseers and the Casual Sightseers, in decreasing order of religiosity. The General Traditionalists are interested in everything and thus they participate in both religious and non-religious activities whenever available at the destination. Though their comprehension of Buddhism may not be the deepest, the General Traditionalists have in effect the highest rate of participation in worshipping activities (they are the segment most interested in burning incense and making wishes, for example). On the other hand, they also scored high on participation in non-religious activities, such as sightseeing, spending time with friends and families. This segment is thus similar to what existing research calls the "social pilgrims" who combine both religious and secular motives for visiting a pilgrimage destination (Ioannides & Ioannides, 2006; Rinschede, 1992; Shinde, 2007a).

Another segment on the continuum of the sightseeing dimension is the Cultural Sightseers. Its characteristics are found to be in line with the results of some previous research suggesting that tourists visiting a religious site do not necessarily expect hedonistic pleasure only in their journeys; some may also want to use the opportunity to partake to a religious experience and to a quest for the meaning of life (Cohen, 2006; MacCannell, 1999; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Moscardo, 1996; C. Ryan, 2007; M. Winter & Gasson, 1996). According to the characteristics of the segment of Cultural Sightseers, they are visitors to sacred sites whose primary motivations have little to do with religion, but are, rather cultural in nature. In the case of Pu-Tuo, they see Buddhism as a part of Chinese culture, history and even evolution of the Chinese civilisation (Oakes, 1998; C. Ryan et al., 2008; M. Zhang et al., 2007). They are interested in traditional culture and in visiting places of cultural and historical significance. Their participation in religious activities betrays a desire to experience cultural traditions rather than true religiosity as they report to have only a low to moderate level of devotion to, and understanding of, Buddhism.

Other sightseeing visitors are at the low end of the religious dimension for they do not care much about practicing Buddhism, nor do they perceive it as a cultural phenomenon. They are the Casual Sightseers who are found to be more interested in relaxation and simply enjoying the natural scenery and man-made attractions of the island, with no particular interest in participating in religious activities. As a result, the visitor typology contains two segments which have sightseeing as the major motive for a visit, yet they have different focuses. The Cultural Sightseers are arguably similar to McKercher and du Cros's "purposeful cultural tourists" (McKercher & du Cros, 2002, 2003) for their determined attempt to experience the Buddhist culture of the place. The Casual Sightseers on the other hand are potentially similar to Cohen's "recreation tourists" who are individuals who simply step outside of their ordinary life for a while in search of relaxation and entertainment.

If one now considers the second dimension, the one of religiosity, one also notices differences between the two segments of the religiously motivated visitors, namely the Good Fortune Seekers and the Enlightenment Seekers. The continuum along this dimension goes from the pursuit of auspiciousness and material wellbeing in this lifetime, to the search for enlightenment and an end of reincarnation at the other end of the spectrum. The Good Fortune Seekers place their emphasis almost exclusively on activities that seek the divinities' interventions in their life. They have on the other hand very little interest in sightseeing and visiting places of cultural significance. They constitute the most single-minded of the five segments. At Pu-Tuo, they are dedicated to nothing else than traditional folkloric practices that, in fact, do not correspond much to the spirit of Buddhism (Hsingyun, 2005). The Enlightenment Seekers, on the other hand, in addition to also asking for auspiciousness and blessings, place considerable emphasis on seeking enlightenment and purifying karmas by attending Buddhist rituals and lectures. Parallels to the distinction between the Good Fortune Seekers and the Enlightenment Seekers are not easily found in the existing literature, for most of it does not make a comparable distinction; all religiously motivated visitors are generically called 'pilgrims' in the Western

163

literature, as discussed in Chapter 3. Even though some studies point out the diversity of religious motivations among pilgrims (Eade, 1992; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Shackley, 2001; Sizer, 1999), religious tourists are still called pilgrims and it is rarely that one can find an analogue to the Good Fortune Seekers. Even when one does, in a few studies that refer to 'religious prayers/worshippers' (Digance, 2006; Shackley, 2001; Vukonic, 2006), there is a lack of detailed characterisations.

Previous research notes that tourists who travel in the "existential mode" are similar to pure pilgrims, while those who travel in the "recreational mode" are akin to pure tourists (Cohen, 1979). "The pilgrim and the 'pilgrim-tourist' peregrinate towards their socio-cultural centre, while the traveller and the 'traveller-tourist' move in the opposite direction" (Kreiner & Kliot, 2000, p. 65). In this thesis, both the Good Fortune Seekers and Enlightenment Seekers, to a certain extent, share similarities with what is found in the aforementioned research for the fact that both groups consider Pu-Tuo to be the centre of their faith and they both typically travel to their Centre of their World to spend some sacred time and perform religious practices. Yet some reservations to seeing these two segments as travelling in the "existential tourist mode (pure pilgrims)" are noted. It is because the typology of Cohen's tourist experiences is based on two assumptions. First the "religious centre" and the "centre of one's daily life" are located in two different and separate worlds and, second, it assumes that an individual seeks to adhere to a "religious centre" and would rather choose to completely commit to this "new world" for good because one is dissatisfied in "the centre of one's daily life" (Cohen, 2002b, p. 101). Yet it is argued that there are individuals who can simultaneously adhere to more than one 'world', have enjoyable moments in different worlds, and may not necessarily feel an alienation from their own culture and society and seek to escape from them and live in another world.

It seems apparent that both the Good Fortune Seekers and the Enlightenment Seekers search for some help or power regeneration (Eliade, 1968) from their "Centre of the World".  While the Good Fortune Seekers expect that their visit to Pu-Tuo will result in a divine intervention that will change the world of their daily life for the better, the Enlightenment Seekers search for power regeneration in order to deal with potential "wears and tears, sins and failings encountered in the centre of one's daily life" (Eliade, 1968, p. 79).  Nevertheless, their motivations imply that they do not necessarily feel the need to abandon their "world of daily life", but on the contrary, they want to make their current life or future life better; therefore they engaged in auspicious or Buddhist practices. Findings of this thesis suggest that the alienation of one's "world of daily life" as one of the important features of the "existential mode" may not be so applicable in the Buddhism context.  In particular, the spirit of Buddhism emphasises emptiness, implying that there is no one world better than another.  In this vein, one can potentially say that both the Good Fortune Seekers and Enlightenment Seekers are travelling in Cohen's "existential mode".  They both travel to their religious centre of the world, although the nature of their religious needs is quite different, their ultimate goal is nevertheless not meant to abandon their existing "world of daily life", but to pray for a good life in their current world and/or in the future.  The findings thus illustrate the importance of incorporating the spirit of religions, in this context, Buddhism, into the construct of 'pilgrims' for the same concept may or may not be interpreted in the same way in all religions.

This chapter has considered the demand (visitors) perspective for visiting Pu-Tuo; the next chapter presents how the monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and tourism at Pu-Tuo; it is based on the interviews with them.

## Chapter 7: The Buddhist Monks' and Nuns' Perceptions of Visitors and Tourism

## 7. Introduction

The present chapter is based on thematic interviews and conversations with the monks and nuns of Pu-Tuo. It first addresses the issue of the identity and characteristics of the visitors to Pu-Tuo as perceived by the monks and nuns. Second, it throws light on the personal feelings of the monks and nuns towards the different groups of visitors that they identify. Third, it reveals how individual monks and nuns perceive tourism and the presence of visitors at their sacred site. Finally, it enquires about the way the monks and nuns cope with any visitor's misconduct, meaning either violation of the monasteries' rules, behaviour that is disturbing to the other visitors, or even antagonistic attitude towards the monks and nuns and the rules of visitstion.

As noted in Section 3.2, there are no academic studies inquiring into how Buddhist monks and nuns perceive the situation of receiving visitors at sacred Buddhist sites in China. The non-academic sources, such as newspaper articles or material posted on the internet about the issue tend to be anecdotal. Yet, it is important to be aware of how Buddhist monks and nuns look at those who come to their sacred land and to understand their perceptions about having to cope with visitors. It is because such an understanding can contribute to finding ways of sustaining the sacredness of a religious site which is also a tourist attraction. Is the way Buddhist monks and nuns see visitors in line with the conventional Western understandings of having at sacred sites a mixed crowd of visitors with levels of devotion ranging from the one of a pilgrim to the one of a tourist? It is likewise of interest to find out whether the way the Buddhist monks and nuns perceive the situation of receiving visitors and dealing with tourism is similar to

previous studies at other sacred sites, where tourism is perceived as a burden and a source of tension which may impinge on the sanctity of the sacred sites? (Digance, 2003, p. 51; Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Olsen, 2006; M. Zhang et al., 2007).

From the 25 monks' and nuns' responses to the question, "Who do you think are the people who visit Pu-Tuo?", one finds two different perspectives and, often, both of them are mentioned in the responses. That is, some responded from the 'mundane-me' perspective, meaning that they pragmatically looked at visitors from the perspective of a person living socially in the mundane world, while others gave responses emanating from their 'Buddhist-me' perspective, meaning that they looked at visitors through the lens of Buddhism. Most respondents, in fact, alternated between the two perspectives in their account. These two perspectives naturally emerged from the raw field data as shown in sections 7.1 and 7.1.1.

## 7.1 The 'Mundane-me' and 'Buddhist-me' Perspectives.

In the thematic analysis of the individual quotes extracted from the interviews with monks and nuns, a key pattern emerged from the data, namely that a majority of the informants responded by taking first a 'mundane-me' perspective and, subsequently, a 'Buddhist-me' perspective. Only a few monks and nuns initially started with replies from their 'Buddhist-me' perspective and even fewer still confined their responses to a single perspective. The 'mundane-me' perspective appears to be a way of seeing social phenomena simply through the lens, and in the social role, of an ordinary human being, whose knowledge and understanding towards a phenomenon is derived from his or her cognitive construction of the secular reality in an ordinary social situation. On the other hand, the 'Buddhist-me' perspective is the worldview from which phenomena are understood from the perspective of Buddhism. When answering from that 'Buddhist-me' perspective, the respondents seemingly put themselves in the particular role of a member of the Buddhist monastic community. Buddhist

167

theology provides normative guidance on how Buddhist monks and nuns should determine their conduct and ways of understanding (Bhikkhu, 1997; Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2007; Karmapa, 2008).  A simple example, illustrating the difference between the 'mundane-me' and the 'Buddhist-me' when considering another person's identity, is as follows: by looking at John's white skin, from the basic knowledge learned from our upbringing and past experience, we tend to categorise John as a Caucasian and to think that he probably comes from the United States of America or Europe.  On the other hand, if Mary's skin colour is yellow, we see her as someone coming from an Asian country.  This immediate and pragmatic form of identifying and categorising people belongs to the mundane perspective; one sees and acts according to the norms, values and understandings of the social reality in which one has been brought up and in which one lives.  Yet, through the normative guidance of Buddhism which stresses that all *sentient beings*[5] are equal and that all are made exclusively of the same Four Elements[6], regardless of obvious dissimilarities such as skin colour, there is no difference to be made between John and Mary because they are both sentient beings in the Buddhist perspective.


The following sections present how monks and nuns responded to a variety of questions by taking at times the 'mundane-me' perspective and at times the 'Buddhist-me' perspective.   Their way of looking at the visitors' identity furthermore informs the way they perceive receiving visitors and tourism at Pu-Tuo, a topic that will be discussed in later sections of this chapter.  The individual quotes that are used in this chapter were extracted from the interview notes and selected on the basis of the criterion that the selected quotes best corresponded to some of the research questions.   In order to ensure that the reader comprehends what each quote intends to demonstrate, it is preceded by a short discursive commentary.  As Holliday comments, "the discursive commentary has

---

[5] Sentient Beings: A Buddhist term to describe all living beings that can sense and feel and are still living in the realm of reincarnation (Too, 2003).
[6] The Four Elements: A Buddhist belief about the elements constituting the ultimate composition of all tangible objects and sentient beings: the soil, the water, the fire and the wind. (Hsingyun, 1959).

the key role of telling the reader in what way the extracted data provides evidence to support the argument. It is significant that the data is not simply shown and then left to speak for itself. The researcher must tell the reader what she believes the data extract to be saying, what she believes it contributes to the argument" (Holliday, 2007, p. 100). As a responsible researcher has an ethical obligation to protect research informants from any possible physical and psychological harm that might result from their participation to this research, in what follows, pseudonyms are used to conceal the actual identities of the informants (Patton, 2002, p. 273).

### 7.1.1 The Two Perspectives of the Monks and Nuns.

When responding to the research question "Who are the people who come to Pu-Tuo?" the alternation of the 'mundane-me' and the 'Buddhist-me' perspectives is apparent in almost all cases. They often make it clear whether they are adopting the one perspective or the other when expressing themselves. Nun Ding Jing, for example, said: "*From my understanding as a Buddhist*, they (visitors) are not different; all humans are equal and there is no need to classify them into categories. Yet *from the secular world's perspective*, you find people who believe in Buddhism and people who do not. Those who believe in Buddhism, again you can classify them into different categories according to their level of knowledge of Buddhism". Monk Yuan Guang's reply also exhibits the duality of worldviews.

> "… on the basis of their behaviour at the monastery, then you have tourists and Xiankes[7] … yet from the Buddhist understanding, they are all the same, no matter if they are Xiankes or tourists. They all have good seeds, so they can come to Pu-Tuo. It is because they all believe in Buddhism and believe in the Bodhisattva that they come to Pu-Tuo. Or else there are many cultural places in China, also in many cities where you can find even older Buddhist monasteries. If it is not because of the fact that you believe in Buddhism, why do you need to come to Pu-Tuo? You can very well go and visit other

---

[7] Xianke 香客: literally means a guest who burn incense sticks.

places. That is why I say that they are all the same, no matter what their main reason to come might be and whether they are here to pray for fortune, for health or for other purposes. The nature of the origin of all the sentient beings is all the same".

There is, among the 25 interviews, only one exception to an alternation of the two worldviews: a nun in her 80s, living in a small nunnery located in a remote area of Pu-Tuo. From her response, one does not find any mundane-me perspective in her understanding. To the contrary, she consistently adopted the Buddhist worldview in everything she saw and said. The following presents the complete dialogue the researcher had with this nun with respect to the question "Who are the people who come to Pu-Tuo?"

> "Cora: Who do you think are the people who come to Pu-Tuo?
>
> Nun: They all have good fates and destinies and so they have a chance to come to the place of the Bodhisattva.
>
> Cora: In your eyes, do they appear different from each other? For example some believe in Buddhism and some do not.
>
> Nun: There is no difference and there is no need to differentiate. It is just the matter of who learns Buddhism first; some believe in Buddhism earlier and some will do it later. As long as they come, they have made a good tie and planted a good seed in their life; soon they will become Buddhists too. Everyone is good; we are all the same".

In contrast to the comments of the nun given above, the quotes presented in subsection 7.1.1.1 below illustrate that monks and nuns typically responded from their 'mundane-me' perspective when talking about visitors at Pu-Tuo. Their responses often provided details not only about who are the people visiting Pu-Tuo, but also about their perceptions of the different visitors' reasons for being in Pu-Tuo and activities.

**7.1.1.1 Who are the Visitors?  Why are they in Pu-Tuo?**

The following quotes of monks and nuns are all of the same nature in that they suggest that, when responding to the question "Who are the people who come to Pu-Tuo?", the monks and nuns often see visitors through their 'mundane-me' perspective.  Hence they make distinctions between different types of visitors on the basis of their observable behaviour.  From a given behaviour, the informants typically infer a certain reason for having come to Pu-Tuo.  Such an understanding is different from the one the monks and nuns reveal when taking their Buddhist worldview that stresses that all sentient beings are equal and that there are no grounds on which to differentiate; such a Buddhist worldview will be subsequently discussed in later sections.  Below are quotes that illustrate how monks and nuns look at visitors simply through their 'mundane-me' perspective.

> Monk Pu-Huan: "Generally speaking, you can divide them into two groups: the Jushis[8] and Shinshis[9].  Jushis are Buddhists who practice Buddhism at home.  To be a Jushi, you have to make the vow that you will follow the path of Buddhism … Shinshis are, on the other hand, individuals who to a certain extent believe in Buddhism,  but they are not Buddhists".

> Monk Zhang Jie: "… tourists are those who come here with sightseeing as their main purpose; some may believe in Buddhism to a certain degree, so they purchase incense sticks from here … you can call them Shinshis, meaning those who believe in Buddhism.  Xiankes are those who are devoted in their belief in Buddhism, so they bring their own incense sticks to Pu-Tuo, together with other gifts to offer as tribute to the Bodhisattva.  You can also call them Shinshis; it is one kind also, but

---

[8] Jushi 居士: A Buddhist term used to describe a student of Buddhism.  Literally it means someone who practices Buddhism at home.  The Jushis are also called Buddhist practitioners (as opposed to 'believers' or 'worshipers').  They are people who have taken Buddhism seriously and have formally 'gone for refuge to the Buddha' in a Buddhist ritual ceremony conducted by High Lamas or Senior enlightened monks.  In this ritual ceremony, a Jushi has to make the vow that from the current life onwards until the day of enlightenment, he or she will never kill, lie, steal, commit adultery or consume alcohol (Too, 2003, p. 259).

[9] Shinshi 信士: Lit. means Buddhist believer.  It is a term used by monastic members to describe those who believe to a certain extent in Buddhism, but who have not yet gone for refuge to the Buddha.

the difference is that the Xiankes bring along their tributes and offerings when they come to Pu-Tuo and usually they come repeatedly. Another type is called Jushis; they do not simply believe, they also learn. In any case, many people come to Pu-Tuo to pray, not to learn; about one visitor out of one hundred comes to you and wants to learn Buddhism from you. Jushis usually come here to attend pujas[10] ... they are here to redeem themselves from their bad karmas[11], to clear their minds, to attend Buddhist lectures and to participate in pujas. They are quite different from the others".

Monk Ng Zhang: "... from the observation of their behaviour and their purposes in visiting Pu-Tuo, you can classify them in different groups, such as Xiankes, Jushis and sightseeing tourists".

It is noteworthy that all the monks and nuns interviewed use the same terminology, such as the words Xiankes, Jushis, Shinshis, to describe the different types of visitors, as shown in the above quotes. Some informants added details to make their distinctions more precise.

Monk Jing Xuan: "... in general the people who come to Pu-Tuo are either Xiankes or tourists. The major reason for Xiankes to come over to Pu-Tuo is for burning incense, making offerings, getting blessings and bringing auspiciousness back home while the tourists' main motivation is leisure; they just come into the monastery out of curiosity, to have a look. Some tourists also burn incense sticks and make wishes, but their main purpose is sightseeing".

Monk Jing Xiu: "... in general those who come to Pu-Tuo are tourists who are here mainly for sightseeing and looking at the monasteries is just part of their itinerary; since it is arranged, they come in to have a look. Another kind is the Xiankes; their visiting objectives are the monasteries.

---

[10] Puja: A Buddhist term to describe the Buddhist ritual in which monks recite Buddhist scriptures and chant holy mantras (Too, 2003). It is equivalent to a Catholic mass.
[11] Karma: (skt.) Literally means action or deed. In Buddhism, it is interpreted as the driving force for cause and consequence. A bad karma is equivalent to an accumulation of sins in Catholicism (Too, 2003).

They come over to burn incense sticks, to make wishes, to *hsu yuan*[12] and *huan yuan*[13], to pray for blessings and to bring auspiciousness back home".

Nun Ding Jing: "… from the secular world's perspective, *you find people who believe in Buddhism and people who do not*. Those who believe in Buddhism, again you can classify them into different categories according to their level of knowledge of Buddhism. So we have tourists who believe in Buddhism to a certain extent; we have Xiankes who believe a lot in Buddhism, but they did not learn much about Buddhism. We also have Jushis who have gone for refuge to the Buddha and so they have learned quite a bit of Buddhism; they come to Pu-Tuo as pilgrims to do penance, to attend pujas, to learn Buddhism, to seek enlightenment through the pilgrimage journey, but they are not many".

The above quotes illustrate how monks and nuns perceive, from a 'mundane-me' perspective, the identity and motivations of the people visiting Pu-Tuo. For example, Nun Ding Jing explained clearly her standpoint that she was responding from the mundane world's perspective, when making the pragmatic view that "you find people who believe in Buddhism and people who do not". Monk Ng Zhang emphasised that his comments about different types of visitors were based on his observations of the visitors' behaviour. In other words, the informants commented that there are different kinds of visitors at Pu-Tuo based on what they can see and on what they conclude from their experience, as anyone else would do.

From their 'mundane-me' perspective, the monks and nuns identify two main groups of visitors. First, there are the believers and it seems that the monks and nuns perceive varying degrees of belief in Buddhism. Monk Zhang Jie called them 'Shinshis', meaning 'those who believe in Buddhism'. Second, there are

---

[12] Hsu Yuan 許願: Making wishes to the divinities; usually one has to make a vow and promise to fulfill the vow if the wishes are granted (see details in section 2.3.1).
[13] Huan Yuan 還願: To pay back for a realized wish, fulfilling the vow that was made in connection with the wish (see details in section 2.3.1).

the non-believers.  Regarding the non-believers, monks and nuns simply call them 'tourists' as they perceive that their reasons to come to Pu-Tuo is mainly "sightseeing", "seeing some Pu-Tuo attractions in the course of their itinerary", "out of curiosity, to have a look".  Their comments also typically give a description of the activities that tourists participate in when inside the monasteries and nunneries; in particular, in their understanding, the 'tourists' only walk around and do not participate in religious or worshiping activities.

> Monk Jing Xiu: "… tourists who are here for sightseeing in general do not burn incense; they are not devoted to praying in monastery. Some even do not bow to the Great Being; even if they bow, they bow only slightly".

> Monk Fa Miao: "… tourists are more playful when they visit monasteries.  It is because many lay people do not really understand Buddhism and they are curious about our lives".

> Monk Wei Xiu: "… tourists who come with tour groups are usually here for sightseeing and so they do not bring along lots of offering bags with them.  They usually just walk around, some do not even enter the halls but they just take a look from the outside".

Both Nun Jing Yung and Monk Si Ding concluded similarly that some visitors come for sightseeing and that the monasteries and nunneries are to them cultural attractions rather than sacred places.  The informants always called those visitors 'tourists'.  They said that this type of visitor usually does not burn incense sticks or bring along offering tributes; they mostly walk around, look around and take photos.

Regarding the believers, the informants classify them into different categories based on their levels of belief in Buddhism.  People who believe in Buddhism to a

certain degree are usually called 'Shinshis' by the monks and nuns. There are two kinds of Shinshis according to Monk Zhang Jie. He commented that there are tourists who may believe in Buddhism to a certain degree. They may purchase incense sticks when in Pu-Tuo and pay reverence to the Bodhisattva inside the monasteries. Yet their main purpose in coming to Pu-Tuo is sightseeing and relaxation. The other type of Shinshis is called 'Xianke'. They are people who have come especially for hsu yuan and huan yuan. The following quotes present the monks' and understanding of the different types of Shinshis.

Monk Si Ding: "… there are some tourists who burn incense, but their number compared to the Xiankes is small. Also tourists who burn incense usually do not bring along their offering bags. It is just like you believe a little bit in Buddhism, when you visit a monastery; you just buy some incense sticks locally to burn … of course, some people do this for fun, just to check if it is so efficacious. Some do it because they believe in Buddhism to some degree, and so they burn incense, but they did not come to Pu-Tuo to burn incense sticks to the Great Being. Their main purpose is to enjoy themselves, to look around. They walk into the monasteries just on a casual basis. Xiankes are usually more devoted to praying, because they make wishes, they want something from the Buddha and Bodhisattva. They usually stay longer inside the halls and they pray longer and more sincerely".

Nun Jing Yung: "… even if some tourists burn incense, they just purchase their incense here, locally, which is different from the Xiankes who bring along incense and offering bags from home … Xiankes bring along their bags, with fruits, candies, clothes, all kinds of things and a lot of incense, candles and paper money each time they come. They come to Pu-Tuo to burn incense inside the monasteries and nunneries and this is the only reason for them to come to Pu-Tuo. The Xiankes are here mainly for hsu yuan and huan yuan; they pray for getting blessings. Some pray for health or to become richer".

Monk Wei Shan: "… some tourists may perform the 'by-by'[14] and usually their visit is very short; they don't stay long inside the halls. What they do is to look around, take some photos and then go. Many also do not burn incense. They are more relaxed; probably they have more time and they do not pray … they are curious and look around and walk slowly. The Xiankes are busier; they carry many bags while tourists do not. The Xiankes are more devoted; they stay inside the halls longer and they worship and pay reverence in every hall and they pray sincerely".

The quotes from the monks' and nuns' interviews seem to suggest that from the 'mundane-me' perspective, they not only see that there are believers and non-believers at Pu-Tuo, but also that there are different kinds of Buddhist believers and they are named differently. This insight contributes to the existing literature on Buddhist pilgrimages. It reveals the existence of different kinds of visitors to Buddhist sacred sites, giving each of them a specific name according to their degree of devotion to and understanding of Buddhism. Previous research on other religious pilgrimages reports comparatively little about the categorisations of pilgrims. Often 'pilgrim' is used as a generic term to describe anyone who is religiously motivated to journey to his/her sacred site (Pavicic et al., 2007, p. 51; Vukonic, 1996, p. 136). Griffin says "pilgrimage is defined as journeying to a sacred place or shrine as a devotee" (Griffin, 2007, p. 16). The term 'pilgrim' thus implies a high degree of homogeneity in devotional levels and religious motives; yet the findings of this thesis suggest that, at least in Pu-Tuo, there is no such homogeneity and this may call for distinguishing categories among the so-called 'pilgrims'.

Admittedly, there are studies of pilgrimage and religious tourism that acknowledge that pilgrims can possibly be different from each other with respect to the devotional levels to their religious belief (see Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Poria

---

[14] By-By 拜拜: In China, it is a gesture consisting in putting the two palms together and moving them up and down several times as a form of praying for something or showing respect to the divinities. It is a gesture usually performed by those who do not know how to pay reverence to the Buddha in the proper Buddhist way.

et al., 2003; Shackley, 2001).  Yet little research about the categories of pilgrims and how the different categories of devotees behave when at their religious sites can be found.  One of the exceptions is Sizer (1999) who presents three different categories of Protestant pilgrims to the Holy Land including the Evangelicals, Fundamentalists and Living Stones categories.  Shackley (2001), without giving specific names to different types of pilgrims, also distinguishes between Christian pilgrims on the basis of their religious desires; she says, "… some pilgrims hoped for physical healing … Others made the journey to fulfil their part of a bargain made with God or the saints that might involve the granting of some wish in return for their journey.  Others journeyed as part of a penance; still others to gain spiritual merit" (Shackley, 2001, p. 121).  In this thesis, a clear differentiation among the Buddhist believers who come to Pu-Tuo is revealed by the monks and nuns taking their 'mundane-me' perspective, t thus supporting the evidence provided by the above scholars.


### 7.1.1.2 Are Believers 'Pilgrims'?


This section elaborates on how the term 'pilgrim' is understood in a Buddhist context and which category or categories of visitors are considered to be pilgrims by the Buddhist monks and nuns.  It is interesting to first note from the above quotes that none of the informants referred to Shinshis as Buddhists.  They simply use the term 'Shinshis' to describe both the tourists who are somewhat believers in Buddhism and the Xiankes who bring their own tributes from home to Pu-Tuo, burn a lot of incense sticks and come repeatedly.  If one simply applied the Western definition of a pilgrim, then the Shinshis (as well as the Jushis) would be pilgrims and, according to the Western literature, the only people who would be excluded from the pilgrim categories would be the tourists.  It would also be the case that all Shinshis would be considered to be Buddhists because they are all pilgrims in a Buddhist sacred land.  Yet when talking from the 'mundane-me' perspective, monks and nuns are clearly reluctant to call the Shinshis 'Buddhists'; they call them believers instead, and informants tend to differentiate them clearly from the people they call

Buddhists. The differentiations seem to be based on the distinction between practicing folk traditions and having a shallow understanding of Buddhism on the one hand, and true Buddhist religiosity on the other, as discussed below.

Thus, monks and nuns do not use the term 'pilgrims' (朝聖者) to describe Xiankes (a type of Shinshis visitors) even though the motivation for their visits to Pu-Tuo is exclusively religious in nature, such as to hsu yuan and huan yuan. It appears that the word 'pilgrim', the definition of which has been discussed previously in Chapter 3, is not used by the Buddhist monks and nuns in the same way as it is used in the Western literature, where it means "the religiously motivated travellers who come to shrines are defined as pilgrims" (Pavicic et al., 2007, p. 51). Buddhist monks and nuns appear to have a very strict definition for a pilgrim and, in their own words, pilgrims are meant to be Jushis (real Buddhist practitioners who have gone for refuge to the Buddha in a formal liturgical ceremony), not simply believers or worshippers. Monk Pu-Huang said: "To be a Jushi, you have to make a vow that you will follow the path of Buddhism while Shinshis are, on the other hand, simply individuals who believe in Buddhism to a certain extent, but they are not Buddhists". Thus the monks and nuns are essentially unwilling to call anyone who is not a Jushi either a Buddhist or a pilgrim, and they consider only the Jushis to be both Buddhists and pilgrims. In their 'mundane-me' perspective, a visitor to Pu-Tuo is both a Buddhist and a pilgrim if and only if he/she is a Jushi; if not, he/she is neither.

Consequently, the group of visitors, in general, to whom the monks and nuns attribute the highest level of devotion to and understanding of Buddhism are the Jushis. Monks and nuns call them 'Buddhist practitioners at home'. Talking from the 'mundane-me' perspective, Monk Zhang Jie explained the difference between Jushis and Shinshis by pointing out that "Jushis do not just believe, they also learn; they come to Pu-Tuo to attend pujas, to redeem themselves from their bad karmas, to clear their minds and to attend Buddhist lectures". Nun Ding Jing further added, "Jushis who have gone for refuge to the Buddha, come

to Pu-Tuo as pilgrims to do penance, to attend pujas, to learn Buddhism and to seek enlightenment from the pilgrimage journey". Monk Lian Yi's comment is particularly articulate:

> "…Jushis are Buddhists who have taken refuge to the Buddha; they have had senior monks as their teachers on earth to teach them Buddhism. Jushis are here to learn Buddhism and they don't pray for the satisfaction of their personal desires. They come here to learn Buddhism, to achieve enlightenment, to seek the path to become free from sorrows and they won't pray for having more money to bind them down with even more sorrows. Shinshis are different; they are worshippers, they believe in Buddhism, but they don't learn. They come here to pray to the Bodhisattva for Him to grant them wishes, to make them rich…" said Monk Lian Yi.

Since monks and nuns perceive the Xiankes to be believers/worshippers only, a further question was suggested by their responses to the first question on the identity of the visitors, namely: *Do you view a person as a Jushi (a Buddhist and a pilgrim) as long as this person has a religious motivation but does not hsu yuan when in Pu-Tuo?* This activity is the one attributed by the informants to the Xiankes. The informants responded to the question negatively; and the relationship they see between being a Buddhist and 'making wishes' was clarified as follows.

> Monk Zhang Jie: "How can human beings not pray (hsu yuan)? They (Jushis) are also just ordinary people. I also pray because I have not yet reached enlightenment; we are all the same. But it depends on what you pray for. As Buddhists, when we pray, we pray for the rest of the world, we pray to reach serenity, acquire Bodhi-wisdom and courage to decline anything which blocks us from achieving enlightenment. To be a Buddhist does not mean that you have no desires … the Bodhisattva also has desires, his desires are to save us, helps us not to be trapped continuously in the reincarnation cycle. So it is not correct to say that a Jushi does not pray or does not have desires; they all do, but their wishes may be larger and the coverage is broader than the one of other people".

Nun Ding Jing: "… You cannot say that the Jushis have no desires. As long as you are human, you have desires. It is natural for all of us to have desires or else we will become all wood and stone. It is just like if you are hungry, you need to eat. Yet, there are different levels of desires and different kinds of desires. The Jushis may also make wishes, but their wishes are not so materialistic nor for the benefit of themselves only".

The informants further indicated which activities were mostly engaged in by the Jushis, the real Buddhists, and those activities were used to contrast them to the Xiankes. In particular, they commonly said that the Xiankes did not come to attend pujas or to learn Buddhism, but to burn incense sticks and make wishes or to fulfil their previous vows while the Jushis came to learn Buddhism, to attend pujas and to perform Buddhist rituals. Nun Ding Jing noted:

"The Xiankes come over to burn incense; they make vows that if their wishes are fulfilled, they will come back again. Such an act, you can interpret as a business deal … as making a deal with the Great Being. Their actions are different from the ones of those who perceive Pu-Tuo as a place to get close to the Bodhisattva, to learn Buddhism, different from the ones of some Jushis who organise pilgrimage to Pu-Tuo. The latter attend pujas; they do the every-three-steps-one-kneels for penance and to eliminate their arrogance and bad karmas; they arrange to attend Buddhist lectures from the monasteries. What they do will not be done by those who only want to come to Pu-Tuo to make a deal, to hsu yuan and huan yuan to the Great Being".

Monk Pu Huan expressed his experience with visitors as follows: "Xiankes do their worshipping in their own ways which are not Buddhist rites, but more a kind of folklore ritual. They do not listen much to monastic members and they do not care if their behaviour interferes with the Buddhist practices of others. For example, they will talk loudly and be noisy even at times when we are praying inside the hall. The Jushis are different. They are more respectful

to the monastic members and they listen to our advice. Some even take the initiative to approach us and ask us something about Buddhist theories. Those who come in a group will sometimes ask us to arrange Buddhist lectures for them".

One can see from the above quotes that, when the monks and nuns distinguish between different kinds of visitors, they think from the mundane perspective based on visitors' motivations, activities and behaviour. Yet the monks and nuns give to the concept of pilgrim a meaning other than the one found in the Western literature, that is, someone who visits a sacred site with a religious motivation (Pavicic et al., 2007; Vukonic, 1996). As mentioned above, instead, they use the term 'pilgrim' only for the visiting Jushis, the real Buddhist practitioners, as opposed to ordinary Buddhist worshippers/believers. Although all believers are religiously motivated to visit Pu-Tuo, not all of them are perceived as Buddhist pilgrims for the fact that some are only dedicated to worshipping but not interested in learning. As Monk Pu Huang said, the Xiankes worship in their own ways and engage in folkloric activities which are not really Buddhist. Learning seems to be perceived by the monks and nuns as a significant reason for undertaking a *pilgrimage*, in which to unearth one's innate Buddha-hood and seek enlightenment is more important than simply pursuing auspiciousness through participation in folkloric practices. As reported by Shackley (2001, p. 118), Buddha said "If the waters of the Ganges could truly wash away sin, then all fish would go straight to heaven", implying that if one only physically performs an external pilgrimage without taking one's own internal pilgrimage to unearth Buddha-hood, to purify one's mind, speech and body, then making a pilgrimage is worthless (Karmapa, 2008). From the responses of the informants, what distinguishes the Jushis from the other visitors, in terms of the observable activities they engage in, is that the Jushis participate in Buddhist lectures, attend pujas, do the every-three-steps-one-kneels for penance. Those activities are viewed as manifestations of the fact that the Jushis have already learned much about Buddhism and continue to learn, that they seek enlightenment to transform their soul rather than simply obsessively worshipping the statues of deities, even though they may also

partake to some of the same activities as the ones the Xiankes are exclusively interested in, such as burning incense sticks and making wishes.

Such an understanding of the monks and nuns seems to suggest that although the Jushis (Buddhist practitioners) and the Shinshis (Buddhist believers) may perform some of the same religious acts, and although both groups are spending some sacred time in Pu-Tuo, they are separate groups seen from the mundane perspective of the monastic members because the religious needs they satisfy in Pu-Tuo are of a different nature.

**7.1.1.3 From Mundane Heterogeneity to Buddhist Homogeneity**

Different distinguishing factors have been used in previous research to classify visitors at religious/sacred sites into different types; for instance, there are classifications based on reasons for visits, behaviour and activities engaged in by visitors (see Section 3.1.2). These factors are acknowledged to have their merits in classifying visitors; yet some deficiencies in the resulting classification were also noted. These are due to the fact that during the time a visitor is staying at a religious/sacred site primarily as a pilgrim, he/she may also engage in sightseeing activities when not participating in religious activities. Likewise, a visitor mainly engaged in leisure travel may also attend mass and pray inside a religious/sacred venue (Bremer, 2004; Shinde, 2007a). The reality of how the visitors behave in religious/sacred sites implies that it may not be sufficient to simply rely on observed activities as the differentiating factor to make a distinction between tourists and pilgrims.

According to the Buddhist monks' and nuns' understanding, the reason for having the distinct types of visitors is rather due to the difference in their level of devotion in learning and understanding the religion. Nun Ding Jing commented: "The only difference between all these people is what is in their minds about

Buddhism.  Since their ways of thinking about Buddhism are different, so they come with different attitudes, which result in different behaviours".  The informants also caution that although in general there are certain behavioural patterns that can be observed, there are always exceptions and there are no absolute rules telling how a particular kind of visitor will behave, because how an individual behaves depends on his/her level of devotion to and understanding of Buddhism.  Monk Wei Xiu emphasised that the classification of visitors based on observations does not really provide a complete partition and that it all depends on the person's level of understanding of Buddhism, which is not easy to observe.  He explained:

> "…I cannot really say that this one is a Xianke, this one is a Jushi and this one is a tourist and that therefore they will behave according to those identities.  There is no absolute.  There are Jushis who go for refuge to the Buddha; yet their behaviour may not correspond to what is required in the Buddhist faith … some Jushis or Xiankes may do some things that are even worse than what a leisure tourist would do… it depends on their level of understanding of Buddhism.  It is not the identity label that can tell how a person will behave".

Monk Yuan Guang made similar comments:

> "Xiankes in general are more polite to Shifu[15] (than tourists) but some can also be disrespectful, ignore our advices or even argue with us.  Identity is only a label, given by society, but it does not have a concrete meaning.  It is a matter of one's devotion in Buddhism, of the extent to which one has learned and understood Buddhism.  It creates the difference in the way they think and the way they behave".

Abbot Zhang Wu, when asked if he saw that there were different types of visitors at Pu-Tuo, replied:

> "You can say yes and you can say no.  Yes in terms of their level of believing in Buddhism and their level of devotion in learning Buddhism.  So you find some tourists who do not believe at all.  Others are Xiankes,

---

[15] Shifu 師傅: A term denoting Buddhist monastic members, which is used to address them. Literally, it means 'master' or 'guru'.

who believe in Buddhism and Jushis, who believe and are devoted to learning Buddhism.  Because of their different levels of understanding Buddhism and their different levels of devotion, they behave differently when they are inside the monastery.  The differences between them are at the level of what you can observe, something that you can see with your eyes".

The above quotes suggest that the majority of monks and nuns, in their 'mundane-me' mode, do see different types of visitors at Pu-Tuo and that, on the basis of their observations of visitors' behaviour, they conclude that the reasons for having differences in behaviour are the individual levels of devotion to and understanding of Buddhism.  At the same time, they acknowledge that it can be difficult to infer the level of devotion from the observable behaviour.

The analysis of monks' and nuns' responses also indicated that, except for the 80 year old nun who consistently only adopted the Buddhist worldview in the entire conversation, all the other interviewed members, in addition to the 'mundane-me' perspective, used their other worldview, the 'Buddhist-me' one to describe visitors.  Responses taking a Buddhist worldview, typically expressed the opinion that there are no differences between the visitors, as they are all sentient beings carrying Buddhist's seeds.  Abbot Zhang Wu continued his comments, in which he took the 'mundane-me' worldview earlier on, by now switching to the 'Buddhist-me' worldview:

"… But you can also say that they are the same, that there is no difference.  It is because everyone is equal; they all have the same Buddhist's seeds.  The seeds of some germinate earlier, in this life time, so they believe and they learn faster in this life time while the seeds of others are hidden and may sprout in the future.  It is just a matter of time but this is something that your eyes cannot see.  In other words, from the secular perspective, there are different types in terms of what they do, but from the Buddhist perspective, they are all the same, there are no differences".

Monk Ng Zhang first commented that "… from the observation of their behaviour and their purposes in visiting Pu-Tuo, you can classify them into different groups, such as Xiankes, Jushis and sightseeing tourists".  He then also switched and adopted the Buddhist worldview, and continued with:

> "There must be some reasons or destiny that make you choose to visit Pu-Tuo even if you claim that you are not a believer in Buddhism.  In your sub-consciousness, you actually admire the Buddha and Buddhist culture without even knowing it and so you want to come and have a look, or else, you can very well choose to visit some other place; there is no need for you to come to Pu-Tuo.  Therefore I say that they are all Buddhists; they all have Buddhist's seeds … Even if you don't bow, if you don't burn incense, if you don't know about Buddhism and don't know what rites you should perform inside monasteries, you still have made your knot with Buddhism.  In the future, you may come and visit again and, eventually, your level of devotion and your level of interest in learning Buddhism will increase and so I say that the fundamental nature of all the visitors who come to Pu-Tuo is the same, which is to be someone who learns Buddhism.  The only difference is that there are different paths of learning and different levels of understanding Buddhism".

> The nun in her 80s said: "There is no difference and there is no need to differentiate.  It is just the matter of who learns Buddhism first; some believe in Buddhism earlier and some will do it later.  As long as they come, they have made a good tie and planted a good seed in their life; soon they will become Buddhists too".

In summary, all the above quotes, except the one of the nun in her 80s, indicate that the monks and nuns adopted both the mundane and Buddhist perspectives in describing visitors and the alternation between the two perspectives is evident.  The next section discusses the rationale for the alternation of the two perspectives.

## 7.1.2  A Social Psychology Interpretation

The metaphor of multiple social identities which is found in social psychology can help explain why the Buddhist monks and nuns, as evidenced in the quotes above, appear to have different worldviews and to switch back and forth between them when answering the same research question.  The informants perceived the identity of those who come to Pu-Tuo from at least two very different perspectives: the mundane one and the Buddhist one.

In social psychology, it is argued that with more than one social identity, one would hold a set of different worldviews which affect how one thinks and acts (K. B. Chan, 2005).  The multiple social identities originate from the possible plurality of the 'Me' of an individual.  The concepts of 'I' and 'Me' in social psychology have been introduced by Mead (1925) and are represented in the subsequent literature in the field (K. B. Chan, 2005; Goffman, 1959; Hewitt, 2007).  From the standpoint of a social behaviourist, Mead presents a theory about the fully developed 'self' being composed of two states of consciousness, the 'I' and the 'Me'.  Mead says that the beginning of an act is the result of an individual receiving a stimulus which somehow disturbs the existing situation that the individual was placed in.  The 'I', as an acting subject, responds to a particular situation and Mead comments that the initial act is always impulsive, immediate and spontaneous (Mead, 1967, p. 210).  The 'I' is thus the raw, spontaneous person who is not socially situated.  Yet, the self of a human being, as a social creature, is usually governed by the 'Me' rather than by the 'I'.  When an individual is aware that his or her own initial response to a stimulus may lead to certain consequences in a given social setting, it is the beginning of the objective phase of oneself - the 'Me', in which the individual imagines himself or herself as an object in the situation.

The 'Me', thus interpreted by Mead, is the state of consciousness with an objective reflexive function taking into account the attitudes of the others in the

community towards him/her which enables the individual to govern and control his/her conduct because the individual can imagine his/her appearance in the eyes of the others as well as the possible consequences of his/her behaviour (Mead, 1925, p. 268).  Such 'imagination' can give direction to an individual about some overt course of actions which comply with social expectations.  The 'Me' of an individual is thus nothing else than "the representation of the group of values and attitudes which stands for others in the community that an individual belongs to" (Mead, 1967, p. 194).

One learns from Mead's argument that the adoption of the organised values and attitudes of others in the community shapes the context of 'Me', and this 'Me' not only informs the conducts of an individual, but also arguably his perspectives and thoughts (Mead, 1967, p. 99).  It is important to note that since one's 'Me' is shaped by the values and attitudes of the community one belongs to, situations are likely to arise in which one has multiple identities each governed by its own 'Me' when one belongs to more than one community.  Multiple worldviews can co-exist in a single individual under the form of more than one 'Me' that govern a self's thoughts and acts (K. B. Chan, 2005).  From the aforementioned quotes, it is obvious that many Buddhist monks and nuns appear to be aware of their different 'Me's': at least the 'mundane-me' and the 'Buddhist-me'.  In fact, they spontaneously and explicitly acknowledged the different 'Me's themselves.  References to that effect can be found in above quotes, particularly the ones of Nun Ding Jing, Monk Ng Zhang, Monk Wei Xiu and Abbot Zhang Wu.  They all first commented from the mundane perspective, as ordinary persons would do, about who visits Pu-Tuo, and they classified the visitors into different groups.  Later in their conversations, they switched and explicitly said that, if one looks at things from the Buddhist perspective, there is no difference among visitors.

Examples of multiple identities which determine an individual's alternative ways of seeing and behaving is found in other studies.  For instance, Chan talks about the multiple identities as perceived by the overseas Chinese at places to which

they have migrated (K. B. Chan, 2005). In his book, Patton (2002) presents Conroy's (1987) doctoral thesis which is an exercise in applying the concept of 'victimisation' to police officers. From the individual quotes of a police officer, it is apparent that he frequently switched perspectives in responding to a number of research questions. The police officer said, "As a police officer I think I have lost the ability to feel and to empathise with people" (Conroy 1987:52 cited in Patton, 2002, p. 456). The interviewed officer said that he once saw a traffic accident in which a very young girl was run over by a car, he really wanted to cry; yet as a police officer, he could not do that and had to control his emotions and continue to professionally investigate the accident, as a policeman should do (Patton, 2002, p. 456). In this situation, the individual is aware of his role adoption as a police officer and the presentation of the self is no longer the one of a self with generalised attributes but the one of a 'policeman' self, thus affecting the way he sees and acts.

Such an example illustrates how an individual looks at, and reacts differently to, a single phenomenon by projecting himself with a specific 'situated identity' (Hewitt, 2007, p. 95), that is, an identity in a given situation. When, say, a policeman is investigating a traffic accident, a particular worldview will dominate the other worldview(s) and becomes the core context of the 'Me', implying a specific set of values and attitudes as is demanded by his situated identity as a policeman, which is different from the organised set of attitudes and values of the community at large he otherwise socially belongs to. A similar phenomenon is found in the quotes of the informants. For instance, Nun Ding Jing emphasised that "from the secular world's perspective", she finds that there are believers and non believers as well as different categories of believers at Pu-Tuo. To be able to detect those differences is not on a par with the spirit of Buddhism but is an illustration of how one looks at the world from the mundane perspective. Subsequently, in later conversations, she made it clear that if one looks at phenomena from the Buddhist perspective, there are no differences among visitors. The latter comment was made when she adopted the attitudes and values of Buddhism, as what a student of Buddhism should do. In other words,

she first looked at visitors as a lay person, untutored in Buddhism, would; later on, she also analysed the issue from her identity as a Buddhist nun.

The metaphor of multiple social identities is thereby found to lend support to the current findings that a majority of the monks and nuns exhibited in turn two different worldviews in the interviews. Some informants are aware of their role adoption as a Buddhist and so, in addition to their mundane worldview, they responded from the Buddhist perspective that a Buddhist monk is supposed to have. Yet it is of importance to note that not all the monks and nuns were conscious of the role adoption 'as a monk or nun' when they responded from the Buddhist worldview. It is argued that when the generalised 'self' of a monk or a nun has been largely '*Buddhalised*' (highly enlightened) through the socialisation induced by Buddhist training and education, praying and meditating, the monk or the nun may think automatically from a Buddhist point of view without being aware of the need to adopt a monk's/nun's role because the 'self' of a monk/nun, at that phase, is almost congruent with the identity of a Buddhist.

Nevertheless, one cannot deny the fact that not all informants had achieved the same high level of enlightenment when interviewed. If it were the case that all monks and nuns had been completely 'Buddhalised', their responses would no longer appear to have a clear mundane perspective; they would instead simply all have responded in the same way as the 80 year old nun who was found by the researcher to be the only one without any alternation of worldviews. She adopted the Buddhist worldview throughout the entire conversation, as if there existed no other worldview. In Buddhism, the more one is 'Buddhalised' through one's learning of Buddhism in this lifetime or in previously accumulated life times, the more it is likely that one looks at the world from the Buddhist worldview exclusively (Karmapa, 2005, p. 99). Yet not everyone has achieved such a high level of enlightenment in his/her current lifetime and it is likely to be the case that there are varying levels of enlightenment among the monks and

nuns whom the researcher interviewed and, perhaps, some may still be far from having reached a high level of enlightenment.

### 7.1.3 Merging the Two Worldviews

Another consequence of a monk/nun adopting the Buddhist worldview is that his or her mundane classification of visitors cannot be taken in a rigid and absolute sense. Monks and nuns commented that, not only is it difficult to judge from behaviour what the level of devotion of a person is, but also a person's identity can change over time through an increment in that person's devotion to and understanding of Buddhism. Nun Yin Yi who is a teacher at the Buddhist Institute explained:

> "You have to understand that such classification is done on a general basis because an individual's identity can shift when that individual has more knowledge of Buddhism and you have to understand that a so-called identity is in fact just a name … For example, a Jushi is supposed to know better the rites and is like a student who has registered to study at a university. Yet, if you only register to get the school uniform, but you do not go to school and do not listen to teachers, you will not learn much. Even if you wear the same uniform as your classmates who study in the same university, your academic results will be worse than the ones of those who actually learn. Your knowledge of Buddhism will still remain at the elementary level and that will make you equivalent to those who do not learn Buddhism at all. Therefore we cannot really conclude which types of visitors are better; each individual's level of understanding and learning Buddhism is unique. It depends on your mind and it is your mind that makes you act differently".

Monk Ng Zhang articulated the reason why, from a Buddhist perspective, all visitors are the same and why a person's identity at Pu-Tuo is not fixed. He commented:

"… different individuals have different destinies and the ways they approach Buddhism and their paths to learn it are different … even in the beginning, tourists who believe only very little in Buddhism may burn incense just for fun, try to pray and most likely they pray for themselves only, more for materialistic desires, just as if making a deal with the Buddha: you bless me with getting 100 million then I will donate 1 million to your monastery.  The act of donation nevertheless is still a good seed for them to plant.  When times goes by, the nature of his desires will expand from himself to the people who are close to him, such as his family, his friends and if his seed in Buddhism germinates, he will eventually move from the elementary stage of believing in Buddhism and praying for obtaining something to the stage of learning from the Buddha and looking for self enlightenment.  His wishes will no longer be for himself, but for 'Us' and eventually for all the sentient beings.  This is the reason why I say that they are all the same; they are all Buddhists and they all have Buddhist's seeds.  The fundamental nature of all visitors who come to Pu-Tuo is the same, which is that they want to learn Buddhism.  The only difference is that they have different learning paths and different levels of understanding at present".

The above responses suggest that although monks and nuns can share the mundane perspective of anyone else, they do not view their own visitor classification in a rigid way; to the contrary, they emphasised the dynamics in anyone's identity and that the fact that such an identity can be changed at any time if this person's understanding of Buddhism increases.  Hence the Buddhist worldview of the monks and nuns leads them to adopt the view that all sentient beings have Buddhist's seeds.  In the Buddhist doctrine, a Buddhist's seed is an abstract manifestation of the Buddha-nature that every sentient being possesses, and that gives everyone the potential to become, eventually, fully enlightened, that is, a Buddha (Too, 2003, p. 257).  To become enlightened refers to one becoming aware of the realities of birth and death and of the causes of suffering, leading to the desire to eradicate suffering completely, to become free from reincarnation and achieve full omniscience.  The desire to eradicate reincarnation motivates one to stop clinging to impermanent pleasures in life and start to learn Buddhism.  The Sanskrit word for 'Buddha' in fact means 'awakened'.  Buddha was the one awakened to reality and Buddhism is the

method to help people to awaken, achieve enlightenment and put an end to their suffering (Hsingyun, 2005).  Monks and nuns, when they take the Buddhist worldview, believe that all the visitors who visit a Buddhist sacred site such as Pu-Tuo have made a 'good tie' with Buddhism and will all become Buddhists in the future.  It is simply the matter that for some, the Buddhist's seeds may germinate during this lifetime and they will learn Buddhism earlier, while some others may not even be aware of having the Buddhist's seeds at all of this life time.  The concept of 'level of Buddhist's seed germination' is a metaphor very typical of the Buddhist frame of mind, which explains that there are Buddhists with different levels of understanding of Buddhism.  Some may have a low awareness of the Buddhist's seed in them, while, for others, the seed may have already germinated.

Drawing on the above findings, Figure 2 presents a model classifying visitors on the basis of the monk's and nuns' responses; it represents the relationship between the visitors' identity and two factors: (1) the level of devotion to and understanding of Buddhism and (2) the level of the Buddhist's seed germination. The pyramid represents the Buddhist worldview that all human beings are equal, that the fundamental reason for their trip to Pu-Tuo is the same, which is to learn Buddhism and that they will become Buddhists later if they are not already Buddhists now.  Thus the fact that the different individuals may have different levels of devotion to and understanding of Buddhism, as well as the fact that their Buddhist's seeds may germinate at different times, as perceived by the monks and nuns in this thesis research, suggest the representation of Figure 2.
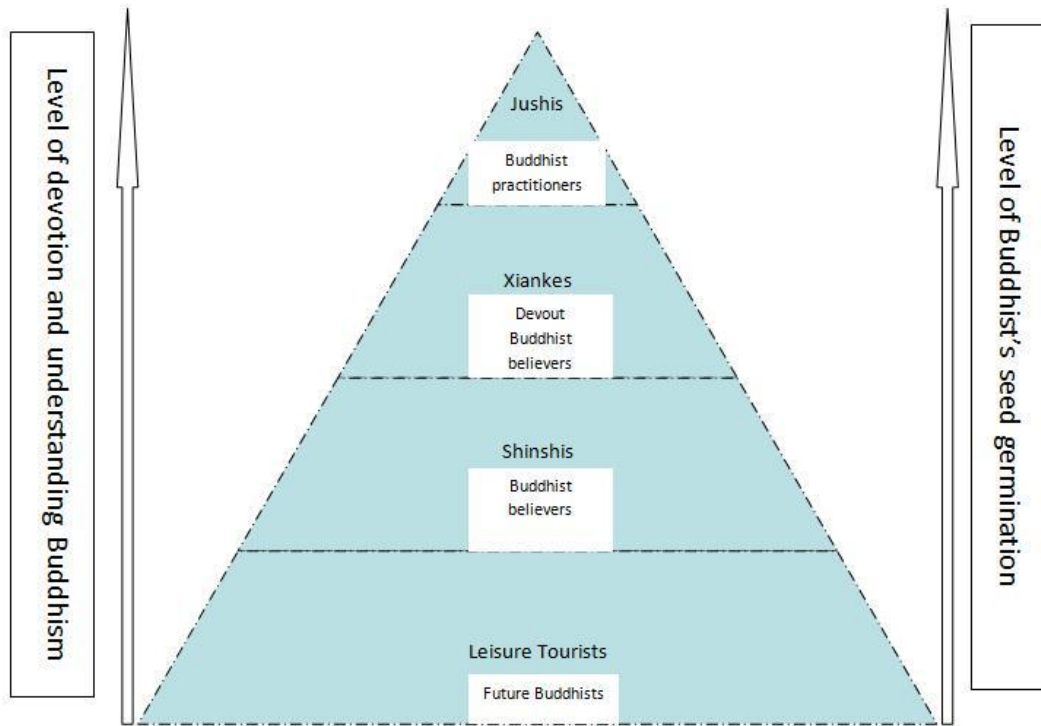
The Mundane Worldview                    The Buddhist Worldview

Figure 2:  A Model of Visitors in the Mundane and Buddhist Worldview

The bottom layer represents non-religious people, who, when visiting Pu-Tuo are leisure or cultural tourists or, according to the Buddhist worldview of the monks and nuns, 'future Buddhists' for they will become Buddhists in the future.  Those who have sightseeing as their primary interest, and are not aware of their need for Buddhism, may declare not to really believe in it.  This type of visitor is believed by monks and nuns to have Buddhist's seeds that will germinate in the future.  The second layer represents the Shinshis who are tourists who somewhat believe in Buddhism; in this thesis, they are called Buddhist believers. The third layer is referred to by monks and nuns as another type of Shinshis, but are commonly called Xiankes.  Monks and nuns perceive the Xiankes as being much more devoted to worshipping the Bodhisattva than those in the second layer.    Nevertheless Xiankes are regarded as having a lower level of understanding of Buddhism than those who come to Pu-Tuo "to learn Buddhism", "to seek enlightenment", "to redeem themselves from their bad karmas", which are activities perceived to be performed by the visitors in the

193

fourth (top) layer.  Monks and nuns call them Jushis, which means 'Buddhist practitioners at home'.

The pyramidal shape of the representation is meant to symbolise that the gradual process of the devotion to and understanding of Buddhism will eventually lead an individual's Buddhist's seed progress from the sleeping mode pertaining to a future Buddhist, to a more awakened mode pertaining to a Buddhist practitioner.  The pyramid is narrower at the top because the number of people who progress from one level to a higher one gets smaller as one goes up.  It is because the majority of humans are so used to the desire for illusionary happiness, and few are aware of the need to let go of desires and seek ultimate omniscience and freedom, resulting in having fewer people who can reach the top layer of the pyramid.  According to the researcher's observations and the monk's and nuns' comments, at Pu-Tuo, the Buddhist practitioners are indeed considerably outnumbered by the other visitors.  The four kinds of Buddhists are thus presented in a structure where the Jushis are placed at the top of the pyramid, representing a small number of people.  This stage is regarded in Buddhism as the most difficult one to reach.  Nevertheless, as emphasised by the informants, such an understanding cannot be taken in a rigid sense because anyone's Buddhist's seed may germinate at any time and thus the boundary between layers are presented in dotted lines to symbolise the lack of a clear delineation.  The arrow on the left hand side represents the level of Buddhist devotion and understanding, which is the distinguishing factor from the mundane worldview of the monks and nuns when identifying different types of visitors.  The arrow on the right hand side signifies the level of Buddhist's seed germination which pertains to the Buddhist worldview in looking at differences among visitors.

The figure incorporates both the views of the monks and nuns in their 'mundane-me' and 'Buddhist-me' identities.  The mundane worldview is reflected by the 'level of devotion to and understanding of Buddhism' as the differentiating factor

used by the informants to classify the visitors into different types. Through the mundane view, the visitors are divided into the categories Jushis, Xiankes, Shinshis and tourists, as discussed in Section 7.1.1.1. The 'level of Buddhist's seed germination' on the other hand, reflects the Buddhist worldview that all visitors are Buddhists, because all humans possess their own Buddhist's seed. It is just a matter of time when the seed germinates. All the visitors are incorporated In the Buddhist worldview, reflecting the perspective that all visitors are the same whether they are actual or potential Buddhists in the present or a future lifetime. The figure shows that there are levels of devotion and understanding of Buddhism and that, to each level, corresponds one of the categories identified from the mundane perspective. In that sense, the mundane view is not devoid of religious consideration; yet it is still a mundane view, as the different groups are identified pragmatically according to their activities and behaviour. It is simply that the monks and nuns associate a certain degree of understanding of Buddhism to each one of the groups identified by their conduct and activities.

It is to be noted that the generic concept of 'pilgrim' was not a primitive concept in the response of the informants. The monks and nuns, when asked "Who are the people who come to Pu-Tuo?", replied in terms of the categories Jushis, Xiankes, Shinshis or tourists, but did not spontaneously talk about 'pilgrims' as a category (Section 7.1.1.1). It is only when asked "Which ones are pilgrims?" that they use the word 'pilgrim' at all (see Section 7.1.1.2). One may thus wonder how the term 'pilgrim' is used in Buddhism. Through the mundane perspective of the informants, it is suggested that one is a pilgrim if and only if one is a Jushi (see Section 7.1.1.2), that is a Buddhist practitioner who comes to seek enlightenment and learn Buddhism. On the other hand, when the monks and nuns look at the issue from the Buddhist perspective, every visitor is a Buddhist and thus a pilgrim, as his/her fundamental reason for coming to Pu-Tuo is to learn Buddhism. According to the Buddhist perspective, those visitor categories emerging from the mundane perspective are not absolute, or even 'real', because belonging to one of the categories is not permanent. Every visitor can

reach a higher level of Buddhist understanding and will eventually reach the enlightened level in due time. In their Buddhist view, monks and nuns see all the visitors as Buddhists and thus as pilgrims, due to their potential to reach Buddha-hood as evidenced by their presence at a sacred land of Buddhism, such as Pu-Tuo.

The findings therefore appear to be different from what is found in most of the existing literature on the tourist/pilgrim debate. The traditional connotation of pilgrimage implies a religious journey undertaken by a pilgrim to a shrine or a sacred place (Eliade, 1968; Pavicic et al., 2007; V. L. Smith, 1992; Vukonic, 1996). According to the mundane mode of the monks and nuns, unless one is a Jushi, one is neither a Buddhist nor a pilgrim (see Sections 7.1.1.1 and 7.1.1.2). This leaves the Xiankes in a limbo according to the traditional tourist/pilgrim distinction, because, while they are not viewed as pilgrims by Buddhist monks and nuns when they comment from their mundane worldview, they are obviously not leisure tourists, as they are actually very religiously motivated. In fact, worshipping is the prime reason for their trip to Pu-Tuo. The Buddhist perspective, on the other hand, is obviously not suited to identify a dichotomy pilgrim/tourist, as it does not acknowledge the existence of any difference between the visitors.

There are two significant issues that can be noted from Figure 2 and which throw light on the existing literature. First, this model offers a new perspective to consider the debate around the tourist/pilgrim dichotomy. According to their Buddhist perspective, the monks and nuns do not see tourists and pilgrims as being at the two opposite extremities of the spectrum of visitors. Quite to the contrary, they consider that all visitors are Buddhists and that the fundamental reason for their visit to Pu-Tuo is the same for all: to learn Buddhism and get close to the Bodhisattva, whether they know it or not. Pilgrims and tourists thus, not only are not perceived as being the opposite of each other on the spectrum (Smith, 1992), but they are both the identities of any individual who visits Pu-Tuo

and these two identities are oriented in the same direction. It is simply a matter of time when one's Buddhist's seed germinates. Some Buddhists whose seed germinates early in this lifetime will engage in more truly Buddhist practices when they are in Pu-Tuo, while some other Buddhists, without even being aware of their own Buddhist's seed, engage more in touristic activities. Such an understanding switches the focus of the existing literature from differentiating between a pilgrim and a tourist, to the understanding that any visitor is a pilgrim but it is just the matter of level, depending on whether one is an 'awakened' pilgrim (in this context, equivalent to a Buddhist practitioner) or a 'sleeping' one. This is how the construct of 'pilgrim' is understood by the monks and nuns from their Buddhist perspective.

The second significant issue is a continuation of the first one. Some scholarly works take note of tourists' experience at sacred sites and argue that tourists should not be described as a general type; five kinds of tourist experiences are proposed by Erik Cohen (Cohen, 1979, 2002a). It seems that there is not much to be found in academic works about the existence of different types of pilgrims. Taking the stance of the Buddhist worldview of the monks and nuns, all visitors can become Buddhists, either now or in the future. Yet not all who are presently Buddhists are at the same level of enlightenment and there are different levels of Buddhist pilgrims at sacred sites and they behave differently. Such an understanding is at variance with most of the existing literature, where the category of 'pilgrims' is homogeneous (Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Pavicic et al., 2007; Rotherham, 2007; V. L. Smith, 1992). There are a few exceptions taking note of the existence of differences among pilgrims with regards to their religious motivations (Eade, 1992; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Shackley, 2001), yet even though this literature takes note of the differences, no specific names were given to the different types of pilgrims, except in Sizer (1999).

'Pilgrim', in other words, is by large a term still used in a homogeneous way to describe people who journey to religious sites for religious reasons. Such a

generic term is found to be myopic and inadequate in the case of travel to Buddhist sites. It is myopic because such a definition implies that all adherents have the same devotional level to a particular religion, but as discussed above, variations are often noted in their behaviour and attitude when visiting religious/sacred sites (Shackley, 2001). It is inadequate because it excludes those who are not attached to the religion *at the moment*, but someone can possibly become very much inspired at the religious/sacred site and thus suddenly, or gradually after repeated visits, change from being an atheist to becoming an adherent to the religion. These points render confusion over the concept of 'pilgrim' as it exists today, regarding in particular the debate of whether a pilgrim is a tourist. Nevertheless, the level of devotion to and understanding of the religion are found to be important differentiating factors among visitors at religious/sacred sites in addition to motivations, behaviours, or activities on site that one engages in as confirmed here through the monks' and nuns' perceptions of the types of visitors who visit Pu-Tuo.

## 7.2 Monks' and Nuns' Preferences for Certain Visitors

Perhaps not surprisingly given the above findings, when monks and nuns were asked if they had personal preferences for a particular kind of visitor, with some exceptions, they tended to all reply in the same way, that they do not have preference for a particular type of visitor. The responses given were quite at variance with what one finds in some previous studies, namely that religious hosts prefer visitors having the religious background corresponding to the religious site they visit (see Bremer, 2006; Din, 1989; Joseph & Kavoori, 2001). The interviews showed that the majority of monks and nuns expressed the view that the issue of preference was not even a concern, but there were a couple of dissenters. The majority said that, essentially, "everyone is the same", "everyone is welcome". They did not have preference for a particular kind of visitor, for all sentient beings are the same to a Buddhist. Many also claimed that they did not really care who the visitors were, on the basis of the principles

of *equality* and *emptiness* stressed in Buddhism.  These two concepts have been discussed above (see section 2.2.1) and are referring to the Buddhist notion that all human beings are the same; there is no difference for all humans are simply made of the Four Elements (clay, water, fire and wind).  The informants who claimed not to have any preference for any type of visitor adhered strongly to these two Buddhist principles.

Monk Zhang Jie: "… all of them are the same.  I treat them with the same attitude.  I do not prefer a particular kind.  Preference?  This concept does not exist.  In Buddhism, everyone is the same.  In any case they do not stay for long; there is not much contact between us and them, so we cannot really say whom we like or not, but we can only say that everyone is welcome.  It is good for them to come and learn Buddhism."

Monk Ming Sheng: "… visitors are just visitors; they are transient; they are not something permanent in your life.  Preference is no issue for me at all.  You come here to pay reverence to the Buddha and Bodhisattva; you are not paying reverence to me.  We, monks, treat everyone on an equal basis; everyone is potentially a Buddha in the future."

Monk Ng Zhang: "… The monastery is a place for people to learn Buddhism, to pay reverence to the Buddha and, since everyone has an equal chance to become the enlightened one, this is a place for everyone.  Everyone is welcome."

Monk Lian Yi: "… as long as one comes with respect and do not create troubles, everyone is welcome.  You cannot say that you only want a particular kind of people to come.  It is not realistic and there is no need for it; also it is not correct to have such kind of mentality."

Monk Yuan Guang's response is particularly articulate, showing how an enlightened monk approaches and addresses the issue of preference.  He said:

"I am here to learn Buddhism, to seek serenity and enlightenment.  Why do I have to care about how people treat me?  I am not here to listen to nice words or compliments.  People make compliments to you or people scold you; you cannot control it and there is no need to control it, no need to ponder what people think about you or how they treat you.  It is all meaningless and it is not helpful to my Buddhist life at all.  If you pay respect to me, I am happy for you that you have a good seed and I hope you will continue to be a good person, to accomplish good things.  If you do not respect me, it also costs me nothing and is no concern of me.  If you scold me, I feel pity for you, because you have created bad karmic cause, but on me, it has no effect.  Everyone who has a good seed will have a chance to come and the chance is the same for everyone.  It is in any case not correct to have the mentality that I want only a particular kind of visitors to come.  There is no need for such a mentality; it is meaningless.  To us, who comes or who does not come is of no concern and has no effect on us.  We treat everyone the same.  Use a calm and clear heart to see the world; everything will be purified and natural.  Use an angry and unbalanced heart to see the world, what you will see will just be anger, confusion and unfairness.  What matters is our heart; it has nothing to do with others".

Another significant recurring theme that emerged from the data was that "everyone is welcome as long as he/she does not destroy anything and pays respect to the Buddha".  This shows how monks and nuns think from the Buddhist worldview.  The only circumstance that can get them to change their welcoming attitude towards everyone is when visitors cause troubles.

Monk Jing Xuan: "… there are tourists with better upbringing who just come in and have a look in silence; even though they don't believe in Buddhism, they do not do anything offensive inside the monastery … Xiankes know a bit of Buddhism but their behaviour can be even worse than the one of tourist who does not have any Buddhist faith at all.  This is in particular the case of those who are superstitious and insist on using their own ways to pay respect to the Great Beings".

Monk Jing Xiu: "… As long as one does not create trouble and respects the regulations of our monastery, one is welcome. I don't have any personal preference and I treat everyone the same way".

Monk Yuan Guan: "… I can tell you who they are but, as I told you just now, such classification does not mean much because we do not treat people differently based on their types, but on how they behave … Each individual has his/her characteristics, each one is different. I tell you, such as tourists: many come in just to have a look, take some photos, then they go, they do not bow to the Bodhisattva or to us, but they also do not do anything wrong inside the monastery. There are Xiankes who come into the monasteries to pay reverence to the Bodhisattva, some pay respect in their own ways which can be harmful to others, their behaviour can be selfish and even worse than the one of those who do nothing … Identity is just a name, given by you or by society, but it is not meaningful in a concrete sense. It is a matter of one's devotion to Buddhism, the level of how much one has learned and understood Buddhism which creates the difference in the way one thinks and the way one thinks affects one's behaviour".

Only two of the interviewed informants said explicitly that they favoured a particular type of visitor, that is, the Jushis, because they considered that they behaved better inside a Buddhist venue.

Nun Jing Yung: "… in general, Jushis behave better and they are more respectful to us, because they understand Buddhism better; they just come over to Pu-Tuo to pay reverence to the Great Being; they do not really come here for making wishes as the Xiankes and so they burn less incense and they don't burn paper offerings".

Monk Si Ding: "… I don't really have any particular preference. Everyone is welcome as long as he behaves well. In general, the Jushis know better. This is in any case a sacred place; it is necessary to respect the place, the sacredness; so to behave well is a form of respect to the Great Being".

The analysis of interviews suggests that whether an informant has preference for a particular type of visitor or not is related to the level of enlightenment of the informant in question. Although the comparison of the background of monks and nuns is not the objective of the study, it appears that their age, function at the monastery and number of years of learning Buddhism held no influence on their attitude. Both types of comments come from the monks and nuns who guard halls inside monasteries and nunneries. The two informants who expressed a personal preference for having Jushis as Pu-Tuo visitors had learned Buddhism for more than 15 years, while the other informants holding no preference included two young informants who had started to learn Buddhism only a few years ago. The level of enlightenment has more to do with how much one has realised from Buddhism and put into practice rather than for how long one has studied. The number of years of learning does not necessarily reflect how much enlightenment one has reached or how much one has understood. Rather the findings suggest that the higher the level of enlightenment of a particular informant, the less is the tension that exists in receiving visitors, and the better he/she is mentally prepared to face the visitors and the possible challenges created by them. Conversely, monks and uns with an apparently lower level of enlightenment tended to be more concerned with what kind of visitors come to Pu-Tuo.

The analysis of the interviews lends support to the notion that the more enlightened the monk/nuns is, the better his/her ability to handle possible intrusions, and thus the less he/she cares about whom are the visitors coming to Pu-Tuo. An enlightened informant simply practices what he or she has realised from Buddhism: to host and handle visitors regardless of whom they might be. This explains why most of the Buddhist monks and nuns do not have personal preferences for a specific type of visitor, which is different from what one finds at some other religious sites (see Bremer, 2006; Din, 1989; Joseph & Kavoori, 2001). The existing literature also suggests that in order to maintain the sanctity of a religious/sacred place and minimise possible tensions, religious hosts may deploy strict regulations against frivolous tourists and detailed procedural

instructions regarding the visit (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Mason, 2005). While the findings of the thesis reveal that it is acknowledged in Pu-Tuo that there is a need to impose minimum visiting regulations to protect the physical fabric of a religious site and shield the religious community, the interviews, also throw light on a softer approach to maintaining visitor discipline that is equally efficient at protecting the religious place and its religious members. Instead of only imposing external constraints, such as posting signs and regulations, which can still be ignored or violated, to govern the visitors' behaviour, it is also important to pay attention to the human factor. If the religious hosts are friendly, empathetic and forgiving, it will have a positive effect on reducing the level of tension caused by visitors at a sacred site. Visitors comply more readily with soft, kind explanations and guidance provided by friendly religious/host members than to signs on the walls that spell out regulations (Ham et al., 2007; Kuo, 2002; Mason, 2005; Weiler, Brown, & Curtis, 2009). As Moscardo (1996, p. 378) noted, interpretation can play a critical role and result in a deeper understanding and knowledge for the visitors of the place, the host and the culture. The tourists can thereby acquire an awareness of the need to protect the place and "adopt a respectful and sustainable behaviour".


The Buddhist worldview offers the insight that it is equally important for the host to look at themselves and at what their responsibilities are, and not simply lay the blame on the visitors. In this spirit, Abbot Zhong Zhi commented that: "If people behave in a way which does not respect the rules of our monasteries, it is because of their ignorance; but they should not be the one to be blamed. The one who should be blamed is us. It is because we do not have enough education to offer to them, not enough guidance to guide them onto the right path, and so they do not know what be the proper thing to do are. It is our fault; it is because we have not yet done enough".

## 7.3 Tourism at Pu-Tuo Seen Through the Lens of Buddhism

In the interviews, the monks and nuns did not only talk about their understanding of types of visitors and their preference for some types of visitors, but also a lot about how they perceive receiving visitors and tourism at Pu-Tuo. This is another significant theme that emerged from the set of raw field data which addresses the first research objective of this thesis: to elucidate how tourism at a Buddhist sacred site is perceived in the Buddhist culture. While the existing literature expresses concerns about intrusions by tourists at sacred sites (see Section 3.1.5), it is mostly related to religions other than Buddhism. Suggestions on how to better manage religious/sacred sites are typically proposed, such as using pay-parameters for the restricted zones, imposing designated visiting routes within the site and admission charges (Blackwell, 2007; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Gatrell & Kreiner, 2006; Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Shackley, 2001, 2002). Little has been written in a Chinese Buddhist context about how individual monks and nuns perceive being involved with tourism. Their personal thoughts in dealing with visitors have rarely been revealed.

The research question "How do you perceive having tourism at Pu-Tuo?" was used as the initial stimulus for the interviews on this topic. Overall, the monks' and nuns' perceptions of having visitors at Pu-Tuo varied. While the majority of informants talked positively of having visitors and tourism at Pu-Tuo, there were also a few informants who expressed negative feelings about receiving visitors: they found it "annoying", "irritating", "a burden to our monastic lives". Those who commented negatively about having visitors referred mostly to visitors' misbehaviour and to them not listening to their advice. They admitted that they would rather not have much contact with tourists if they had a choice. Monk Jing Xuan said: "to get in touch with visitors is okay but having too much is not good". Monk Jing Xiu noted: "if I could choose, I would prefer not to have too much contact with too many tourists, because if you have too much, you will feel

annoyed. In particular, some of them believe in Buddhism in a blind way, which is not correct, and they do not listen to your advice nor do they comply with the regulations of the monastery". Another monk, Fa Miao, commented, "If I could choose, I would prefer not to get into contact with tourists and it is better to spend time to learn Buddhism". The following three quotes are typical in illustrating why some informants perceive having visitors and tourism negatively.

Nun Jing Yung: "They don't really respect the rules and even after they have been told many times, they still do whatever they want; they don't listen. We cannot let them do whatever they want. We have already told them that this is a cave and you cannot bring burning incense sticks into the cave … Even though we have talked to them nicely and told them what are the correct things to do, they simply ignore us and they continue to do things in their own ways … their visits on the one hand bring along economic benefits to this island, but at the same time, some of them also bring us troubles and they interrupt our daily practice".

Nun Ding Jing: "Having tourists come into the nunnery, to a certain extent, has impacts on us. It is impossible to have no intrusions at all. But it is important to have a tranquil environment in the nunnery for us to live, to learn and practice Buddhism. If tourists come in and if they behave well, it is all right for them to come. If they come in and misbehave, do not follow and respect our regulations, behave in an uncivilised way, such as by littering, spitting, talking loudly, smoking, it will turn the nunnery into a market. The more people come in, the noisier it becomes. Those are direct impacts which affect our monastic life. Sometimes people think that developing tourism is good for our nunnery, and good for us, but in fact having many tourists here also affects us and it can be a burden on our monastic life".

Monk Ming Xin: "By safeguarding the hall, you have more interactions with visitors; it can be quite annoying when visitors misbehave and you have to tell them not to do this and not to do that. Also we have less time to do things that we want to do".

The above examples show how monks and nuns look at the issue of having tourism and visitors from a 'mundane-me' perspective and the influence of the Buddhist worldview is barely found in the above responses. A typical case was noted of a monk preferring not to have much contact with tourists; in addition to the fact that it has something to do with visitors' behaviour, the text also refers to lay people's misunderstandings of monastic life. The following presents the complete dialogue between the researcher and Monk Zhi Wei with respect to the challenges he encountered at the personal level.

Cora: Just now you mentioned that it would be nicer if you did not need to guard the halls. Could you please share with me why would you think so?

Z: (*He hesitated for a while; then I reinsured him that I will not put his real Buddhist name in my script and he can trust me, that this is entirely an academic research that tries to study Buddhist monastic life. He then replied*). They are very troublesome and noisy.

Cora: Can you share with me some examples of what you have experienced?

Z: Many of them behave in an uncivilised way, such as smoking, littering, or even spitting. They talk loudly and even yell, oblivious to their presence in a sacred place. Some make gestures to tease us; for example they do the *heshi* gesture in a defiant sarcastic way. Or they ask ridiculous questions which are not polite to us. Some also do not listen to our advice. For example we tell them that they cannot bring incense sticks into the inner halls and we actually have already put wooden barriers to prevent them from entering. Yet, some people just ignore all of those signs and advice; they simply move away the wooden barriers and walk into the inner halls. This is also the reason why we have to be inside the hall to safeguard our monastery.

Cora: Really? How come they do something like this? They really moved the barriers?

(*We then both laughed happily and I felt that by that time he has already warmed up and granted me more trust. He took the initiative to continue as follows*)

Z: Yes, they really have this kind of uncivilised behaviour. Some Xiankes even run into our inner hall, and take away the incense ashes from the small incense burner. (*I looked puzzled and he clarified*) We offer incense sticks to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas every day; we actually have a small incense burner in each hall of the monastery. Those Xiankes probably believe that the incense ashes could accomplish some kind of miracle or cure diseases; that's why they actually try to take some ashes away. We even once found out that an incense burner had been stolen by visitors from one of our halls. Sometimes you feel tired when you have to constantly tell those people not to bring incense in or not to go into some places that are blocked by wooden barriers but they don't listen to you at all.

Cora: How do you deal with the situation when they ignore your advice?

Z: We can do little; we do not argue with them. Even if you argue, they won't listen to you anyway. We can only let them do that, as long as they don't destroy anything or create trouble (*He then smiled sadly*).

Cora: Just now you mentioned that visitors may ask questions that are not polite to you. Can you please share some examples with me?

Z: (*He did not smile when answering this question and he did not look at me at all*) They ask questions like: "You are so young and you became a monk, don't you want to get married?", "Is it really true that monks eat only vegetables? But I know that some monks also eat meat. Do you really eat no meat? How can you resist eating meat which is delicious?", "You eat vegetables only; do you have enough strength to support your body?, Do you from time to time eat meat sneakily?", "How much do you understand about life, you are so young, you may have not even experienced real life, the relationship between a man and a woman?"

The above quotes from Monk Zhi Wei illustrate how occasionally some monks and nuns may encounter challenges at the personal level that can affect their perceptions of receiving visitors. Yet, the analysis of the interview notes suggests that not all monks and nuns are so affected. As mentioned above, the more enlightened the monk or nun is, the better prepared he/she is to receive visitors. The challenges posed by visitors appear to have little or no effect on their serenity. A majority of informants in fact perceived positively the situation of having visitors and tourism at Pu-Tuo. They shared their perceptions of

receiving visitors both from the 'mundane-me' and the 'Buddhist-me' perspectives. They acknowledged that there are 'intrusions', 'disturbances', 'inconveniences' brought about by visitors; yet these monks and nuns also commented from their Buddhist perspective that the external disturbances had no effect on their Buddhist mindset and that they used their Buddhist mentality to overcome the challenges they encountered when dealing with visitors. The three quotes below are particularly articulate in expressing the monks' and nuns' feelings from both perspectives.

Monk Pu-Huang commented: "You ask me if we perceive that there are intrusions brought about in our monastic life by the large number of visitors. It is not possible to argue that there is no physical intrusion but what matter is whether the intrusions reach your mind or not. The arrivals of visitors certainly results in intrusions but whether the intrusions can affect monks or not will vary; it all depends on their own Buddhist training and on how much they have realised from Buddhism. If you get angry easily and always think about it, then the intrusions will affect you, but if you do not care about it, never put it on your mind, even if it is there, it won't be able to affect your personally. You have to remember this: "When you heart is pure, the place where you are at is also pure". In other words, you can say that there is intrusion by visitors, but it has no influence on me".

Monk Yuan Guang said: "To me (*he made it very specific that his answer only represented his own opinion*) it is of no concern at all. When visitors come, it is inevitable to have disturbances, but you cannot be annoyed by them; it depends on your own Buddhist training, your level of concentration and calm. If you cannot tame your heart, even if you come to live in the monastery, you will still feel annoyance if you still cannot control your heart … it is easy to become a Buddhist monk, but it is difficult to be a real Buddhist practitioner. If you become a monk in name only and dress like a monk, without practicing the Buddhist way and thinking as a Buddhist should do, you are only physically present in the monastery; you are not a monk ".

Monk Yuan Guang's comments are in fact very similar to the ones of Monk Pu Huang's, in that they both emphasised that it is the matter of whether one can apply what one has learned from Buddhism in practice. A monk's inner serenity should not be affected by his external environment. Monk Yuan Guang continued:

"No matter whether he is in a noisy environment or not, a real Buddhist monk will not be affected. Therefore whether visitors come or not has nothing to do with me. If they can come, it is their destiny; it is good for them to have a chance to pay reverence to the Bodhisattva. If there are some who cannot come, it means that it is not yet time. Both situations have nothing to do with monks".

Monk Jing Fan noted: " … having more visitors come to the monastery will of course make it more crowded, but people just come in and leave. Once they have finished what they wanted to do, they leave the monastery. So, it may make the monastery noisy when there are many of them, but this has no effect on my personal Buddhist practice. Monastic life is routine and standardised; our life will not change according to the number of visitors. I still guard the hall regardless of how many people come … it is my duty to sit here to help people. Someone may need help and approach me, or wants to ask questions; I am willing to answer. This is the reason why I am here. When there is nothing to do, I use the time to practice, to chant malas. There is no contradiction. To practice, it does not really matter where you are sitting or how many people there are. To serve people, help people to solve problems or address their inquiries is also part of the Buddhist practice".

In the above quotes, evidence can be found to suggest that the informants acknowledge the fact that having visitors and tourism at Pu-Tuo inevitably brings about intrusions and disturbances. Yet they also expressed their views on the degree to which such challenges can affect a monk/nun or not depend on how much he/she has understood from what he/she has learned from Buddhism. Monk Xin Xia noted: "If we do not argue, it is not because, as an outsider might

think, we are very lenient and have a higher level of tolerance than ordinary people.  We are just human beings, just as you; we also have our emotions but we practice tolerance to tame our mind.  We practice compassion towards your ignorance if you do not know that it is important to respect monks and nuns.  We do not either want you to accumulate even more bad karmas by saying or doing something even worse".  The comments of Monk Xin Xia throw light on the fact that the monks' and nuns' attitudes towards receiving visitors are generally positive, even though some of them may have experienced negative encounters with tourists.  When they have to deal with tourists in real life, they use their Buddhist worldview and adopt various Buddhist methods to handle the challenges, if any.  The next section illustrates the Buddhist methods used by monks and nuns to handle challenges caused by the presence of visitors.

## 7.4 The Different Buddhist Methods of Coping with Visitors

This section presents the Buddhist methods used by the monks and nuns of Pu-Tuo to handle the challenges that they may encounter when dealing with visitors.  Two main Buddhist virtues - detachment and compassion - were found in the interview notes to be the main components of the strategies used to cope with visitors.

### 7.4.1 Detachment

From the analysis of the interview notes, the challenges created by visitors commonly include noise, incense smoke, antagonistic attitudes towards monks and nuns and disrespectful conduct inside the monasteries and nunneries.  Some informants were found to be very much detached from the rest of the world and they use detachment, one of the key Buddhist virtues, as the frame of mind governing their attitude towards receiving visitors and handling any challenges.

Detachment in a Buddhist context is defined as the ultimate understanding of the true nature of all forms of existence of objects and phenomena on earth: the fact that they are simply illusions and that they are not real in an absolute sense. The Venerable Karmapa said that "… ordinary people focus on external objects in order to achieve happiness because they believe that happiness is real and so are the material objects one sees in the external world.  Yet one should understand that we can never make happiness last in this way either in the present or in the future.  The existence of any external object is impermanent by its fundamental nature.  External objects exist only at the moment our mind creates them and cling to them.  When one can achieve a stable focused mind and acquire the ability to establish and maintain the proper balance within one's mind, then one is detached from illusions and it is the beginning of achieving enlightenment" (Karmapa, 2008, pp. 52-53).

In this thesis, it is found that some monks and nuns do not care about the situation of having tourism at Pu-Tuo or about how many visitors come.  They remain detached for the sake of concentration on achieving enlightenment and thus they do not care greatly about the external world.  This Buddhist mentality influences the way some of these informants look at the situation of having tourism and handle challenges created by visitors, as the quotes below demonstrate.

> Monk Ming Sheng: "I don't really have much to tell.  They just come in and go and their presence is of no concern to me at all.  I don't really have any comment or remember anything in particular … I don't put this on my mind.  Having many tourists or having no tourists is the same.  I am happy with whatever task is being assigned to me.  It is because, no matter what I am working with, I am still practicing Buddhism".

> Monk Zhao Mun: "Whether they [the tourists] come or not in fact does not concern me.  I don't care about things which are none of my

business. I concentrate on practicing and meditating, which are the only things that I am concerned with and dedicated to".

Monk Yuan Guang: "… what people do, how people behave is not something that should bother a monk's mind; that is why I tell you that whether they come or not or how many come has no effect on me … I am here to learn Buddhism, to seek serenity and enlightenment".

In addition to showing no interest in or concern for visitors, informants also use detachment as a method to deal with misunderstandings or challenges created by visitors.

Monk Lian Yi: "Whether they come or not, how many come, is no concern to us. They have no affect on us. They are whom they are and whatever they pray for, why they are here, where they come from, all that has no relationship to us at all. We have the same routine anyway; monastic life is every day the same and so is what you are supposed to do. Sometimes people think that we produce nothing and just pray all day, that we live from their donations and some people think we are useless, like parasites in society. This is due to their fact that they don't understand us and Buddhism and so they have misconceptions. To me, I don't care about it and there is no point thinking about it. I cannot change how people think; if they think this way it is because of their ignorance. When in the future they will know more, their way of thinking will change accordingly. I wanted to become a monk because I wanted to be free from sorrows and burdens, to live freely. Then, why do I have to care about how people comment on me? It does no good to my Buddhist practice. What I can do is to focus on my own learning; this is the most practical thing and the only thing that I care about. To be a monk is to seek enlightenment and ultimately have no need to be reborn. To care about things that are unnecessary will only make you mess with those unnecessary karmic causes and effects. Then why do you have to do something to bar yourself from achieving your enlightenment goal? ".

By looking at the excerpts derived from the above quotes, such as "I don't care about things which are none of my business", "What people do, how people behave is not something that should bother a monk's mind", "Why do you have to do something to bar yourself from achieving your enlightenment goal?", "What I can do is to focus on my own learning; this is the most practical thing and the only thing that I care about", it is obvious that these informants put a much higher importance on retaining their serenity and concentration for the sake of achieving enlightenment. They use detachment as an instrument to help them remain focused on their Buddhist practice and preserve their inner serenity, even at the times they are facing antagonistic attitudes of some visitors.

## 7.4.2 Compassion

In addition to the notion of detachment, some monks and nuns considered that to be willing to help lay people with their inquiries, regardless of whether their questions are related to Buddhism or not, is a merciful practice for a Buddhist. One of the interviewed informants was interrupted during the interview by a visitor asking for direction to a particular hall to pray for fortune and burn paper offerings. The male visitor asked his question without addressing the monk properly, expressed himself in a commanding abrupt manner and left without expressing even token gratitude. The monk was then asked by the researcher to share how he felt being treated this way and whether such a situation happened often. Monk Wei Shan calmly replied:

> "I don't feel anything. You get used to it and people are like this. You cannot control how people treat you. Whether they want to show respect to us or not is their business. We are here to serve people; so, whoever come to us, we help them and we don't care whether they are polite and pay respect to us or not. Who they are, how they behave, has nothing to do with us and there is no need to care whether they are polite to us or not. It is their choice".

Monk Wei Shan and likeminded informants clearly adopt compassion and forgiveness, other important Buddhist virtues. These monks and nuns do not deny that tourists intrude. Yet they do not choose to ignore these challenges by simply adopting a detached attitude, but by also taking a compassionate worldview which considers tourism to be a channel to preach Buddhism even if at the cost of being subjected to some amount of distraction and inconvenience. When facing challenges, they do not choose to ignore them or simply bear with them, but they practice forgiveness towards peoples' ignorance and adopt a compassionate manner to handle them. The following quotes are examples that illustrate the supportive attitude of some informants towards tourism from the standpoint of being compassionate.

> Nun Ming Yuan: "Having tourists come to Pu-Tuo will provide them with a chance to make good knots and plant good seeds in this life time. Different individuals come to this place for different reasons, but they all have good seeds and they get the chance to come over ... So tourism is a medium to let people have a chance to get closer to Buddhism. But at the individual level, having many tourists is sometimes inconvenient and disturbing to our monastic lives, but this is something inevitable. We use what we learned from Buddhism to overcome the challenges. At the same time, if there are more people who believe in Buddhism because of the visits they pay to Pu-Tuo, we are also doing something good (*She smiled*)".

> Nun Yin Yi: "Having tourists come here has its good side and bad side. The good side is that it is good for the economy of this island. That many tourists come can also sustain the finance of the monasteries. The bad side is that having tourists definitely has an influence on the quality of our monastic lives and Buddhist's practices. Yet, at the same time, what is bad for us is in fact a good thing for those who come. It is because even though tourism brings inconveniences and interruptions to our practices, tourism development allows more people from everywhere to come to Pu-Tuo and have a chance to make good ties with Buddhism, even if it is just a beginning, just a start. Those who come have already planted their seed in Buddhism; they make a knot

with Buddhism … your seed in Buddhism will germinate and flourish in the future; it is just a matter of time".

The quote from Nun Yin Yi's interview shows compassion and sympathy for lay people. Though she is aware of the possible inconveniences brought about by tourism, she is still supportive because, as she said, despite the interruptions to monastic practices, tourists are given a chance to learn Buddhism and she continued by pointing out that helping them to do so is what a Buddhist should do.

"In other words, having tourists visit monasteries, even though they cause disturbances and affect our monastic lives, as well as the environment we are living in, allows us to offer them a chance to learn Buddhism, a chance to get close to the Great Being. This is a very good thing to do, to be compassionate; this is what a Buddhist ought to do".

Abbot Zhong Zhi: "… to serve people, to solve people's problems, to preach Buddhism to people, to guide them onto the right path, are duties for a Buddhist monk. Having tourists around will affect a monk's practices; at the same time, we should be able to practice all the time, even at times when we solve other people's problems, even at times when we face challenges; this is all part of Buddhist training. If you take a look at it from another perspective, having tourism and tourists come over to Pu-Tuo, create an opportunity for us to get more people to believe in Buddhism. People come over to your monastery, to give you the chance to preach Buddhism, and you no longer need to wander around to look for them. Then why should you not be happy?"

The comments of the 80 year old nun display how a highly enlightened Buddhist thinks about tourism. To her, tourism is a sign of peace and bliss rather than an instrument to generate profit for the nunnery. She is happy to have visitors come to Pu-Tuo and she did not perceive any intrusions even at the time, during the interview, when a nearby group of tourists were laughing, talking loudly and taking photos on their way to the inner hall of the nunnery. She was still smiling

gently while resting in the sun and explained slowly to the researcher why it was good to have tourism.  She said:

> "… even if they just come in to have a look, to walk around, it is good. They can come over to visit the nunnery.  The fact that they can come to Pu-Tuo means that our country is getting richer, more stable; people are getting richer, and so they have time and money to travel.  If it was in the war time, people could not afford to travel, everyone would have to suffer.  People can travel now; it means that the country is at peace, people are rich and this is very good.  The place where Buddha Shakayamuni talked about the world of Nirvana is also a peaceful place where people have no sorrows, no sufferings, but happiness only. Buddha's aim is to teach people to leave suffering, to create a world where there is peace.  You can see that people come here happily; it is a good sign … it is good for them to come in and have a look, to plant their seeds in Buddhism.  In the future, the seeds will germinate and eventually they will grow.  It is good to let people have a chance to get close to Buddhism".

The above quotes illustrate the attitudes of the monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism.  Typically, they acknowledged the fact that there were intrusions brought by visitors at Pu-Tuo.  Some informants though criticised harshly those visitors who misbehaved and indicated that they preferred not to have much contact with visitors.  Still, the majority of monks and nuns perceived visitors and tourism positively.  Either they see tourism as a channel to preach Buddhism, to let more lay people have an opportunity to know more about Buddhism and get closer to the Bodhisattva, or they consider that tourism is good due to its contribution to the local economy and to support the monasteries and nunneries.

The personal backgrounds of monks and nuns appear to have little to do with their opinions about receiving visitors.  Using the responses of Monk Wei Shan and Nun Ding Jing as examples to illustrate this presupposition, one can see that Nun Ding Jing feels that "having tourism is a burden to monastic life" while Monk Wei Shan considers tourism to be a channel giving tourists an opportunity to get

close to Buddhism.  He also explained that helping visitors and answering their inquiries is what a Buddhist is supposed to do.  These two informants were both quite young, in their mid-20s.  Both had studied at the Buddhist Institute at Pu-Tuo; they were at the time both safeguarding a hall inside their monastery and nunnery.  Both those halls are relatively much visited, though they are not in the three largest monasteries at Pu-Tuo.  These two informants have very similar backgrounds, which illustrates that, as mentioned earlier, the differences in attitude towards receiving visitors and tourism have more to do with the level of enlightenment than with age or number of years of learning Buddhism, because what matters is how much one can put what has been learnt from Buddhism in practice in one's daily life.

### 7.4.3 A Discussion

The above Sections 7.4.1 and 7.4.2 discuss what appear to be the two main strategies of the monks and nuns in coping with challenges created by visitors: compassion and detachment.  It is also clear from the interviews that the way monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and handle the resulting challenges varies much from the one to the other.  So too does the extent to which they are affected by the presence of visitors and their contacts with them.  The interviews also provide some evidence to suggest that the monks and nuns who tend to resent any grief that the visitors may cause them are the ones with a lower/insufficient level of enlightenment.  Taking these considerations into account suggests a model of an "*ideal type*" of the behavioural coping mechanisms of the monks and nuns, as expressed by them, based on their level of enlightenment and the Buddhist virtues adopted to cope with visitors' challenges.  "*Ideal type*" is a methodological device first introduced by Max Weber (1949).  According to Weber, an ideal type is neither true nor false, neither a hypothesis nor a theory, but it is a framework for measuring the extent to which specific social phenomena conform to or depart from an established pattern (Weber, 1949, pp. 89-104).  The use of *ideal types* in tourism and religious studies can be found in some previous research (Butler, 1980; Harrison,

1995; Ohman & Hagg, 1998; V. L. Smith, 1992). In this thesis the "*ideal types*" provides a general understanding of possible behavioural coping mechanisms adopted by monks and nuns in receiving visitors and tourism. The "*ideal types*" as Weber cautions, are not meant for perfection. Monks and nuns in other words are not 'boxed' in any one type of behavioural coping mechanisms; on the contrary, one may adopt more than one behavioural coping mechanism in different situations and one's adopted mechanism may shift from one to another. Figure 3 below represents the ideal types of the behavioural coping mechanisms of the informants based on the analysis of their responses.
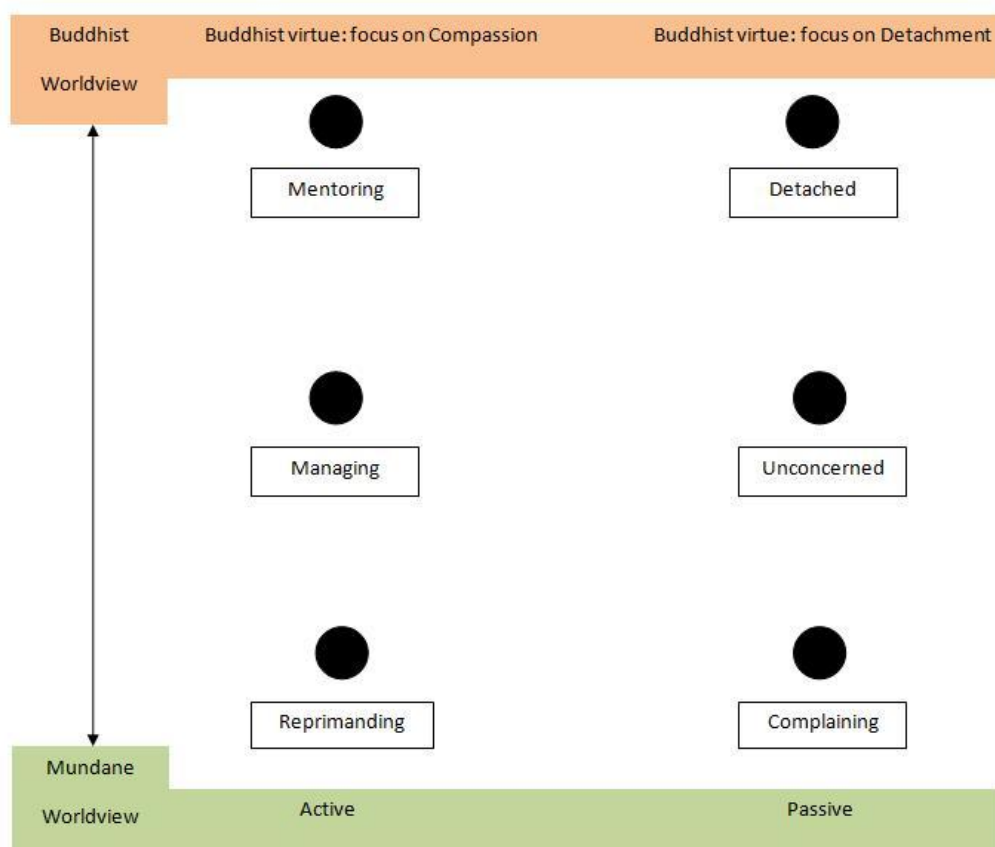


Figure 3: Buddhist Monks' Ideal Types of behavioural coping mechanisms towards Visitors

In Figure 3, the left vertical axis measures the degree to which an informant's behavioural coping mechanism, when dealing with visitors' intrusions, mixes the Buddhist and the mundane worldviews. The caption at the top of the two columns corresponds to two central Buddhist virtues: compassion and

detachment, as discussed in Sections 7.4.1 and 7.4.2.  The lower caption of the two columns describes the actual concrete behavioural coping mechanisms taken when facing challenges posed by visitors, corresponding to compassion and detachment respectively.  With respect to compassion, the behavioural coping mechanism is being active, meaning taking charge, assuming one's responsibility and trying to solve the problem in as empathetic a way as possible, towards all concerned (the culprit, the other visitors and the monastery).  With respect to detachment, one has the behavioural coping mechanism of being passive, not acting, implicitly not assuming responsibility.  While Buddhism values both compassion and detachment as virtues, and while they are not in general incompatible (a monk may practice both virtues simultaneously but he may choose to focus more on one or the other), they are somewhat antagonistic when dealing with visitors at a Buddhist sacred site.  In such a situation, the maximum amount of detachment can most easily be achieved by completely avoiding having to deal with problems caused by the behaviour of visitors.  On the other hand, monks and nuns adopting compassion need to exert more effort by taking the initiative to help and guide lay people; they need to have 'big and forgiving hearts' to deal with visitors' ignorance and possible misconduct.  In this vein, monks and nuns adopting compassion do not simply correct problems, but also aim at making the problematic visitor a better person so as not to generate bad karmic effects.

Figure 3 presents six ideal types of behavioural coping mechanisms of monks and nuns based on their responses to dealing with visitors.  As explained before, these ideal types are not meant to be exact or to imply that monks and nuns only have six types of behavioural coping mechanisms; on the contrary there are innumerable possibilities of combinations.  The figure is meant to reveal and enable one to understand how and why monks and nuns deal with visitors differently based on the common findings of this research.  Each of them is discussed below.

(1) **Reprimanding**.  A monk or nun holding a behavioural coping mechanism close to this ideal type is mostly driven by the mundane worldview (reflecting a low level of enlightenment) and is more compassionate than detached. He/she will take his/her responsibility in his/her functional role inside monasteries/nunneries seriously and will explicitly instruct visitors not to misbehave, scolding them if necessary.  He/she will tend to have a preference for unproblematic visitors, in particular Jushis (Buddhist practitioners).  Nun Jing Yung's comment, as shown below, appears to put her close to this ideal type.

> She was quite stern when she said: "… they don't really respect the rules and even after they have been told many times, they still do whatever they want to do, they don't listen.  We cannot let them do whatever they want … the area here is so small and if someone brings incense sticks in, others will follow and it can be very dangerous.  But they just do not listen to what you say.  Even though we have talked to them nicely and told them what the rules are, they simply ignore you … so I tell them to go back home to use their own ways to worship to their own statues!"  When asked if she has preference for a particular kind of visitors, she said, "In general, the Jushis behave better and they are more respectful, because they understand Buddhism better".

(2) **Complaining**.  Similar to the reprimanding attitude, a monk or nun holding a behavioural coping mechanism close to this ideal type is mostly driven by the mundane worldview, but detachment dominates compassion.  He/she will tend to consider that having many visitors can be a burden to their monastic life and that visitors are annoying, particularly those who misbehave.  Yet, unlike the monks and nuns who adopt the reprimanding as a behavioural coping mechanism, he/she will not confront directly those who misbehave, if it can at all be avoided.  The quote of Monk Jing Xuan may serve to exemplify this ideal type of behavioural coping mechanism.  He said: "We won't argue with them, but if they really undertake some destructive actions and do not listen to what we say, there are lay workers here and they will come over to

talk to those people and ask them to leave the monastery … of course you feel angry, upset, but we are monks; our identity is different; we do not argue with them and will not fight with them.  If we do that, it will not be good for our image".  From Monk Jung Xuan's comments, one can see that he is holding a behavioural coping mechanism different from the one of Nun Jin Yung for the fact that, though he complains, he chooses not to have direct confrontations with visitors.

(3) **Managing**.  A monk/nun holding a behavioural coping mechanism which is close to this ideal type is driven by a blend of Buddhist and mundane worldviews.  Due to the Buddhist view that all are equal, such a monk/nun will tend not to have personal preferences for some type of visitors.  He/she will generally welcome all visitors to Pu-Tuo as long as they behave well.  He/she also appreciates that tourism brings financial advantages to a monastery/ nunnery.  When visitors misbehave, he/she does not take it personally but, out of necessity, enforce the rules of the monastery ornunnery.  Monk Pu Huang, a senior monk who oversees a large monastery gives a comment that constitutes a good example.  He says:

> "… if the challenge threatens only ourselves, we should use tolerance, Bodhi-wisdom, to tame our minds and handle the challenge.  If it is something destructive to the monastery, then of course we have to tell explicitly to people that such behaviour is wrong and tell them to stop … you don't need to have any feeling or get angry personally, lay people misbehave because their own understanding of Buddhism is not clear.  I do not have any preference.  It is important that we have a big and forgiving heart such that we always treat all the sentient beings on an equal basis".

(4) **Unconcerned**:  A monk/nun adopting a behavioural coping mechanism which is close to this ideal type shares the mixture of Buddhist and mundane worldviews, but is more concerned with protecting his/her detachment than

in finding a compassionate solution to a problem that may arise. Such monks and nuns tend not to mind much having visitors. In fact they often ignore visitors and rely on others to correct any misconduct. This mechanism corresponds to the responses given by some monks and nuns to the effect that "they [visitors] just come in and go and their presence is of no concern to me at all"; "whether they come or not, whatever they do, has nothing to do with me"; "I don't feel anything [about tourists' presence]. You get used to it and people are like this. Who they are, how they are, have nothing to do with me and it is no need to care". Such monks and nuns commonly choose to focus their minds on studying Buddhism and prefer not to have much contact with visitors, if possible. Monk Zhao Mun is a typical example of a Buddhist monk who exemplifies this attitude. He said, "I don't care about things which are none of my business; I concentrate on practicing and meditating, which are the only things that I am concerned with and dedicated to".

(5) **Mentoring**. A monk/nun adopting a behavioural coping mechanism which is close to this extreme ideal type is very enlightened and takes the Buddhist worldview to look at visitors and tourism. He/she perceives tourism positively because he/she sees that the presence of visitors and the resulting opportunities to interact with them provide him/her with the opportunity to preach Buddhism and provide the visitors with a chance to learn about it. Monks and nuns who rely on this type of behavioural coping mechanism are primarily eager to help visitors cultivate their Buddhist's seeds. They will gladly give help to visitors whether their demands are related to Buddhism or not, and they consider that helping people is a part of being a Buddhist. Being compassionate and forgiving towards visitors' ignorance are the principles that guide them when facing challenges created by visitors. They aim at a positive outcome that will help more people make good ties with Buddhism. The 80 year old nun is a monastic member who exemplifies such kind of ideal type. She is happy to receive tourists because "it is good to let people have a chance to get close to Buddhism" and she sees tourism "as a

sign of peace".

(6) **Detached**:  A monk/nun relying on a behavioural coping mechanism close to this ideal type is both highly enlightened and detached.  When facing visitor's misbehaviour, his/her reaction, if any, is minimal or even does not exist, and a conflict, if it cannot be avoided at all, does not affect his/her internal serenity.  Ultimately, such a monk/nun believes that a troublesome visitor's Buddhist seed will eventually germinate by itself in due time and thus this visitor's inappropriate conduct will naturally cease.  Monk Lian Yi's comment is very representative.  He said:

> "Things will fall into place naturally.  You cannot force people to stand still and listen to you about what they should do and what they should not do inside the monastery.  If they have good seeds and want to learn Buddhism, want to know what are the correct and respectful things to do inside the monastery, they will naturally come and approach you, to learn more from you … in any case, you cannot change people's behaviour; you cannot force them … they have their way of thinking and you cannot really change them.  They are the only ones to decide if they want to change their behaviour or not; when time matures, they will understand what they should do.  Buddhism cannot save those who do not want to be saved; likewise, you cannot preach Buddhism to those who snub learning".

In summary, Figure 3 conceptualises the set of ideal types of behavioural coping mechanisms that might be adopted by Buddhist monks and nuns as ways to deal with visitors and tourism and how themechanisms vary with both their level of enlightenment and the extent to which compassion dominates detachment, or vice-versa.  Nevertheless it is of importance to remark that the ideal types of behavioural coping mechanisms are not meant to be rigid or static; they are rather flexible and many intermediate possibilities may exist.  Such a model offers an overview of how monks and nuns may receive visitors differently when they rely on  different mechanisms.  Such an issue is rarely discussed in the

existing literature; the coping mechanisms of religious hosts are usually treated as homogeneous (Din, 1989; Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). The findings of this thesis lend support to the notion that there is in fact a diversity of behavioural coping mechanisms that the religious hosts may adopt in coping with visitation at their religious/sacred places.

The results of the interviews also suggest that before proceeding to discuss how a religious/sacred site can or should be managed, it is necessary to take into account the influence of the religion itself on the religious hosts at the site.  The nature of a particular religion appears to exercise a powerful force on the mentality of the religious hosts' perceptions and behavioural coping mechanisms in dealing with visitors at religious sites.  In this thesis, the Buddhist mentality is found to provide, to various degrees, a normative guidance to monks and nuns on how to deal with visitors, on how one should perceive tourism and on how to overcome challenges (if any) created by visitors.

## 7.5 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to present the perceptions of the monks and nuns who live in the monasteries and nunneries of Pu-Tuo towards receiving visitors and tourism.  The analysis of the interview notes indicates that the informants responded to the research questions, either from a mundane or a Buddhist perspective.  Most monks and nuns were found to switch from one to the other perspective during the course of the interview.   From their mundane perspective, the informants see and categorise visitors into four groups, which are, in increasing order of their level of religious devotion and understanding of Buddhism, including: (1) the non-religious tourists who come to the monasteries/nunneries exclusively for sightseeing; (2) the Shinshis who have a modest degree of participation in religious activities; (3) the Xiankes, who are

highly motivated Buddhist worshippers and (4) the Jushis, who are 'true' Buddhist practitioners.

When making the above categorisation, the informants identify the above groups on the basis of their observations of the visitors' participation or non-participation to religious activities.  Yet, the informants also say that there is no clear delineation between visitors' categories because some activities that are usually associated with some group(s) can also be engaged in by members of other groups.  Monks and nuns thus express that the differentiating factor among the visitors is not based on what they do but on what is in their mind. The informants reveal that 'the level of devotion and understanding of Buddhism' is the differentiating factor from the mundane perspective.  Such an understanding corroborates some previous research which notes that the strength of belief in a particular religion helps differentiate visitors at religious/sacred sites, in addition to motivation and behavioural patterns (Bremer, 2004; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Poria et al., 2003).

On the other hand, when taking the Buddhist worldview, the informants look away from the distinctions between visitors and take the view that "everyone is the same", "there is no difference among visitors" because all humans equally possess a Buddhist's seed.  In other words, any tourist can become a Buddhist, either now or in the future.  Tourists and pilgrims are thus not put at the two opposite extremities of a spectrum as Smith (1992) proposes, but they are in fact both identities of any visitor at Pu-Tuo and the two identities (tourists and pilgrims) are put together and oriented in the same direction, which is, to learn Buddhism through a trip to Pu-Tuo, regardless of whether one is aware of it or not.

Looking at them from the mundane perspective, the interviews of the monks and nuns give the impression that the Xiankes are more of a problem than the

sightseeing tourists, as the kind of activities that the Xiankes participate in are more likely to cause problems to the physical fabric of the Buddhist venues, for example burning many incense sticks, candles and paper offerings inside the monasteries.  An implication of this is that the behavioural distinction between tourists and pilgrims at a religious site, where the pilgrims are welcome but the tourists are seen as a burden to the sanctity of the site (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Wall & Mathieson, 2006), does not seem to hold at Pu-Tuo. The interviews seem to suggest that it is the Xiankes, who are definitely not tourists, who are the 'problematic visitors' as worship at a Buddhist site, but in a way that is not Buddhist.  The conduct of the Xiankes does at times aggravate some monks and nuns, while the tourists, as commented by the informants, "some with a better upbringing, simply come in, look around for a while and leave".  The majority of the existing literature on religious tourism does not seem to report a similar phenomenon at sacred sites belonging to other religions, and many argue that it is the tourists who create socio-cultural and environmental tensions at religious/sacred sites (see Chapter 3), although a few exceptions mention that pilgrims can also be a threat to their own religious/sacred places (Airey & Shackley, 1988; Shackley, 2001).


The Buddhist mentality is found to have a significant influence on how the monks and nuns perceive tourism.  The majority of informants perceived tourism positively and they viewed it as a channel that allows more people to learn about the religion; only a few members expressed that they were not comfortable with receiving visitors.  Such a finding contrasts with some literature which describe how tourism is detrimental to the sanctity of religious/sacred places and is perceived negatively by the religious hosts (Digance, 2003; Din, 1989; Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; V. L. Smith, 1989; Wall & Mathieson, 2006).  The extent to which the monks and nuns expressed personal preferences for one kind of visitor rather than another did vary considerably between them.  Some say that they see everyone as equal, that there is thus no ground for having preferences, and that having preferences would be inappropriate for a Buddhist.  Others, on the other hand, admit to having a preference for the well-behaved visitors and those

are the Jushis (the Buddhist practitioners).  In this chapter, the issue of having a preference over the types of visitors or not is found to potentially have more to do with the enlightenment level of the members of the monastic community. The more one is enlightened, the better one is mentally prepared to receive visitors and tourism.

In the course of the interviews, the monks and nuns offered a lot of information about their experiences in dealing with visitors. There is a general consensus among monks and nuns that the way they enforce the rules of visitation should be benign and forgiving, but that they have to intervene when a visitor's conduct is truly disrespectful to the sanctity of the place, or if the physical fabric of the monastery or nunnery is put at risk.  The consensus is that if a monk/nun can easily be affected by the external environment, it is his or her own insufficient enlightenment level that is the issue.  The informants acknowledged that they have to face challenges created by visitors on a daily basis, and that they practice Buddhist virtues to overcome those challenges.  As the informants are trying both to keep detached from earthly problems and to maintain order on the monasteries' grounds, they are led to deal with challenges in handling visitors with a mixture of Buddhist detachment and Buddhist compassion.

On the basis of the responses of the monks and nuns, a model of the ideal types of their behavioural coping mechanisms is presented (see Figure 3) to illustrate how they may react when dealing with challenges created by visitors. The model represents the heterogeneity that exists among the mechanisms adopted by the monks and nuns, being determined by their level of enlightenment and by whether they focus more on detachment or compassion.  While there are different kinds of visitors at sacred sites, it is also possible to have different types of religious hosts, and the way they deal with visitors can be different.  Such an issue is mostly neglected in the existing literature.  When considering how religious hosts deal with visitors, the published literature often emphasises the generalised view of the religious community as an institution rather than the one

of its individual members (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Pfaffenberger, 1983; Shinde, 2007b; S. Singh, 2006).  Yet, it is the individual members who are the ones who have to deal with visitors and tourism in practice, and, as evidenced in the quotes, they may or may not all react in the same way.

The next chapter will examine how the Pu-Tuo Buddhist monastic community protects the physical fabric and the sanctity of their monasteries and nunneries whilst receiving visitors.  It reports on what kinds of proactive and reactive strategies can be found at Pu-Tuo according to the monks and nuns' responses and the researcher's observations.

## Chapter 8: The Buddhist Way of Protecting the Buddhist Land

## 8.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 7, the Buddhist worldview has a significant influence on the monks' and nuns' perceptions of receiving visitors and tourism and it is found that their perceptions and attitudes are shaped by their religious discipline. Building on the findings of Chapter 7, the present chapter investigates, in the case of Pu-Tuo, how Buddhist monasteries that are tourist attractions are managed and protected in the Buddhist way. This chapter reports on the visitor management measures adopted in Pu-Tuo.

In this chapter, the information gathered from the in-depth interviews of monks and nuns, as well as from the researcher's observations, is used to present a general picture of how monks and nuns protect the sanctity as well as the safety of their monasteries and nunneries. The monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo rely primarily on themselves to implement essentially reactive measures, with a minimum of proactive measures being undertaken. In addition, this chapter documents the courses of action adopted by monks and nuns as a response to a variety of transgressions of the visiting rules or misconducts of visitors. While their general philosophy is one of tolerance, the monks and nuns occasionally have recourse to implementing relatively harsh measures when they face the need to put an end to visitor behaviour that can be detrimental to the physical fabric of their monasteries/nunneries. Their responses inform the construction of the Model of Buddhist Defence Strategies (Figure 4) which is presented in this chapter to describe how the Buddhist monasteries/nunneries are protected in a Buddhist way.

## 8.2 Reactive versus Proactive Measures to Protect Buddhist Monasteries

The quotes from the interviews with the monks and nuns presented in Chapter 7 revealed how visitors' behaviour and activities were perceived by the monks and nuns and how, in the course of their duties, they needed to involve themselves in the implementation of some protective measures. Their responses thus reveal the visitor management strategies adopted by the Buddhist monastic community of Pu-Tuo. According to the researcher's observations inside monasteries and nunneries over the period of time going from December 2008 to December 2009, it seems that relatively few proactive measures can be found in the management of visitors on the grounds of the monasteries/nunneries at Pu-Tuo.

The first thing to notice is that no systematic control of the visitor flow is found in any of the Buddhist monasteries, shrines and nunneries at Pu-Tuo, while the implementation of such kind of measure appears to be common in other religious or cultural sites with high levels of visitation (Shackley, 2001). There is no limit to how many individuals can enter into a monastery/nunnery or stay in a hall at any time during the opening hours of these venues. There is neither anyone assigned to control the number of visitors nor are there uniformed guards. Such an 'open-door' policy was explained by several monks and nuns by the philosophy that "the monastery is for everybody", "the Buddhist door is for everyone", "we do not care who those visitors are, or how many of them come into monasteries as long as they do not destroy anything". Some large monasteries of Pu-Tuo, the ones frequently visited by visitors, were found to charge for admission, while the smaller monasteries/nunneries do not. The admission charge to the large monasteries is 5 Yuans (equivalent to 0.75 US dollars) per visitor but religious members visiting from elsewhere and locals who can present their Pu-Tuo identity cards are exempt from the admission charge. A male visitor from Shanghai in his 40s carrying a brand name handbag and holding

a red plastic bag containing offerings was asked by the researcher how he felt having to pay to enter the monastery. He replied casually that "5 Yuan is okay; it is just once a year that I come. If you go to other attractions elsewhere, you also need to pay and you pay much more. Here it is still very cheap" (conversation held in May 2009). A female visitor said, "This is not expensive; the most important thing is to have the Bodhisattva's blessing; people who have come all the way here do not care about this amount" (conversation held in May 2009).

The visitors' responses seem to suggest that the very modest entrance fee constitutes little deterrence. The admission charge is not interpreted either by the informants as a way to discourage visitors from entering the monasteries; it is rather seen as providing needed income to sustain the monasteries and maintain their physical fabric. Once inside the grounds of a monastery, the visitors are free to wander around in all the areas and buildings that are open to the public. There is no attempt at enforcing a pre-determined route, nor is there any queuing procedure to be followed. Not a single monastery or nunnery at Pu-Tuo that the researcher visited was found to have restricted zones that are only accessible to a particular kind of visitor or upon payment of an extra fee. In other words, there is no 'pay perimeters' policy (Shackley, 2001, p. 61). Such observations were confirmed by the conversations with monks and nuns. If a particular area is not accessible to the public, it is meant to be closed to any lay person. The consensus of the monks and nuns is that, as a principle, all visitors should be treated the same way. Monk Lian Yi's comment on this issue is very articulate. He said:

"We do not treat different people differently, we treat all of them the same way … as long as one comes with respect and does not create troubles, everyone is welcome. The door of the monastery is open to everyone and the same is true for the other places that are open to the public. If it is open, it is open to everyone. We do not have any rule that if you are only a tourist, then you cannot enter a particular place. If we do not let you enter, then it is also closed to the rest of the public, regardless of who you are. Of

course there are some occasions when some spaces are reserved, for example for those Jushis (Buddhist practitioners) who have asked us to arrange some special pujas for them. They can stay inside the hall to pray together with monks; for that period of time, the hall is closed to the public. But you can also say that it is open to everyone because anyone can request such an arrangement, register in advance and participate to the puja; we accept everyone regardless of whether you are a tourist or a Buddhist. What matters is whether you want to participate in the puja or not. To have some reserved space for praying is necessary because, for praying, it is important to have a tranquil environment. It is also a mark of respect towards the Buddhist rites and learning. So it does not mean that some space is not open to some category of people; as I say if it is open, it is open for everyone regardless of who you are. Everyone who has a good seed will have a chance to come and this opportunity is open to everyone. It is in any case not correct to have the mentality to want a particular kind of visitors to come; there is no need to have such mentality; it is meaningless to us; who comes or who does not come is none of our concern and has no effect on us. We treat everyone the same ".

From the above quote, it is obvious that the strategy of having a restricted area to separate tourists from religious pilgrims found in many Catholic churches (Nolan & Nolan, 1992) is not adopted in Chinese Buddhist monasteries, as it is not in line with the spirit of Buddhism. From Chapter 7, it is evident that the monks and nuns' perceptions and attitudes are highly driven by the Buddhist mentality and, in the interviews they often stressed compassion, tolerance and the importance of treating everybody on an equal basis, for anyone can become an enlightened one. This is because of their belief that, after all, we all carry the same Buddhist's seed. They hold the view that the monasteries/nunneries are venues for all to learn Buddhism, to contemplate and achieve enlightenment. Such a finding concurs with Shackley's comments to the effect that the management of Buddhist monasteries usually avoids any active regulations of visitor activities "on the grounds that this is against the Buddhist principles of tolerance and free will" (Shackley, 2001, p. 42).

Before starting the discussion of what proactive measures are implemented in the monasteries and nunneries at Pu-Tuo, it is important to note that, the overall site management at Pu-Tuo is in the hands of the Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association. The Association is run by all the abbots and senior monks and nuns representing their own monasteries and nunneries. These senior monks and nuns meet once a month and they hold their annual meeting in December, during the period when the annual 'Puja for the Sea and Land' takes place; this special puja is held to help the spirit of the death rest in peace. Since 1994, all places of worship in China have by law to register with the Government Religious Affairs Bureau and obtain a license. Ryan (2010) mentions that there are six requirements for the registration of venues for religious activity in China, including: possession of a meeting place, citizens who are religious believers and who regularly take part in religious activities, an organised governing board, a minimum number of followers, a set of operating rules and a legal source of income. In the case of Pu-Tuo, all monasteries and nunneries are licensed religious venues and are managed by the Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association.

The Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association is the entity which provides guidance and gives instructions to all the monasteries and nunneries of Pu-Tuo. For instance, the role of each monastery is coordinated by the Association. As a result, some monasteries provide pujas and ritual services to the public while some others do not. The 'positioning' of the various monasteries and nunneries results in some of them being more overwhelmed by visitors than others. In addition, in Pu-Tuo, all the monasteries and nunneries are financially managed by the Association. The income (donations, fees for attending pujas and entrance fees) generated from the larger and more popular monasteries help support the smaller ones which have been assigned different roles and have 'a lower income'. In his interview, Abbot Zhi Zhong, who is the Secretary of the Association, explained that the role of his monastery is different from the one of the three largest monasteries for the latter are more involved in providing the public with pujas and ritual services. He said:

"All the monasteries and nunneries are managed by the Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association. Different monasteries and nunneries have different roles. Our monastery is the one responsible for preaching Buddhism to the public, to those who are interested in learning; we are responsible for the preaching mission and for cultural exchange. The Pu-Ji monastery is positioned differently; it is in charge of organising pujas for lay people and so you find that a lot of people go to the Pu-Ji monastery. We also have the Buddhist Institute which is responsible for preaching Buddhism internally to our monastic members, to let them learn more Buddhism and give them the ability to preach Buddhism to others in the future. The Buddhist Institute does not teach Buddhism to the lay public. With such kind of work division, one has that the nature of the monasteries varies. Because of this, you feel that the style of our monastery is different from the one of the others."

The Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association also determines the schedule and the venues of any special puja that is organised. Although each monastery and nunnery in general hosts its own pujas to celebrate all the special days of Buddhas and Bodhisattva according to the Buddhist festive calendar derived from different Buddhist scriptures, some special celebrations, particularly the ones related to the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Guan Yin), are coordinated by the Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association. At those occasions, the members of each monastery and nunnery go to a monastery designated by the Association. Usually, those celebrations are held in one of the three largest monasteries because of their spacious capacity to host joint pujas. Nevertheless, the individual monasteries and nunneries still have a certain degree of independence and autonomy in managing their internal affairs but they also abide to the directives given by the Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association (conversations with Abbot Zhi Zhong, Vice Abbot Xin Xia and Abbot Zhang Wu). As a result of the coordinating role of the Association, the system of visitor management is the same in all the Pu-Tuo monasteries and nunneries; in particular, the few proactive measures that are in place are the same for all of them.

Before the introduction of the three kinds of explicit proactive measures undertaken in every monastery and nunnery (presented below), a short discussion is now given of the advance registration of lay people who wish to attend morning pujas in those monasteries which welcome lay peoples' participation in Buddhist pujas. It is noted that any lay person who is interested in attending morning pujas in Pu-Tuo has to register at least a day in advance. Buddhist morning pujas are always held at 3:30 a.m. in all monasteries and nunneries, regardless of whether they are open or not to lay peopls' participation. Though the early schedule appears to be a practice that can discourage some tourists who are not so "determined" or "devoted" in attending Buddhist pujas, and that such a practice could be seen as a proactive measure implemented by the monasteries, it is important to state that such a practice is not originally meant to control lay peoples' participation. It is instead a standardised Buddhist monastic ritual to train the monks and nuns' concentration and ability to overcome lust and desires, with or without the existence of tourists. Nevertheless, if one simply looks at this practice from a pure management perspective, such a Buddhist practice appears to be effective in deterring tourists who are not so determinedly devoted from attending the pujas. This issue will further be discussed in details in Section 8.5.

The only three kinds of explicit proactive measures implemented in every monastery and nunnery at Pu-Tuo are the following ones. First, the use of portable loudspeakers on the grounds of the monasteries/nunneries is not allowed and tour guides cannot use them to lecture their groups when they are on the grounds of the monasteries/nunneries. This measure is in fact directed to the guides rather than the visitors. Both Monk Xin Xia, the Vice Abbot of a large monastery and Nun Ying Yi, a teacher at the Buddhist Institute, explained that the prohibition of loudspeakers is meant to ensure the solemnity and tranquillity of the religious sites. Nun Ying Yi said:

> "In order to sustain a quiet and solemn environment of monasteries, it has been regulated that tour guides cannot bring in their loudspeakers and lecture inside the monasteries. It is

necessary to regulate this, or else if a tour guide sees that another tour guide can bring in a loudspeaker in the monasteries, then that tour guide will follow suit and do the same.  It will result in having many tour guides using loudspeakers at the same time.  You can then imagine how noisy it would be".

The second proactive measure found in Pu-Tuo is meant to prevent decay and damage to the statues of Divinities.  All the monasteries and nunneries at Pu-Tuo adopt the same manner of displaying their valuable statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.  The statues are either protected by glass panes or displayed in such a way that they cannot easily be touched.  When not protected by a glass enclosure, the statues are placed on top of platforms and in front of those platforms, a number of vases containing flowers and plants are placed on the floor, which creates a buffer zone in an aesthetically pleasant way.  Visitors have thus no easy way to come really close to the statues of the monasteries or nunneries or to touch them because the statues are either behind glass or not close enough to the visitors.  Such a design in displaying the statues deters the visitors from having close physical contact with them and thus helps prevent the decay of those precious and irreplaceable key assets of the monastic community.

The third explicit proactive measure is the control exercised over the quantity of incense sticks that are allowed to be brought into the grounds of the monasteries and nunneries, as well as a prohibition on bringing paper offerings and lit incense sticks into the halls.  The following presents the narratives of the informants, which offer insight into the reasons for imposing such a protective measure.

> Monk Zhan Miao: "… we have now imposed the rule that any one visitor can only bring three incense sticks into a monastery, no matter in how many halls they pray … burning a lot on incense, burning incense inside halls or littering with cigarette butts is detrimental to the monasteries; we have to stop people from doing that and we tell them not to do it."

Monk Pu Huang: "Having more visitors, from the management perspective, results in a need to have some control measures in order to preserve the monastery. With more visitors, it is natural that there will be a need for more people to take care of the monastery, for example we may have more garbage, and so the monastery has to assign more staff to maintain the hygiene. You will see that now every monastery at Pu-Tuo restricts each visitor to bringing at the most three incense sticks into monasteries. This is in fact one kind of controls being exercised in order to create a healthier and better environment both for us and for the visitors".

Monk Jing Xuan, "We had to impose a rule that Xiankes cannot bring burning incense sticks into halls, because it could easily start a fire. Our halls are built of wood and could easy be destroyed by fire; those statues are all very precious and ancient. But there are still some Xiankes who do not respect the regulation and they bring burning incense sticks into halls. Some even bring in paper offerings and they want to burn them inside the hall; it is very dangerous as it can readily start a fire. We have to prevent them from doing so. This is in particular the case of those who are superstitious and insist on using their own ways to pay respect to the Great Beings. Those ways are in fact not Buddhist and violate the regulations of our monastery, such as burning many incense sticks when there is a posted sign saying that one can bring in only three incense sticks. Particularly those Xiankes who are older want to do it; they don't speak Mandarin; they don't really listen to you".

The above quotes show that an explicit proactive control over the number of incense sticks allowed in every monastery/nunnery is in place. Conspicuous signs spelling out this rule are placed at the entrance and cannot be missed when one enters a monastery or a nunnery (see Appendix B: photo 1). For example, the researcher observed that at the entrance of one of the large monasteries, visitors were checked and advised to leave their extra incense sticks outside of the monastery before they enter (see Appendix B: photo 2). From the observations of the researcher, as well as the responses of monks and nuns, it is apparent that there are still visitors who do not respect the rule and sneak in

more than three incense sticks into the monasteries. It is easy to do so because the control is relatively perfunctory; the entering visitors are not searched and, declaring extra incense sticks is basically voluntary. In general, such a proactive measure seems to be reasonably effective as most visitors comply with the monastic regulations and this helps create, in the words of Monk Xin Xia, "a better environment for the monks, the nuns and the visitors". Nun Ming Yuan concurred:

> "We have regulated that each visitor can only burn three incense sticks. To pay reverence is to use your heart; incense sticks are just a form of physical expression. To burn so much incense sticks is not only a waste of money, it also pollutes the air and create more garbage. It is not easy to earn money and there is really no need to spend money on buying a lot of incense or large incense sticks. We advise the visitors that it is not good for them and usually they listen to us. Only a few ignore what we say. Some Xiankes only learn when they arrive that they cannot burn much incense, but they have already brought many sticks along to Pu-Tuo; then they will just leave the leftover incense sticks inside the nunnery ".

One must mention that the three-incense-sticks rule is very recent; it was introduced in August 2009. When the researcher visited Pu-Tuo before that date, she could observe people in front of the halls burning bundles of incense sticks so large that they needed both hands to hold them, and those burning bundles of incense sticks produced a significant cloud of smoke. The problems that the monasteries/nunneries have now with people who continue to want to burn more than three sticks are possibly temporary; some people who have done so at the occasion of earlier visits to Pu-Tuo (Xiankes come repeatedly) may not have known that it is no longer allowed. The next time that those visitors come to Pu-Tuo, they will know (whether they will comply is another matter). For now, many visitors still come to Pu-Tuo with a lot of incense sticks that they have purchased before starting their trip and they may feel frustrated if they cannot burn them all. It was also apparent to the researcher during later

visits to Pu-Tuo that the quality of the air around the halls had considerably improved.

The additional prohibition to bringing lit incense sticks into the halls (which is not recent) seems to be under constant threat of violation by visitors, even though it is clearly posted by the entrance of the halls (see Appendix B: photo 3).  Attempted violations of this rule seem to be the most frequent source of friction between the monks and nuns on guard and the worshippers.  There is, in front of each hall, quite a spacious courtyard where incense sticks can be burned safely, in the open air and where incense burners for the collection of ashes can be found.  This is where the worshippers are expected to burn their allowance of incense sticks.  They can do so facing the entrance of the hall and its divinities, but must remain outside the halls.  Each incense burner is at some distance from a halls' entrance.  According to the researcher's observation, it seemed to be a common temptation for some worshippers to bring lit-incense sticks into the halls for the purpose of bowing directly in front of the statues of Bodhisattvas while holding the smoking sticks.  Monks and nuns react instantly and firmly to disallow it, as they stated in the interviews.

The researcher herself witnessed and recorded a scene related to this issue when she was going to interview a monk who was, at the time, on duty safeguarding the hall of a monastery.  Before she started to interview him, a male tourist walked into the hall with a large bundle of burning incense sticks.  The monk talked to him in a firm but polite way.  He said, "You cannot bring lit incense sticks into the hall".  The male tourist (who did not wear any Buddhist gown but wore casual wear, with a black modern shoulder bag) looked at the monk and simply said "oh"; then he quietly left the hall. (Observation on the 23rd of December 2009).  While the monk enforced the rule that burning incense sticks cannot be brought into the halls, he overlooked, or did not try to interfere, with the obvious fact that this visitor had brought into the monastery's grounds many more incense sticks than allowed.  The monks'

rationale for such a selective enforcement of the rules will be discussed shortly. Monk Jing Xiu commented that it is often that people try to bring lit incense sticks into halls. He said that although he knew that those people would not be happy when they were barred from doing so, he considered that it was much more important to insure the safety of the halls, regardless of whether the culprits would take it nicely or not. He noted:

"When you tell people not to do something that they thought was acceptable, then, definitely they will not be happy. Some may thus respond to you in a nasty way; they can also be disrespectful to you. For example, they say: "What authority do you have to order me around? Why should I listen to you? Who do you think you are?" It is common to have such kind of responses, but there is no point in arguing with them or feel upset; it is not good for us. They don't understand why we do not allow them to do those things, so they become frustrated and can be unfriendly. Yet, things like burning incense sticks, paper offerings or candles inside [the hall] can really damage or even destroy the monastery, so we must stop them, for example by grabbing their incense and move them outside, tell them loudly not to bring burning incense into the hall … I cannot really care whether they are happy or unhappy, whether they talk to me nicely or nastily. It must be stopped! The monastery and the halls have important historical value and they have been here for many years. It is necessary to protect them and sometimes people do things because of their ignorance, and so you have to tell them in a direct way".

From the case above, it is evident that the monks and nuns themselves are the main instrument of defence to safeguard the halls by ensuring that no lit incense sticks or burning objects are sneaked in by visitors. Monks and nuns thus adopt a determined and authoritative attitude when it comes to defending the safety of the monasteries/nunneries; they all said that "it must be stopped". Some of the halls of a monastery/nunnery, typically minor ones, are at times not open to the public. Their doors are still open, such that one can see the inside, but movable wooden barriers block the entrance. The worshippers can still burn

incense sticks in front of those halls, but according to the monks and nuns safeguarding the halls, it happens from time to time that visitors move the wooden barriers out of their way and enter those halls with burning incense sticks.

Monk Zhang Jie shared his experience with such occurrences as follows:

"There are some devoted Xiankes who come carrying a lot of tributes and they have come from faraway places in order to offer tributes to the Bodhisattva.  They want to burn a lot of incense sticks in order to show their sincerity.  But from August this year (2009), we have regulated that any visitor entering a monastery at Pu-Tuo can only bring in three incense sticks.  Such a restriction will frustrate some people.  Also we do not allow them to burn incense sticks inside the halls because they are wooden construction that can easily catch fire.  Yet some believe that they must bring their tributes in front of the Bodhisattva in order to show their sincerity, so some will want to light incense sticks inside the hall, same as for paper offerings.  When there are monks who are safeguarding the halls, they (lay people) usually do not dare to bring in lit incense sticks, but sometimes when we are away for a while, they just quickly do it and bow in front of the Bodhisattva.  If we see such behaviour, we will tell them not to do so because it is dangerous to the hall and a bad example for others.  That is why you will find that we have placed some wooden barriers at the entrance of some halls in order to prevent them from entering.   But occasionally you find that some people move the barriers and go inside the hall".

Monk Zhi Wei also mentioned the function of the wooden barriers:

"For example we tell them that they cannot bring incense sticks into inner halls and we actually have installed wooden barriers to block them from entering.  Yet, some people just ignore all of those signs and advices; they simply move away the barriers and walk into the inner halls.  This is also the reason why we have to be inside the halls to protect our monastery".

One can thus see that the wooden barriers, although they are proactive instruments to prevent lay people from entering into the halls that are presently not open to the public, are not sufficient in themselves. Those particular halls seem to attract worshippers who are determined to bring lit incense sticks into the halls. It is the monks and nuns who need to intervene to safeguard the halls and to stop lay people from entering those closed halls with lit incense sticks or burning objects.

Thus, in general, the monks and nuns often have to intervene in person, on a case-by-case basis to enforce the few proactive measures that are meant to defend the monasteries/nunneries against damage. Vice Abbot Xin Xia emphasised the flexibility of the system: "It is not good to let individual behaviour ruin the sacred place. That is why we devise and use different methods according to the situation". Often monks and nuns commented that they have to "stop dangerous conduct" to "safeguard the halls of the monastery". Nun Che Jiang said, "Our nunnery become quite noisy from time to time when a large group of tourists arrives, like the one just now… since the group is large, some may misbehave. Thus we have to keep an eye on them and guard the hall". In other words, the responses of the monks and nuns suggest that they are aware of their dual roles when they are on-duty. They are not simply monks/nuns carrying the function of preaching Buddhism, but they are also guards who protect their monasteries/nunneries. It is apparent that the control of visitors at Pu-Tuo relies on only a small number of proactive measures. The next section shows that most of the visitor control at Pu-Tuo is of a reactive nature and that it is the monks and nuns themselves who are in charge of implementing the control measures.

## 8.3 Monks at arms

At many religious sites, there are regulations about taking photos, using camera flashes, eating and drinking, smoking, shouting, as well as a dress code that the visitors need to conform to (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Shackley, 2001). The enforcement of those rules is usually done by paid lay stewards or security guards. Alternatively, maintaining order and enforcing the rules is done by lay volunteers. In any case, it is typically not done by ecclesiastic members of the church in question. One can, for example, find stewards or security guards, professional or volunteers, but not priests stationed by the entrance of many Roman Catholic churches that attract tourists. Screening the visitors is usually undertaken by those lay workers before visitors are allowed to enter into churches. For instance Shackley (2001) reports in her book on managing sacred sites that one English cathedral was particular popular with American tourists who often wore baseball caps that they were asked to remove by "old fashioned stewards", although eventually caps were allowed by the church (Shackley, 2001, p. 33). This example illustrates that maintaining order was delegated to professionals. As Shackley (2001) reports, it is the norm, particularly in the developed countries, that the priests, clergy do not get involved in the mundane task of enforcing the visiting rules; this task is usually delegated to lay people. The Swiss Guards of the Vatican are the best known example.

However, in Chinese Buddhist monasteries and nunneries, the ones who safeguard the dignity and safety of the Buddhist venues are neither lay stewards nor lay volunteers, but rather the Buddhist monks and nuns themselves. When informants were asked about their understanding of their role when they are on duty, the majority replied that Buddhist monasteries/nunneries mostly relied on their members who were put on guard duties as human instruments to safeguard the monasteries/nunneries. The on-duty members appeared to be very clear about their dual roles, as both monks/nuns and guards. Monk Jing Xuan stated, "I am here safeguarding the hall, to keep an eye on them [visitors] in order to protect the hall from getting burned down as well as to prevent

243

anyone from stealing things from the hall".  From expressions such as 'guard the hall', 'keep an eye', 'protect the hall from getting burned down', one can see that Monk Jing Xuan understands quite well his role as a guard who has to safeguard the monastery.  He said:

> "From the management perspective, to take care of the monastery, to have controls is necessary.  Some people misbehave; they do not know the rules, and then I have to tell them, let them know so they can change.  If their behaviour can harm others, can destroy the monastery, then of course I have to stop them.  It is because some behaviour can damage the hall, like if you throw coins at the Buddha statue, it is very disrespectful; to burn candles or incense sticks inside halls can easily start a fire.  If the hall is on fire, not only we lose the precious hall and statues, but other people will also lose a good place to pay reverence to the Bodhisattva.  Such behaviour must be stopped and the monastery also has its own rules; people thus should abide by them and it is for the good sake of everyone".

Nevertheless, in addition to performing their safeguarding role, the informants also answer visitors' inquiries and occasionally play the Buddhist monk's role of preaching and explaining Buddhism to lay visitors.  They admit, though, that the latter does not occur often.

> Monk Zhan Miao said: "In general, we do not have much contact with them [visitors].  From time to time, people ask a few questions if they don't understand something, such as how to go to a particular hall or whether a puja is being organised.  Other people who are more interested in learning Buddhism and the history of this monastery will approach us.  Sometimes there are people who want to share what they have learned from Buddhism, though those who take the initiative to learn or discuss Buddhism with us are relatively few.   Having visitors around does not impact our monastic life because helping people is one of the things that a Buddhist should do … when people are willing to learn more from

me and I get the chance to preach Buddhism; it is for me a happy moment in dealing with visitors".

Monk Jing Fan made similar comments: "People usually ask for directions, how to go to a particular hall or how to go to another monastery. Some also ask if they can burn incenses sticks or bring paper offerings to be burnt inside the hall. Some will ask you to bless the malas or jades that they bought, to bring back efficaciousness and auspiciousness. Usually people ask such kinds of questions … very few people come here to ask about Buddhist theory. They are not here to learn. Many are just here to pray for blessings, to pray for the satisfaction of their desires".

The monks and nuns who are on guard duty inside the halls of the monasteries/nunneries see protecting the halls as their most important function. Monks and nuns on guard do not appear concerned much about issues such as photo taking or how the visitors are dressed. Rather they concentrate almost exclusively on preventing acts that can potentially damage the monasteries/nunneries, particularly their wooden halls. As evidenced in their statements, they are very concerned about burning objects being brought into the halls, as well as about behaviour that is disrespectful, such as "bringing in lit cigarettes, wine", "littering", "spitting", "shouting inside the halls" which they would not allow. Facing a variety of different challenges, the informants react to and handle the situation using a variety of methods. Monk Xin Xia, the Vice Abbot of the second largest monastery in Pu-Tuo said: "The way to handle crises is flexible; there is no fixed formula of what to do, but no matter what we do, whether we present ourselves in a gentle or in a wrathful[16] way, our intentions

---

[16] Wrathful 現大威德憤怒相: The Buddhist monks interviewed in this research always compare the angry appearances that they sometimes resort to, to the ones of the Great Beings. In Buddhism,Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Great Beings appear on paintings or as statues with a number of facial expressions that can be grouped in two types. The calm, smiling, meditating type is referred to as the merciful manifestation, while the angry one with both eyes wide open and bulging, showing an austere face or a burst of anger on the face, with the teeth showing and with hair straight up, frequently having many heads, hands and human skulls on the body is referred to as the ferocious or wrathful manifestation (Shashibala, 2003, p. 76). The same Bodhisattva can appear either merciful or wrathful in different representations.

and the methods we use are for the good sake of all the sentient beings". He further elaborated on the different methods to be used. He said:

"… if you do something that can destroy the monastery, of course we have to take action to stop you from doing so. This is a place for the Bodhisattva, a sacred land; it is not a tourist attraction. It is only promoted as such by those in the market, by government and in their eyes our monasteries are attractions, resources to attract tourism, but to us, this is the place where we live and the place for those who want to get close to the Great Beings, to learn Buddhism, a place for people to get spiritual refreshment; then of course it has to be protected. If you do something wrong, most of the time it is because of the fact that you don't know the rules and rites, or you are not familiar with them. For this kind of situation, we just need to advise people nicely about what are the correct things to do; they usually obey and there is no problem. But if you intentionally destroy something and do not listen to our advices, then we will show an angry face and ask you to stop; afterwards we can explain to you the reasons when you have stopped and cooled down. But if people really want to damage, to create troubles and harm others intentionally, then we have no choice but to expel them from the monastery".

The removal from the premises of an uncontrollable visitor, if it were to come to that, would be done either by monks themselves or by lay employees in some large monasteries. From Monk Xin Xia's testimony, one can see that when monks and nuns prohibit hazardous acts, their attitude is tough and determined. They are subject to another kind of emotion when the visitors' intrusions are at the personal level, as has been discussed in Chapter 7. At the personal level, they favour applying Buddhist disciplines to handle the challenges, resulting in being forgiving and giving advice (compassion) or ignoring and remaining detached from the perceived intrusions (detachment), see Chapter 7. When they discuss how they perceive challenges at the personal level, they emphasise the role of their own level of enlightenment and the one of the visitors. For instance Monk Xin Xia said that if some visitors behave incorrectly, it is because they are unfamiliar with the rules of the monastery; once they are advised nicely, most people will change their behaviour. Such a method is more lenient and

forgiving compared to the firmer attitude that he referred to earlier in his interview that he does not tolerate and will stop anyone from doing anything that can damage the monastery. The two different attitudes are adopted in turn, as needed, by this monk and were noted in the same interview. Monk Xin Xia in fact is not the only one to take this position; a similar attitude can also be found in the above quotes of other informants. The emergence of such a unified response of monks and nuns suggests a model (see Figure 4) which seems to be widely shared by the monks and nuns according to the analysis of their responses.
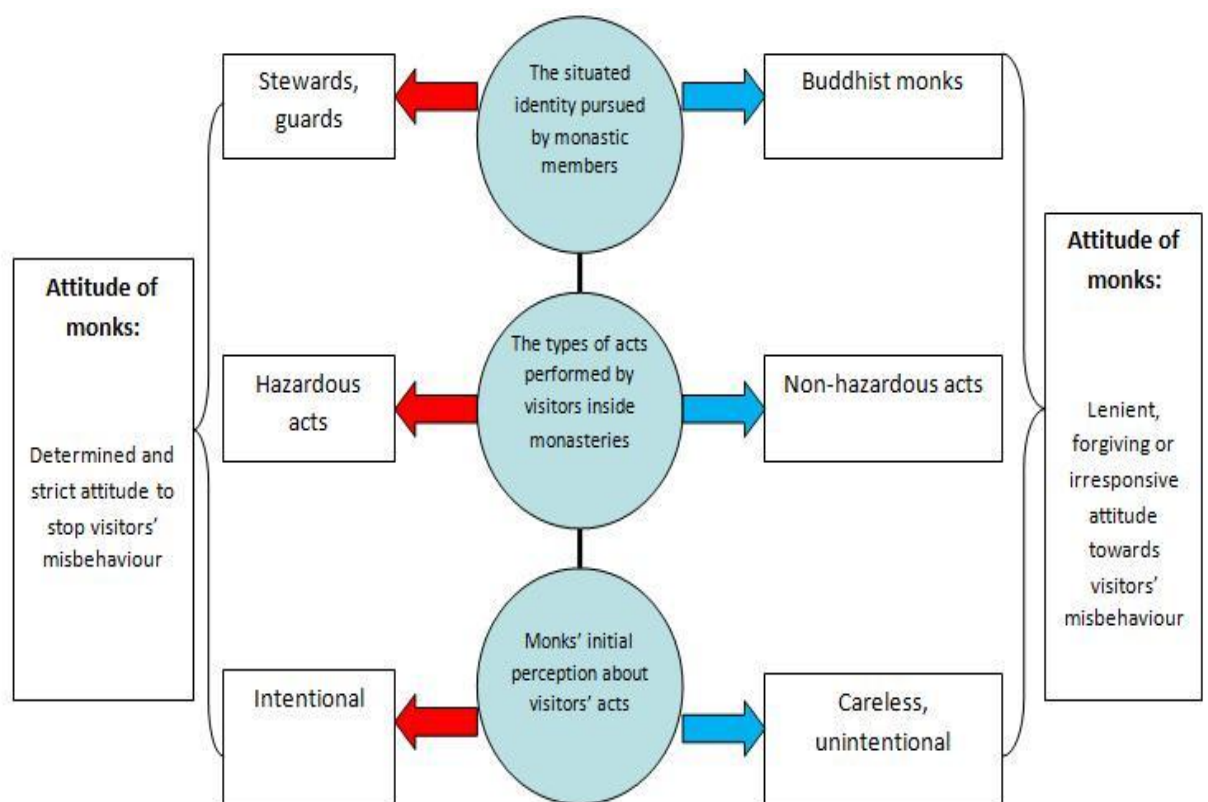


**Figure 4: Model of Buddhists' Attitudes towards Visitors' Misbehaviour**

The conceptual model suggests that the decision by monks and nuns to either take a lenient and compassionate attitude or follow a determined and firm course of action in protecting the sacred venues is affected by three factors: (1) The monks' initial perception of the nature of a visitor's behaviour: whether the monk perceives that the misconduct of the visitor is deliberate or simply the result of ignorance or carelessness. (2) The types of act performed by visitors; a

decisive factor is whether the action of a visitor is harmless to the monastery/nunnery or hazardous. (3) The situated identity adopted by the monastic member: the explicit front stage image of a monk/nun versus his/her 'covert' role as guard of the monasteries/nunneries. These factors are evidenced in the interviews of the monks and nuns. The above quote of Vice Abbot Xin Xia is an example of the identification of those factors. Each one of the three factors is discussed in turn below. Note that when in a monastery or nunnery, a visitor might not be at first aware of the safeguarding role of monks or nuns which are present.

## 8.3.1 The Monks' Initial Perception of the Nature of the Visitors' Behaviour

The monks' initial perception of a visitor's behaviour is critical in determining what attitude they adopt. Driven by the Buddhist worldview, the majority of monks and nuns perceived that the reason a visitor misbehaves is that this visitor is being careless or because "visitors are unfamiliar with monastic rules and regulations". Monk Xin Xia said that when visitors misbehave, "most of the time it is because of the fact that [they] don't know the rules and rites, or are not familiar with [the monastic rules]". Monk Mun Zhao commented, "… some people are just too used to what they usually do, so sometimes they forget that they should not bring in their cigarettes, for example; then you have to remind them". From the responses of the informants, it seems that they do not presume that the visitors misbehave intentionally. Instead, they first assume that people make mistakes simply because they do not know the rules or because they are acting out of habit. Driven by such a forgiving mentality, the Buddhist monks and nuns do not start by criticising visitors harshly; on the contrary, they simply offer gentle advice and they believe visitors will change their behaviour once they are reminded of the rules; as Monk Xin Xia says: "… we just need to advise people nicely of what the correct things to do are; they will obey and there will be no problem". If, on the other hand, the monks and nuns perceive that visitors misbehave on purpose, knowing full well that they are

248

violating the rules and, further, ignore the advice they are given, then they will adopt a more assertive approach to put an end to misconduct which is harmful to the monastery/nunnery. This is exemplified by Monk Xin Xia's comments. He said: "But if you intentionally misbehave and do not listen to advice, then we will show 'an angry face' and order you to stop doing it". Monk Xin Xia's comments lead to the consideration of what types of problematic acts are commonly committed by visitors inside the monasteries/nunneries.

## 8.3.2 The Types of Rule Violation: Harmless versus Hazardous.

From the responses of the monks and nuns, it is clear that they all adopt a harder attitude towards any action perceived as hazardous or disrespectful, such as bringing in lit incense sticks and paper offerings inside the halls of the monasteries/nunneries. On the other hand, they tend not to interfere much if visitors bring in more than three incense sticks into the grounds of the monasteries or nunneries and openly (but safely) burn them all in the courtyards. The majority of informants expressed that as long as visitors are not at risk of destroying something or do not behave disrespectfully inside the monasteries or nunneries, they will simply not interfere. By their own admissions, the monks and nuns do not enforce all the rules, only those that are meant to safeguard the safety and sanctity of the monasteries/nunneries. The following three quotes illustrate how monks and nuns typically felt about people burning many incense sticks in the courtyard.

> Monk Fa Miao said: "Those who burn a lot of incense are praying for good fortune, same as for throwing coins. Those are not really Buddhist acts. Those people pray in the way that they think pays reverence to the Buddha … such as bringing in and burning a lot of incense, (*he pointed to me a notice on the wall saying that each guest can bring in only three incense sticks*). If they insist on doing it, we just leave it; we won't argue with them because it is not good to argue, also not good for the image of the monastery. You have to understand, it is really difficult to preach Buddhism to some

people; they don't have good seeds or good hearts, so they don't really like good people or any regulations being set by the monastery. They have their own way of thinking … If you insist on telling them what to do, such as not burning a lot of incense because it is not good for your karma, they will then challenge you by saying, "Where is karma, can you see karma? "You have not even seen karma or Buddha, how can you teach me what to do!" As long as they do not really do anything which is destructive to the monastery, then we just let them do what they feel like doing".

Monk Mun Zhao made similar comments: "If what they do is destructive or if they behave disrespectful inside the monastery, such as littering or coming in with lit cigarettes, then of course I have to tell them to stop doing it. Some people are just too used to smoke, so sometimes they forget that they should not bring in their cigarettes; then you have to remind them … There are of course people who do not listen to what you tell them. They think "I came to the monastery; of course, I have to burn incense sticks and paper offerings". In this case, we just leave them alone as long as they do not bring them in [lit incense sticks into halls]. There is no point arguing with them because first they won't listen, second if you mess with them, they may say something or do something even worse; then bad karmas will be created. It is not good for them and, as I indirectly induced bad karmas for them, it is not good for me either".

Monk Zhan Miao said: "The kind of behaviour which can be detrimental to the monasteries, such as burning incense inside halls or littering with cigarette butts; we have to stop it and tell them not to do that. But some behaviour such as throwing coins to the pagoda, burning incense, paper and candles outside [in the large incense burner placed at the courtyard] is not really damaging to the monastery; we won't do anything special to prevent it. If they come and ask us, then we will tell them what the proper rites are. It is because you can only preach Buddhism to the people who have the good seed and who want to learn. Sometimes we also cannot monitor everything. For example, some people touch some sacred objects, such as the wooden drum and chime; they like to pat them so as to get some good luck. If we see them do so, we go over to tell them not to do it. They usually quickly run away

because of the embarrassment; sometimes they take notice and they smile and we also smile".

Nun Jing Yung said: "If they are not doing anything really destructive, then I just ignore them.  But if they do something destructive, then of course I have to tell them explicitly to stop".  In an earlier statement, she condemned visitors for bringing in lit incense sticks into the sacred cave inside her nunnery where signs by the entrance clearly indicate that this is not allowed.  She said frankly that she scolded those visitors and asked them to leave; "I just tell them to go back home to use their own ways to worship their own statues".

From the above quotes of the informants, one can see that in the monk's and nuns' eyes, there are acts that can cause damage to the sacred venues and thus must be stopped, while there are some other acts that the informants consider to be of a superstitious nature and alien to Buddhism, such as burning paper offerings, throwing coins (in the courtyards).  As long as the latter are not hazardous, it does not call for a reaction.  The course of action taken by the monks and nuns confronted with those harmless transgressions will be discussed further in later sections.  Nevertheless their comments suggest that the nature of the acts carried out by visitors determines their attitude and results in different courses of action.

### 8.3.3 The Situated Identity Pursued by Monks and Nuns Facing Misbehaviour

The fact that monks and nuns do not interfere much with non-hazardous acts appears to be associated with their identity as Buddhists.  Buddhism has for long been recognised as a "traditionally tolerant religion" (Shackley, 2001, p. 42) and therefore if visitors' behaviour does not constitute a danger to the safety of monasteries/nunneries, the monks and nuns tend to simply either ignore or forgive the lay peoples' ignorance or carelessness.  Such an attitude is in line with

the Buddhist spirit of being tolerant and compassionate, according to which a Buddhist monk/nun should be calm and gentle. This attitude preserves the detachment of the monks and nuns and is at the same time a manifestation of compassion. Many informants, when answering the question of why they do not argue with lay people or why they do not prohibit improper but harmless conduct, justified their approach by saying that: "It [arguing] is not good for the image of the monastery", "It is not good to argue", "Buddhism emphasises kindness", "It [arguing] induces bad karmas". The quote of Monk Fa Miao is typical in illustrating the fact that monks and nuns do care about their Buddhist image in front of the public. He explained why he chooses to ignore visitors who break the rules if their acts are not hazardous to the monastery, "if they [visitors] insist on doing what they do, we just leave them alone; we won't argue with them because it is not good to argue, also not good for the image of the monastery". A similar response was given by Monk Jing Xuan, "We are monks, our identity is different; we do not argue with them [visitors] and will not fight with them. If we do that, it will not be good for our image".

From the above evidence, it seems that while the nature of the visitors' actions determines what attitude a monk should take, the role in which monks perceive themselves in front of the public also appears to have significant influence on their attitudes in dealing with visitors' misbehaviour. When the monastery/nunnery is not at risk, the monks and nuns mentality and attitude is governed by their front stage identity, which is that they are Buddhist monks/nuns and thus they should be lenient and forgiving, and remain detached from visitors' "ignorant behaviour". This complies with the social expectation about Buddhism and a Buddhist monk/nun as well. Yet their presence as guards inside the halls is also an indication that there is a limit to tolerance. The monks and nuns on guard are also aware that they are not only monks/nuns but also guards of the monasteries/nunneries. The monasteries/nunneries in reality are both the home and workplace of the members of the monastic community and it is natural for any individual to protect one's home. Once assigned to guard duty, the monks and nuns are in fact not different from stewards in that they have the

obligation to protect the site. This helps explain that their reactions towards hazardous acts are 'standardised' and impersonal. When the monastery/nunnery is in danger, they all become determined and strict because at that moment, they pursue their situated identity as guards rather than as tolerant Buddhist monks/nuns.

In principle, to have the dual roles of being both a Buddhist monk or nun and a guard implies a certain degree of contradiction as the function carried out by a guard is not always, at least to an external observer, in line with the Buddhism faith which stresses emptiness and respects free will; Buddhists should be compassionate, tolerant and forgiving. Yet, the analysis of the interviews of the monks and nuns shows that they have a Buddhist way out of the apparent contradiction. Not only do they not see their dual roles as clashing with each other, but they have a uniquely Buddhist way to rationalise the fact that in certain circumstances they can be very strict and interfere with peoples' free will. Their responses reveal their understanding of the use of force against others and of the reasons why in some situations, a Buddhist *should* actually resort to it.

> Nun Ying Yi: "One person's actions should not interfere with and disturb others. If you create noise and cause inconveniences which affect a lot of people, your behaviour must be controlled and so you have to tell them [the visitors] explicitly that they should not talk loudly when we are praying. Such act is made out of mercy, in order not to let people create bad karma. At this level, when something can affect the majority, it is necessary to regulate and correct".

A very clear message is found in Nun Ying Yi's quote, to the effect that if a monk or nun adopts a tough determined stance to handle visitors' misbehaviour, somewhat at variance with his/her usual image of a gentle and compassionate person, it is actually out of compassion and for the good sake of the

transgressing visitors, to prevent them from bringing bad karmas upon themselves. She expressed explicitly that it is not simply necessary but also compassionate to correct someone's behaviour if it can harm other people. Nun Ying Yi added the following:

"They [visitors] do not know that violating the regulations of monasteries, to misbehave in a way which interferes with other people's learning or disturbing Buddhist's activities, to argue with monastic members, all are actions that cause bad karma. It is out of mercy that we have to fix their incorrect behaviour, to tell them what should be the correct things to do and to guide them onto the right path. To teach them to change and abandon their incorrect attitude is for their own good. As Buddhists, we should not care if we are treated nicely or not, being respected or not; to guide people to be kind and good is much more important".

Abbot Zhong Zhi has comments very similar to those of Nun Ying Yi. He said:

"If their [visitors'] acts are hazardous to the wellbeing of the majority, such as destroying the monastery or stealing something from the monastery, you have to stop them from doing so by showing a stern facial expression and tell them explicitly that what they are doing is incorrect: it is for their own good, in order for them not to have to live with the bad karmic consequence; we have to show a stern face to guide them. Bodhisattva can also show an angry face, but it is just a matter of appearance. His heart is still merciful and if he does so, it is for the good sake of preventing someone from committing bad karmic acts."

One finds in the interviews that many monks and nuns expressed clearly that any hazardous acts must be stopped and their understanding is very similar to the ones of Nun Ying Yi and Abbot Zhong Zhi, namely, that it is for the good of the offending visitors that monks/nuns are firm in preventing them from committing bad karmic acts. None of them rationalised the Buddhist use of violence in a

clearer way than Abbot Zhang Wu, who talked about it at length. He first made it clear that most of the time visitors misbehave: "It is usually due to their ignorance; they do not know what is the correct behaviour to adopt inside a monastery and so they behave in their own ways. As long as it is not disturbing or harmful to others, it is alright". Yet when it comes to certain acts that can harm others and the safety of monasteries, Abbot Zhang Wu said that as a Buddhist, one must do something to stop them. Abbot Zhang Wu provided a surprising account of how violence is perceived in Buddhism (at least in his eyes) and explained that there are situations where a Buddhist not simply could, but also should, engage in violent acts, and he used a very extreme hypothetical situation as an example to make his point.

> "… If they do things which can be harmful to others or dangerous to the monastery, then we have to stop them. I ask you, if you were a Buddhist, and if now you were on a plane and you know there is a terrorist on the plane who is going to blow it up and that will cause hundreds of deaths. What are you going to do? Will you remain silent and do nothing? (*I smiled and I said I would like to do something but I don't think I can do much. He then continued*). It is good that at least you think you should do something. Let me tell you, in this case, you must do something to stop that terrorist, even if you have to kill him.

> To kill in such circumstances, to lots of people who do not understand Buddhism, is likely to violate the karmic rule of not killing and it is a very bad karma to do, as Buddhists should never kill or harm someone. Yet, not to kill, not to harm refers to situations when the harm is targeted at yourself, then you should not kill or harm other sentient beings for your personal benefits. But if you know that someone is doing something which is hazardous to others, to the majority, and if you still remain passive, silent, you are in fact violating the rules also, you are not doing things in a Buddhist way and you are not merciful. If the terrorist goes to hell, you also deserve to go to hell and you will bear the same bad karmic effect as him because in fact, in this situation, you also killed hundreds of

people. You knew the consequence in advance and still did not try to stop the terrorist to harm others".


Abbot Zhang Wu further clarified the concept of rightful use of force and related it to the less dramatic situations that arise in the management of the monasteries. His explanation was very articulate in explaining why, in their Buddhist understanding, monks and nuns do not see a contradiction in being both a monk and a guard when they are on duty. Abbot Zhang Wu continued as follows:

> "The same theory applies in the management and protection of the monastery. We have to protect this place because this is a place for all the sentient beings to come to pay reverence to the Bodhisattva, to learn Buddhism. If one person's misconduct can destroy the monastery, which can harm the well-being of other sentient beings, then it should not be allowed, it must be stopped. So when you see someone who destroys the monastery, of course you have to do something to stop him from doing that; this is to help him, in order to prevent him from accumulating bad karmas. When we tell people not to do something, we show a fierce or angry look, but our hearts remain calm and merciful.

> It is because of mercy, it is because of the fact that we don't want you to harm yourself and the others that we have to show the angry face in order to let you know that what you are doing is wrong and that you should stop doing it. This is the same theory as in the plane; if you kill the terrorist it is out of mercy. Yet such kind of mindset is only possible when you are enlightened and truly realise what the real meanings of compassion, wisdom and courage are. To be merciful does not necessarily mean that you always have to show a merciful face. What is merciful is in your heart and in the way you think, not the way you look or how you present yourself to the public. To care much about how you are perceived in the public's eye is indeed very far from the Buddha's teaching according to which we should aim at achieving the objectives of understanding emptiness and no-self".

Abbot Zhang Wu therefore clearly articulates how Buddhist monks and nuns look at their role as guards of monasteries whenever they are on duty. It also reveals how, in their Buddhist worldview, monks and nuns comprehend or rationalise the fact that they have to show determination in their interventions to stop any hazardous acts taking place in the monasteries. According to this rationalisation, there is no contradiction for them to play the two roles of a monk and a guard at the same time. They argue that their hearts remain the one of a monk even when they act as guards. In either case, in their understanding, they still act on the basis of compassion; as guards; they can help people avoid accumulating bad Karma, which is what a monk should do. Abbot Zhang Wu said that to be merciful does not mean that you are gentle only on the surface, but also in the way you think. The Buddhist paradigm thus also governs their mentality and the course of action they choose to take towards any perceived hazard.


## 8.4 Managing Non-Hazardous Superstitious Acts


The above sections presented findings about how monks and nuns perceive themselves as human instruments to safeguard the monasteries/nunneries. In addition to the violations of the rules that are clearly detrimental or dangerous to the monasteries/nunneries and other people, there are many other questionable, non-hazardous types of acts by visitors that result in a number of different courses of action.


On the one hand, some activities performed by visitors are recognised as 'real' Buddhist acts by the informants. Monk Zhan Miao who is responsible for offering interpretation to visitors who are interested in his monastery, the largest one in Pu-Tuo, commented that there are from time to time people who want to learn more about Buddhism and the history of the monastery, as well as others who want to share with him what they had learned from Buddhism. He

admitted though there were not many of them.  Monk Ming Sheng said Jushis (Buddhist practitioners) come to his monastery which is located on top of a hill, to practice the 'every-three-steps-one-kneels' ritual in order to do penance and show their dedication to the Buddha.  Nun Jing Yung reported that "… Jushis (Buddhist practitioners) make their pilgrimage journey to Pu-Tuo once a year … the goal of their pilgrimage is mainly to pay reverence to the Bodhisattva, to do penance, to attend pujas … and they arrange with the monasteries to have senior monks give them some Buddhist lectures".

On the other hand, the unanimous opinion of the monks and nuns is that many of the worshipping activities performed by visitors are in fact not really Buddhist, but, rather, superstitious.  That people come specially to perform them at a Buddhist sacred site is an incongruity due to their misunderstanding of what Buddhism really is.  It is actually a rather striking phenomenon which does not have its equivalent, for example at a Christian site.  The most recurring activities performed by some visitors at Pu-Tuo include burning a lot of incense sticks, candles and paper offerings in the courtyards of the monasteries and nunneries as ways of paying reverence to the Bodhisattva.  Throwing coins to the 'Six Layers Incense Pagodas' which are found in the courtyards of the monasteries in front of the main halls appears to be a very popular activity as well.  Touching sacred objects including drums, chimes, colonnades of halls, as well as the dragon sculptures carved on the incense pagodas is believed by many visitors to be auspicious.  The monks and nunsfeel that those acts are not proper Buddhist acts, see Chapter 7, but as guards, they also know that some of those activities can be disturbing to other people and, sometimes, directly against the posted rules of the monastery or nunnery.  Yet, those acts constitute at worst only a very limited threat to the physical fabric of the site or to its serenity and the monks and nuns thus tend not to intervene with those non-Buddhist acts that are not hazardous.  The monks and nuns' reactions to these acts are discussed below.

**8.4.1 Superstitious Act (I): Conquering the Offering Table**

In Buddhism, the offering table of a monastery's hall is sacred and should only be touched by monks and nuns. It is supposed to be the place where the monastic community itself offers water, Buddhist mantras, flowers, incense, fragrances, oil burners, candles, jewels, dolmas, fruits and music (usually symbolised by a sea shell) to the Buddha and the Bodhisattva as a form of respect. Yet, as the researcher observed, often the offering tables in the halls of the monasteries/nunneries of Pu-Tuo had been 'invaded' by visitors' offering bags (see photo 4). Monks and nuns mentioned this issue when they talked about the Xiankes' habit of bringing along their tributes and offering bags to Pu-Tuo; many of them like to put their bags on the offering tables of the halls.

> Monk Zhan Miao: "Those are the Xiankes who mainly want to hsu yuan and huan yuan and they want to bring back good luck to their home. They originally were not supposed to be allowed to put their bags on the offering table, but they say that they had come from far away and that it is not easy to get to Pu-Tuo. They just want to pay tribute and show respect to the Great Being and they ask us to allow them to put their bags on the table for a while. We let them do so because Buddhism emphasises kindness and if we can help those people, we will do it. In any case, their request is not too pushy or detrimental to the monastery; thus we leave the table bare and let them put their offerings on it".

> Nun Che Jiang: "Xiankes want to show to the Bodhisattva what they have brought from their hometown as offering to the Great Being. After a while, they take the bags away because the Great Being would not really eat their food and offerings but they think that those offerings have in the meantime been blessed, and thus they take them back home to eat or to distribute for their families and friends. The table was originally not for this purpose. But they don't listen to us. Instead, they always try to find space and push aside the nunnery's offerings [on the table] in order to have room to put their own bags on the table.

Sometimes the nunnery's offerings end up on the floor! The table is not large and it does not have enough space to accommodate so many things. We are afraid that some of our offerings would fall to the floor, which can be dangerous, for example in the case of a lit candle that could start a fire. Therefore we decided to remove our own offerings from the table. The visitors can now make use of the empty space on the table to put their offerings on it".

From the conciliatory strategy adopted by the monks and nuns, as described in the above quotes, such as "we leave the [offering] table bare and let them [worshipers] put their offerings on it", it is obvious that they practice tolerance and compassion and are willing to offer as much convenience as they can to the visitors to avoid repeated confrontations. The monks and nuns tend to give in to the visitors, as long as the safety of the halls is not thereby compromised. As a result, all the offering tables of monasteries/nunneries at Pu-Tuo have in effectbeen 'conquered' by the visitors, particularly by the devout Xiankes.

**8.4.2 Superstitious Act (II): Throwing Coins and Touching Sacred Objects**

In Pu-Tuo, some visitors are fond of throwing coins at the Six Layers Incense Pagodas which are found at the courtyards of monasteries and nunneries, facing the entrance of the main halls. They were originally placed as a symbol of the venue as a Buddhist monastery or nunnery and visitors can place their lit incense sticks at the bottom layer. Yet, today, these kinds of Six Layers Incense Pagodas are also perceived as sacred objects that it is auspicious to touch or throw coins at. There is a belief that it is auspicious if the coins do not bounce off and fall to the ground (See photo 5), and the higher the coin lands on the Pagoda, the more auspicious it is. According to the explanations given by one of the lay visitors to whom the researcher talked, who had just finished throwing coins and touching the incense pagoda, "if the coin can be thrown up high and stay on the highest layer of the incense pagoda, one will be blessed with auspiciousness … this is the

reason why so many people are throwing coins at the pagoda. To touch the dragon figure [cast on the incense pagoda] is to absorb auspiciousness from the dragon". The male visitor added that he was told to do so and that "you must touch and caress the dragon from its head to its tail three times, then you will get the *good qi* (good fortune, blessings)." (Source: casual conversation with a male visitor at Zhi Zhu Lin Monastery in 2009).

When asked about his understanding of the practice of throwing coins to the incense pagoda, Monk Yuan Guang said quickly: "This is not a Buddhist rite, it is merely folklore". When asked why such kind of superstitious acts were not prohibited by the monastery, Monk Yuan Guang explained:

> "… as long as they are not throwing coins at the Buddha's or Bodhisattva's statues, it is okay for them to do the things that they want to do as long as it is not harmful to others or damage the monastery. They have the freedom to do the things that they want. Buddhism cannot go around and force people to stand still to listen to you. If they want to learn, they will naturally come and approach you, talk to you and ask you about Buddhist knowledge. If their time to learn Buddhism has not yet come, they do not feel the need to talk to us. Not only will they not come to approach us, they will also not listen to us. Buddhism can only be communicated and preached to those who also want to receive and learn".

Monk Zhao Mun made a similar comment:

> "There are people who do different kinds of things inside the monastery according to what they believe. What they do is not really Buddhist, but, rather, superstitious, such as throwing coins and burning paper offerings. They are not Buddhist acts at all".

Monk Zhan Miao further added:

"In Buddhist doctrine, there is nothing about throwing coins and burning paper offerings. Those are just traditions associated with local cults, superstitions meant to bring good luck or fortune …The kind of behaviour which can be detrimental to the monasteries, such as burning incense inside the halls or littering with cigarette butts, we have to stop them and tell them not to do that. But some activities such as throwing coins are not really damaging to the monastery; we won't do anything special to prevent it. If they come and ask us, then we will tell them what rites are proper. It is because you can only preach Buddhism to the people who have the good seed and who want to learn".

The researcher repeatedly observed that, in addition to throwing coins at the Six Layers Incense Pagodas and touching them, touching other Buddhist objects that are kept within the halls was also very popular. Some visitors, when inside some halls, patted the drums, chimes and muyus[17]. The researcher herself witnessed a scene involving a woman and a young child and overheard the woman telling her child to quickly pat the muyu. She said, "Quickly pat it to get good qi (好運氣)" (auspiciousness) (see photo 6). The daughter promptly did so. Monk Zhan Miao explained why people like to pat the Buddhist objects on display, even if there are conspicuous signs asking the visitors not to do so. He said:

"They want to have some physical contact in order to bring good luck back home. So they touch sacred items even if they are not supposed to. Some even rub their back on the wooden colonnades … some people touch some Buddhist objects, such as the wooden drum and chime; they like to pat them so as to get some good luck; if we see them doing so, we usually go over to them not to do it".

With respect to the course of action taken towards superstitious acts that may cause some damage to the Buddhist objects, such as touching the muyus or the drums, the monks and nuns appear to be relatively lenient, certainly compared to their reaction when people bring burning incense sticks into the halls. It is

---

[17] Muyu (木魚) literally means a wooden fish. It is a wooden percussion musical instrument used by Buddhist monks in the Mahayana Buddhism. It is often used when monastic members recite sutras, mantras and other Buddhist scriptures in the pujas. The wooden fish is mostly used in China, Japan and Korea where Mahayana Buddhism is practiced.

suggested that this has to do with Buddhist compassion; at the same time, it may also have to do with the fact that those Buddhist objects, in any case, are hardly valuable objects or irreplaceable relics. These items are holy to a certain degree but their function is somewhat similar to that of the offering table; their use is primarily both functional and ceremonial during the pujas. Unlike the statues, if the need arises, tables and muyus can easily be replaced. From the statement of Monk Zhan Miao, it is noted that he simply chose to offer gentle advice; the mother and the daughter for instance were not thrown out from the hall. Nevertheless, labels reading "Please don't touch" are glued to these Buddhist instruments (see photo 7).

In order to deter visitors from the temptation of bringing some auspiciousness back home by having physical contact or by taking something from the hall, a soft solution (Kuo, 2002; Mason, 2005) was implemented, that is to offer visitors the opportunity to have a logo stamped on their clothes, bags or any piece of fabric or paper. The size of the stamp is 20cm X 20cm (see photo 8); it is carved with the name of the monastery and the symbol of Buddhism. Each monastery has the same design of the logo except that the name of the monastery is different. Each stamp costs one Yuan and the researcher saw that quite a number of visitors were queuing up to get the stamp stamped on their clothes or bags. Monk Zhan Miao explained: "… that this is for the convenience of lay people who want to bring some good qi (auspiciousness) back; it also helps reduce their interest in touching or even taking away Buddhist objects".

### 8.4.3 Superstitious Acts (III): Burning Offerings in the Courtyards

Through her non-participant observations, the researcher noticed another common visitor behaviour, namely to burn their tributes, which typically are paper money, candles and incense sticks. Since visitors are forbidden to burn anything inside the halls of the monasteries and nunneries, and since this prohibition is strictly enforced, visitors conduct the burning in the courtyards of

263

the monasteries/nunneries.  Such observations were complemented by accounts from monks and nuns as to how they actually control those superstitious acts. An interview with Monk Wei Shan revealed that, when facing the superstitious acts performed by visitors, they did not overly interfere as long as those acts were not detrimental to the physical fabric of the monasteries/nunneries.  The monks and nuns ensured the safety of their wooden halls by directing visitors to perform their burning rituals outside the halls, in the courtyards, and strictly enforcing this rule.  The researcher had a chance to witness how one of the informants handled the visitors' inquiries about this issue when Monk Shan Wei was interrupted during his interview by a couple carrying large offerings bags. The couple who came into the hall asked "Where can I burn candles?"  Monk Wei Shan replied calmly that, "You cannot light candles inside [the hall], you can light them outside [pointing at the courtyard] and put them in the incense burner".

The monks and nuns repeatedly said that such burning rituals have nothing to do with Buddhism.  Monk Zhao Mun criticised these acts as follows:

> "There are people who do different kinds of things inside the monastery according to what they believe; those are not really Buddhist things, but superstitions, such as throwing coins and burning paper offerings.  It is not a Buddhist act at all; burning paper offerings is a folklore ritual, for the dead and for ghosts. How can you burn paper money to the Bodhisattva?  Those are just superstitions that people interpret in their own way".

Monk Yuan Guang commented:

> "… There are people who worship and pay reverence to the Bodhisattva according to the ways they worship their ancestors and ghosts.  It is not correct.  Not only for the fact that you create garbage for the monastery and that the ashes [of burned paper offerings] fly around, but also it is not respectful to burn paper money to the Bodhisattva.  Paper money is for ghosts, not for the

> Great Beings and this is a Buddhist monastery; such kind of ritual really belongs to folklore, not to Buddhism".

With respect to the traditional activity of visitors of burning incense sticks (outside of the halls), the monks and nuns shared their understanding of such acts and one can sense that they did not appreciate the fact that people feel it necessary to burn many incense sticks. It is because the monks and nuns feel that burning too many incense sticks is hazardous to peoples' health and further it is not good for them to inhale so much smoke given the fact that they spend considerable time on the grounds of the monasteries/nunneries. Nun Che Jiang expressed her concern about the health risks of incense smoke: "Today the incense sticks are not really the natural ones; a lot of chemicals and toxic substances are used to make incense sticks and so they can be dangerous to our health because we have to stay for long inside the nunnery and we inhale a lot of incense smoke".

A second reservation of the monks and nuns about burning many incense sticks is that they feel that it is not done in the right spirit. They considered that, while burning incense sticks is an ancient and accepted Buddhist ritual, it is in Buddhism merely a way of showing respect and should be done in moderation. They commented that burning many incense sticks is an auspicious folkloric ritual performed by lay people but does not belong to the Buddhist culture at all; it is a reflection of "not understanding much of Buddhism" and a "waste of money".

> Nun Yin Yi shared: "There are people who think that they have to burn a lot [of incense sticks], that only when they burn a lot will it be efficacious and their wishes will be granted, that it measures their level of devotion and sincerity".

Nun Ming Yung had a similar understanding: "To pay reverence is to use your heart; incense sticks are just a form of physical expression. To burn so much incense sticks is not only a waste of money, it also pollutes the air and create more garbage. It is not easy to earn money and there is really no need to spend money on buying a lot of incense stick or large ones".

Monk Zhao Mun noted that "there are people who think that the more incense they burn, the more good karmas they will accumulate, the more sincere they are … in fact, in Buddhism, it does not matter how many incense sticks you burn; the important thing is your heart".

Nun Yun Jing offered a clear articulation of the attitude that a devout Buddhist should take towards burning incense sticks. She said:

"A real Jushi who understands Buddhism should know that offering incense is just a form of respect, and he only burns three incense sticks. You know why? It is because he will be more considerate, to burn fewer incense sticks, so that the air will be better and there will be some space left [in the incense burner] for others who come later to burn incense. A real Buddhist should be considerate and should not have the selfish mentality that he/she must burn a lot of incense in order to get a lot of blessings. To burn incense has nothing to do with getting blessings. Those who do not understand this are in fact not real Buddhists. There are Xiankes who have the mentality that they have come from far away to Pu-Tuo and that they must help their family members by burning incense and so they will burn a lot on behalf of them all. They think that by burning so many, they and their family will get lots of blessings. Also, they do not care about the fact that it is detrimental to the physical environment, and that burning so much incense will be bad for our [the nuns'] health given the fact that we spend a lot of time in the nunnery. Their act is simply ignorant and selfish. Such acts are not Buddhist and one will not get blessings from the Buddha by offering incense, but rather by doing good things for the others, by acting in a non-selfish manner. This is the real way to get Buddha's blessing".

The informants repeatedly stated that many acts performed by lay people inside the monasteries/nunneries were in fact not Buddhist acts, but were superstitious in nature, contrary to what many visitors may have thought. The monks and nuns suggested that it is possibly due to the fact that many lay people understand little of Buddhism or misunderstand it completely. Nun Yin Yi said:

> "The Xiankes are worshippers. They are here to burn incense and to present their offerings, but many of them pray to the Buddha and Bodhisattva according to the ways they worship their ancestors. Those are not really Buddhist rites. Comparatively, they understand little of Buddhism; they only worship, but do not learn or understand much".

The monks and nuns emphasised that it is not recorded in any Buddhist scripture that throwing coins, touching sacred objects or burning abundant amounts of incense sticks, paper money offerings or candles can bring auspiciousness. Instead, the monks and nuns cautioned that real Buddhists should not care about asking for blessings because blessings and auspiciousness are created and governed by one's karma[18]. In addition, the ultimate goal for a Buddhist learning Buddhism is to achieve enlightenment[19] and hence stop reincarnation. Monk Zhang Jie commented:

> "From their conduct, you can see that they do not really understand Buddhism. Buddhism is not a superstition, it is not just a matter of getting blessings from the Great Beings but it is the way to seek enlightenment. To seek enlightenment, the very first condition is to be able to abandon rigidness, to stop clinging to materialistic desires and look for enlightenment from one's inner self. It is not the case that burning a few incense sticks will get you enlightenment or blessings. Blessings do not come from burning incense or from other material objects. It comes from your

---

[18] Karma (skt.) Literally means actions. "The law of cause and effect: the process whereby virtuous actions of body, speech and mind lead to happiness, and non-virtuous ones to suffering" (Too, 2003, p. 258).

[19] Enlightenment: "Buddhahood; omniscience; full awakening. It is the ultimate goal of Mahayana Buddhist practice, attained when all limitations have been removed from the mind and all positive potential has been realised; a state characterised by unlimited compassion, skill and wisdom" (Too, 2003, p. 257).

attitude, the way you live and how you treat others.  If you treat people well, do not make or create bad karmas, work hard to do good things that benefit others, then you will be able to accumulate good merits in this lifetime and clear bad karmas that you accumulated in your previous lives.  When you have fewer and fewer debts to pay, the thicker and thicker the blessings you are creating for yourself.  So, in the end, blessings are created by yourself.  They do not come from the outside".

The researcher asked the monks and nuns why they did not simply stop people from burning too many incense sticks by strictly enforcing the three-stick limit, and why they did not also prevent other superstitious rituals from being performed in the courtyard of a Buddhist monastery.  Nun Jing Yung said: "Usually we won't pressure them if they are not doing something overly wrong or destructive to the nunnery".  Similarly, Monk Ding Si's comments illustrate the consensus among Buddhist monks and nuns that, although they acknowledge the fact that burning a lot of incense sticks or large sticks "is not good for the air and for people; it is not healthy for us to inhale so much incense smoke for long periods of time", they also choose to tolerate it, as well as other non Buddhist acts, as long as those acts do not damage the monasteries.  Perhaps it may also have something to do with the issue that selling incense sticks is for many local shops and street hawkers their main source of income.

In other words, the course of action taken towards such kinds of harmless superstitious acts is neither to forbid them nor to confront the visitors about them.  The monks and nuns instead adopt a rather tolerant, flexible non-interference approach.  They respect peoples' free will as long as this free will does not cause any damage.  The non-intervention approach towards the non-hazardous acts is quite in contrast with the strict prohibition of the hazardous ones.  Here there are both reactive and proactive actions taken by monks and nuns facing challenges created by visitors inside their monasteries and nunneries.  Although the forms of actions are apparently different, their fundamental nature is the same.  Monks and nuns seem to rationalise their

actions by applying the Buddhist discipline. On the one hand, they take the view that prohibiting hazardous acts is imperative, a form of compassion so that all sentient beings can continue to use the religious sites as venues to contemplate, to pay reverence, to learn Buddhism. On the other hand, to "let it go", "not to intervene" as well as to offer "as much convenience as possible" is their coping mechanisms towards transgressions that are perhaps annoying but are also harmless, even though the monks and nuns criticise those acts for having nothing to do with Buddhism. To compromise and let worshippers use the offering tables inside their halls illustrates very well the Buddhist's philosophy of compassion, tolerance and respect of other peoples' free will that underlies the way the monasteries and nunneries of Pu-Tuo are managed.

The Buddhist worldview may help explain why the Buddhist monasteries and nunneries appear to have so little visitor control. In contrast to other religious sites with high level of visitation, such as Westminster Abbey in Britain, (Police Foundation, 2009; Shackley, 2001), no CCTV security systems or uniformed guards are used in any monastery/nunnery at Pu-Tuo. Most of the conventional strategies of visitor control and management are not adopted. To respect the free will of visitors without imposing proper Buddhist behaviour is part of the Buddhist philosophy of tolerance and respect of diversity. The lack of control also indicates that Buddhist doctrine stresses self-discipline rather than external governance. This appears to be the key philosophy behind the courses of action taken to manage harmless transgressions in the Buddhist monasteries/nunneries of Pu-Tuo. The Buddhist belief that all sentient beings have the same Buddha-nature and that all have an equal chance to become enlightened leads the informants not to argue about, correct or forbid any act that does not comply with Buddhism, because they believe that everyone will eventually learn. In addition, it is for everyone to decide according to his/her free will whether he/she wants to learn Buddhism as well as the proper Buddhist rites, or not. Except for the commission of hazardous acts that can damage the monasteries/nunneries or for truly disrespectful behaviour, the Buddhist monks and nuns are relatively at ease with the other transgressions and harmless

superstitious acts.  Visitors are not forced to conform to the rules of the Buddhist religion, thereby creating an open friendly site where even atheists feel welcome.  The informants' view is that visitors may even be inspired and become Buddhists; if not, at least, they will leave with a positive impression of the religion.

In a religion that stresses self-discipline rather than external governance, it is not surprising that many conventional visitor management strategies are not adopted in the Buddhist monasteries/nunneries; it is in any case so at Pu-Tuo. The Buddhist monasteries and nunneries are built for the monks and nuns, but also for letting lay people have a chance to learn Buddhism.  To have a friendly environment which allows people to freely immerse themselves in the monasteries'/nunneries' atmosphere to absorb what Buddhism is about may lead visitors to behave in a more responsible way.  The alternative of a more proactive visitor control policy may result in problems between the hosts and guests.  Shackley comments that "the proper treatment of a sacred place is a matter of respect, not always enforceable by management and sometimes complicated by an extensive cultural distance between the function and the purpose of the site and the background of its visitors" (Shackley, 2001, p. 35).

This chapter has so far discussed how hazardous acts and harmless transgressions by the visitors are handled differently at Pu-Tuo than at other religious sites, where the distinction between the two has to do with preserving the integrity of the physical fabric of the site and its dignity.  The next section deals with challenges to the 'intangibles' of the monasteries/nunneries.

## 8.5 Courses of Action towards Challenges to the "Buddhist Intangibles"

Shackley says that the presence of visitors not only may have an impact on the physical fabric of a religious or sacred site, but also on the very nature of the "cultural intangibles" of the place, such as sacred dances, rituals and performances (Shackley, 2001, p. 51).  The analysis of the monks' and nuns' responses indicates that other challenges they perceive are those created by the visitors' curiosity towards their 'Buddhist intangibles' such as Buddhist rituals.  A case in point is the formation of a noisy crowd of spectators when the monks and nuns are chanting and contemplating during a puja.  In general, within reason, being noisy is not a taboo in Buddhist sacred sites; the typical atmosphere of Buddhist halls is in fact always noisy, crowded and filled with incense smoke.  It adds to the vividness of the place (Shackley, 2001, p. 32).  Yet while it is true that there is no control over how loudly people can speak during their presence in the monasteries or nunneries, and certainly there is no rule that people must be silent, there is nevertheless an expectation from the monastic community that lay visitors should not be noisy when there is a Buddhist puja under way or when monks and nuns are praying.

> Monk Jing Fan said: "Sometimes they can be quite noisy while we pray in the hall.  It is because, out of curiosity, people want to see what we are doing, how a puja is conducted.  So they stay around, and they talk just outside of the hall; some take photos; their noise is disturbing to the process of praying".

When asked how they dealt with the noise issue, the informants mentioned two possible strategies: either leave the visitors alone and they will simply disappear quickly after having lost interest in watching over the puja, which usually lasts longer than one hours, and is not much of a spectacle, or order the visitors to remain silent when there is a puja where monks and nuns are praying.  Monk Jing Fan makes a case in favour of the former strategy, which is practiced in Pu-

Tuo, as follows.  He said, "… it [the noise] only happens from time to time when we organise special pujas during day time.  Well, in general, people are just curious and have a look; they do not really stay for long.  Those who do not really believe, or do not understand what we are doing, stay for only a moment.  After a while, and it is usually quickly, they get bored and they leave".

Such a comment concurs with the researcher's observations at the time she attended a puja herself.  The researcher noticed that there were many visitors who were curious about the puja and congregated near the entrance of the hall where it was taking place.  The puja was a special one, performed on the birthday of Buddha Shakyamuni, as opposed to the regular morning pujas that are performed daily in all Buddhist monasteries and nunneries.  This special puja was not advertised to the public in any way and even the locals (who are not Buddhists) did not know that it would be performed.  Those who knew about the puja had to register in advance to participate and were either devout Buddhists who keep track of the Buddhism calendar or those who have some connection with  the local monastic community and were told about the puja.  The researcher belonged to the latter group.  According to the researcher's observations, visitors who happened to be in the monastery's grounds at the time were very curious and eager to see what was going on.  This is understandable because the visitors do not often have a chance to watch how a puja is conducted, as the daily morning pujas always start at 3:30 a.m., at a time when the monasteries are closed to the public.  The special puja to celebrate the birth of Buddha Shakyamuni was held at 8 a.m. and thus offered a rare opportunity to visitors to look on because the monastery is open to the public by 6:30 a.m.

The researcher's observations during the puja were in line with what Monk Jing Fan had told her.  Curious visitors were noisy at the beginning of the ceremony and there were many of them standing outside of the hall, chatting, gossiping and taking photographs, some even with flashes.  People called friends to come

over to watch, some loudly. Visitors' curiosity seemed to annoy a few monks who appeared to be distracted and from time to time looked at the crowd of spectators. Luckily the number of spectators gradually declined as the puja went on. This puja lasted for two hours. No spectacular act or dance was performed; the only thing to watch was the monks standing still chanting and repeatedly reciting the sutras and scriptures. During the course of the puja, new spectators came and replaced the ones who had lost interest; yet the number of spectators was never large and, at the end, there were only a few people left, compared to the large crowd of spectators present at the beginning.

These observations are consistent with the observations made on another occasion when the researcher observed how the visitors behaved at another special puja. Many people assembledat first to watch when they realised that a puja was going on, only to gradually disappear when they understood nothing of the prayers and the scriptures recited by the monks. Another time the researcher witnessed a puja as a spectator; she had discovered by chance that it was going on and had not registered in advance to attend. She could thus only stand by the entrance of the hall and look on, together with a curious crowd. At the beginning of the puja, there were many visitors making some noise and were probably a distraction to the monks. Yet by the end of the puja, after one hour and 40 minutes had passed, the researcher was the only one still standing by the entrance of the ceremonial hall. In both pujas the researcher witnessed, no one came to ask the visitors to be quieter, although some monks were clearly distracted and they occasionally looked in the direction of the lay spectators, with an annoyed expression on their faces. Nevertheless, all the interviewed monks and nuns stressed that it is important to maintain the tranquillity of the monasteries and nunneries. The patience of the monks/nuns is not infinite and, according to Monk Jing Fan, they occasionally intervene in some extreme situations (something the researcher has never witnessed).

> "It is important to have a tranquil environment and so it is necessary to maintain the serenity of the monastery; it is how a monastery originally should be. If they [visitors] are very noisy

during the time we do pujas, we have workmen who will ask them to lower their voice. Usually people listen; if they talk loudly, most of the time, it is because they do not know the rules; they do not know that they should not talk loudly when we are praying. They do not do this intentionally. Of course if we have someone who intentionally does something to disturb others, to destroy the monastery, we will have no choice but to expel him. It is not correct for a person to do something which is not considerate and that can harm others".

An analogy can be drawn with a situation described by Shackley in her case study of a *Tenchi* traditional ritual dancing in the Himalayas. Shackley says that due to the fact that "the *Tenchi* are not staged for visitors, thus providing an unusual opportunity to see the 'back stage' where real living takes place" (Shackley, 2001, p. 112), many people assembled at first to watch. She also reports that many visitors quickly lost interest in watching the dance because the ritual is too authentic, too long and is not customised for spectators to consume but is rather an authentic Buddhist ritual. The visitors looked puzzled and bored after the first excitement had worn off; they gave up watching and moved away.

In some publications about managing visitors in religious and cultural sites, "staged authenticity" (MacCannell, 1973) is proposed both as a marketing tactic to attract tourists to consume the tailored-made version of the indigenous cultural products as well as a protective method to prevent an adverse effect of tourism on the traditional culture of the host community (Desmond, 1999). Yet from the case study of Shackley about Tibetan Buddhism Dance and the researcher's experience, staging is not found in Buddhist monasteries or nunneries. In fact, to be authentic is to a certain extent an effective measure to prevent visitors from creating challenges and affect the "cultural intangibles" (Shackley, 2001, p. 51). The authentic life of the monks and nuns and their daily practices are not something appealing to and easily endured by lay visitors. The researcher witnessed at several occasions, when attending morning pujas held at 3:30 am, that the lay partakers who had decided to attend often clashed with the

rules of the pujas.  While some were devoted and properly prayed together with monks, others came late, some yawned, many did not know what to recite, when to kneel, when to bow; some even ended-up falling asleep on the floor in a hidden corner of the ceremonial hall.  It is clear that a simply curious spectator finds it difficult to maintain his/her interest or concentration for the whole duration of a full-length authentic Buddhist puja.  To stand still, be silent or choose to recite the scripture for one and a half hours - sometimes for three hours - is not an easy thing to do for someone who is not a Buddhist practitioner. The early hour, the length of the ceremony and the lack of a spectacle are very efficient ways of deterring curious lay visitors and, as a whole, the monks can contemplate and reflect in a tranquil and serene environment at such occasions.

It is also important to remember that staging and faking are not in line with the spirit of Buddhism.  From the researcher's observations of many different kinds of pujas, none were tailored to appeal to visitors.  There exists no abbreviated version that would match the attention span of a casual visitor.  MacCannell (1973) introduced the idea that tourists like to transgress the curtain and look behind the scene of the performance in their quest for authenticity.  For this quest to be satisfied, an important pre-condition must be satisfied beforehand: that the authentic experience must have been transformed into a tourist product which is attractively displayed for consumption by tourists.  This is not the case in Buddhist rituals at Pu-Tuo.  All pujas have an authentic format, which is not attractive to tourists.  On the basis of her observations and interviews with monks and nuns, the researcher can confirm that remaining authentic seems to be an effective way to discourage challenges to the "cultural intangibles" of the Buddhist monasteries.

## 8.6 Chapter Summary

In many cases, religious sites that are tourist attractions typically use a combination of proactive and reactive measures to control the behaviour of visitors (Mason, 2005; Shackley, 1993, 1995, 2001, 2002, 2006). Proactive measures can include the imposition of an entrance fee, combined possibly with the use of pay perimeters, the interdiction of some activities, a dress code, CCTV cameras, uniformed guards, the physical protection of the site's physical assets, the control of the visitors' flow, with possibly the imposition of a prescribed route and the use of queue control. As this chapter reports, the use of proactive measures was found to be minimal at Pu-Tuo. Not a single monastery or nunnery at Pu-Tuo was found to have visitor capacity control. The only substantial proactive measure is really the physical protection of the main cultural assets of the halls, to prevent the public from touching them. In addition, a set of basic rules and interdictions are posted at various places.

Although there is an entrance fee to access the main monasteries, the fee is meant to support the monasteries rather than to act as a form of control over the number of visitors. From the visitors' perspective, their responses reveal that they do not mind having to pay the modest fee. Their responses suggest that they find that it is worthwhile to pay the admission fee as long as they get the blessings from the Bodhisattva. Such a finding concurs with the study of Garrod et al. (2006) that these authors advocate that an admission charge may not be an effective solution to mange visitor volume. It is because "the effectiveness of this strategy does of course depend greatly on the elasticity of the demand for the visitor attraction product" (Garrod et al., 2006, p. 147). The research site of this thesis, Pu-Tuo, is believed by its religious visitors to be an efficacious place where wishes are usually granted, as well as a Buddhist sacred place where apparitions of the Bodhisattva Guan Yin were recorded. The price elasticity of demand thus does not seem to be significant in the case of such a famous religious site.

Religious/sacred sites are traditionally deemed to be a kind of site that require special protection because of their sanctity, and the volume of visitors to religious/sacred sites is a management concern in many such places where overcrowding and wear and tear are problems (Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Shackley, 2001, 2002). Yet the Buddhist monks and nuns of Pu-Tuo tended to look at this issue differently. They were not concerned with how many people come; theywere also clear in expressing that they simply did not care about who come into their monasteries/nunneries. Rather they placed a higher emphasis on what people did when they were in the monasteries and nunneries (see Chapter 7). This individual attitude is reflected in their visitor management philosophy. There is accordingly no carrying capacity control of the visitors' flow in the monasteries and nunneries of Pu-Tuo and, once the visitor has gone through the gate of the grounds of a monastery, he/she is free to access all areas open to the public. This policy is in line with the findings of Garrod et al. (2006) which suggest that visitor impacts are in fact not strongly related to visitor numbers but rather to what the visitors do (Garrod et al., 2006, p. 144). The Buddhist monastic community places a greater emphasis on reactive rather than proactive measures because the latter imply that all visitors are presumed guilty of creating negative impacts and that regulations are needed and must be put in place in advance to control them (Hall & McArthur, 1996). At Pu-Tuo, the visitors are instead presumed innocent, until evidence to the contrary.

Reactive measures, on the other hand, require human intervention on a case-by-case and need-to-intervene basis. A distinguishing feature of the management of visitors at Pu-Tuo is the fact that it is the monks and nuns themselves who guard the grounds, and in particular the halls, and perform those interventions when needed. The interviews show that the fundamental principle according to which the visitors are managed is very simple: if the behaviour of a visitor is hazardous to the physical fabric of the site, in particular the halls, and to the other visitors, then it is immediately and firmlystopped; otherwise, a minimum of intervention is used in case of a transgression of the visitation rules. There are

for example two rules regarding incense sticks: that lit incense sticks should not be brought into the halls and that one cannot bring more than three incense sticks into a monastery or nunnery.  The first rule deals with clearly hazardous behaviour and is strictly enforced.  The second rule tries to moderate the habit of some visitors of burning a lot of incense sticks in the courtyards, an act which is not really hazardous and, as a result, this rule is not really enforced.

The proactive measures mentioned above belong to the category of "hard visitor management strategies" (Kuo, 2002, p. 89) or "direct management approaches" (Weiler et al., 2009, p. 139).  The philosophy of visitor management at Pu-Tuo rather falls into the category of 'soft visitor management strategies' because of the Buddhist beliefs that "everyone can become an enlightened one", "all sentient beings are to be treated on an equal basis" and "one should respect peoples' free will".  The fact that it is the monks and nuns themselves (rather than, say, professional uniformed guards or lay stewards, as is the case at other religious sites) who guard the monasteries and nunneries contributes to the softness of the approach.  It is the hosts themselves that the visitors  meet on the monasteries' and nunneries' grounds and in the halls.  This creates a situation similar to the one at the Kakadu National Park in Australia where, as reported by Ryan (1998), a substantial part of the guiding and interpretation services are provided by Aborigines, that is, members of the host community.  As such, they have a special aura in getting the tourists to learn, respect and re-discover the traditional values of the environmental conservation of the park; such an emphatic interpretation service can be effectively done by guides who are both skilful and culturally aware of the place (C. Ryan, 1998).  The same logic seems to be applied in Pu-Tuo; the monks and nuns who are on duty, with a covert identity as guards, do at the same time, carry their overt preaching mission.  When visitors have inquiries about Buddhism, they are the only ones who are knowledgeable and truly aware of the Buddhist culture and who can share proper Buddhist information with visitors, something that may not be effectively done so by lay workers.

Weiler in several of her publications mentions that imposing only "direct management approaches", such as regulations, fines, barriers and other forms of activity restraint, does not always work and is sometimes not the most desirable way to control visitors' behaviour in protected areas (Beeton, Weiler, & Ham, 2005; Ham et al., 2007; Weiler et al., 2009). Some previous research has suggested that by using a "soft approach", offering interpretive information can enhance visitors' understanding of the culture of the place, make them sensitive to the norms of the place, and thus visitors will be more willing to adopt sustainable behaviour (Kuo, 2002; Mason, 2005; Schanzel & McIntosh, 2000). Something similar to this can be found in the Buddhist way of managing the monasteries/nunneries, but with the difference that the Western concept of the soft visitor management strategies emphasises the site taking initiatives to offer education to visitors, while Buddhism emphasises the naturalness of eventually learning Buddhism if one is awakened. It is only when one wants to learn Buddhism that one will find one's way to learn and it is not something that can be accomplished through external pressure. The Western literature suggests that visitor behaviour can be improved when they receive interpretive information and are told about the code of conduct of the place. Yet it is argued that to offer education or interpretive information is just one of the possible strategies and it can be effective only if visitors are willing to learn. The Buddhist soft approach proceeds by not intervening and respecting free will. The friendly environment so created enables visitors to immerse themselves into the site's atmosphere, and to feel and experience by themselves what Buddhism is, instead of being lectured about it. The Buddhist soft approach adopted by the monks and nuns is thus not meant to change people, as they think that people will eventually change by themselves given the right environment and in due time. The monastic community's approach to teaching Buddhism is thus also reactive rather than proactive. If a visitor wants to learn more about Buddhism, he is welcome to talk to an available member of the community who will be happy to share, but it is the visitor who must take the initiative.

## Chapter 9: Conclusion

The two main objectives of this thesis were to generate a typology of visitors at Pu-tuo as well as to present how tourism is perceived by the monks and nuns of a Buddhist sacred site and their ways of dealing with visitors. Pu-Tuo, one of the Four Buddhist Sacred Mountains of China, was selected as a particularly suitable case to study the challenges and apprehensions that the monks and nuns living at pilgrimage sites and holy lands in China are facing today. If the economic growth of China continues to be as high as it has been during the last few decades, by the year 2050, China will be a prosperous country whose consumers will enjoy an enormous amount of discretionary income and huge increases in wealth for hundreds of millions of Chinese people will lead to an unprecedented levels of travel (Y. W. Chan, 2000; C. Ryan et al., 2009; T. Winter, 2009; X. Yu & Weiler, 2001), without even counting foreign tourists. The major Buddhist sacred sites in China will likely be included in the list of highly visited destinations, as those religious sacred venues not only have a religious significance for Buddhists, but also have a cultural, historical and aesthetic appeal for all.

Understanding pilgrimage in a Chinese and in a Buddhism context is thus likely to emerge as an increasingly important topic in tourism academia, if one considers the size of the literature on the traditional pilgrimage locations of other religions in the world (see Eade, 1992; Fleischer, 2000; Ioannides & Ioannides, 2006; Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Pavicic et al., 2007; Poria et al., 2003; Shinde, 2007a; Singh, 2005; Timothy & Iverson, 2006; Vukonic, 1992, 2006; M. Winter & Gasson, 1996). It is important to note that the promotion of the religious sites of China as cultural destinations for travellers is a relatively recent phenomenon that started only in 1979. So far, the religious destinations in China have received only limited attention from researchers (see C. Ryan, 2010; C. Ryan & Gu, 2009a; Shi, 2009; Shuo et al., 2009). More research about religious tourism in the context of China is needed, and undoubtedly forthcoming.

One of the contributions of this thesis is to present how the Buddhist monks and nuns of Pu-Tuo perceive receiving visitors and tourism as well as what is their Buddhist way in coping with the robust tourism development, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. Their perceptions have been collected through in-depth interviews, and such a research approach allows the informants to share how they feel about visitors according to their personal understanding and using their own words (Ezzy, 2002; Patton, 2002). The nature of this inquiry makes the present work different from the many (Chinese) research papers on religious tourism in China that focus on how to make use of Buddhism as a cultural tourism resource to generate more tourism and spur economic growth (M. H. Wang, Lin, & Chu, 2005; X. Z. Yang et al., 2004b; X. Z. Yang, Lu, Zhang, Lu, & Xuan, 2004c; Z. L. Yang, 2009; Yao et al., 2008).

In addition, this thesis also presents a visitor typology constructed from the implementation of a structured questionnaire survey; its results are presented in Chapter 6. The typology offers insight into "who visits Pu-Tuo" and provides a background for which the responses of the monks and nuns can better be understood. The typology segments the visitors into five groups on the basis of their stated reasons for visiting Pu-Tuo. The characteristics of the five segments were further analysed in terms of the on-site activities that the members of each cluster favoured, their actual behaviour and their strength of belief in Buddhism. The findings corroborate the ones of the existing literature to the effect that many religious sites around the world today are a mixture of religious, cultural and recreational destinations (Cohen, 2006; Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Poria et al., 2003; Shackley, 2001; Singh, 2004; M. Winter & Gasson, 1996). As reported in Chapter 6, the religiously motivated visitors in Pu-Tuo do not constitute a homogeneous group; some perceive Pu-Tuo as an efficacious place where auspiciousness and interventions from divinities are typically sought, while others perceive it as a Buddhist place to purify karmas and seek enlightenment through attending pujas and lectures inside monasteries. In addition, Pu-Tuo is

also seen by many as a place for satisfying goals of relaxation, recreation and socialisation.

The qualitative (see Chapter 7 and 8) and quantitative (see Chapter 6) findings offer a picture of Pu-Tuo as a religious sacred site open to all visitors by taking into account both the hosts and the guests into the scope of the research. There is a considerable degree of congruence between the five motivational segments of visitors generated from the visitors' self-completion survey and the responses of the interviewed monks and nuns. In their mundane perspective, the monks and nuns identified four groups of visitors which, largely correspond to the five motivational segments revealed by the survey (two of those segments are seen as a single category of visitors by the monks and nuns). For instance, as shown in Chapter 7, the people whom the monks and nuns call the 'Xiankes' are very similar in characteristics to the 'Good Fortune Seekers', one of the five motivational segments constructed in Chapter 6, whose members are interested in nothing else than seeking auspiciousness and interventions from divinities. The 'Jushis' are recognised by monks and nuns as 'Buddhist practitioners at home' who come to Pu-Tuo to stay in monasteries, to attend Buddhist lectures and pujas, to purify their karmas. The characteristics of the 'Jushis' correspond to the ones of the cluster of 'Enlightenment Seekers', whose members, according to the survey results, in addition to seeking auspiciousness, also participate in real Buddhist rituals (Hsingyun, 2005).

The monks and nuns say that the 'Xiankes' are in fact the most devoted group among those they call the 'Shinshis', meaning anyone with some degree of belief in Buddhism. The 'Shinshis' who are not Xiankes also engage in religious practices; yet unlike the 'Xiankes', they do not typically come to Pu-Tuo for religious purposes only. The 'Shinshis' category as identified by the monastic members, in other words, corresponds to both the 'General Traditionalists' and the 'Cultural Sightseers' motivational segments for the fact that while they participate in religious practices, such as burning joss sticks, their trip to Pu-Tuo

has secular motives as well, such as relaxation and visiting places of cultural and historical significance. Lastly, the visitors who "only walk around, look around … do not burn incense sticks and do not bow to Bodhisattva", the informants simply call them 'tourists'. Their understanding corresponds closely to the characteristics of the 'Casual Sightseers' motivational segment, as the visitors from this particular cluster are only interested in sightseeing activities and are not interested, and do not participate, in religious rituals.

In their responses, the monks and nuns typically complement their mundane classification of visitors into categories with an account of their Buddhist perspective. Their Buddhist understanding of visitors offers insight into how 'pilgrim' is understood in a Buddhist context. The spirit of Buddhism emphasises that every human being has his/her own Buddhist's seed. The extent to which a visitor behaves in a proper way at a religious site depends on the degree of maturity of this Buddhist's seed. In the Buddhist understanding of the monks and nuns, everyone is a Buddhist. Pilgrims and tourists are thus not perceived by the monks and nuns in their Buddhist worldview as categories which are mutually exclusive or are, in their pure form, at the opposite ends of a spectrum, as proposed by Smith (1992). The monks and nuns take the view that all visitors to Pu-Tuo have both identities, the one of a tourist and the one of a pilgrim, because their ultimate reason for coming to Pu-Tuo is to learn Buddhism, regardless of whether they are aware of such a desire. Monks and nuns believe that if it were not for the existence of such a desire to learn about Buddhism, visitors could very well go elsewhere and need not come to a Buddhist sacred site. When the monks and nuns look at visitors from the Buddhist perspective, they assert that the tourists (equivalent to Casual Sightseers in the cluster analysis) are in fact 'future Buddhists', as explained in Chapter 7.

As the interview notes indicate, the Buddhist spirit is also found to have an influence on the way the monks and nuns perceive receiving visitors and tourism. The majority of those who were interviewed were found to have a

positive attitude towards receiving visitors and tourism because they consider that "tourism is a channel to preach Buddhism" and that "to be able to help and let people have a chance to learn Buddhism are also things that a Buddhist should do". Their positive and welcoming attitude towards receiving visitors appears to be different from what is reported is some previous research, that at other religious sites the religious hosts see tourism as a burden, as a threat to the sanctity of those places, and that it tends to have detrimental socio-cultural and environmental impacts on the religious centres; strategies of mediation and protections are therefore proposed (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Pfaffenberger, 1983; Raj & Morpeth, 2007; Shinde, 2007b; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). To the contrary, tourism is seen by the majority of monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo as an opportunity to let more people get a chance to learn Buddhism.

Another contribution of this thesis is that it reconsiders the definition of 'pilgrim' and re-interprets the concept in a Buddhist context. In the existing literature, the word 'pilgrim' refers to a 'religious traveller'. For instance, Pavicic, Alfirevic and Batarelo say: "The religiously motivated travellers who come to shrines are defined as pilgrims" (Pavicic et al., 2007, p. 51). Rotherham comments, "Pilgrimage is a journey made by a pilgrim, who travels from place to place, usually journeying a long distance and to a sacred place as an act of devotion" (Rotherham, 2007, p. 64). In other words, in general, the concept of 'pilgrim' includes only the faithful of a religion and excludes those who visit a religious site for non-religious reasons. The Buddhist understanding offers a broader interpretation of 'pilgrim'. The fact that even the tourists are seen as future Buddhists indicates that the term 'pilgrim' (which, in a Buddhist context, is equivalent to a Buddhist) is used to describe anyone who visits a Buddhist sacred site, including those who do not see themselves as being religiously motivated. The inclusion of tourists in the scope of the concept of pilgrim reflects the Buddhist view that the visitors' identity is ever-changing and not permanent, for anyone is a Buddhist, if not now, then in the future. No one can say when someone's Buddhist's seed will germinate. Such a Buddhist understanding broadens the usual definition of a pilgrim and it concurs with a few studies which

report that leisure tourists may also participate in religious rituals, experience sacred time and be emotionally touched in their journey to religious sites (Bremer, 2004, 2006), but it goes much further.

There were nevertheless a few monks and nuns who did have reservations about receiving visitors and tourism at their sacred site. As reported in Chapter 7, the enlightenment level of the informants is found to have a significant influence on how they perceive receiving visitors and tourism. The more enlightened a Buddhist monk/nun is, the more positive in accepting tourism and the better prepared he or she is to handle the challenges that may occur. Many monks and nuns emphasise that if they get easily annoyed by disturbances from the external environment, it is due to their own low enlightenment level and to the fact that they are not yet able to apply what they have learned from Buddhism. In addition, it was found from the analysis of the interviews that whether the individual monks and nuns choose to adopt a compassionate or, alternatively, a detached coping mechanism as a Buddhist way to deal with external disturbances will lead them to adopt different strategies in handling challenges created by visitors, as discussed in Chapter 7. The responses of the monks and nuns thus reveal a certain degree of heterogeneity in the way the religious hosts cope with challenges created by visitors, a subject which is at present rarely discussed in the literature. Instead, one finds that the majority of the previous research reports the coping mechanism(s) of the religious community as a whole, as an institution, implicitly assuming that this one coping mechanism is the one of every member of the community (Eade, 1992; Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Rotherham, 2007; Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

This thesis also highlights the Buddhist way of protecting the monasteries and nunneries of Pu-Tuo. The findings concerning visitor management strategies at Pu-Tuo, as reported in Chapter 8, indicate that only a minimum of proactive measures are found in the Buddhist monasteries and nunneries at Pu-Tuo for the purpose of visitor control. Such a finding concurs with some previous research

indicating that Buddhism is "traditionally a tolerant religion" and that proactive measures to regulate the visitations to the religious grounds are minimal because such measures are against the Buddhist principles of tolerance and respect of free will (Shackley, 2001, p. 42). There is no carrying capacity control of the visitors' flow at Pu-Tuo and once a visitor has gone through the gate of a Buddhist monastery, nunnery or shrine, he/she is free to access all the areas open to the public. This policy is in line with the findings of Garrod et al. (2006), who suggest that visitor impacts in fact are not strongly related to visitor numbers but rather to what the visitors do (Garrod et al., 2006, p. 144). The Buddhist monastic community places a greater emphasis on reactive than on proactive measures because the latter imply that all visitors are 'presumed guilty' for creating negative impacts and that regulations are needed and must be put in place in advance to control visitors (Hall & McArthur, 1996). At Pu-Tuo, the visitors are instead 'presumed innocent' until their behaviour shows otherwise and thus the emphasis is put on reactive measures to be implemented whenever the need arises. Such a management philosophy is very different from the one practiced at many other religious/sacred places where hard visitor management practices are adopted (see Chapters 3 and 8).

It is also found that the monks and nuns adopt two different approaches in their reactive way of dealing with problematic visitor behaviour. Unlike many other religious sites where strict regulations and codes of conduct are announced in advance and enforced (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Shackley, 2001), in the Buddhist monasteries/nunneries of Pu-Tuo, the monks and nuns appear to only react and intervene to stop hazardous acts that can damage the physical fabric of the monasteries/nunneries, while they are more lenient and forgiving about other violations of the few existing visiting rules. For instance, although monks and nuns tend to look down on the folkloric practices that are mostly performed by Xiankes in their Buddhist monasteries and nunneries, they nevertheless do not intervene as long as the visitors' conduct is not directly hazardous. In the interviews, such folkloric practices were often commented as not being Buddhist at all by the monks and nuns; yet they tend not to interfere and respect the

visitors' free will unless the conduct is harmful to the site or to the wellbeing of the other visitors.  In this thesis, the non-Buddhist worshipping practices noted most often as being a threat to the safety of the monasteries and nunneries are the burning a lot of incense sticks, doing so in the halls, or burning paper offerings.  Such a finding corroborates Shackley's comments that sometimes fanatical believers in a religion can also be a burden to the physical fabric and that it is not necessarily the tourists who are a problem (Shackley, 2001, pp. 37-39).  Nevertheless, at Pu-Tuo, compassion and tolerance as well as the respect of others' free will are apparent in the acceptance that visitors perform superstitious rituals which are in themselves not banned or discouraged by the monastic community.

The findings of Chapter 8 also indicate that the Buddhist way of controlling the visitors of the sacred site is different from what is done at other religious places. Instead of using uniformed security personnel or stewards as done in many other religious sites (Shackley, 2001; Timothy & Iverson, 2006), Buddhist monasteries and nunneries at Pu-Tuo are protected by the monks and nuns themselves. Their dual identities when on duty, as both resident members of the monastic community and as guards, appear to be important in implementing a policy of friendly and welcoming 'soft' visitor management.  Furthermore, the monks and nuns are a "qualified group of people" (C. Ryan, 1998), who have considerable Buddhist knowledge, understand well the significance of the site and can complement the 'soft' visitor management practices with offering interpretative information to visitors.  The abbots of some monasteries explained to the researcher that the monks on duty not only guard the halls, but also explain Buddhist theory to lay people who would make inquiries about it.  This finding is in line with some previous research reporting that through 'soft' visitor management strategies, visitor behaviour can be improved through providing them with interpretive information, including about the proper code of conduct (Ham et al., 2007; Kuo, 2002; Mason, 2005; Schanzel & McIntosh, 2000; Weiler et al., 2009).  In this thesis, there is a further characteristic that differentiates the Buddhist way of managing visitors.  The Buddhist soft visitor control approach

proceeds by respecting free will and by not intervening as long as this free will of an individual does not harm others or risks destroying the buildings. In a way which is consistent with this approach, the monks and nuns do not go around inside the monasteries and nunneries and solicit the attention of the visitors to get them to listen to their interpretative/educational offerings. Instead, the monks and nuns take the view that the visitors will only want to learn Buddhism if they are interested. The philosophy is thus to create a suitable environment for visitors to immerse themselves in the site's atmosphere, and experience by themselves what Buddhism is, rather than being lectured about it. Only when visitors are interested will they seek to learn more; then the monks and nuns will be in the right conditions to offer Buddhism interpretations. The Buddhist soft approach adopted by the monks and nuns of Pu-Tuo is thus not meant to actively change people; they believe that people will eventually change by themselves if given the right environment and in due time. This again reflects how the Buddhist spirit affects the management of the Buddhist site.

Barring unforeseeable economic and political changes that may take place in China, there is no doubt that a site like Pu-Tuo will feel the pressure of having to deal with an increasingly number of visitors. In addition to economic growth, other socio-demographic changes might have implications for the site, such as increasing level of education or changes in the attitude towards religion (C. Ryan, 2010; C. Ryan & Gu, 2009b; C. Ryan et al., 2009). While there is presently no carrying capacity control measures in Pu-Tuo, such measures might become necessary in the future. It would certainly be of interest for future research to undertake a longitudinal study to see how the monasteries and nunneries of Pu-Tuo adapt to such future changes and to investigate whether or not monastic life at Pu-Tuo will continue to be possible at all in its present form. The Buddhist-way of managing visitors at Pu-Tuo based on the researcher's observations and comments from the monks and nuns appear to be effective, at least during the time the research was conducted. Nevertheless, future research may want to assess whether the documentation of the current ways of dealing with visitors at Pu-Tuo may change, and why and in what ways they will change. It is

acknowledged that there is probably room in the future for the Buddhist monastic community at Pu-Tuo to collaborate with the tourism bureau to make use of pre-visit communications, such as producing some Buddhist educational brochures and videos to be broadcasted on the ferries to Pu-Tuo. The purpose could be to inform tourists about the history of the sacred land as well as to give some hints about what behaviour is expected from visitors, for example regarding incense burning. Nevertheless regardless of what interpretation strategies or management techniques may be implemented in the future, it is probably important to the monastic community that the approach adopted remains true to the spirit of Buddhism.

Furthermore, future research could take the present typology of visitors at Pu-Tuo and test it at another religious site to see whether it can be replicated in using the same procedures and variables. The same holds for as for the perceptions of monks and nuns at Pu-Tuo; one might want to know to what extent analogous results would be obtained at other sites. Lastly, it should be noted that the research scope of this thesis covers the visitors and the monks and nuns without touching upon the issue of the power exercised by the Communist Party on the Chinese Buddhist associations. This leaves room for future research of another strand, to look at the political influence of the Communist Party and other political institutions on Buddhism and, in particular, on Buddhist religious sites in China. A particular issue is whether or not the Buddhist associations are and will remain content to be in compliance with the government's policy of making use of religion to create 'harmonious coexistence' in the new China.

This thesis advocates the importance of understanding the perceptions of Buddhist monks and nuns towards receiving visitors and tourism as well as their ways to cope with challenges created by visitors. Only then can one comprehend how Buddhist monks and nuns feel about being involved in tourism; the researcher failed to find in the published literature any similar study dealing with

this subject using such a research approach.  The serenity of Buddhist monastic life is part of the holistic sacred ambience of a Buddhist site, and is also part of the experience of novelty that visitors from the secular world may wish to see and feel.  The inclusion of the perceptions of religious hosts towards tourism is arguably of interest in research on pilgrimage and religious tourism.  In addition, this thesis contributes to scholarly knowledge the idea that research on religious tourism should take into account the worldviews of the religion concerned, in particular the idea that tourism at religious/sacred sites may likely be received differently in different religious contexts.  In this thesis, it is evidenced that the Buddhist perspective is a new additional lens in viewing religious tourism, in particular with respect to visitor management.  In addition, this work introduces, from the Buddhist worldview, a different interpretation of the construct of 'pilgrim'.  These findings highlight the fact that the religious worldview of the host community plays a significant role in religious tourism and may affect how the visitors are to be hosted.    Future research may want to take those considerations into account.

As Eliade says, "the majority of men without religion still hold to pseudo-religions and degenerate mythologies.  There is nothing surprising in this, for, as we saw, secular man is the descendant of *homo religious* and he cannot wipe out his own history – that is, the behaviour of his religious ancestors which has made him what he is today" (Eliade, 1968, p. 209).  If one borrows Eliade's idea and applies it to explain today's religious tourism, it will be apparent   why religious sites today are overwhelmed by both the religious and non-religious visitors.  As is evident from the responses of the monks and nuns of Pu-Tuo, overall, they mostly welcome visitors and perceive tourism positively.  The researcher, as a Buddhist herself, is also happy that lay people, through their visits to Pu-Tuo, have the opportunity to make a good-tie with Buddhism, a chance to learn Buddhism and look for the meaning of life.  Nevertheless, receiving visitors also represents a challenge for the monks and nuns who live in Buddhist sacred sites in China, like Pu-Tuo, as they seek to reach for the sublime while coping with the world of the profane.  Yet, the last teaching that Buddha Shakyamuni gave his

students before his *parinirvana* (physical disappearance) is that "No Buddhist could ever rest on past achievements; the Sangha must always press forward to bring help to the wider world" (Armstrong, 2000, p. 170).  As such, what will happen in the future is unknown, but what, we Buddhists can do, is to work hard for the future.

**Appendix A: Visitor Self Completion Survey**
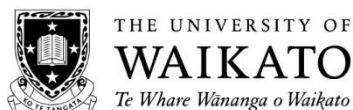


# 普陀山旅客研究

這份問卷是有關普陀山旅遊的研究. 閣下之參予對本研究是很重要的。此問卷以不記名及住址方式收集有關資料。一切有關閣下於本問卷中提供的資料絕對保密, 資料只供研究員作學術研究之用。 我們誠意希望閣下盡量回答所有問題, 本問卷約花時 20 分鐘. 所有原文問卷記錄將會在完成之研究後被銷毀. 如閣下對此問卷或有關研究有任何疑問，歡迎電郵致紐西蘭 Waikato 大學博士研究生 Cora Wong (uicw1@students.waikato.ac.nz ) 或 教授 Alison McIntosh (mcintosh@mngt.waikato.ac.nz) 或 教授 Chris Ryan (caryan@waikato.ac.nz ).

謝謝閣下對此研究給予的支持及參予是次問卷。

# 第一部份–到訪普陀山

1)  請問您認為有機會在普陀山學習佛法對於您這次來普陀山旅遊的決定有多重要?
   **(只作一項選擇)**

   ☐ 是唯一來普陀山的原因
   ☐ 是極度重要的原因
   ☐ 是重要的原因
   ☐ 是一般性重要的原因
   ☐ 是少少重要
   ☐ 是完全不重要
   ☐ 不相關

2)  請問在普陀山 "許願"和/或" 還願" 對您這次來普陀山的決定有多重要? (只作一項選擇)

   ☐ 是唯一來普陀山的原因
   ☐ 是極度重要的原因
   ☐ 是重要的原因
   ☐ 是一般性重要的原因
   ☐ 是少少重要
   ☐ 是完全不重要
   ☐ 不相關

**3) 請評定以下的因素對於推動您到訪普陀山有多重要? 請給予分數由 1 至 10 (1=完全不重要; 10=極度重要 )**

1. 與家人及親友共叙 　　　　　　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
2. 到普陀山觀光 　　　　　　　　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
3. 來許願 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
4. 來還願 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
5. 來吃海鮮 　　　　　　　　　　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分

6. 來尋找佛學上的體證及靈性開悟 　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
7. 普陀山此地是我的信仰中心地 　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
8. 來出席寺院舉行的法會及早課 　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
9. 來參觀普陀山的歷史及文化景點 　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
10. 來跟普陀山的僧侶研討佛學理論 　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
11. 離開自家看些不同的地方 　　　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
12. 放鬆一下 　　　　　　　　　　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
13. 感受一下中國傳統文化 　　　　　　　☐ ＿＿＿ 分
14. 其它 (請說明) :＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿ ☐ ＿＿＿ 分

**4) 您這次到普陀山的行程是如何安排? (只選擇一項)**

☐ 參加由旅行社組織的觀光團, 普陀山是行程中其中一個目的地.

☐ 參加由旅行社組織的朝聖團, 普陀山是行程中其中一個目的地.

☐ 參加由旅行社組織的朝聖團, 普陀山是唯一的目的地.

☐ 參加由佛教組織舉辦的朝聖團.

☐ 我/我的家人自行安排此次行程.

**5) 您這次在普陀山逗留多久? ＿＿＿＿ 天 或 ＿＿＿＿ 小時**

**6) 您在普陀山期間的住宿是怎樣安排的? (可作多項選擇)**

☐ 普陀山的酒店/賓館. ☐ 寺院 ☐ 親朋的家
☐ 不住在普陀山內 (請說明):

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

**7) 下列哪一個選項最適合形容您這次來普陀山的目的 (只選一項).**
☐ 這次來最主要是 "許願" 和或 "還願".
☐ 這次來最主要是啟發內在的靈修佛性.
☐ 最主要來消閒娛樂.
☐ 最主要來看歷史及文化景點.
☐ 最主要來探訪親友.
☐ 最主要是陪同信佛的家人親友而來, 但自己不是佛教徒.
☐ 其它 (請說明): ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿.

**8) 您在自己常住的地方有沒有經常去佛寺院 或廟 或您的信仰中心?**

☐ 完全沒有.
☐ 有, 經常去 (最少一年去 6 次)
☐ 有, 但一年只去幾次

**9) 下列的活動對您來普陀山有多重要? 請就每項評分, 評分由 1 至 10
(1 = 完全不重要; 10 = 極度重要 )**

1. 在普陀山的寺院內 "許願" 和/或 "還願"  \_分
2. 摸寺內的鼎並拋錢幣祈福, 沾些好運  \_分
3. 在寺院內的大樹掛祈福品  \_分
4. 向觀音菩薩燒香敬禮以祈平安幸福  \_分
5. 給寺院捐香油錢  \_分
6. 在普陀山吃海鮮  \_分

7. 看古樹名木, 奇石, 大海等自然景觀  \_分
8. 來購物  \_分
9. 來買普陀山的歷史及宗教書籍  \_分

10. 來誦佛經  \_分
11. 來禪修靜行  \_分
12. 來參加寺院內的早課和做佛事  \_分
13. 跟僧侶研討佛教教義如:四聖諦及八正道  \_分
14. 來向菩薩行 "三跪九叩" 的大禮拜  \_分

**10) 請選擇您這次在普陀山所到訪過的寺院及庵堂.**

☐ 慧濟禪寺　　☐ 法雨禪寺　　☐ 普濟禪寺
☐ 香雲亭　　　☐ 楊枝庵　　　☐ 伴山庵
☐ 常樂庵　　　☐ 雙泉庵　　　☐ 大乘庵
☐ 梅福庵　　　☐ 慈雲庵
☐ 圓通庵　　　☐ 靈石庵　　　☐ 洛迦山
☐ 普慧庵　　　☐ 觀音洞庵　　☐ 芥瓶庵
☐ 福泉庵/ 普陀山佛學院　　　☐ 隱秀庵
☐ 不肯去觀音院 ☐ 紫竹林庵　　☐ 西方庵
☐ 古佛洞　　　☐ 善財洞　　　☐ 梵音洞
☐ 祥慧庵　　　☐ 南海觀音像　☐ 潮音洞

**11) 您有沒有在普陀山的寺院內捐香油錢?**

☐ 沒有. ☐ 有.
如果有 – 大慨是 ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿人民幣.

12) 平均來說, 您在每間寺院逗留多久? ＿＿＿＿＿＿ 小時/ 日

**13) 請評估您這次來普陀山之旅對加深佛教認識幫助有多少. (只選一項)**

☐ 比以前的認識更少　　　☐ 和以前一樣
☐ 比以前多了點認識　 .　☐ 比以前多了很多認識

**14)** 您覺得您在普陀山的身份是甚麼? (只選一項)
- ☐ 我是**香客**來求菩薩保佑
- ☐ 我是**佛教徒**來禮佛朝聖
- ☐ 我是**觀光旅客**.
- ☐ 我是**文化旅客**專程來看普陀山的歷史與文化景點
- ☐ 其它: 我覺得我自己在普陀山的身份是

  _____.

**15)** 您大慨信佛多少年?
- ☐ 我信佛已有_____ 年/月
- ☐ 我不信佛教.

**16)** 請評分由 **0** 至 **10** 您對佛教的投入程度. (0=完全沒有, 10=極度高)    ____

**17)** 請評分由 **0** 至 **10** 您對佛教的理解度. (0= 完全沒有, 10=極度高)   ____

**18)** 請評分由 **0** 至 **10** 您認為這麼多旅客到訪普陀山會降低此地的莊嚴神聖嗎? (0=完全不會, 10=肯定會)_____分

**19)** 請評分由 **0** 至 **10** 您認為自己的到訪會對僧侶的修行造成不便及滋擾嗎? (0= 完全不會, 10=肯定會) _____分

**20)** 您是素食者嗎?    ☐ 是. ☐ 不是.

**21)** 您這次到訪普陀山有吃海鮮嗎?  ☐ 有. ☐ 無.

   **22)** 這次到訪普陀山寺院您大慨敬奉了多少枝香? 大慨 _____ 枝.

**23)** 您知道普陀山一些寺院每天約在早上 **3** 時 **30** 分舉行誦經早課嗎?  ☐ 知道.
☐ 不知道.

**24)** 您有沒有參與過早課誦經?  ☐ 有. ☐ 沒有.

**25)** 您下次還會再來普陀山嗎? ☐ 可能會   ☐ 一定會   ☐ 一定不會

**26)** 請給予分數 由 **1** 至 **10** 您對下列句子的認同程度: (1 = 完全不同意     10 = 完全同意)

1. 我相信燒香有助我向菩薩傳達祈求以使願望成真. _____
2. 捐香油錢是積功德, 可以令我(我的家人)幸福吉祥, 如願所求. _____
3. 我覺得我自己在普陀山的身份是一個香客, 而不是佛教徒. _____
4. 參與寺院內的早課及儀式是為了向菩薩展示我的誠意, 這樣有助 _____
   我(我的家人)得到祝福, 並能如願所求.

5. 向觀音菩薩做 "三跪九叩" 是為了顯示我許願和/還願的誠意. _____
6. 對我來說, 普陀山是一個消閒娛樂暨佛門朝聖之地. _____
7. 普陀山對我的信仰來說是一個重要的中心地. _____
8. 我來普陀山是因為據說此地是很靈驗的可令所求如願. _____

9. 我希望此趟來普陀山會為我 (家人)帶來好運, 財運, 吉祥. _____
10. 對我來說, 一個幸福的人生就是有財富, 長壽, 快樂, 名譽, 無憂無愁. _____
11. 我覺得普陀山開始變得商業化. _____
12. 我很享受並十分喜歡參加一些寺院在早上 3 時半所舉辦的早課. _____

13. 普陀山設有海鮮餐廳與普陀山的莊嚴神聖互相矛盾. _____
14. 我希望透過是次到訪普陀山能啟發我內在的菩提佛性, 淨化我的業障以早日證悟成正等正覺. _____
15. 我很少與寺院內的僧侶談話, 除非我需要問一些有關方向及一般旅遊資訊. _____
16. 寺院內的早課應該限制只有皈依了的佛教徒才能夠參與. _____

17. 我會有興趣學習更多有關佛教理論如果寺廟內設有解說中心. _____
18. 普陀山應該實行全面禁煙. _____

**27) 整體來概括 您今次到訪普陀山的主要體驗是: (可作多項選擇)**
- ☐ 主要是來觀光.
- ☐ 主要是來許願和/或還願
- ☐ 是一個機會在普陀山**學一點**關於佛教的理論
- ☐ 是一個機會在普陀山**多學點**關於佛教的理論
- ☐ 是一個機會在普陀山**學習更深層次**的佛教理論

# 第二部份: 您前次到訪普陀山

**28) 包括此次到訪普陀山 – 您共來過普陀山多少次?** _____ 次

**29) 請問您上一次來訪普陀山是甚麼時候?**
- ☐ 3 個月前.
- ☐ 6 個月前.
- ☐ 1 年前.
- ☐ 多個 1 年.
  其它 (請說明): _____

**30) 您上次到訪普陀山逗留多久?** _____ 日 或 _____ 小時

# 第三部份 – 您是誰? 這個部份是用作受訪者之分類.

☐ 男    ☐ 女

**性別:**
- ☐ 少於 18 歲
- ☐ 31-40 歲
- ☐ 51-60

- ☐ 18-30 歲
- ☐ 41-50
- ☐ 61 歲或以上

**職業:**
☐ 中學生    ☐大學生    ☐受僱人士    ☐自僱人士

(如: 老闆)
☐ 退休人士　　☐待業　　　　☐全職太太　　☐其它 _____

**教育程度**
☐ 沒有　☐小學　　　☐中學/中專　☐大學及以上

**您來自?**
☐ 中國, 城市 _____/ 省 _____
☐亞洲 ☐ 歐洲 ☐ 北美洲 ☐ 南美洲 ☐ 非洲 ☐ 澳洲/新西蘭

如果您有其它意見有關是次到訪普陀山的想法欲與我們研究人員分享, 請在下面空白處及至背面填寫.

*~ 謝謝您的支持~*

# VISITORS AT PU-TUO

This questionnaire is about visitors to Pu-Tuo. Your name and address are not required and the completed questionnaires are confidential and will only be seen by the researchers. The research is for academic purpose only and all the questionnaires will be destroyed after completion of the study. Please answer as many questions as possible and a fully completed questionnaire is highly appreciated, it is expected to take you 20 minutes to finish. If you have any queries about this questionnaire please contact Cora Wong (uicw1@students.waikato.ac.nz) or Professor Alison McIntosh (mcintosh@mngt.waikato.ac.nz), or Professor Chris Ryan (caryan@waikato.ac.nz ).

Thank you for your participation.

## Section One – Your current visit to Pu-Tuo

1) **How important is the opportunity to learn about Buddhism in your decision to come to Pu-Tuo? (Please tick one response only)**

☐ The only reason for my visit
☐ A very important reason
☐ An important reason
☐ Of some importance
☐ Of little importance
☐ Of no importance
☐ Irrelevant

2) **How important is to "***hsu yuan***" or "***huan yuan***" in your decision to come to Pu-Tuo? (Please tick one response only)**

☐ The only reason for my visit
☐ A very important reason
☐ An important reason
☐ Of some importance
☐ Of little importance
☐ Of no importance
☐ Irrelevant

3) **How important to you is each of the following purposes/reasons for coming to Pu-To?  Please give a score from 1-10 for each purpose: 1=no importance; 10=extremely important**

1. To spend time with family/friends/relatives          _____
2. To go sightseeing          _____
3. To *hsu yuan*          _____
4. To *huan yuan*          _____
5. To eat seafood          _____

6. To seek Buddhism spiritual enlightenment          _____
7. Pu-Tuo is an important sacred land to my faith     _____
8. To attend Buddhism pujas in the monasteries        _____
9. To visit cultural sites and historical buildings   _____
10. To learn more about Buddhism from the monks and nuns  _____
11. To see somewhere different                         _____
12. To relax                                           _____
13. To see something of Chinese cultural tradition     _____
14. Others (please state) :_____ _____       _____

**4)  How did you arrange this trip at Pu-Tuo? (Please mark ONE box only)**

☐ I joined *a sightseeing tour* organized by a travel agency and Pu-Tuo is one of the
destinations in the itinerary

☐ I joined *a pilgrimage tour* organized by a travel agency and Pu-Tuo is one of the
destinations in the itinerary

☐ I joined *a pilgrimage tour* organized by a travel agency and Pu-Tuo is the only
destination

☐ I joined *a pilgrimage tour* organized by a Buddhist association

☐ I/we made our own travel arrangements

**5)  How long did you stay at Pu-Tuo this time? _____ days  or _____
hours**

**6)  Where did you stay during your visit at Pu-Tuo? (you can tick more than one
option)**

☐ Hotel/guest house   ☐ Monastery/ nunnery   ☐ Friends'/ relatives' home
☐ None of the above (please state):
_____

**7)  Please select the best description of your visit to Pu-Tuo (please mark only ONE
box).**
☐ I come mostly for **"hsu yuan"** and/or **"huan yuan"**
☐ I come mostly for unearthing my innate Buddhahood
☐ I come mostly for recreation and fun
☐ I come mostly for seeing historical and cultural sites
☐ I come mostly for visiting friends and relatives
☐ I am accompanying someone who is a believer in Buddhism, but I am not one
myself
☐ Others (please state): _____

**8)  Do you regularly go to temple/monastery/your religious center at your**

**home/living place?**

☐ Not at all
☐ Yes, I go frequently (at least 6 times a year)
☐ Yes, but only few times in a year

9) **How important to you is each of the following activities in coming to Pu-Tuo? Please give a score from 1-10 for each purpose: 1 = No importance; 10 = Extremely important**

1. To "hsu yuan" and/or "huan yuan" inside monasteries/nunneries _____
2. To throw coins/ money to incense burners or good luck _____
3. To tie wind chimes on trees for good luck _____
4. To burn joss sticks to Bodhisattva of Compassion for blessings _____
5. To make donations to monasteries/nunneries

   _____
6. To eat seafood _____

7. To see boulders, caves, beaches and natural scenery _____
8. Shopping _____
9. To purchase historical books of Pu-Tuo in order to know more about the place _____

10. To recite Buddhism holy mantras _____
11. To meditate and visualize

    _____
12. To attend morning pujas in monasteries _____
13. To discuss Buddhism such as the Four Nobel Truths and Eight Fold paths with monastic members of Pu-Tuo _____
14. To practice the "every-3-steps-one-kneels and prays" along the way to monasteries/ nunneries _____

10. **Please tick those places that you have visited during this trip at Pu-Tuo.**

☐ Wei-Ji monastery     ☐ Fa-Yu monastery     ☐ Pu-Ji monastery
☐ Xiang-Yuan shrine     ☐ Yang-Zhi shrine     ☐ Pan-Shan shrine
☐ Chang-Lue shrine     ☐ Shunag Chuan shrine     ☐ Da-Chang shrine
☐ Mei-Fu nunnery     ☐ Chi-Un shrine
☐ Yuan-Tong nunnery     ☐ Ning-Shi nunnery     ☐ Lok Jia Mountain
☐ Pu-Wei nunnery     ☐ Guan-Yin-Tong nunnery     ☐ Jie-Ping shrine
☐ Fu-Chuan shrine and Pu-Tuo Buddhist Institute     ☐ Yin-Shou shrine
☐ Not-Going-Guan-Yin Shrine
☐ Zhi-Zhu-Lin shrine     ☐ Si-Fang shrine
☐ Gu-Fuo shrine     ☐ Shan Cai Cave     ☐ Fang-Yin-Tong shrine
☐ Xiang-Wei shrine     ☐ The Guan Yin Bronze Statue     ☐ Cave of Tidal-wave

11. **In addition to admission fees, did you make donations to ANY monastery/nunnery at Pu-Tuo?**

☐ Not at all.
☐ Yes.  If yes – approximately how much _____RMB in total.

12. **On average, how long did you stay in each monastery that you have visited?**
    _____ hours/ days

**13. Please indicate your level of understanding of Buddhism as a result of this trip to Pu-Tuo. (Please mark ONE only)**

☐ Less than before          ☐ The same as before
☐ Somewhat more than before   ☐ Much more than before

**14. How do you see yourself at Pu-Tuo? (please mark ONE only)**

☐ I am a Xianke (religious tourist/worshipper)
☐ I am a Buddhist pilgrim
☐ I am a leisure tourist for sightseeing
☐ I am a cultural tourist particularly interested in historical and cultural sites of Pu-Tuo
☐ Others: I perceive my presence at Pu-Tuo as a _____.

**15. Approximately for how many years have you believed in Buddhism?**

☐ I have believed in Buddhism for _____ years/months.
☐ I do not believe in Buddhism at all.

**16. Please score your level of devotion to Buddhism. (0=none at all, 10=extremely high)** _____

**17. Please score your level of understanding of Buddhism. (0= none at all, 10=extremely high)** _____

**18. Please score how much do you feel that the crowds of visitors inside monasteries undermine their sanctity? (0= none at all, 10= extremely high)** _____

**19. Please score how intrusive you perceive your visit to be to the monastic community?**
   **(0= none at all, 10=extremely high)** _____

**20. Are you a vegetarian?**     ☐ Yes  ☐ No

**21. Did you have fresh sea-food meals during your stay at Pu-Tuo?**

☐ Yes  ☐ No

**22. How many incense sticks (approximately) have you burnt during your stay?** _____ sticks.

**23. Do you know that there are morning pujas organized in the monasteries at 3:30 a.m.?** ☐ Yes  ☐ No

**24. Did you attend any puja during your stay at Pu-Tuo?** ☐ Yes  ☐ No

**25. Do you plan to come back to Pu-Tuo next year?**

☐ Perhaps     ☐ Definitely Yes     ☐ Definitely No

**26. Please indicate a score to show your level of AGREEMENT with each of the following statements.   (1 = totally disagree        10 = Completely agree)**

1.  I believe that burning lots of incense sticks will help get my wishes to be granted.                                                                            _____

2.  To make some donations to monasteries and nunneries will accumulate virtues and bring blessings to me and my family in the future.                                                              _____

3.  In general I perceive myself as a Xianke (worshipper) rather than a Buddhist.                                                                                _____

4.  To attend morning puja is to show my sincerity to Bodhisattva of Compassion so that I (and my family) will be blessed and it helps wishes become true.                                                     _____

5.  To practice the "three-steps-one-kneels" is to show sincerity in "hsu yuan and/or huan yuan" to Bodhisattva of Compassion.                _____

6.  To me, Pu-Tuo is a mixture of recreational and pilgrimage destination.                                                                              _____

7.  I perceive Pu-Tuo as an important center of my faith.                      _____

8.  I come to Pu-Tuo because of its power in getting one's wishes become true.                                                                        _____

9.  I hope that this trip to Pu-Tuo can bring me blessings and good fortune.                                                                             _____

10. To me, a perfect life without regrets is to have prosperity, longevity, happiness, social status, no sufferings and no sorrows.         _____

11. I find that Pu-Tuo has been commercialised.                             _____

12. I truly enjoyed attending the morning puja at 3:30 a.m. inside monasteries.                                                                          _____

13. Having sea food restaurants is contradictory to the sanctity of Pu-Tuo.                                                                                 _____

14. I hope the trip to Pu-Tuo can unearth my Buddha hood, purify karmas and help obtain enlightenment.                                         _____

15. I seldom talk to monks and nuns who are present in monasteries/nunneries unless for directions and general touristic information.                                                                  _____

16. Attending morning pujas should be restricted only to Buddhists.        _____

17. I am interested in learning more about Buddhism theory if an interpretation centre was made available in the monastery.                _____

18. Smoking should be prohibited in all the areas of Pu-Tuo.               _____

**27. Overall, would you describe your experiences at Pu-Tuo as: (tick one or as many as relevant?)**

☐ Mostly sightseeing
☐ Mostly "*hsu yuan*" and/or "*huan yuan*"
☐ A chance to learn **a little** about Buddhism
☐ A chance to learn **a lot** about Buddhism

☐ To develop **a deep** understanding of Buddhism

# Section Two: Your last previous visit to Pu-Tuo

28. **Including this visit – how many times have you visited Pu-Tuo?** _____

29. **When was the last time you visited Pu-Tuo?**
☐ 3 months ago.
☐ 6 months ago.
☐ One year ago.
☐ More than one year ago.
Other: _____

30. **How long did you stay at Pu-Tuo during your last previous visit?** _____
days or _____ hours

# Section three – Who are you? This section is used only to classify respondents in the analysis.

☐ Male   ☐ Female

**Age:**
☐ less than 18   ☐ 18-30   ☐ 31-40   ☐ 41-50   ☐ 51-60
☐ 61 or above

**Occupation:**
☐ Secondary Student   ☐ University Student   ☐ Employed   ☐ Self employed
☐ Retired   ☐ Unemployed   ☐ Housewife   ☐
Others_____
**Education Level**
☐ None   ☐ Primary   ☐ Secondary/technical   ☐ University or above

**Where do you come from?**
☐ China**, city** _____**/** province _____
☐ Asia ☐ Europe ☐ N. America ☐ S. America ☐ Africa ☐ Australia/New Zealand

**If you would like to make any additional comment about your visit to Pu-Tuo, or any observation about tourism here – please use the space below or over page.**

*~ Thank you so much ~*

**Appendix B: On-Site Photos, Pu-Tuo-Shan, China**

通　知

各位香游客你们好：

接上级关于文明敬香的通知,即日起在普陀山各寺院进行文明敬香的活动,高香大烛禁止入内,进寺只烧三支细香,恳请各位积极配合.谢谢!
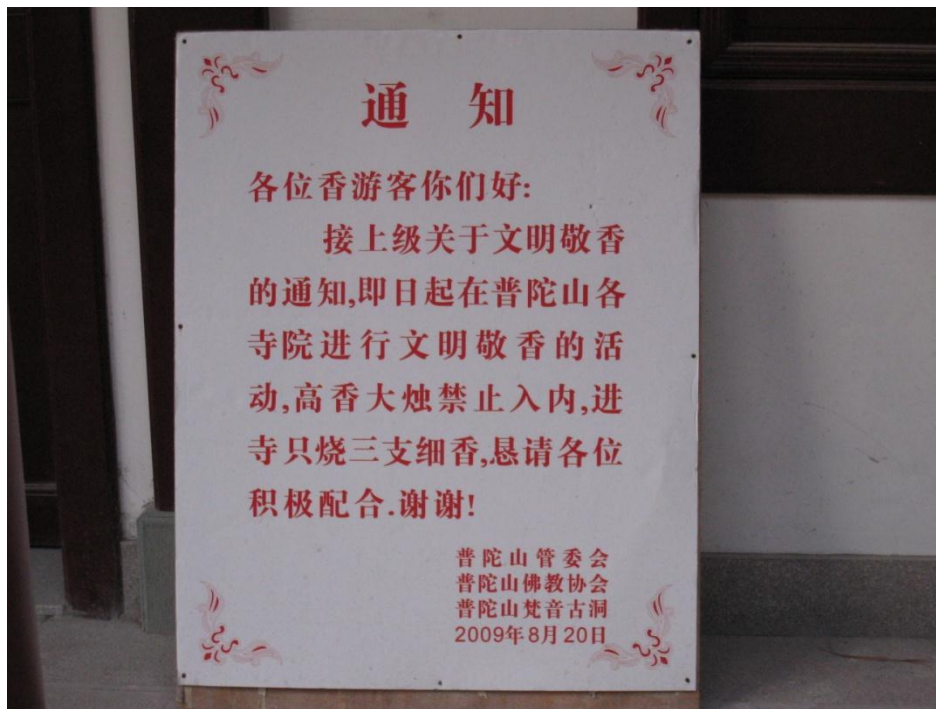
普陀山管委会
普陀山佛教协会
普陀山梵音古洞
2009年8月20日

**Photo 1: This signboard placed at the entrance of a monastery, reads: "From today, all monasteries and nunneries allow each visitor to bring in 3 incense sticks only.  Thank you for your cooperation.  Issued by the Pu-Tuo Buddhist Association".**

**Photo 2: Lay visitors leaving their extra incense sticks by the entrance before entering the largest monastery of Pu-Tuo.**

**Photo 3: 'No photos, video recording, shouting, smoking or bringing in lit incense sticks into the inner hall'.**

**Photo 4: An offering table being 'conquered' by lay visitors' offering bags.**

**Photo 5 : Visitors throwing coins at the Six Layers Pagodas placed in the courtyard of a monastery.**

**Photo 6: A little girl is told by her mother to quickly pat a muyu (a Buddhist musical instrument) inside a monastery's hall.**

**Photo 7: 'Respect the Buddhist instrument, please don't touch' (a drum and a muyu inside a hall of a monastery).**

**Photo 8: A stamp of a monastery.**

## Bibliography

Adherents.com (2005). Top Ten Largest Buddhist Populations. Retreieved 19th November, 2008, from http://www.adherents.com/largecom/com_buddhist.html

Adler, J. (1989). Origin of Sightseeing. *Annals of Tourism Research, 16*, 7-29.

Airey, D. A., & Shackley, M. (1988). Tourism Development in Uzbekistan. *Tourism Management, 18*(4), 199-208.

Akeroyd, A. V. (1984). Ethics in Relation to Information, The Profession and Governments. In R. F. Ellen (Ed.), *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct* (pp. 133-154). New York: Academic Press.

Armstrong, K. (2000). *Buddha*. London: Phoenix.

Atkinson, P., & Delamont, S. (2005). Analytic Perspectives. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 821-840). California: Sage.

ATLAS. (1999). *Developing and Marketing Crafts Tourism*. Netherlands: ATLAS.

Bao, H., & Bai, H. (2008). *The Legend of Pu-Tuo-Shan*. Beijing: Tong-Iong Printing Press.

BDEA. (2008). Statistics on Buddhists. Retrieved 12th August, 2010, from http://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning/history/bstatt10.htm

Beard, J. G., and Ragheb, M. G. (1983). Measuring Leisure Motivation. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 15, 219-228.

Beeton, S., Weiler, B., & Ham, S. H. (2005). *Contextual Analysis for Applying Persuasive Communication Theory to Managing Visitor Behaviour: A Scoping Studying at Port Campbell National Park*. Gold Coast: Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Centre.

Belhassen, Y., Canton, K., & Stewart, W. P. (2008). The Search for Authenticity in the Pilgrim Experience. *Annals of Tourism Research, 35*(3), 668-689.

Bhikkhu, T. (1997). Punna Sutta: To Punna (SN 35.88). Retrieved 27th October, 2009, from http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/sn/sn35/sn35.088.than.html

Bhikkhu, T. (2007). Buddhist Monastic Code I. Retrieved 28th May, 2009, from http://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/authors/thanissaro/bmc1/bmc1.ch07-1.html

Blackwell, R. (2007). Motivations for Religious Tourism, Pilgrimage, Festivals and Events. In R. Raj & N. D. Morpeth (Eds.), *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: International Perspective* (pp. 35-47). Cambridge, U.S.A.: CAB International.

Bowker, J. (1997). *World Religions: The Great Faiths Explored & Explained*. London: Dorling Kindersley.

Bremer, T. S. (2004). *Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio*. Chapel Hill and London, UK: The University of North Carolina Press.

Bremer, T. S. (2006). Sacred spaces and tourist places. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 25-35). London and New York: Routledge.

Britton, S. G. (1982). The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World. *Annals of Tourism Research, 9*, 331-358.

Bryman, A. (1988). *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Routledge.

Butler, R. W. (1980). The Concepts of a Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources. *Canadian Geographer, 24*, 5-12.

Carr, A. (2004). Mountain Places, Cultural Spaces: The Interpretation of Culturally Significant Landscapes. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 12*(5), 432-459.

Cave, J., Ryan, C., & Panakera, C. (2007). Cultural Tourism Product: Pacific Island Migrant Perspectives in New Zealand. *Journal of Travel Research, 45*(4), 435-443.

Chan, H. (2008). Carrying Capacity of a Tourist Destination: The Case of Pu-Tuo-Shan Mountain. *Liuning Economic Academic Journal, 2*, 31-32.

Chan, K. B. (2005). *Chinese Identities, Ethnicity, and Cosmopolitanism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Chan, Y. W. (2008). Disorganised Tourism Space: Chinese Tourists in an Age of Asian Tourism. In T. Winter, P. Teo & T. C. Chang (Eds.), *Asia on Tour: Exploring the Rise of Asian Tourism* (pp. 67-78). New York: Routledge.

Chao, S. (2004). *Li-Ji-Xuen-Jie (Interpretation of the Propriety)*. Taiwan: Kaohsiung Buddhist Pure Association.

Cherryholmes, C. H. (1992). Notes on Pragmatism and Scientific Realism. *Educational Research*(August-September), 13-17.

Clark, V. L. P., & Creswell, J. W. (2008). *The Mixed Methods Reader*. Thousand Oaks, USA: Sage Publications, Inc.

CLSA. (2005). *Chinese Tourists: Coming, Ready or Not!* Hong Kong: CLSA Asia Pacific Markets.

Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). Making Sense of Qualitative Data. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Cohen, E. (1979). A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. *Sociology, 13*, 179-201.

Cohen, E. (1992). Pilgrimage Centers: Cocentric and Excentric. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*, 33-50.

Cohen, E. (2002a). A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. In Y. Apostolopoulos, S. Leivadi & A. Yiannakis (Eds.), *The Sociology of Tourism* (pp. 90-114). New York: Routledge.

Cohen, E. (2002b). The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues and Findings. In Y. Apostolopoulos, S. Leivadi & A. Yiannakis (Eds.), *The Sociology of Tourism* (pp. 51-74). New York: Routledge.

Cohen, E. (2006). Religious Tourism as an Educational Experience. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 78-93). London and New York: Routledge.

Cole, S. (2004). Shared Benefits: Longitudinal Research in Eastern Indonesia. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism Ontologies, Epistemologies, Methodologies* (pp. 292-310). New York: Routledge.

Conroy, D. L. (1987). *A Phenomenological Study of Police Officers as Victims.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, The Union Institute Cincinnati, OH.

Cooper, M. (2007). Post-Colonial Representations of Japanese Military Heritage: Political and Social Aspects of Battlefield Tourism in The Pacific and East Asia. In C. Ryan (Ed.), *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation* (pp. 73-86). Oxford: Elsevier.

CPDRC. (2008). Main population data in 2008, China.  Retrieved 12th August, 2010, from http://www.cpirc.org.cn/en-cpdrc/en-file/endata/en-data-10.html

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Vol. 2nd Edition). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2007). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Crick, M. (2002). Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences. In Y. Apostolopoulos, S. Leivadi & A. Yiannakis (Eds.), *The Sociology of Tourism: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations* (pp. 15-50). New York: Routledge.

Crompton, J. L. (1979). Motivations for Pleasure Vacations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6, 408-424.

CTIC. (2005). Religion Publication. Retrieved 12 November 2010, from China Tibet InformationCentre:http://www.tibet.cn/english/zt/religion/2004020045181341 56.htm

Dann, G. M. S. (1977). Anomie, Ego-Enhancement, and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 4, 184-194.

Datta, L. E. (1994). Paradigm Wars: A Basis for Peaceful Coexistence and Beyond. In C. S. Reichardt & S. F. Rallis (Eds.), *The Qualitative-Quantitative Debate: New Perspectives* (pp. 53-70). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Decrop, A. (2004). Trustworthiness in Qualitative Tourism Research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism Ontologies, Epistemologies, Methodologies* (pp. 156-169). New York: Routledge.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (Vol. 2nd Edition, pp. 1-46). California: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Vol. 3rd Edition, pp. 1-32). California: Sage.

Desmond, J. C. (1999). *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Digance, J. (2003). Pilgrimage at Contested Sites. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(1), 143-159.

Digance, J. (2006). Religious and Secular Pilgrimage: Journeys Redolent with Meaning. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 36-48). London and New York: Routledge.

Diggins, J. (1994). *The Promise of Pragmatism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Din, K. H. (1989). Islam and Tourism: Patterns, Issues and Options. *Annals of Tourism Research, 16*, 542-563.

Duen, H. Y. (1999). Johari Window. Retrieved 5th September, 2008, from http://www.noogenesis.com/game_theory/johari/johari_window.html

Durkheim, E. (1912). *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eade, J. (1992). Pilgrimage and Tourism at Lourdes, France. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*, 18-32.

Eberhard, W. (1986). *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Echtner, C. M., & Jamal, T. B. (1997). The Discipline Dilemma of Tourism Studies. *Annals of Tourism, 24*(4), 868-883.

Eiki, H. (1987). Pilgrimage in East Asia. In M. Eliade (Ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Religions* (Vol. 11, pp. 349-351). New York: Macmillan.

Eliade, M. (1968). *The Sacred and Profane: The Nature of Religion*. New York: Harvest Books.

E-Mei-Shan Sightseeing Management Board. (2008). Statistics on Tourist Arrivals at E-Mei-Shan 2008. Retrieved 5th March, 2011, from http://www.emeishan.gov.cn/

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (1995). *Writing Ethnographic Field notes*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Escalas, J., & Stern, B. (2003). Sympathy and Empathy: Emotional Responses to Advertising Dramas. *Journal of Consumer Research, 29*(4), 566-578.

Ezzy, D. (2002). *Qualitative Analysis*. New York: Routledge.

Fa, Y. (2006, 26th October 2006). The Celebration of 9th Anniversary of Friendship of the Buddhists from Japan, China and Korea. Retrieved 26th November, 2009, from http://www.116.com.cn/116/fjxh/xgwx/fils/397247.shtml

Fang, L. X. (1995). *PuTuoShanZhi (The History of Pu-Tuo)*. Shanghai: Shanghai Book Publisher.

Fang, L. X., & Wang, D. X. (2005). *The Monograph of Pu-Tuo-Shan, China*. Pu-Tuo: Hai Chao Press.

Feng, L. Y., & Shi, W. M. (2001). *A Glimpse of the Chinese Culture*. Beijing: China Intercontinental Press.

Fetterman, D. M. (1989). *Ethnography Step by Step*. New Delhi: Sage.

Fleischer, A. (2000). The Tourist behind the Pilgrim in the Holy Land. *International Journal of Hospitality Management, 19*(3), 311-326.

Floyd, J. J. (1998). Design and Evaluation of Survey Questions. In L. Bickman & D. J. Rog (Eds.), *Handbook of Applied Social Research Methods* (pp. 343-374). California: Sage.

Fodness, D. (1994). Measuring Tourist Motivation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21 (3), 555-581.

Garrod, B., & Fyall, A. (2000). Managing Heritage Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 27*(3), 682-708.

Garrod, B., Fyall, A., & Leask, A. (2006). Managing Visitor Impacts at Visitor Attractions: An International Assessment. *Current Issues in Tourism, 9*(2), 125-151.

Gatrell, J. D., & Kreiner, N. C. (2006). Negotiated Space: Tourists, Pilgrims and the Baha'i Terraced Gardens in Haifa. *Geoforum, 37*, 765-778.

Gesler, W. (1996). Lourdes: Healing in a Place of Pilgrimage. *Health and Place, 2*(2), 95-105.

Glaser, b., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books.

Gong, Z. (2005). Using SWOT Analysis to Study the Orientation of Tourism Development in Zhoushan. *Journal of ZheJiang Ocean University (Human Science), 22*(3), 67-71.

Goodson, L., & Phillimore, J. (2004). The Inquiry Paradigm in Qualitative Tourism Research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism Ontologies, Epistemologies, Methodologies* (pp. 30-45). New York: Routledge.

Graburn, N. H. H. (1989). Tourism: The Sacred Journey. In V. L. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Greenwood, D. (1978). Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization. In V. L. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Vol. 1st ed., pp. 129-138). Oxford: Blackwell.

Griffin, K. A. (2007). The Globalization of Pilgrimage Tourism? Some Thoughts from Ireland. In R. Raj & N. D. Morpeth (Eds.), *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: International Perspective* (pp. 15-34). Cambridge, U.S.A.: CAB International.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth Generation Evaluation*. California: Newbury Park.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2004). Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Approaches to Qualitative Research* (pp. 17-38). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Vol. 3rd Edition, pp. 191-216). California: Sage.

Guo, C. (2006). Tourism and the Spiritual Philosophies of the "Orient". In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 121-138). London and New York: Routledge.

Gupta, V. (1999). Sustainable Tourism: Learning from Indian Religious Traditions. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 11*(2/3), 91-95.

Hair, J. F., Black, W. C., Babin, J. B., & Anderson, R. E. (2010). *Multivariate Data Analysis* (Vol. 7th Edition). London: Prentice Hall, Pearson Education.

Hair, J. F., Bush, R. P., & Ortineau, D. J. (2006). *Marketing Research with Changing Information Environment*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Hall, C. M. (2006). Buddhism, Tourism and the Middle Way. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 172-185). London and New York: Routledge.

Hall, C. M., & McArthur, S. (1996). Visitor Management: Principles and Practice. In C. M. Hall & S. McArthur (Eds.), *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand* (pp. 37-54). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Ham, S. H., Weiler, B., Hughes, M., Brown, T. J., Curtis, J., & Poll, M. (2007). *Asking Visitors to Help: Research to Guide Strategic Communication for Protected Area Management*. Gold Coast: Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Centre.

Harrison, D. (1995). Development of Tourism in Swaziland. *Annals of Tourism Research, 22*(1), 135-156.

Hewitt, J. P. (2007). *Self and Society: A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology* (Vol. Tenth). Boston, New York: Pearson Education.

Holliday, A. (2007). *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research* (Vol. 2nd edition). Los Angeles, London: Sage Publications.

Hollinshead, K. (2004). Ontological Craft in Tourism Studies: The Productive Mapping of Identity and Image in Tourism Settings. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism Ontologies, Epistemologies, Methodologies* (pp. 119-138). New York: Routledge.

Hsingyun, D. S. (1959). *The Great Ten Disciples of Buddha Shakyamuni* (Vol. First). Taipei: Fuo Guang Cultural Inc.

Hsingyun, D. S. (2005). *Humanistic Buddhism: A Blueprint for Life*. California: Buddha's Light Publishing.

Hsingyun, D. S. (2006). *A Life of Pluses and Minuses: Between Ignorance and Enlightenment IV*. California: Buddha's Light Publishing.

Ieong, Q. M. (2008). Perceptions of Locals towards Tourism Impacts: The Case of PuTuo Tourism Triangle. *Special Zone Economy*, 163-165.

Ioannides, M. W. C., & Ioannides, D. (2006). Global Jewish Tourism: Pilgrimages and Remembrance. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 156-171). London and New York: Routledge.

Iso-Ahola, S. E. (1983). Towards a Social Psychology of Recreational Travel. *Leisure Studies*, 2, 45-56.

Jackowski, A., & Smith, V. L. (1992). Polish Pilgrim Tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*, 92-106.

Jamal, T. B., & Everett, J. (2007). Resisting Rationalization in the Natural and Academic Life-World: Critical Tourism Research or Hermeneutic Charity? In I. P. Ateljevic, A. & N. Morgan (Eds.), *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies: Innovative Research Methodologies* (pp. 57-76). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Jiu-Wa-Shan Tourism Board. (2008). Statistics on Tourist Arrivals at Jiu-Wa-Shan 2008. Retrieved 5th March, 2011, from http://www.jiuhuashan.gov.cn/include/web_view.php?ID=1273&ty=4

Joseph, C. A., & Kavoori, A. P. (2001). Mediated Resistance: Tourism and the Host Community. *Annals of Tourism Research, 28*(4), 998-1009.

Kahn, R., & Cannell, C. (1957). *The Dynamics of Interviewing*. New York: John Wiley.

Kaiser, H. F. (1974). Little Jiffy, Mark IV. *Educational and Psychology Measurement, 34*, 111-117.

Karmapa, O. T. D. (2008). *Heart Advice of the Karmapa*. India: Altruism Press.

Kelly, A. E., & McKillop, K. J. (1996). Consequences of Revealing Personal Secrets. *Psychological Bulletin, 120*(3), 450-465.

Keyes, C. F. (1987). Pilgrimage: Buddhist Pilgrimage in South and Southeast Asia. In M. Eliade (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (Vol. 11, pp. 347-349). New York: MacMillan Publishing Company.

Kincheloe, J. L., & McLaren, P. (2005). Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Vol. 3rd Edition, pp. 303-342). California: Sage.

Kreiner, N. C., & Kliot, N. (2000). Pilgrimage Tourism in the Holy Land: The Behavioural Characteristics of Christian Pilgrims. *GeoJournal, 50*, 55-67.

Kuo, I. L. (2002). The Effectiveness of Environmental Interpretation at Resource-Sensitive Tourism Destinations. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 4*(2), 87-101.

Li, J., Zhang, X., Fang, G., & Li, J. (2000). How to Develop the Tourist Trade at Putuoshan. *Journal of Zhejiang Forestry College, 17*(4), 398-403.

Li, R. (2009). Rampaging Monks Drive Back Developers. *South China Morning Post,* p. A1,

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publication.

Ma, S. T. (2006). *Chinese Taoist Gods and Goddesses*. Beijing: The Union Publication Co. Ltd.

MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings. *American Journal of Sociology, 79*(3), 589-603.

MacCannell, D. (1999). *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. California, USA: University of California Press.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing Qualitative Research* (4th Edition ed.). California: Sage.

Mason, P. (2005). Visitor Management in Protected Areas: From 'Hard' to 'Soft' Approaches? *Current Issues in Tourism, 8*(2 & 3), 181-194.

Mbaiwa, J. E. (2005). Enclave Tourism and Its Socio-Economic Impacts in the Okavango Delta, Bostwana. *Tourism Management, 26*, 157-172.

McIntosh, A. (2008). The Present and the Future of the Past. *Jerusalem Conference "Heritage and Cultural Tourism"*, 17-19.

McIntosh, A. J. (1998). Mixed Methods: Putting the Tourist at the Forefront of Tourism Research. *Tourism Analysis, 3*(2), 121-127.

McIntosh, A. J., Zygadlo, F. K., & Matunga, H. (2004). Rethinking Maori Tourism. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 9*(4), 331-352.

McKean, P. F. (1978). Towards a Theoretical Analysis of Tourism: Economic Dualism and Cultural Involution in Bali. In V. L. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Vol. 1st ed., pp. 93-107). Oxford: Blackwell.

McKercher, B. (1993). Some Fundamental Truths about Tourism: Understanding Tourism's Social and Environment Impacts. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 1*, 6-16.

McKercher, B. (2002). Towards A Classification of Cultural Tourists. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 4*(1), 29-38.

McKercher, B., & du Cros, H. (2002). *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. New York: Haworth Hospitality Press.

McKercher, B., & du Cros, H. (2003). Testing a Cultural Tourism Typology. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 5*, 45-58.

Mead, G. H. (1925). The Genesis of the Self and Social Control. *International Journal of Ethics, 35*(3), 251-277.

Mead, G. H. (1967). *Mind, Self, & Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* (Vol. One). Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Mill, J. S. (1843). *A System of Logic Ratiocinative and Inductive: Being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation* (Vol. 8). Toronto: Routledge & Kegan Paul, University of Toronto Press.

Ministry of Tourism NZ. (2010). New Zealand Tourism Forecasts 2010-2016 (Publication. Retrieved 1st of September 2010, from Ministry of Tourism New Zealand: http://www.tourismresearch.govt.nz/Documents/Forecasts%20Summary/Forecasts2010-2016/NZTourismForecasts2010SummaryDocument.pdf

Morgan, D. L. (1998). Practical Strategies for Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Applications to Health Research. *Qualitative Health Research, 8*(3), 362-376.

Morgan, D. L. (2007). Paradigms Lost and Pragmatism Regained. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(1), 48-76.

Moscardo, G. (1996). Mindful Visitors: Heritage and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*, 376-397.

Naquin, S., & Yu, C. F. (1992). Pilgrimage in China. In S. Naquin & C. F. Yu (Eds.), *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (pp. 1-38). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Nash, D., & Smith, V. L. (1991). Anthropology and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 18*, 12-25.

Nolan, M. L., & Nolan, S. (1989). *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Nolan, M. L., & Nolan, S. (1992). Religious Sites as Tourism Attractions in Europe. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*, 68-78.

O' Gorman, K. D. (2009). Classical and Modern Hospitality: The Benedictine Case. In K. D. O' Gorman (Ed.), *Thinking Through Tourism: Monograph of the Association of Social Anthropologists*. Berg, Oxford: In Press.

O' Gorman, K. D., & MacPhee, E. (2006). The Legacy of Monastic Hospitality: 2 The Lasting Influence. *The Hospitality Review, 8*(4), 16-25.

O' Reilly, K. (2005). *Ethnographic Methods*. New York: Routledge.

Oakes, T. (1998). *Tourism and Modernity in China*. London and New York: Routledge.

Oberg, K. (1960). Cultural Shock: Adjustment to Neo-cultural Environments *Practical Anthropology, 17*, 177-182.

Ohman, A., & Hagg, K. (1998). Attitudes of Novice Physiotherapists to Their Professional Role: A Gender Perspective. *Physiotherapy Theory and Practice, 14*(1), 23-32.

Olsen, D. H. (2006). Management Issues for Religious Heritage Attractions. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 104-118). London and New York: Routledge.

Olsen, D. H. (2010). Pilgrims, Tourists and Max Weber's "Ideal Types". *Annals of Tourism Research, 37*(3), 818-851.

Olsen, D. H., & Timothy, D. J. (2006). Tourism and Religious Journeys. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 1-22). New York: Routledge.

Ong, A. (1987). *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. Berkeley: University of California.

Oppermann, M. (1993). Tourism Space in Developing Countries. *Annals of Tourism Research, 20*(3), 535-556.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods* (Vol. 3 ed). Thousands Oaks, USA: Sage.

Pavicic, J., Alfirevic, N., & Batarelo, V. J. (2007). The Management and Marketing of Religious Sites, Pilgrimage and Religious Events: Challenges for Roman Catholic Pilgrimages in Croatia. In R. Raj & N. D. Morpeth (Eds.), *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* (pp. 48-63). Cambridge, U.S.A.: CAB International.

Pearce, P. L. (1982). *The Social Psychology of Tourist Behaviour*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Pearce, P. L. and Caltabiano, M. L. (1983). Inferring Travel Motivation from Travelers' Experiences. *Journal of Travel Research*, 12 (2), 16-20.

Pearce, P. L., & Stringer, P. F. (1991). Psychology and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 18*, 136-154.

Pfaffenberger, B. (1983). Serious Pilgrims and Frivolous Tourists: The Chimera of Tourism in the Pilgrimages of Sri Lanka. *Annals of Tourism Research, 10*, 57-74.

Pinho, M. I. R. B., & Pinho, I. M. R. T. (2007). Case Study 8: Fátima: The Religious Tourism Altar. In R. Raj & N. D. Morpeth (Eds.), *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management* (pp. 211-221). Cambridge, U. S. A.: CAB International.

Police Foundation. (2009). CCTV and Society. Retrieved 17 November, 2010, from http://www.policeoracle.com/news/CCTV-and-Society_20328.html

Popper, K. R. (1959). *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. New York: Routledge.

Poria, Y., Butler, R., & Airey, D. (2003). Tourism, Religion and Religiosity: A Holy Mess. *Current Issues in Tourism, 6*(4), 340-363.

Prideaux, B., & Timothy, D. J. (2008). Themes in Cultural and Heritage Tourism in Asia and the Pacific. In B. Prideaux, D. J. Timothy & K. Chon (Eds.), *Cultural and Heritage Tourism in Asia and the Pacific* (pp. 1-16). New York: Routledge.

Pu-Tuo-Shan Tourism Bureau. (2008). Statistics on Tourist Arrivals at Pu-Tuo 2008. Retrieved 5th March, 2011, from http://www.putuo-tour.gov.cn/news/html

Raj, R., & Morpeth, N. D. (2007). Introduction: Establishing Linkages between Religious Travel and Tourism. In R. Raj & N. D. Morpeth (Eds.), *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* (pp. 1-14). Cambridge, U.S.A.: CAB International

Ren, Q. L., Shi, X., Li, C., Li, J. Y., Zhao, Q. H., & Peng, J. (2006). *Common Knowledge about Chinese Culture*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong China Tourism Publication.

Render, B., Stair, J., R. M. S., & Hanna, M. E. (2006). *Quantitative Analysis for Management* (Vol. 10 Edition). London: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Richards, L. (2005). *Handling Qualitative Data: A Practical Guide*. London: Sage Publications.

Riley, R. W. (1996). Revealing Socially Constructed Knowledge Through Quasi-Structured Interviews and Grounded Theory Analysis. *Recent Advances in Tourism Marketing Research, 5*(1/2), 21-40.

Riley, R. W., & Love, L. L. (2000). The State of Qualitative Tourism Research. *Annals of Tourism, 27*(1), 164-187.

Rinschede, G. (1992). Forms of Religious Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*, 51-67.

Ross, E. L. D., and Iso-Ahola, S. E. (1991). Sightseeing Tourists' Motivation and Satisfaction. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18, 226-237.

Rossman, G. B., & Wilson, B. L. (1985). Numbers and Words: Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in A Single Large-Scale Evaluation Study. *Evaluation Review, 9*(5), 627-643.

Rotherham, I. D. (2007). Sustaining Tourism Infrastructures for Religious Tourists and Pilgrims within the UK. In R. Raj & N. D. Morpeth (Eds.), *Religion Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* (pp. 64-77). Oxforshire: CAB International.

Ryan, C. (1995a). Learning about Tourists from Conversations: The over-55s in Majorca. *Tourism Management, 16*(3), 207-215.

Ryan, C. (1995b). *Researching Tourist Satisfaction: Issues, Concepts, Problems*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ryan, C. (1997). *The Tourist Experience: a New Introduction*. London: Cassell.

Ryan, C. (1998). Kakadu National Park: A Site of Natural and Heritage Significance. In M. Shackley (Ed.), *Visitor Management: Case Studies from World Heritage Sites*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Ryan, C. (2007). The Battles of Rangiriri and Batoche: Amnesia and Memory. In C. Ryan (Ed.), *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation* (Vol. 87-98). Oxford: Elsevier.

Ryan, C. (2010). *UNWTO Religion and Tourism in China*: UNWTO.

Ryan, C., & Glendon, I. (1998). Application of Leisure Motivation Scale to Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 25*(1), 169-184.

Ryan, C., & Gu, H. (2008). *Buddha comes to Hollywood: The Fourth Wutaishan Buddhist Festival. The Role of Spectacle in Cultural Hybridisation - A Photographic Essay*. Paper presented at the 14th Asia Pacific Tourism Association Conference 2008.

Ryan, C., & Gu, H. (2009a). Constructionism and Culture in Research: Understanding of the Fourth Buddhist Festival, Wutaishan, China. *Tourism Management, in Press*, 1-12.

Ryan, C., & Gu, H. (2009b). The Growth and Context of Tourism in China. In C. Ryan & H. Gu (Eds.), *Tourism in China: Destination, Cultures and Communities* (pp. 1-10). London and New York: Routledge.

Ryan, C., Gu, H., & Fang, M. (2009). Destination Planning in China. In C. Ryan & H. Gu (Eds.), *Tourism in China* (pp. 11-37). New York: Routledge.

Ryan, C., & Martin, A. (2001). Tourists and Strippers Liminal Theater. *Annals of Tourism, 28*(1), 140-163.

Ryan, C., Zhang, Y., Gu, H., & Ling, S. (2008). Tourism, a classic novel, and television: The case of Cao Xuequin's Dream of the Red Mansions and Grand View Gardens, Beijing. *Journal of Travel Research*.

Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2003). Techniques to Identify Themes. *Field Methods, 15*(1), 85-109.

Salant, P., & Diliman, D. A. (1994). *How to Conduct Your Own Survey*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Sale, J. E. M., Lohfeld, L. H., & Brazil, K. (2002). Revisiting the Quantitative-Qualitative Debate: Implications for Mixed-Method Research. *Quality and Quantity, 36*, 43-53.

Sallaz, J. J. (2008). Deep Plays: A Comparative Ethnography of Gambling Contests in Two Post-Colonies. *Ethnography, 9*(1), 5-33.

Schanzel, H. A., & McIntosh, A. J. (2000). An Insight into the Personal and Emotive Context of Wildlife Viewing at the Penguin Place, Otago Peninsula, New Zealand. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 8*(1), 36-52.

Seddighi, H. R., & Shearing, D. F. (1997). The Demand for Tourism in North East England with Special Reference to Northumbria: An Empirical Analysis. *Tourism Management, 18*(8), 499-511.

Shackley, M. (1993). The Land of Lo: The First Eight Months of Tourism. *Tourism Management, 15*(1), 17-26.

Shackley, M. (1995). Lo Revisited: The Next 18 Months. *Tourism Management, 16*(2), 150-151.

Shackley, M. (2001). *Managing Sacred Sites: Service Provision and Visitor Experience*. London and New York: Continuum.

Shackley, M. (2002). Space, Sanctity and Service; the English Cathedral as Heterotopia. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 4*, 345-352.

Shackley, M. (2006). Empty Bottles at Sacred Sites: Religious Retailing at Ireland's National Shrine. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 94-103). London and New York: Routledge.

Shashibala. (2003). *Buddhist art: In praise of the Divine*. New Delhi: Roli & Janssen.

Shi, F. (2009). Evaluation of Visitor Experience at Chinese Buddhist Sites: The Case of Wutai Mountain. In C. Ryan & H. Gu (Eds.), *Tourism in China: Destination, Cultures and Communities* (pp. 197-212). New York and London: Routledge.

Shik, G. J. (2009, 22nd May 2009). A New Temple Being Built: How Should Monastic Members Face the Materialistic Modernity? Retrieved 26th November, 2009, from http://big5.fjnet.com/gate/big5/club.fjnet.com/651262/viewspace-23430.html

Shinde, K. (2007a). Case Study 6: Visiting Sacred Sites in India: Religious Tourism or Pilgrimage. In R. Raj & N. D. Morpeth (Eds.), *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: International Perspective* (pp. 184-197). Cambridge, U.S.A.: CAB International.

Shinde, K. (2007b). Pilgrimage and the Environment Challenges in a Pilgrimage Center. *Current Issues in Tourism, 10*(4), 343-365.

Shuo, Y. S., Ryan, C., & Liu, G. (2009). Taoism, Temples and Tourists: The Case of Mazu Pilgrimage Tourism. *Tourism Management, 30*, 581-588.

Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing Qualitative Research* (Vol. 2nd Edition). London: Sage.

Singh, R. P. B. (2006). Pilgrimage in Hinduism: Historical Context and Modern Perspectives. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 220-236). London and New York: Routledge.

Singh, S. (2004). Religion, Heritage and Travel: Case References from the Indian Himalayas. *Current Issues in Tourism, 7*(1), 44-65.

Singh, S. (2005). Secular Pilgrimages and Sacred Tourism in the Indian Himalayas. *GeoJournal, 64*, 215-223.

Singh, S. (2006). Tourism in the Sacred Indian Himalayas: An incipient Theology of Tourism? *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 11*(4), 375-389.

Sizer, S. R. (1999). The Ethical Challenges of Managing Pilgrimages to the Holy Land. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 11*(2/3), 85-90.

Smith, J. K. (1983). Quantitative versus Qualitative Research: An Attempt to Clarify the Issue. *Educational Researcher, 12*(3), 6-13.

Smith, V. L. (1989). *Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism* (Vol. 2nd edition). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Smith, V. L. (1992). Introduction: The Quest in Guest. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*, 1-17.

Tian, T. Z. (2006). Chinese Buddhism Monasticism: Buddhist Forest System. *Regulations of Chinese Buddhism*. Retrieved 29th May, 2009, from http://big5.jiexieyin.org/show.aspx?id=2851&cid=150

Timothy, D. J., & Iverson, T. (2006). Tourism and Islam: Considerations of Culture and Duty. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion & Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 186-205). New York: Routledge.

Too, L. (2003). *The Buddha Book: Buddhas, Blessings, Prayers, and Rituals to Grant You Love, Wisdom, and Healing*. London: Element.

Towner, J. (1985). The Grand Tour : A Key Phase in the History of Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 12*(3), 297-333.

Towner, J., & Wall, G. (1991). History and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 18*, 71-84.

Turner, V. (1973). The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal. *History of Religions, 12*(3), 191-230.

Turner, V. W., & Turner, E. (1978). *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Van Maanen, J. (1988). *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Vukonic, B. (1992). Medjugorje's Religion and Tourism Connection. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*, 79-91.

Vukonic, B. (1996). *Tourism and Religion*. Oxford, UK: Elsevier.

Vukonic, B. (2006). Sacred Places and Tourism in the Roman Catholic Tradition. In D. J. Timothy & D. H. Olsen (Eds.), *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* (pp. 237-253). London and New York: Routledge.

Wall, & Mathieson. (2006). *Tourism: Change, Impacts and Opportunities*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Walle, A. H. (1997). Quantitative versus Qualitative Tourism Research. *Annals of Tourism, 24*(3), 524-536.

Wang, L. X. (1999). *The Monograph of Potalaka*. Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Script Press.

Wang, M. H., Lin, X. K., & Chu, Z. Q. (2005). Utilisation and Preservation of the Natural and Cultural Resources of PuTuoShan Mountain. *Journal of HangZhou, 2*, 34-38.

Wang, Z. Y. (Ed.) (2002) A Survey of Chinese Buddhism. Harbin, China: Harbin Press.

Weber, M. (1949). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York and London: Routledge.

Weiler, B., Brown, T. J., & Curtis, J. (2009). *How to Influence Tourists Visiting Protected Areas to Make Choices that Make a Difference for Climate Change.* Paper presented at the Australian Protected Areas Congress 2008, Australia.

White, M. I. (2007). Catching Them At It: An Ethnography of Rule Violation. *Ethnography, 8*(4), 445-465.

Wilson, D. (1997). Paradoxes of Tourism in Goa. *Annals of Tourism Research, 24*(1), 52-75.

Winter, M., & Gasson, R. (1996). Pilgrimage and Tourism: Cathedral Visiting in Contemporary England. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2*(3), 172-182.

Winter, T. (2009). Recasting Tourism Theory Towards an Asian Future. In T. Winter, P. Teo & T. C. Chang (Eds.), *Asia On Tour* (pp. 315-325). London and New York: Routledge.

Wu-Tai-Shan Tourism Bureau. (2008). Statistics on Tourist Arrivals at Wu-Tai-Shan 2008. Retrieved 5th March, 2011, from http://wutaishan.com.cn/news/htm

Xia, H. M. (2007). An Analysis of Buddhism Cultural tourism at PuTuo Mountain *Special Zone Economy*, 184-185.

Xiang, B. H. (2006). *Pu-Tuo Mountain Tourist Guide Book*. Retrieved. from.

Xu, G., & Kruse, C. (2003). Economic Impact of Tourism in China. In A. Lew, L. Yu, J. Ap & G. R. Zhang (Eds.), *Tourism in China* (pp. 83-98). New York, London and Oxford: The Haworth Hospitality Press.

Xue, C. (2006, 7th December 2006). The One Will and The One World.   Retrieved 26th November,2009,from http://www.116.com.cn/116/fjxh/xgwx/fils/397252.shtml

Yang, X. Z., Lu, L., Zhang, G. S., Lu, S., & Xuan, G. F. (2004a). Investigation and Analysis on the Characteristics and Behavior of Domestic Tourist to PuTuoShan Mountain. *Journal of Anhui Normal University (Natural Science), 27*(1), 75-78.

Yang, X. Z., Lu, L., Zhang, G. S., Lu, S., & Xuan, G. F. (2004b). Relationship between Resort Life Cycle and Evolution of Tourism Product Structure: Taking PuTuoShan Mountain as an Example. *Scientia Geographica Sinica, 24*(4), 500-505.

Yang, X. Z., Lu, L., Zhang, G. S., Lu, S., & Xuan, G. F. (2004c). Study on Spatial Structure of Tourism Resources in Zhoushan Archipelago. *Geography and Geo-Information Science, 20*(5), 87-91.

Yang, Z. L. (2009). Analyzing Buddhism Monasticism from an Economic Perspective. *World Buddhist Forum: Chinese Buddhism Monasticism* Retrieved 29th May, 2009,                                                          from http://big5.fjnet.com/gate/big5/www.wbf.net.cn/wbf/qyjkfj/10605.htm

Yao, H., Sun, G., & Jia, Y. (2008). An Analysis on Tourist Area Growth Theory and Demonstration of Mount Interest Areas in China. *Journal of Mountain Science, 26*(2), 237-243.

Yu, C. F. (1992). Pu-To Shan: Pilgrimage and the Creation of the Chinese Potalaka. In S. Naquin & C. F. Yu (Eds.), *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (pp. 190-245). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yu, D., Zhong, F., & Lin, X. L. (2004). *Chinese Culture* (R. B. Baron, Trans.). Beijing: Foreign Language Press.

Yu, X., & Weiler, B. (2001). Mainland Chinese Pleasure Travelers to Australia: A Leisure Behaviour Analysis. *Tourism Culture & Communication, 3*, 81-91.

Zhang, J. (2004). *The History of Pu-Tuo-Shan*. Kam-Zu: Kam Zu Local Press.

Zhang, M., Huang, L., Wang, J. H., Liu, J., Jie, Y. G., & Lai, X. T. (2007). Religious Tourism and Cultural Pilgrimage: A Chinese Perspective. In R. Raj & N. D. Morpeth (Eds.), *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: International Perspective* (pp. 98-112). Cambridge, U.S.A.: CAB International.

Zhang, W. (1997). China's Domestic Tourism: Impetus, Development and Trends. *Tourism Management, 18*(8), 565-571.

Zhao, D. (2009). *Transformation of the Sacred: The Commercialization, Politicization and Globalization of Buddhist Heritage Tourism in China Today*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Heritage in Asia: Converging Forces and Conflicting Values.

Zhao, X. F. (2004). Island of Avalokitesvara. *Visitas-Cultural Exchange, 2*, 61-62.

Zhu, J. J., Yang, X. Z., & Cao, W. B. (2007). On the Evolution Mechanism of Tourism Spatial Structure of Island Resorts: A Case Study of Zhoushan Archipelago in Zhejiang Province. *Human Geography, 22*(1), 34-39.

Zweig, F. (1948). *Labour, Life and Poverty*. London: Gollanz.