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What Travels? Notes on a Globalizing Buddhist Movement from Taiwan¹

C. Julia Huang

The Buddhist Compassionate Relief Merit Society (*Ciji Gongde Hui*, hereafter Ciji)², the largest formal association in Taiwan, has five million members world-wide,³ and over the past decade, has formed branches in thirty-four countries. Ciji is the first Buddhist organization in the history of Buddhism in any Chinese society to carry out humanitarian missions on a large, international scale that includes de-

¹ This paper was presented at Harvard University, Center for the Study of World Religions, as the Third Lecture Event: *The revival of religious activism and the global order — the responses of Hindu nationalism and engaged Buddhism to the challenges of globalization*, in the Fall 2000 Lecture Series: *Doing globalization justice — a view from the world's religions*, on December 6, 2000. I am grateful to the lecture series organizer, the late Vittorio Falsina, and the discussant, Professor William Fisher. I also thank Merry I. White and Linda Learman for their comments on the preliminary version of this paper. All shortcomings are mine.

² Its formally registered English name is “Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu-Chi Foundation.”

³ This number was given by the officials of the Boston Ciji in their panel presentation, “Mission of the Global Citizen, A Case Study – Taiwan 921 Earthquake,” at the conference of the Boston Intercollegiate Taiwanese Student Association, held at MIT, Cambridge, MA, on November 11, 2000.

livery of relief on every continent. These accomplishments have won its leader, the Dharma Master Zhengyan, the 1991 Philippine Magsaysay Award, the 1993 nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize, and the 2000 Noel Foundation “Life” Award previously bestowed on Margaret Thatcher and Mother Teresa. A high school textbook in Canada recently devoted a chapter to Ciji and the Venerable Zhengyan as an exemplary religious influence;⁴ the National Liberty Museum in Philadelphia hailed her as a heroine of the rank of Nelson Mandela and Gandhi in the Heroes from Around the World Exhibition; and *Business Week* this year recognized her as the only Taiwanese among the fourteen (mostly political and business figures) “stars of Asia.”

Despite Ciji’s international expansion, overseas participants are exclusively ethnic Chinese. Yet Ciji is different from traditional religious practice among overseas Chinese. Though mistakenly labeled “Buddhism,” until the 1990s, the most widely practiced religion in those communities has been the Chinese popular religion, a combination of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism (Wee and David 1999). Moreover, being a Ciji person means more than sharing a general belief in karma. It is to identify oneself with the Buddha’s universal compassion by engaging in Ciji humanitarian missions. Thus Ciji is a new transnational, engaged Buddhism from Taiwan that is global in the spread of its deeds and congregations, yet ethnically specific in terms of its devotees. Based on multiple-sited ethnography and a compilation of primary literature, this paper depicts, albeit briefly, the movement’s worldwide growth. The goal is to shed light on the seeming overlap between globalization and transnationalism by asking a simple question: what travels?⁵

*A Brief Introduction to Ciji.*⁶

Ciji was founded in 1966 on the poor eastern coast of Taiwan. It consisted of the Rev. Zhengyan, five disciples, and thirty followers, all housewives. Their goal was to help defray medical costs for the poor. The housewives donated a penny (the cur-

⁴ Trites, John. “Master Cheng Yen.” *Global Connections: Geography for the 21st Century*. Canada: Oxford University Press, p. 408.

⁵ The question “what travels?” was inspired – albeit farfetched from my subject matter – by Deborah Kapchan’s presentation of “Money and the Spirit: Marketing Trance in Morocco and Paris” in the panel, “Globalization and its Discontents” in the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society, Columbus, Ohio, October 25-29, 2000.

⁶ For a detailed introduction to Ciji, see Huang and Weller (1998) and Weller (1999, 96-100).

rent equivalent buying power of about 50 cents) every day from their grocery money and proselytized among their family, friends, and neighbors. The nuns made handicrafts whose sale supported the monastic order and added to the relief fund. Their monthly charity funds in 1966 came to less than US \$30.

Ciji developed slowly at first, then rapidly in the late 1980s during Taiwan's transition to a wealthier economy and more democratic polity. In 1994, Ciji claimed four million members worldwide. Ciji now gives away over US \$40 million in charity each year and runs a university, a TV channel, and two state-of-the-Western-art 900-bed hospitals. It has branches across Taiwan and around the world. It runs a free clinic in California, and a dialysis center in Penang. It has delivered disaster relief in over thirty countries, among them the PRC, Rwanda, Chechnya, Venezuela, Turkey, and Papua New Guinea.

The Venerable Zhengyan is a Buddhist nun with great charisma. Most followers trace their conversion to her immediate personal appeal. While she lectures on classic Buddhist texts, Zhengyan's teachings are the absolute authority for the organization. Under her leadership, the Ciji umbrella organization now has essentially two divisions: the Ciji Foundation proper and the volunteer system. The non-profit foundation alone has about 100 staff members and controls about US \$0.6 billion in funds.⁷ The volunteer organization provides support to all Ciji missions⁸ and the foundation. It has about 10,000 commissioners⁹ worldwide who have no position in the foundation. They are committed to supporting all Ciji missions and generally refer to themselves as the followers of the Rev. Zhengyan (as opposed to "the followers of the Three Treasures of the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha"). About seventy percent of the commissioners are women, though male participation has rapidly increased since total membership skyrocketed in the early 1990s.

The Rev. Zhengyan once stated how and why Ciji represents a reform of traditional Chinese Buddhism:

⁷ Himalaya Foundation (1997, 10), *Foundations in Taiwan*, Taipei: Zhonghua Zhengxin She.

⁸ Ciji has a total of eight missions. It has long claimed its goal as the original "Four Great Missions" (*si da zhiye*). More recently, particularly in the 1990s, Ciji developed four additional missions, which, together with the original four, make the "Eight Footprints" (*ba da jiyin*). The four great missions are charity, medical care, education, and culture. The additional four "footprints" are international disaster relief, bone marrow drives, environmentalism, and community volunteerism.

⁹ A commissioner (*weiyuan*) is a devoted follower and volunteer who has recruited forty or more household membership and has vowed to abide by the Ciji spirit and Buddhist disciplines, and to devote her or himself to all Ciji missions.

In the past, Buddhism in this world had sounds but no forms, and was hardly practical.¹⁰ ...[It] had only temples and masters who lectured on texts.... I founded Ciji for Buddhism and for all the living,¹¹ in the hope that it would not only exist on [people's] lips, but also manifest itself in practical action; and in the hope that it would be involved in the world and pursue the spirit of the Buddha in tandem.¹²

In contrast with most Buddhist priests who rely for their livelihood on begging and holding scripture chanting services for donations, the Rev. Zhengyan and her disciples not only support themselves independently of donations, but also contribute to relief funds. The main practice of the lay followers is not chanting scripture, but proselytizing, raising funds, contributing time and money to, and volunteering for the Rev. Zhengyan's mission.

That mission has expanded from helping the poor and caring for the needy in the 1960s and 1970s to building the first Ciji hospital among aboriginal communities in eastern Taiwan in the 1980s, to the present spectacular scale. The Ciji mission now in Taiwan includes visiting the sick and the poor at home and providing long-term care for them; running modern hospitals and a university; organizing a Ciji teachers' association and youth corps; and publishing and running their own TV channel. In addition, Ciji volunteers mobilize for domestic disaster relief, international relief funds, and bone marrow drives, sort garbage for recycling, and cooperate with public social workers to provide local elders with long-term care. In contrast with the often ad hoc nature of Buddhist charity in Chinese societies, Ciji has established a reputation for going out and looking for worthy causes and then mobilizing to address them effectively.

Three Ciji Globalisms.

By 1990 Ciji had begun to broaden its vision of the "field of merit" in three ways: by international relief projects, bone marrow donation drives, and overseas chapters. The former two are often started by Taiwan headquarters and partially supported by overseas chapters through their fundraising in the host societies. The overarching motif reflects the Buddhist notion of the universal connection with and

¹⁰ Practical, *shiji*.

¹¹ "For Buddhism and for all living things (*wei fojiao wei zhongsheng*)." This was the only advice Zhengyan received upon her ordination by the Venerable Yinshun.

¹² Zhengyan 1990, 10-1, cited by Li 1996, 43. Translation, mine.

empathy for all living things, regardless of mundane categories such as race, ethnicity, and nationality. In Ciji's words: "Great compassion for those who are known and unknown, boundless mercy for all beings" (*wuyuan daci, tongti dabeì*).

International Relief

The first international relief Ciji delivered was to flood victims in the PRC in the summer of 1991. In line with her conviction – "When others are hurt, I feel their pain; when others suffer, I feel their sorrow" (*renshang wotong, renku wobeì*) – the Venerable Zhengyan appealed to her followers to help the victims across the Taiwan Strait. In four months, Ciji raised more than US \$13 million (Wang 1998a, 6).

By 1998, Ciji had delivered relief to the PRC at least once a year and had benefited people in more than sixteen provinces. This so impressed people in the PRC that one of Professor Robert Weller's informants in China called Zhengyan "the Lei Feng of Taiwan." (Lei Feng is a savior and hero acclaimed in the Chinese Communist propaganda.)

Since 1992 Ciji has also provided aid to the victims of natural disasters and of warfare and other man-made disasters in over thirty countries.¹³ Yet despite that record, Ciji is not an NGO (Non-Government Organization) represented at the United Nations, unlike the famous Japanese organization, Soka Gakkai (Metraux 1996, 380). This is due to the location of Ciji headquarters: Taiwan. According to Huang Sixian,¹⁴ the head of the Religion Department and the highest lay leader in the Ciji volunteer organization, the UN told him in 1998 that while they recognize Ciji as an active international NGO, they cannot register it at the UN, due to the UN's one-China policy of recognizing Beijing but not Taipei. This is a difficulty Ciji has encountered in its international activism that stems from Taiwan's lack of diplomatic ties with most of the countries of the world.

Despite diplomatic obstacles, Ciji teams of nuns, lay volunteers, and medical professionals continue their international activism in foreign countries.¹⁵ Some-

¹³ These include, in chronological order, Mongolia, Nepal, the refugee camps in Northern Thailand, Cambodia, Azerbaijan, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Chechnya, Ivory Coast, Afghanistan, Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa, North Korea, Liberia, Gambia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Peru, Papua New Guinea, Senegal, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Colombia, the Kosovo refugees in Albania, earthquake victims in Turkey, and the current relief to Venezuela (Wang 1998b, Ciji Foundation 1999).

¹⁴ All references to Huang Sixian in this article are based on our interview on January 21, 2000.

¹⁵ Such as building 1,800 houses for flood victims in Nepal.

times they work through international NGOs.¹⁶ Other long-term and urgent projects are done through Ciji local branches.¹⁷

Bone Marrow Donations

In addition to the delivery of relief goods, Ciji charity embodies the Buddha's notion of "giving one's head, eyes, marrow, and brain to others," through its international bone marrow drives. Ciji founded its bone marrow registry in 1993. In five years, it collected data on over 163,932 volunteer donors. The registry is the largest databank in Asia and the third largest in the world. Ciji has helped to carry out 164 non-relative transplants,¹⁸ including over thirty international donations to countries such as the United States, Australia, Japan, and Germany (Wang 1999, 510).

Overseas branches further collaborate in the mission. The Ciji USA Bone Marrow Donor Registry, founded in March of 1996 in Los Angeles, has recruited over 6,240 donors over 100 drives in twenty-seven cities across the United States (Cai 1999). Almost every overseas branch has held donation drives in its local community to enlarge the databank and hence the probability of matching donors with recipients.

Overseas Branches

What travels in the above two Ciji globalisms is the Buddhist universal compassion embodied in goods, money, and physical contributions. In these two globalisms, Ciji Taiwan headquarters acts as the center that makes outright decisions and provides primary resources. On the one hand, Taiwan as the dispenser of international relief reverses its role as a former US Aid recipient in the older version of global order. On the other hand, the pivotal role of Ciji headquarters and the fact that both international relief and the bone marrow drive are ends in themselves and do not involve active local proselytization, bring us to the issue of localization.

Ciji overseas congregations are the local carriers of the Rev. Zhengyan's global mission. The first overseas branch, Ciji USA, obtained legal status in California in 1985, and was formally founded in 1990 in conjunction with the opening of its chapter house, the Still Thoughts Hall, named after the Rev. Zhengyan's monas-

¹⁶ For example, Ciji donated US \$773,000 to the France-based Médecins du Monde (M.D.M.) to provide medical care to Ethiopia.

¹⁷ For example, in addition to being the first group delivering relief to the tidal wave victims in 1994, the Ciji Philippine branch has provided thirteen large-scale free clinic tours between 1995 and 1998 (Wang 1998b).

¹⁸ http://www.tzuchi.org.tw/news/n_focus/n_focus.html, 02/28/2000.

tery, the Still Thoughts Pure Abode. In the ensuing ten years, Ciji devotees in other countries opened their own branches. Of the 114 countries with Ciji members, thirty-four have formed local chapters.

Most chapters have only one congregation in the country, but the scale of local development varies considerably. Total local membership ranges from less than 100 (in the newly founded Netherlands chapter) to tens of thousands. Ciji USA is the largest branch with forty-five chapters. It has 50,000 of the 90,000 overseas members, and nearly 400 commissioners of the overseas total of 552.

In contrast to Christian missionization, which often begins with rural or remote areas, all Ciji branches are located in the major cities or the capital of their host countries. City-based congregations seem to overlap with the constituent immigrant background. According to Huang Sixian, participants are primarily overseas Taiwanese, and secondarily Chinese. The Penang branch of Malaysia consists of only Malaysian Chinese. Participants in the Malacca branch are mainly Malaysian Chinese, although their leaders are a Taiwanese couple. In the USA, only San Francisco and Boston have overseas Chinese participants who are not from Taiwan. Ninety percent of the Ciji USA participants are overseas Taiwanese; the remainders are Chinese emigrants from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Hong Kong, PRC, Indonesia, and Korea. There are hardly any non-Chinese among Ciji overseas followers.¹⁹

Chinese ethnicity seems to parallel, to some degree, the practice of overseas branches. All overseas branches follow the social service and proselytization model established by the headquarters. The extent to which they cross Chinese ethnic boundaries varies, with the larger ones generally being more successful than the smaller ones. Practice at the least active level consists of the initiates' proselytizing efforts, volunteering at local social service institutions, and providing emergency help to Taiwanese and Chinese immigrants and travelers. As the level of activism increases, branches establish secondary socialization institutions that preserve Chinese cultural heritage and spread Ciji teachings, such as Chinese language schools for second-generation immigrants²⁰ and the Youth Corps for Taiwanese college

¹⁹ Huang Sixian listed the three exceptions. The current coordinator of the Orlando chapter is a Caucasian. Yet his wife is Taiwanese and he himself also speaks Chinese. One of the volunteer doctors in the Phoenix chapter is a Caucasian, but this does not necessarily mean that he is a Buddhist or a Ciji follower. A Caucasian volunteer in the Hawaii chapter, who is a hospital administrator by profession, has been a Ciji devotee to the extent that he has been proselytizing for Ciji and will receive his Ciji commissioner title this year.

²⁰ Large branches in western societies – the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom – have founded seventeen “Ciji Humanities Schools” (*ciji renwen xuexiao*, the term itself high-

students. Large branches take a further step, transcending ethnic boundaries; they not only establish medical institutions and charity systems for the local poor of all ethnicities, but also initiate the delivery of disaster relief to neighboring countries.²¹

The Youth Corps is a feature of Ciji's religious education mission, which brings students outside Ciji institutions into contact with the Venerable Zhengyan's teachings. The Ciji Youth Corps of some chapters in the USA²² not only have their separate pages in the Ciji Web site, but also organize activities and function as a distinct group cooperating with local Ciji followers. In comparison, the Ciji Youth Corps of Malacca, consisting of local-born Chinese rather than Taiwanese college students, has become the branch's most dynamic means of mobilizing local devotees for volunteer work.

An Emerging Transnational System.

While its overseas followers so far remain within Chinese communities, Ciji has developed its system of transnationalism, a system that both maintains its salience among overseas branches and contributes to the cross-cultural proselytization.

The importance of the Chinese schools and youth corps lies in the potential for multi-ethnic ties among Ciji overseas members. When asked whether Ciji has a plan to draw non-Chinese in, Huang replied immediately, "Ciji youth are our future, because they study [abroad] and have their cross-ethnic social connections. When they are out of school and start working, they may draw in their classmates, colleagues, and friends." Although he pins his hope for crossing Chinese ethnic boundaries on the youth, my preliminary observation shows that these college students are still basically socializing only with other Taiwanese and local born Chinese youth.

lights its curriculum of Ciji teaching as solely language-learning institutes) and currently have a total of over 2000 pupils, whose parents do not necessarily participate in Ciji. Every weekend, youngsters up to twelfth grade learn Chinese characters through the official textbooks of the Taiwan-based Committee for Overseas Chinese Affairs as well as the Venerable Zhengyan's "Still Thoughts" teachings through the pedagogical methods formulated by the Ciji Teachers' Association in Taiwan.

²¹ For example, the Ciji USA runs a free clinic in Alhambra, California, which provides most of its services to local Hispanic speakers. At the same time, Ciji USA provides substantial support to relief to Mexico and other countries in Latin America, whereas Ciji Australia and Malaysia play leading roles in relief to countries in Southeast Asia.

²² For example, Berkeley and Boston.

Recently Ciji significantly increased the use of a variety of languages and of the media. In addition to holding special meetings in English for local non-Chinese,²³ Ciji has been distributing its English quarterly since 1993, along with a series of English translations of the Rev. Zhengyan's teachings and their children's books, and a Ciji monthly journal in Japanese (since 1997). The comprehensive Ciji Web page in both Chinese and English not only reports its daily news and each branch's profile around the world, but also airs the programs of its Taiwan-based TV channel via the Internet. Programming on the TV, however, still uses only Chinese.

While extending communication beyond the Chinese language and excelling in the use of global media, Ciji has been steering its dispersed congregations toward a transnational system since 1995. Every January, core members of all USA locals and branches in South America and southeast Asia participate in the "Ciji Spirit" retreat in Houston, Texas. In addition to horizontal ties between branches, the headquarters maintains direct ties to overseas branches. Huang Sixian, sometimes accompanied by one or two of the Rev. Zhengyan's disciples, represents the headquarters and presides at all important ceremonies of each branch, such as the end-of-the-year thanksgiving convocation. More important to the maintenance of salience among overseas followers is the "homecoming" to the headquarters in Taiwan. Overseas followers take individual trips to the headquarters in the name of *xungen* ("root finding") and often obtain a special audience with the Rev. Zhengyan and priority in the long queue for volunteer opportunities at the Ciji hospital. In addition, every year representatives of each branch join in a retreat in conjunction with the anniversary ceremony at the headquarters; the headquarters runs vacation camps exclusively for overseas youth and the school-age children of followers.

The image of transnational "homecoming" and the future of Ciji globalization is well symbolized in the ceremony of Ciji's thirty-third anniversary, which was held in the Still Thoughts Memorial Hall in May 1999. Over a thousand representatives of different branches, all dressed in the "blue-sky-white-cloud" uniform of blue polo shirt and white pants, sat in lines, with the branch leaders holding the national flag of their host country. Opposite the sea of blue and white was the stage backdrop of a six-story-high portrait of Shakyamuni Buddha compassionately looking

²³ For example, in December 1998 the Canada branch held a meeting to introduce Ciji in the English language. Audiences were staff of the institutions where Ciji followers regularly volunteer (e.g., children's hospital, AIDS association, and seniors' houses) (*Ciji Yearbook 1998*).

at, and laying his hand on, the globe. A ten-foot-high panel of the world map stood in front of the backdrop.

The ceremony climaxed in the end of the Rev. Zhengyan's sermon. Lights out, representatives (mostly women) of each branch slowly entered the stage, each holding a candle and their respective national flag. They formed a row and knelt at the Rev. Zhengyan's feet. Zhengyan lit each one's candle. One by one, the representatives approached the world map panel, placed the candle and the flag below the map in a row, turned on one sparkling light on the map to indicate the location of the branch's host country, saluted the Rev. Zhengyan, and left the stage. One followed another until the world map shone with the sparkling lights of Ciji overseas branches.

The recent anniversary ceremony symbolizes the globalization of Buddhism as Ciji's perceived future. Buddha is shown as having an impact on the globe; the ritual of candlelight and lights on the world map embodies how this vision will be realized: the lay followers who approach the Rev. Zhengyan for enlightenment will carry her teachings to the world.

New York, Boston, Tokyo, and Malacca.

As symbolized in the anniversary ceremony, overseas followers are the seeds and driving force for localizing the Ciji globalization. To answer the question of "what travels," one of the first things we need to do is to see how Ciji appeals to these overseas followers.

The four branches – New York, Boston, Tokyo, and Malacca – where I conducted field research²⁴ were founded relatively recently in the 1990s and consisted of ethnic Chinese, but have always extended their charity beyond ethnic Chinese. At the same time, these four cases show that Ciji overseas development was not a result of missionaries sent by headquarters but stemmed from spontaneous individual responses and the support of people in different countries. Moreover, the founders were already pious Buddhists before taking up Ciji practice, and all four cases began with women's efforts. Women continue to play a crucial role in overseas Ciji.

²⁴ I participated in the New York branch in spring 1993, and conducted major fieldwork in the Boston branch between 1996 and 1997, and follow-up research from 1999 to the present. I visited the Japan branch during December 1997 and the two Malaysia branches in April 1999.

Core members, especially the founders, of the four branches traced their commitment to Ciji to the Rev. Zhengyan's personal appeal, either in their first audience or conveyed to them through tapes of Zhengyan's sermons. That appeal was different for different people. Some found an element of Chinese identity resonated with Ciji's humanitarian mission. For example, one of the founders of the Boston Ciji, who is originally a Vietnamese Chinese, recounted her reaction to a videotape in which the Rev. Zhengyan spoke about Ciji's relief to flood victims in south China:

[The Rev. Zhengyan] built so many houses, one school, and a nursing home [for the victims]. I found myself crying while watching the tape. Although I was born in Vietnam, I always see myself as Chinese.... My heart is always with China. I always care about China. So, what the Rev. Zhengyan has done in China really touched me. Although she is a master in Taiwan, she helps China.

Still others – in fact, the majority of those of Taiwanese origin – spoke of Ciji's emphasis on secular action, as opposed to more traditional Mahayana Buddhist practices. For example, the founder of the New York Ciji described why she chose Ciji as her path:

You know, temples are always separated from home, where you and your family actually live, and where your life really is. You may drop everything that bothers you for the time being while you are cultivating yourself at a temple. You feel peace of mind for that moment. But the problems come right back as soon as you return home, or step out of the temple and back into real life.... One day I got some tapes of the Rev. Zhengyan's speeches. I was so touched by listening to her compassionate voice that I found myself crying in the kitchen. I finally found the master with whom I really wanted to work.

As the current coordinator of the Boston Ciji said: "The most important thing in Ciji is the process." Only in the process of working on suffering is one able to "cultivate the mind." Ciji's appeal to overseas followers does not lie mainly in its partial function of ethnic association, as in the host societies there are a variety of secular and religious options for one to claim Chinese or even Taiwanese identity. Rather, the core of Ciji's appeal is a Buddhist notion of humanitarian practice in which one is involved to the extent of feeling other's suffering, grateful to being capable of help and to the recipients' acceptance. Devotees tirelessly endeavor to carry out their mission across ethnic boundaries, for example, by working among the Christian missionaries for the homeless, caring for the elders at nursing homes, and serving the local poor and non-Chinese refugees. Behind this engaged Buddhism lies

the pure emotion of charity and compassion – an emotional commitment triggered by the personal appeal of their charismatic leader, and rooted in Bodhisattva's compassion for all living things.

What Travels?

Clearly, people travel. Ciji's relief activities and bone marrow donations flow across national borders. More important, Ciji's worldwide growth builds largely on the wide dispersion of overseas Chinese and particularly Taiwanese. Indeed, the 1990s – the period of Ciji overseas development – saw a boom in Taiwanese emigration.²⁵ However, a population with roots in Taiwan, or a common cultural heritage alone, is not sufficient for a new religious movement from Taiwan to thrive. Two other ingredients are necessary. One is a catalyst. In the case of Ciji, the personal appeal of its charismatic leader travels. Although she has never stepped outside Taiwan, the Rev. Zhengyan's message of engaged compassion reaches across space to Chinese women and men in other societies. The second ingredient is a worldview universal enough to defy national boundaries and ethnic differences among societies. In Ciji's case, it is the Buddhist notion of compassion for all living things and a mission to relieve suffering. In the realm of universal compassion, the army of five million Ciji volunteers projects the vision of the Buddha impacting on the globe. And in the ethic of their humanitarian practice, engaged Buddhism does the processes of globalization justice.

²⁵ See Wang (1999) for an analysis of migration from Taiwan.

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