

## The Lotus of Capital: Tzu Chi Foundation and the Praxis of Charity

Hiroshi Aoyagi<sup>1</sup> and Scott Hurley<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract:** This study examines the role an emergent religious movement in Taiwan plays in the development of a new form of "religious capitalism" that amalgamates the modern principles of *laissez faire* economy and Buddhist doctrine at the level of praxis. Led by Master Zhengyan, a Buddhist nun, and established officially as the Tzu Chi Foundation in 1966, the organization has developed into a large, worldwide network of charitable institutions that includes medical clinics and education centers. The present paper examines how the Foundation industrialized the social meaning of Taiwanese Buddhism by focusing less on inculcating Buddhist ideology through the study of doctrine and the practice of meditation and more on disseminating Buddhist principles and values through social action in the form of compassionate giving.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The current preliminary study examines the role an emergent religious movement in Taiwan plays in the development of a new form of "religious capitalism" that amalgamates the modern principles of *laissez faire* economy and Buddhist doctrine at the level of praxis. The case provides insight into a new framework for social sciences and humanities — as much as for social movements — in the present, so-called "post-Cold War era" when the struggle between profit-oriented capitalism and social justice increasingly becomes an unlikely option. Yet, in a time when problems of poverty and injustice do not only prevail but are felt to become progressively more ignored, the interplay between innovative religious ideas and capitalist principles

---

<sup>1</sup> Associate Professor, School of Asia 21, Kokushikan University, Tokyo, Japan.

<sup>2</sup> Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Religion and Philosophy, Luther College, Iowa, U.S.A.

generates an effective means of social ordering that overcomes, at least from the standpoint of those who are involved in this particular movement, what can be considered the inevitable gap between individual and social interests.

Led by Master Zhengyan, a Buddhist nun, and established officially as the Tzu Chi Foundation in 1966, the organization of 30 members, which raised approximately \$30,000 NT (\$720 American), developed into the foundation that boasted 3,500,000 members worldwide and a relief fund of \$1.7 million NT by 1994.<sup>3</sup> The organization has founded hospitals and free medical clinics. It continues to offer various educational programs focusing on anything from Chinese language courses to information about health care. The foundation claims eight major missions, known as the "Eight Footprints": Charity, Medicine, Education, Culture, Bone Marrow Donation, International Relief, Community Volunteers, and Environmental Protection.<sup>4</sup> These "Eight Footprints" demonstrate that the organization focuses less on inculcating Buddhist ideology through the study of doctrine and the practice of meditation and more on disseminating Buddhist principles and values through social action in the form of compassionate giving.

This focus on social realities rather than on transcendent or "other worldly" concerns makes the Tzu Chi Foundation's activities compatible with the practice of capitalism, as discussed by Max Weber's classical work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958). If capitalism is understood as having at its ideological core an emphasis on improving people's lives through the accumulation of wealth and the pursuit of the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people, then perhaps we can draw a connection between the objectives of capitalism and the popularity of the Tzu Chi movement. By establishing a relationship between its innovative religious goals and the goals of societies dominated by the principle of capitalism, the Foundation provides the majority of its wealthy participants with a way of contributing to the well-being of humanity that is conducive to the capitalist endeavor.

---

<sup>3</sup> Jones, 1999, pg. 208.

<sup>4</sup> Taken from "Tzu Chi Missions and Organizations," pg.23-25.

However, it is precisely here that Zhengyan's movement diverges from the capitalist worldview. By holding the idea of amassing wealth in order to have the means to satisfy one's material desires antithetical to its stated goals, the Tzu Chi Foundation manipulates the capitalist enterprise: the institute raises "capital" for philanthropic activities by supporting a worldview that endorses human action in the "here and now." Zhengyan writes:

In our charity work, we provide material necessities, medical care, and spiritual consolation for the sick and elderly. We not only help the poor, but also educate the rich by showing them that giving and service are more meaningful than pursuing wealth, power, and prestige.<sup>5</sup>

Though Zhengyan and the Foundation do not believe that the pursuit of wealth and material pleasures will create a just and contented life-world, they, like capitalist institutions, validate the importance of "this world."

Through the interdisciplinary analysis that integrates religious studies and anthropology, and through the ethnographic analysis of an emergent form of religious qua economic movement in Taiwan, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of the reorganization of capitalist praxis in Asia's late modernity as well as its cross-cultural significance. Rather than providing any conclusive characterization of this particular religious movement, this preliminary study proposes possible ways in which its social, cultural and historical significance can be interpreted. Our main hypothesis is that Zhengyan's critical assessment of Taiwanese Buddhism, especially her devaluation of traditional doctrines and the monastic institution, and her corresponding emphasis on the idea of "progress" in a form of improving society through human action, empowers the Taiwanese spirit of modernization—especially white-collar industrialists who see their practices as spiritually meaningful<sup>6</sup>—and thereby contributes to a paradigmatic shift in religious

---

<sup>5</sup> Zhengyan, 1999, pg. 49.

consciousness. The power of the Tzu Chi Foundation's charitable activities is grounded in the technology of making Buddhism practical and accessible to the modern nation of Taiwan and its people—not unlike what Puritans did with Christian doctrine in their time of industrial development.

## **2. THE BACKDROP: TAIWAN IN LATE MODERNITY**

The Republic of China's (or Taiwan's) ongoing effort to modernize as an economic power in the Asia-Pacific region has led it to earn the title "Little Dragon." Taiwan has made great technological advances within so-called "high-tech" fields such as computer engineering and electronics, competing with nations such as Japan and, until recently, far surpassing its political counterpart—the PRC. Concomitant with this increase in wealth and these technological advances has been a continually evolving ideology characterized by pragmatic concerns that have shaped the values of the Taiwanese people.

Within this social context—one characterized by increasing modernization supported by a pragmatic work ethic—certain religious figures have emerged who have contributed to a re-evaluation and thus, a reinterpretation of Taiwanese religion, often resulting in the creation of popular religious movements. One such figure is a Buddhist nun known as Master Zhengyan, the founder of the Buddhist Association for the Merit of Overcoming Difficulties and Compassionate Relief (Fojiao Kenan Ciji Gongde Hui). Zhengyan and her organization have contributed to what constitutes the beginning of a paradigmatic shift in religious consciousness which may reformulate Taiwanese Buddhism by elevating the role of the laity in the institutional setting, reinterpreting Buddhist doctrine and practice in terms of charitable action, and emphasizing social engagement for the purpose of improving society.

---

<sup>6</sup> See Todd 1922; Wolf 1982; Goldman 1989; cf. Daunton 1995.

### 3. MASTER ZHENGYAN

Master Zhengyan is a Buddhist nun currently residing in Taiwan. Her most significant contribution to Taiwanese Buddhism has been the creation of the Buddhist Association for the Merit of Overcoming Difficulties and Compassionate Relief, known, in short, as the Tzu Chi Foundation.

Throughout the early years of her life as a nun, Zhengyan made a number of vows that have served as guiding principles not only for her own life, but also for her emerging organization. She vowed not to become a dharma-master, not to be the abbess of any temple, not to take tonsure disciples, not to perform funerals, not to put on dharma-meetings, and not to seek donations—all vows which preclude receiving financial support through exploitation of one's position and of another's suffering. She and her disciples live by the old Zen adage "A day without work is a day without food" (*Baizhang Huaihui*), and therefore manufacture candles and baby booties in order to provide for their own needs.

Followers of Zhengyan regard her with a great deal of respect based primarily on her moral integrity, her own practice of compassion, and her uncompromising challenge to greed and materialism. Tzu Chi members like to tell stories about alcoholics or drug addicts who, upon meeting her, are moved to seek therapy or about adulterers who, after talking with Zhengyan, terminate their extramarital affairs and reconcile with their spouses. As many such testimonials indicate, Zhengyan's influence results from her perceived purity, honesty, and integrity.<sup>7</sup>

### 4. TZU CHI FOUNDATION

The Tzu Chi Foundation originated with Zhengyan's desire to raise money for the underprivileged. She requested her disciples to save five Taiwan cents (1/5 of an American penny) and make an extra pair of baby booties daily, setting aside the proceeds for the poor. The goal was to save enough money each month to pay the

---

<sup>7</sup> The above biographical sketch is based on Charles Jones' seminal work, entitled *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990*.

deposit for one indigent person to obtain medical assistance.

In the beginning, the members of the Foundation were all women, mostly homemakers, aged 40 and above. However, after the organization constructed its first hospital, more men joined, and their age decreased. Aside from Zhengyan, the organizational structure of the foundation is based entirely on lay people with three vice-presidents working directly below her and then a larger body of directors spreading throughout the various branches known as the "Committee". In 1989, the men's auxiliary was formed in response to the increasing number of male members. The primary functions of this group are to direct traffic, maintain socioeconomic security, and volunteer in the hospitals constructed by the Foundation.<sup>8</sup>

The role of the monastic is clearly minimized in the Tzu Chi organization. There is a temple associated with Zhengyan called the Still Thoughts Pure Abode, wherein a small group of nuns reside. Yet, this temple has not grown significantly since its establishment in 1967. Because of Zhengyan's vow to refuse alms, the nuns at the temple support themselves by means of a small handicraft business. They also attend to those who visit the temple. However, they are not in any way involved in the leadership of the Tzu Chi Foundation. Moreover, when the organization establishes branches in other cities or countries, they are uniformly lay associations and not branch temples.<sup>9</sup>

Historically in China, with a few exceptions, the clergy functioned as the primary religious leaders in Buddhist communities—the laity supported the clergy financially and looked to them for spiritual guidance, recognizing their authority in religious matters and accepting their control of Buddhist institutions. This attitude toward the clergy continues to persist today. It is not uncommon, for instance, for lay people to anonymously offer to pay a monk or nun's meal in a restaurant. Monastics are respectfully greeted whether on the street or in a temple with some form of special gesture such as bowing to the ground in the form of a kowtow.

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pg. 211

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Yet, increasing numbers of people in Taiwan, now about 1/10 of the population (a population of approximately 22 million—22,113,250 as of 1999) are joining Zhengyan's movement. Many more are involved in other movements that place importance on the laity. These include Master Xingyun and his Foguang Buddhism and Master Shengyan and his Fa Gu Shan project. Albeit differently, all three have created institutions within their organizations that have raised the religious status of lay people, indicating a shift in the perception of the laity and its role in Buddhism.

In contemporary Taiwanese Buddhism, the traditional dichotomy that distinguishes the religious roles of the monastics and laity is being challenged—resulting in a reformation of Buddhist consciousness. Before we demonstrate how Zhengyan's Tzu Chi Foundation exemplifies this phenomenon, we will briefly digress here to outline the significant doctrinal developments in the 1950's that provide the spiritual and philosophical justification for this reformation.

## **5. MASTER YIN SHUN**

Zhengyan's ideological foundation was inspired by her tonsure master, Yin Shun, one of the most influential Taiwanese Buddhist intellectuals of the twentieth century. He has written upwards of forty books and articles ranging from commentaries on Buddhist sutras and doctrinal explications to popular works discussing the practice of compassion.

Among his most influential ideas, the ones that have shaped the course of Taiwanese Buddhism, are his concepts of "Buddhism in the human realm" (*renjian fojiao*) and "Founding the Pure Land among humanity" (*renjian jingtu*). Yin Shun developed these concepts as a reaction to the emphasis in early 20th century Chinese Buddhism on rebirth in other realms and rebirth in the Pure Land—a place perceived as a heaven-like paradise that one enters upon death, only after chanting Amitabha Buddha's name as much as possible when alive. Many Buddhists believe in the existence of alternative realms besides the human one. One's behavior determines her rebirth into these other realms. Thus, if one leads a very moral life, she could be reborn into the heavenly realm where life is extremely pleasurable. On the other

hand, if one leads an overall immoral life, she could be reborn into the hell realms. The goal of Buddhism, however, is to escape this process of rebirth.

According to Yin Shun's assessment, though, people in the early to mid twentieth century were not interested in escaping the cycle of rebirth (one definition of enlightenment). On the contrary, they were only interested in achieving a "favorable" rebirth or obtaining birth into the Pure Land. For Yin Shun, these goals were misguided for two reasons: first, they distracted believers from those practices that could help them attain enlightenment; and second, they allowed people to ignore what was happening in the world around them, resulting in an unwillingness to take responsibility for improving society. Simply put, Yin Shun's "Buddhism in the Human Realm" draws attention to human beings living in this world and emphasizes their need to cultivate practices that would effect enlightenment. "Founding the Pure Land among humanity" indicates Yin Shun's desire to establish a Pure Land here in this world. This implies a Pure Land in which one not only could cultivate enlightenment, but also could establish a just society and a clean environment. Thus, Yin Shun attempts to make Buddhist doctrine more practical. He discourages discussion of the transcendent or the "other-worldly" and instead focuses on what can be seen, heard, and touched in the here and now. He advocates a "this worldly" approach to Buddhism.

Zhengyan has consciously adopted these concepts as the ideological basis for her teachings.<sup>10</sup> The stress on the importance of the human realm and the necessity of improving the social welfare of humanity as taught by Yin Shun can easily be appropriated to support a view of Buddhism that amplifies the importance of the laity. After all, the lay person lives right in the midst of the world and it is this world that needs to be transformed into a Pure Land:

We hope that the world will be a Pure Land of peace and joy. However, only by purifying human hearts, eliminating avarice and hostility, and activating the innate compassion in every person can we give of

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pg. 205. Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990.

ourselves selflessly. Only by activating our conscience, revealing the intrinsic love hidden in our hearts, and planting the seeds of goodness can we change evil to good, calamity to good fortune.<sup>11</sup>

Zhengyan here takes Yin Shun's emphasis on practicality a step further by advocating an interpretation of Buddhism that elevates the religious status of the laity. Monastic life is not a practical religious alternative for most people. Thus, with Zhengyan, there is an attempt to reform Buddhism, making it more pragmatic for a larger population. Zhengyan shares with Yin Shun the concern that continued emphasis on "other-worldly" issues will result in the demise of the Buddhist tradition. The tradition has to be made palatable and useful for the Chinese if it is to survive.

In order to make Buddhism more accessible to contemporary lay society, Zhengyan reinterprets traditional Buddhist teachings in terms of social work, prescribing new forms of Buddhist praxis accordingly. For example, she redefines the meaning of *daochang*, the area of a temple in which one engages in religious practices such as meditation, to mean the workplace.<sup>12</sup> This implies that the focus of one's spiritual cultivation should be on one's actions in the context of everyday life.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, she argues that Buddhism is a path of practical action. One cannot obtain wisdom from studying the sutras or by practicing meditation. She writes, "one does not have to listen to too many sermons. Merely using one's body to act out a simple verse of the sutras is the true dharma, the true root of virtue."<sup>14</sup> Finally, for Zhengyan, giving is the highest form of religious praxis. Only through charity in the spirit of compassion can one obtain spiritual wisdom. She states, "To act like a buddha is to give without asking for anything in return and to cultivate one's speech and conduct for the sake of all living beings."<sup>15</sup> Now, charity is and has always been an important aspect of Buddhist practice. For example, we find it taught within the

---

<sup>11</sup> Zhengyan, 1999, pg. 48.

<sup>12</sup> Jones, pg. 214.

<sup>13</sup> Zhengyan 1996, pg. 159, Vol. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pg. 130, Vol. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. pg. 128.

context of the "pure practices of the bodhisattva" otherwise known as the Six Perfections (which include charity, morality, forbearance, effort, meditation, and wisdom). But here charity is only one practice among six — all of which are important for self-cultivation. Zhengyan, fully aware of the traditional scheme, reinterprets all the other Perfections in terms of charity. For instance, meditative concentration (the 5th Perfection) can be attained not only by sitting on a cushion, counting one's breath, but also by concentrating the mind on the person who is to benefit from one's altruism.<sup>16</sup> From the preceding examples, we see that Zhengyan advocates forms of Buddhist praxis that the laity can easily implement within the context of their everyday lives. Agreeing with traditional Chinese Buddhism, she believes that to effectively transform the world, self-cultivation must begin with the individual. However, she insists that it can take place right in the midst of the lay person's daily existence:

Of course, we must start with ourselves. We must purify ourselves and promote happiness and harmony in our families. We can extend our care and concern to our community and society. When every society can live in harmony, then the whole world will be peaceful and free of disasters.<sup>17</sup>

Zhengyan's movement, then, challenges the monastic paradigm so central to traditional Chinese Buddhism. Through her novel interpretations of doctrine and practice, she implies that monasticism has become an impractical and outmoded form of Buddhist practice that does not adequately respond to the needs and values of contemporary Taiwanese society. Thus, neither sitting on a cushion in meditation nor chanting the Buddha's name in order to achieve rebirth in a transcendent pure realm produces any immediate and useful results that will improve social and economic conditions and meet the challenges of modernity. Charity, on the other hand, does.

---

<sup>16</sup> Jones, pg. 214-215.

<sup>17</sup> Zhengyan, 1999, pg. 48.

The connection between the movement's emphasis on charity and social and economic development has been recognized by important political figures in the R.O.C. government. The Winter 2000 issue of the Tzu Chi Quarterly, entitled "Tzu Chi: Buddhism in Action" records the Executive Branch Secretary General, Wei Chin's speech celebrating the completed construction of the Tzu Chi Dalin General Hospital in Southern Taiwan's Chiayi County. He states:

Tzu Chi has called on all Taiwanese to rediscover the driving force behind the development of this island throughout the years—love for the land and the people...As Taiwan continues to develop a pluralistic, forward-looking society, a stabilizing force is necessary. I believe Tzu Chi—an organization that transcends race, nationality, and politics—will be such a force.<sup>18</sup>

The R.O.C. government perceives the Tzu Chi movement as an organization which encourages and supports Taiwan's continued development as a modern nation. In so doing, it validates the present political system that has made Taiwan an economic power by advocating a form of religious praxis conducive to political, social, and economic progress.

Zhengyan, then, drawing on the theoretical framework delineated by her tonsure master, Yin Shun, re-conceptualizes traditional Buddhist praxis. On the one hand, she makes it meaningful and accessible to the laity, and on the other hand, she undermines the perception that the Buddhist goal of enlightenment is attainable only through traditional forms of Buddhist practice.

However, Zhengyan is a nun—a condition necessary for an organization like the Tzu Chi Foundation to be successful. As the situation exists now in Taiwan, lay Buddhists continue to regard monastics with respect, recognizing their authority in religious matters. Other movements with a significant lay following, such as those associated with Xingyun and Shengyan, continue to maintain an active and influential

---

<sup>18</sup> Hung, 2000, pg. 35.

monastic tradition. Monastics still maintain authority within the tradition, even if the religious consciousness that grants that authority is undergoing a transformation.

## **6. PURITANIZING THE TAIWANESE CAPITAL**

The above case can elucidate how the collective religious consciousness of a group of people can be reshaped, resulting in a new paradigm within which a religious tradition is conveyed, understood, and practiced. Insisting on the historicity of consciousness, Innis argues that past forms of consciousness consist of affective, perceptual, conceptual, aesthetic, and religious meanings that not only function as a medium for insight and experience, but also provide the basis for subsequent action and understanding.<sup>19</sup> In this respect, we see religious consciousness as a process that can be shaped and reshaped by the interaction of external agents with internal processes of knowing. Zhengyan as an agent of the shift in religious consciousness occurring in Taiwanese Buddhism operates from a knowledge base informed by both an already existing codified system of meaning, namely monastic Chinese Buddhism, and new conceptualizations of Buddhist doctrine delineated by Yin Shun in the 1950's. Both of these aspects serve as the epistemological ground for her reformulation of Buddhist consciousness.

This new form of religious consciousness advocates the idea of "progress" in the form of improving society through human action. Charity is central to this consciousness as a way of visualizing progress. Indeed, the Tzu Chi movement recognizes that effective charitable action must make use of technological advancements. For example, the organization builds hospitals equipped with the latest in medical technology and utilizes modern media equipment in order to promote the Tzu Chi missions of culture and education.<sup>20</sup> Zhengyan, herself, has said, "We are also fortunate to live in the same era of advanced technology. With the help of modern technology, many things have become possible."<sup>21</sup> Thus, the

---

<sup>19</sup> Innis, 1994, pg. 128. See also Burke 1967.

<sup>20</sup> Zhengyan, 2000, pg. 53.

movement in its practice of charity supports, consciously or not, technological progress, and because such technological sophistication requires significant capital to maintain its production, it also supports economic progress. Technological advancement and economic progress are the foundations of Taiwan's success as a modern nation. The Tzu Chi movement by means of its philanthropic endeavors reinforces these foundations. However, Zhengyan's organization does not mindlessly support the status quo. Instead, it manipulates the economic and political situation in Taiwan by encouraging charitable activity in order to inculcate moral values, social ethics, and environmental responsibility and thereby transform society into a Pure Land.

Like the Puritans in the era of the Reformation, members of the Tzu Chi Foundation concentrate on the construction of immediate social realities. What matters is their success as evidenced "right here and now," rather than in the afterlife or the "other world," which was the emphasis of much of early to mid twentieth century lay and monastic Buddhist teaching and practice. This rhetorical reformation of social reality bears similarity to the Puritans of the Reformation era, who renovated Christian doctrine by rejecting the formal rituals of Catholicism and emphasized attaining a successful life in this world through hard work. Weber in his discussion of Martin Luther's notion of "the calling" has argued that during the Reformation the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs became the highest form of moral activity that the individual could pursue. He writes:

The conception of the calling thus brings out that central dogma of all Protestant denominations...The only way of living acceptably to God was not to surpass worldly morality in monastic asceticism, but solely through the fulfillment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world. That was his calling.<sup>22</sup>

While for the Puritan, proof to oneself and to others that God had chosen him or her

---

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 51.

<sup>22</sup> Weber, 1958, pg. 80.

as one of the "elect" came from his social and economic success in the life-world, for the Tzu Chi member, validation of his or her spiritual status derives from the perceptible effects of charitable activities which ultimately contribute to the building of a Pure Land on earth. Compared to more traditional forms of practice such as meditation, the practice of charity is easy to understand and its results are often immediately perceived. This allows the practitioner to see the effects of her efforts, and thereby feel good about contributing to the enhancement of the human condition. Members can donate their wealth to any of the various programs provided by the Tzu Chi Foundation with the guarantee that all of it will go to the program specified by the donator.<sup>23</sup> This guarantee not only encourages trust in the organization, but also allows people to directly observe the progress of the programs to which they have contributed. In this way, Tzu Chi members, by donating part of their capital to the organization, can satisfy their spiritual impulses and see the results of those impulses without having to drastically alter their lifestyle—a lifestyle created in the context of the market economy. Although the Foundation validates the making of money, it discourages people from amassing wealth for merely personal gain, and instead encourages them to contribute it toward the improvement of humanity.

## **7. SUMMARY**

In sum, because of Zhengyan's status and authority as a nun, she can effectively legitimate and institutionalize a paradigmatic shift in Buddhist consciousness that emphasizes lay praxis. As the laity implement Zhengyan's new forms of practice and interpretations of doctrine, they internalize them, appropriating them into their consciousness. Therein, these forms become the medium of insight and experience, serving as the foundation for the laity's understanding and practice of Buddhism. As the laity's religious consciousness collectively changes in this way, Taiwanese Buddhism opens up to the possibility of change as well, resulting in a new paradigm based on lay needs and concerns defined by the capitalist worldview. Monasticism may never be entirely replaced, but the distinction between the roles of the monastic

---

<sup>23</sup> Hung, 2000, pg. 34.

and lay person in terms of institutional control, religious authority, and spiritual attainment may indeed become blurred.

## REFERENCES

### Academic and Scholarly References:

- Burke, Kenneth. 1941. *The Philosophy of Literary Form*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press.
- Daunton, M.J. 1995. *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700-1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goldman, Steven L. (Ed). 1989. *Science, Technology and Social Progress*. Usa: Associated University Press.
- Innis, Robert E. 1994. *Consciousness and the Play of Signs*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Jones, Charles Brewer. 1999. *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Todd, Arthur James. 1922. *Theories of Social Progress: A Critical Study of the Attempts to Formulate the Conditions of Human Advance*. New York: MacMillan.
- , 1999. "A New Millennium of Goodness, Beauty, and Truth" in *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*. Edited by David Chappell. Massachusetts: Wisdom Publications.
- Weber, Max. 1958. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Wolf, Eric R. 1982. *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

### Popular References:

- Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation. 1997. "The Tzu Chi Glossary." Pamphlet.
- Hung, Shu-fen. 2000. "A Hospital of Great Love in a Little Town." *The Tzu Chi Quarterly* 7:4 (Winter 2000), 30-35.
- Zhengyan. 1996. *Still Thoughts*. Vol. 1. English trans. Lin Jiahui. Taipei: Still Thoughts Cultural Mission Co., Ltd.
- , 1996. *Still Thoughts*. Vol 2. English trans. Liu King-pong. Taipei: Still Thoughts Cultural Mission Co., Ltd.
- , 2000. "Together We Meet." *The Tzu Chi Quarterly* 7:4 (Winter 2000), 51-53.