Privileging Indigenous voices: Narratives of travel experiences of Tibetans

by

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A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Recreation and Leisure Studies

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2020

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

In 2012, Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles, wrote "What is wholly absent [from the tourism literature] …is any recognition of Indigenous peoples as tourists" (p.78). Chambers and Buzinde (2015) acknowledged that "tourism knowledge is still predominantly colonial" (p.1). As a response to these claims, this study aims to privilege and center Tibetan peoples' knowledge as tourists, rather than as objects for tourists to gaze upon. Specifically, three research questions have guided this study:

1. What travel and tourism-related issues do Tibetan participants consider important?
2. How do Tibetan travelers narrate their travel experiences?
3. How does the research contribute to building a critically-informed understanding of tourism issues relevant to Indigenous peoples (e.g., experience, knowledge)?

The first research question was purposely left open for the Tibetan participants, leaving room for them to decide their stance on relevant issues. After consulting with participants, we decided to develop codes of conduct for "welcomed tourists' behaviours" to inform tourists who visit Tibet.

Four months of fieldwork was conducted in Tibet, reaching out to 35 participants who generously shared 93 travel stories. Inspired by Indigenous methodologies and community-based participatory research (CBPR), this study adopted a participation oriented approach, guided by three principles: prioritizing community benefits from the research; cultivating sincere researcher-participant relationships; privileging Indigenous knowledge (Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). My study reports on methodological reflections. A series of research practices was drawn from related literature to ensure the application of these principles for opening up different ways of knowing.

To address the second research question (How do Tibetans narrate their travel experiences?), I first elaborated on two major forms of travel taking place in contemporary Tibetan society: *yukour* and *neikour*. *Neikour* refer to religiously motivated visits to distant spiritual sites. *Yukour*, referring to non-religiously motivated travelling, is similar to sightseeing, tourism, or leisure in the literature. Engaging Tibetan concepts might open up new ways of understanding. Participants held two different ideas: *yukour* is a form of *neikour*; *yukour* is different from *neikour* due to its primary trip purposes. Both views differ from those in extant literature, which normally considers pilgrimage to be a sub-niche market of religious tourism (Olsen, 2019; Fleischer, 2000).

I next presented Tibetan travel experiences in a narrative form through composing eight narratives largely based on verbatim quotations. Following each narrative, I connected participants' experiences to Tibetan knowledge recorded in books. Moreover, following Hollinshead's (2012) suggestion of cultivating dialogue space between Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge, I engaged in a critical dialogue with multiple existing literatures, including decolonial studies, dark tourism, posthumanism, eudaimonia experiences, Indigenous knowledge, and travelling workers. Potential working directions for future research were included.

Participants' requested that I advertise their expectations and suggestions for tourists who visit Tibet, which is included as one of my research questions. After consulting with 19 participants, I documented codes of conduct for welcomed tourists, which aligns with religious requirements and moving toward Indigenous communities' autonomy.

Overall, my thesis has established the fact that Tibetans are actively traveling, whether considered *yukour* or *neikour*, both within their homeland and outside. Rather than asserting any confirming tone, my thesis serves as a modest opening for the purpose of inviting more studies to broaden our understanding of tourism and pilgrimage via centering on Indigenous voices, such as those of Tibetan people.

Acknowledgements

Zhuangzi remarked that providing a list might trigger either good or bad competition among listed and not-listed persons because the action of listing itself is a way of creating binaries and distinctions. That is not my intension here. While looking back on my long, staggering study journey, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to many lovely people who made completing this dissertation possible.

First of all, major thanks to the 35 participants who generously shared their valuable stories and supported me in various ways even after my field work was completed: Lhakpa, Chokyap, Tse Kelsang, Tsering, Jigme, Yangla, Lhakpa Tsering, Tashi Phuntsok, Penpa, Norbu, Wangyal , Drolma, Dorje, Namgyal, Tashi Norbu, Pasang, Chompel, Kunga, Tashi, Kelsang, Youdon, Palzom, Karma, Sonam Tashi, Nyima , Phurbu Dandul, Chimy Dolkar, Nyima Tsering, Tsering Drolma, Tsamchoe, Tsering Youdon, Jo Chompel, Lhosang, Phurbu Tashi, and Nyi Tse. Thanks to Chimy Dolkar, Shilho, and Drolma’s families for your hospitality; to Tsering, Jigme, and Yangla for driving me home on many late nights; and to other non-participant friends for facilitating my stays: Ran, Wu, Lan, Jigme Lha, Zhuzun Danta, Daoyan, Renzeng Drolma, Gongge Jiancan, and Jing. All this help made my fieldwork most enjoyable as well as highly productive.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to my supervisor, Professor Heather Mair, who has provided tremendous support, care, and help during my studies. Whenever I lacked confidence about adopting my non-traditional research approach, she encouraged me to listen to my heart and be confident in my study, and always highlighted the beauty of my work. While looking back over my scholarly journey, I have come to realize that navigating uncertainties with curiosity and passion is the essence of doing research. Thanks Heather for helping me with this exploration.

I am in debt to Mary McPherson of Waterloo’s Writing and Communication Centre, who has looked over my writing over the years and taught English writing interestingly. I have enjoyed our weekly sessions, especially your “nit picking” about nuance and help in finding the most-precise wording. You are a caring person who generously supports many international students, for instance, when together with Chao Yang, also of the Centre, you host Conversation Circles as our social space. You took us skating, taught us to recognize animal tracks and bird songs and habits, introduced Canadian and indigenous culture, gave travel and camping tips, and tried to help us enjoy (or just survive!) winter. You even invited us over on important holidays.

My sincere appreciation is due to my internal committee members Professor Bryan Grimwood and Professor Lisbeth Berbary for continuously supporting and encouraging me, caring about my work, and critically pushing back to improve its quality. Thank you so much for always opening your offices for a chat, discussing my many struggles, and dealing with any confusion. I greatly appreciate Professor Steffanie Scott and Professor Dallen Timothy's valuable comments and lovely encouragement of my research. I owe faculty members Professor Kimberly Lopez, Professor Sue Arai, Professor Sherry Dupuis, Professor Steven Mock, Professor Troy Glover, Leeann Ferries, Professor Karla Boluk, Professor Bryan Smale, Professor Kam Hung, and Professor Honggen Xiao tons of thanks as well. Thanks Professor Dan McCarthy and Peter Schuler, an elder and Traditional Knowledge Holder from the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation for your innovative teaching.

Heartfelt thanks to Sandy and Tracy for cheerfully and efficiently helping me navigate the department's many forms and procedures; you can have no idea how valuable your support is to frazzled and stressed-out students. To Sandy, special thanks are also due for giving me and other students our first Christmas dinner in Canada.

And now a virtual group hug to the various groups who made my study in Waterloo colorful, including RECers—Xiaochun, Irene, Ashely, Julian, Meghan, Meggie, Nancy, Serinna, Holden, Bronwen, David, Shane, Meng W., Christina Appah, Mahshad, Narges, Earl, Sandy W., Tristin, Rasha, Natalia, Simon, and Jacqueline; my support groups—Mark, Johnson, Ben, Don, Mengmeng, Erin Reid, Marwa, Claudia, Jane, Tara, Yuan W., Lily, Charles, Bobo, Ni, Jin, Alex, Xiaowen, Tong, and Anthony; my Food Sovereignty buddies; and my friends who provided remote support—Fang, Zhengli, Flora, Yuan, Long, Sasha, Liz, Christopher, Sunny, Tata, and Bona.

Lastly but most importantly, thanks to my family for always backing me up, for their unconditional love, for being my safe harbor whenever I am tired, for leniency when I need it, and for endless joys. Thanks Tao. Mom, I could not have completed my study without your great understanding, listening, support, care, and love.

Dedication

To our dear girl, Amy Wang:

We know you are mighty and will continue to be mighty, and we all love you.

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Territorial Acknowledgement

I acknowledge that we live and work on the traditional territory of the Neutral, Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee people. The University of Waterloo is situated on the Haldimand Tract, the land promised to the Six Nations that includes ten kilometers on each side of the Grand River.

I am committed to: 1) being grateful for the opportunity to study on this land; 2) being respectful of and willing to learn about Indigenous culture; 3) being careful of my own behaviours that might harm Mother Earth.

A Reminder to Readers

As a result of the nature of this study, I took a careful and cautious approach in the assertion of any universalized or totalized statements. The significant role of specific contexts to any individualized responses and, thus, the conclusions that may be drawn from them remained an overarching concern throughout the course of the study. For instance, some phrases include terms such as 'western-centric'. In statements like these, I am not referring to every single person from the west, but rather the specific groups mentioned within the text. Conversely, when I speak of a 'Tibetan perspective', I am not using a universalized blanket term to refer to every single Tibetan. The word 'Tibetan' in the findings sections mainly refers to participants' identification of being Tibetan. My arguments apply only to a particular context, culture, and even specific people or moments.

Participants, including: Lhakpa, Chokyap, Lhakpa Tsering, Norbu, Pasang, Dorje, Drolma, Karma, Chimy Dolkar, and Nyima Tsering, also worried about their opinions becoming generalized.

The intention of this thesis is to provide insight to the furthest extent possible with the information available, with any assumptions and conclusions falling within the limitations of the participants' interviews and experiences.

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 The silenced voices on Indigenous travellers

Have you ever heard about the travel experiences of the 'othered'/marginalized/Indigenous/ethnic people? Do they travel? Have they been "liberated as the agent of tourism and take on the role of the tourist" (Winter, 2009, p.26)? Are they restricted due to lack of disposable income and travel opportunities? Are their trips too subtle to be noticed based on capitalistic logic?

Are their trips also motived by a desire to witness authenticity as their western/dominant counterparts' are? For instance, if ethnic elements, such as highly visualized, colorful, feather-decorated images, are integral parts of object authenticity based on current literature, will these 'othered'/marginalized/Indigenous/ethnic people also look for feather dressing during their trips?

Those questions are driven by the absence of recognizing Indigenous people as tourists in current literature (Peters & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012; Winter, 2009) and by the involvement of Indigenous people in the literature of travel experience being limited to non-Indigenous travelers' descriptions of authentic experience. This is not only an academic absence, but also a silence in practice as the following discourse on Tibet shows.

The opening of the Qinghai-Tibet Railway in 2006 marked the end of China's last province that was not accessible via railway. Due to the high altitude and challenging geographic conditions, the railway is called a 'sky road'. It is also called a 'wellbeing' road, because it has brought in thousands of visitors to Tibet and delivered tons of Tibetan specialty products to inner China, such as plateau barley, Lhasa Beer, Iceberg 5100 Mineral Water, and Yak meat. The annual tourist arrivals increased from 1.8 million with RMB1.9 billion (around USD 0.29 billion) revenues in 2005 to 33.6 million with RMB 49 billion (USD 7.45 billion) in 2018 (Chang, 2015; Tourism Administration of TAR, 2019). News reports focused on the benefits of the railway, and went on to describe the Tibetan attractions and how farmers and herders have changed their traditional livelihoods to tourism (Chang, 2015; Jia, & Labaciren, 2007; Liao, 2016; Chen, Li, & Wang, 2016).

Two pop songs were crafted based on the railway, Sky Road, and Taking the Train to Lhasa. Some lyrics of the latter include: "taking the train to Lhasa…pass by grasslands, cross mountains, to fulfill dreams,….to see the marvelous Potala Palace, to view the most beautiful ge-sang flowers—blossoming at the snowy mountains, …to dance the most passionate dance, to drink the most strongly

fragrant barley wine, to be drunk in the heavens" (He, 2006). Figure 1 presents an artist's depiction of this commercialized imaging of Tibet. I designed it and invited a professional artist to draw it. It is motivated by the creative analysis practices (CAP) that aim to improve knowledge mobility via better communicating research ideas with non-academic folk (Berbary, 2018). The figure below, along with another cartoon in my thesis, were used in explaining research purpose to my participants, as strongly suggested by Smith (2012).

Figure 1   Imagination of Tibet

Designed by the author, drawn by a professional artist

The above descriptions of the railway represent a typical discourse about Tibet, always welcoming hosts and drawing thousands of tourists to travel around 'the roof of the world'. The voices of Tibetans as travelers themselves are silenced. Tibetans are not alone in this: many Indigenous and ethnic groups of travelers are silenced as well.

Nash (1981) believed that tourism, in different forms, exists "at all levels of human culture" (p. 463). The popular film in 2018—*Green Book*—is strong evidence of this opinion, as it reveals that African-Americans did travel—even though popular culture seemed unaware of them as tourists. To do so, they had to overcome hardships in the era of segregation in the United States. The film's source, '*The Negro Motorist Green Book'*, is a popular travel guide that helped African-Americans find motels, restaurants, travel agencies, and leisure facilities that would accept them (Foster, 1999). I

do share the belief that tourism exists in all cultures while also admitting the fact that tourism knowledge is highly western-centered, as supported by McRae (2003), Higgins-Desbiolles (2006), Ateljevic, Pritchard, and Morgan (2007), Pritchard and Morgan (2007), Winter (2009), Kothari and Wilkinson (2010), Nielsen and Wilson (2012), Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012), Chambers and Buzinde (2015), Whitford and Ruhanen (2016), and Carr, Ruhanen, and Whitford (2016). Most tourism literature does not merely follow neo-liberal economic logic, but also understands travel experience from a narrow "western" perspective—that is from an individualistic and marketized view (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006), as highlighted by Butler (2019): in "the modern era we think of tourism as being primarily a Western phenomenon, perhaps reflecting the dominance of Western academic research, more than reality" (p.232). Thus, as suggested by Winter (2009), the first step in changing the current status is to make existing ideas visible (p.28). Non-western, Asian, and Indigenous people do travel, and researchers hold the responsibility to elevate their voices.

1.2 Research purpose and questions

The purpose of this participatory, narrative research is to illuminate Tibetan people's knowledge of their own travel experiences. In an attempt to depart from the frustrating facts acknowledged by Chambers and Buzinde (2015) that "tourism knowledge is still predominantly colonial" (p.1), and by Mignolo (2009) that "the first world has knowledge, the third world has culture" (p.1). My work aims to privilege and center Tibetan peoples' knowledge as tourists rather than as objects for tourists to gaze upon. Viewing Indigenous people as tourists is positioning them as "the producers of tourism knowledge" (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015, p.3). Research about such travels can be considered a way of empowering Indigenous people by considering them as having the power to travel and rather than being passively gazed upon by non-Indigenous tourists. Four-months' extensive fieldwork were conducted in Tibet and guided by the following three research questions:

1. What travel and tourism-related issues do Tibetan participants consider important?
2. How do Tibetan travelers narrate their travel experiences?
3. How does the research contribute to building a critically-informed understanding of tourism issues relevant to Indigenous peoples (e.g., experience, knowledges)?

First, the Indigenous literature highlights the significance of benefiting communities from the research and actively engaging their members in the research process (Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). To move towards this direction, my first research question is purposely left open for

the Tibetan participants, leaving room for them to decide relevant issues. It helps this study to resonate locally and connect with them. After consulting with participants, we decided to develop codes for "welcomed tourists' behaviours" to inform tourists who visit Tibet.

Second, how do Tibetan travelers describe their travel experiences? Given the fact that no solid understanding of the travel experiences of Tibetan people has yet emerged, this question is intended to explore broad and basic issues, such as how they define tourism and other travelling forms.

Third, the potential contributions to both existing tourism literature and practices were identified by participants and me.

Figure 2 presents an image of a Tibetan person on a trip based on the second research question. Little is known about their own travel experience. For instance, do they dress in this way on their trip? Do they consider visual attractiveness to be a symbol of "objective authenticity" for other ethnic groups?

Figure 2 Image of Tibetan woman on a trip

Designed by the author, drawn by a professional artist

1.3 Organization of the dissertation

The research is motivated by dissatisfaction with western-centered knowledge and ways of knowing, which has led to my desire to privilege Indigenous voices and their ways of knowing. The second research question is prompted by the knowledge gap—limited recognition of Indigenous people as tourists. To privilege Indigenous voices, a participatory approach is engaged to identify appropriate ways of advancing knowledge.

The rationale, gap, and one of the two overarching ideas are all solidly built on five bodies of literature: decolonization and Indigenous knowledge, tourism and Indigenous people, travel experience, Tibetan history and knowledge, as well as religious tourism. These five bodies of literature are introduced as independent subsections of Chapter 2, Literature Review.

Chapter 3 on methodology highlights the rationale for reconstructing Indigenous knowledge in a more equitable way. Drawing from Indigenous literature, I identify three important principles: to prioritize community benefit as a research purpose, cultivate sincere researcher-participant relationships, and privilege Indigenous knowledge. These principles justify my corresponding research practices and support the employment of narrative inquiry as an overarching methodology that guides the research design. I also describe how photo elicitation and unstructured interviews were used to collect narratives. I then briefly introduce my fieldwork, provide a profile of participants, and describe the actual implementation in the fieldwork, followed by analysis process and subjectivity.

To respond to my second research question—how Tibetans narrate their travel experiences, Chapter 4 introduces two major types of travel in contemporary Tibetan society: *yukour* (tourism) and *neikour* (pilgrimage). A profile of the trips shared by participants is summarized at the end, followed by a discussion connecting with existing religious tourism literature. Introducing Indigenous definitions avoids the imposition of non-culturally cogent terms. Such introduction provides an entry point for understanding their travel experiences, as well as to set out a reliable foundation for future research.

Chapter 5 answers the second research question through eight narratives that were composed based on verbatim quotations of participants. The composed narratives reflected the narrative environment that informs and shapes participants' behaviour and outlined some characteristics of Tibetan travellers. Following each narrative, I connected participants' experiences to Tibetan knowledge recorded in books, as well as 'new' literature, including dark tourism, posthumanism, eudaimonia experiences, and travelling workers. Potential working directions for future research are included.

I must justify the non-conventional organization of the writing. A conventional structure in academic writing and representation normally requires researchers to review existing literature as a pre-determined framework to interpret participants' experience. On one hand, such a practice ensures researchers move along the 'right track' by leveraging pre-established analytical framework/tools/theories/terms from previous researchers. However, following this approach may also restrict researchers' ability to be open towards Indigenous perspectives gathered from fieldwork, especially when the existing literature is western-centric. To depart from this convention, I included 'new' or 'emerging' literature that was fully based on the issues brought up by participants, although different from the literature review chapter. These additional literature selections are included in Chapter 5, rather than alongside the works within the Literature Review chapter, to demonstrate this

thinking process. Notably, such non-conventional presentation does not go against decolonization of knowledge production, but rather provides support for it, as it demonstrates the necessity of opening up the thinking from fieldwork with cultural and contextual specific issues.

Chapter 6 answers my first research question that was raised by my participants on an issue they cared about—document codes of conduct for tourist behaviour. I first explain why this issue was selected before introducing it in detail. I then move on to the necessity of having such codes, drawing on existing literature, followed with a brief plan for disseminating such codes through non-academic channels. It is necessary to have such community-determined codes of conduct due to the desired level of respect for religious sites, the sheer abundance of religious sites across Tibet, and the need to gain some degree of local autonomy in tourism management.

Chapter 7 concludes the whole study with a review of contributions, as well as limitations to be addressed in future studies. My third research question engages participants to identify potential contributions of conducting this study. Their opinions were documented in this chapter as well.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

To support the rationale for conducting the study, and to identify knowledge gaps, this chapter reviews five bodies of literature: decolonization and Indigenous knowledge, tourism and Indigenous people, travel experience, Tibetan history and knowledge, as well as religious tourism.

2.1 Decolonization and Indigenous Knowledge

In order to support my position that research should center the knowledge of Indigenous people and engaging Indigenous groups in the research process, this section begins with an overview of closely related concepts, including scientific colonialism and decolonization, and further moves on to what Indigenous knowledge is and how it functions within the decolonization process.

It opens with the concept, 'scientific colonialism', which exemplifies how the control of the colonial (dominant) power permeates both methods and ideologies under the mantle of knowledge production. As such, it is time for all researchers to reflect on the whole system of knowledge production, or, in the words of Guba and Lincoln (2005), "research needs emancipation from hearing only the voices of Western Europe" (p.212). Additionally, countering the dominant research practice in which the researcher distances themselves from the objects under study while extracting information from a local community, the introduction of decolonial studies signaled [signals] a shift in which "the research process was [and still is] as important as the results" (Garakani & Peter, 2016, p.451).

2.1.1 Scientific colonialism and decolonization

'Colonialism', referring to "the implanting of settlements on distant territory", is considered a consequence of 'imperialism', which in turn refers to the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory" (Said, 1993, p.9). Some scholars hold different opinions on these two definitions, such as on the sequence of colonialism and imperialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths, &Tiffin, 2013), or in using "imperialism" for the ideological control and "colonialism" for the acquisition of colonies (Buzinde, 2016). Among the various definitions, colonialism and imperialism share the following three themes: 1) encompassing the subjugation and dispossession of one group (the East / the Third world / developing / semi-civilized or barbarians / colonized) by another (the West / the First world / developed / civilized / colonizer). This binary

thinking privileges western superiority and formulates universalized standards to order the whole world; 2) stretching from accumulation and acquisition to ideological control concealed under the mantle of knowledge production; and 3) resulting in two thirds of the world suffering from destruction led by nation states, such as France, Spain, England, and American (Ashcroft, et al., 2013; Buzinde, 2016; Childs & Williams, 1997; Chilisa, 2012; Grimwood, et al., 2015; Little Bear, 2000; Liu, 2015; Said, 1993; Smith, 2012; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Young, 2003).

'Scientific colonialism' continues to greatly influence our ways of knowing. Scientific colonialism, also termed 'intellectual colonization' by Mignolo (1993, p.130), is used to describe "the imposition of the colonizers' ways of knowing – and the control of all knowledge produced in the colonies" (Chilisa, 2012, p.10; Cordova, 2016; Smith, 2012). Examples of knowledge imposition are countless. Suffice it to mention, Edward Said (1978), in his seminal book, *Orientalism*, described how European settlers were privileged over local Egyptians through knowledge production. The latter were considered unable to produce knowledge, being judged as "unable to do more than look at the Pyramids from a distance" (Said, 1978, p.175). Only privileged Europeans who used mathematics and measurements were capable of constructing true knowledge about the Pyramids (Said, 1978). Those Europeans were considered by Escobar (1995) to be "massive landing experts," and their research has been termed by Smith (2012) as "'white research', 'academic research' or 'outsider research'" (p.44). On the other hand, Europeans also used their knowledge to subjugate other ways of knowing and legitimize their control in Egypt and other places.

Accordingly, the control of scientific colonization goes beyond specific content and methods of obtaining knowledge, to also gain mastery at the ideological level (Chilisa, 2012, p.10; Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Cordova, 2016; Hollinshead & Suleman, 2017; Johnson & Murton, 2007; Little Bear, 2000; Smith, 2012), which is closely associated with the second shared theme of imperialism and colonialism—ideological control concealed under the mantle of knowledge production. This form of colonization is embedded with the positivist research paradigm (Chilisa, 2012; Cordova, 2016; Johnson & Murton, 2007; Smith, 2012), which assumes the achievability of objective truth via measuring (Crotty, 1998; Smith, 2012). Under the lens of positivism, the researcher distances her/himself from objects of research (including Indigenous people) who are regarded as a "data plantation" (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Hollinshead & Suleman, 2017; Smith, 2012).

Due to some unethical offences of researchers who mainly considered extracting research data from Indigenous communities, Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) states that "The word itself,

‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary.” (p.xi). Based on heavy reliance on numbers, the research process focuses on reducing complex situations into simple categories via classification, representation, and evaluation (Johnson & Murton, 2007). For instance, even the complex social-ecological world could be put into two simply and neat categories: “primitive culture and pristine nature” (Johnson & Murton, 2007, p.123). “*Objective*, in other words, is an externalization, but also *an appropriative process*. Objectivity results in an emphasis on materialism” (Little Bear, 2000, p.83, italic added).

The notions of objective truth subjugated Indigenous ways of knowing and over-simplified complex situations into simple categories. Ingold (1995) elaborated his concerns about such an objective/ externalized way of knowing: “Something…must be wrong somewhere, if the only way to understand our own creative involvement in the world is by first taking ourselves out of it” (p.58). In addition to the research process, scientific colonialism is also related to the way of dealing with research results that are normally only processed into books and articles (Chilisa, 2012). Therefore, as summarized by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, research “is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism” [is perpetuated] (Smith, 2012, p.8), and so it is necessary to carefully review the ways of knowing with a critical and ethical lens.

As a result of scientific colonialism, Indigenous people, their traditional knowledge, and their ways of knowing are undermined, ignored, regarded as unscientific, or replaced with Western ways of knowing (Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2012; Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Cordova, 2016; Hollinshead & Suleman, 2017; Little Bear, 2000). Cordova (2016) described how powerful the scientists in Hawai’i were in deciding the communities’ development, as revealed by one Indigenous participant, who noted that the scientists played “exactly that role as a God” in dictating ways. Native people might be disconnected from their traditional ways of knowing, language, history, and culture—a process referred to as “systematic fragmentation” (Smith, 2012). Native people might also voluntarily accept and participate in transactions (Freire, 1970; Nash, 1989), a phenomenon Alatas (2004) named the “captive mind” and Fanon (1967) termed “colonization of the mind”. As a result, the oppressed might internalize the oppressors’ opinions of them and “become convinced of their own unfitness” (Freire, 1970, p.63). Some aboriginal people were led to abandon their own religion and follow Fundamentalist Christianity, and to “be ashamed of or afraid to admit their ‘Indianess’” (Hernández-Ávila, 1996, p.342).

To challenge the lingering effects of colonialism and imperialism, there are two schools of thought, post-colonialism, and decolonial studies. 'Post-colonialism' refers to the critique of and resistance to colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and their after-effects (Childs & Williams, 1997). Given the colonialism and imperialism context introduced earlier, the purpose of post-colonialism is to challenge the asymmetrical power relationships between western and non-western countries, and to challenge the superiority and hegemony of western cultures (Young, 2003). Meanwhile, another school—decolonial theory—represents a more radical perspective (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Chambers, 2016), addressing de-linking from Western epistemology and opening up Indigenous ways of knowing and cosmologies, rather than focusing on the critique of Europe only (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Grosfoguel, 2007; Lowman & Mayblin, 2011; Mignolo, 1993, 2009). One oversight of post-colonialism was its potential to ignore Indigenous peoples (Smith, 2012), a mistake that can be addressed in decolonial studies through thinking "from and with subalternized racial/ethical/sexual space and bodies" (Grosfoguel, 2007, p.212). In other words, decolonization "is a process of centering the concerns and worldviews of the colonized Other so that they understand themselves through their own assumptions and perspectives" (Chilisa, 2012, p.13). I agree with Chambers and Buzinde (2015) that the de-linking from western epistemology and knowledge is significantly different from postcolonial theories, and, as such, the consideration of "decolonization" as an independent term is useful.

Decolonization inherits the following three characteristics, taken from Grosfoguel (2007): 1) decolonization cannot be achieved by merely relying on Western epistemologies, even the radical Left version; 2) in contrast to colonialism, which intends to put a universalized matrix over global issues, decolonization cultivates pluriversal epistemic/ethical/political voices; 3) epistemic/cosmologies' knowledge from subalternized racial/ethnic/sexual spaces and bodies in the Global South is crucial. The first and third characteristics have been explained in the differentiation of postcolonialism and decolonization, and the second characteristic can be clarified with the following insights. To secure the positional superiority of Europe, colonialism brings up universalized standards to suppress diversified human worldviews. Pluriversal voices indicate that decolonization is not Third-world fundamentalism against European ideas, but rather the Third-world ideas coexisting with the European ideas without depressing either one (Grosfoguel, 2007). Thus, post-colonial and decolonial studies highlight a flattened view of the First and the Third worlds.

This section (Section 2.1.1) has briefly reviewed, with examples, scientific colonialism, its ideological implications on contemporary research, and its damage to Indigenous knowledge, followed by two theoretical perspectives that challenge imperialism and colonialism: postcolonialism and decolonization. This background knowledge informs the following discussion of the role of Indigenous knowledge in decolonization and reflections on the research process that might underlie the codes of colonialism and imperialism. In particular, the importance of de-linking knowledge production from Western epistemologies and opening it up to other ways of knowing motivates research like my study, which is centered on the travel knowledge production of people from marginalized regions. Decolonization sets the stage and tone of my thesis—continuously engaging with and unsettling knowledge production, leveraging greater equity in terms of values placed on different knowledge, and constructing knowledge about Indigenous people in a more equitable and participatory way.

2.1.2 Indigenous peoples, Indigenous knowledges, Indigenous ontologies

This section first reviews relevant scholarship on 'Indigenous peoples', as well as their knowledges and ontologies.

The United Nation's (UN) definition of 'Indigenous' is a frequently cited one, as referenced in Hinch and Bulter (2009), Ryan and Aicken (2005), and Holmes (2015). It identifies two preliminary features of Indigenous peoples: having unique social, cultural, political traditions that are distinct from the dominant groups, and traditionally inhabiting certain areas later occupied by dominant groups (UN, 2019). The UN also extends the understanding to the following aspects:

- Self-identification as Indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
- Distinct social, economic, or political systems
- Distinct language, culture, and beliefs
- Form non-dominant groups of society
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities. (UN, 2019, no page number)

Having a unified term 'Indigenous' is problematic, although notably less problematic than the lack of descriptive terminology for such groups. According to Smith (2012), the term 'Indigenous people' "internationalizes the experiences, the issues and the struggles of some of the world's colonized peoples" (p.6). In other words, since imperialism and colonialism have brought significant global impacts, the term 'Indigenous people' has enabled the collective voices of colonized others to be captured and communicated. Relying on outside perceptions rather than accounts from those within these groups has a lasting and negative impact, with Indigenous communities in both the first and third worlds once characterized by the West with terms such as "worthlessness, laziness, dependence and lack of 'higher' order human qualities" (Smith, 2012, p.6). Within this diversified 'other', the struggles are contextualized. She proposed employing the names preferred by Indigenous people themselves to present the rich and immeasurably differentiated Indigenous groups in writing.

'Indigenous' is often the synonym of a series of terms, such as 'aboriginal', 'native', 'First Nations', 'tribal', 'minority', 'caste', or 'ethnic', as observed through the various wording choices made by researchers. The Chinese government officially uses the term "ethinic minority groups". United Nations (UN) stated that China has no Indigenous people (Peters & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012). With this in mind, why do I still consider Tibetans a "Indigenous group"? Grosfoguel (2007) argued that "Coloniality and modernity constitute two sides of a single coin" (p.218). Accordingly, I think the term 'Indigenous' can be applied in the context of a group of people with distinctive culture whose territories are not necessarily directly occupied, but whose discourse is permeated with dominate-marginalize or majority-minority themes. Of my research, the colonial relationship between Tibet and the rest of China is highly contested, a debate which will be expanded on in the study case section (Section 2.4). The Chinese government has not sent large numbers of settlers to Tibet, but the Tibetan culture is being engulfed in the 'modernity' and 'market' discourse (Gaerrang, 2017), discourses which are implemented by the Central Chinese government. This discourse echoes those implemented on the Chinese by nation states such as England and Japan from the 19th century to the first half of the 20th (Liu, 2015). Thus, even though Tibetan is one of the fifty-five ethnic groups in China, applying the term 'Indigenous' in the current study is not intended to suggest a colonial relationship, but instead indicates the local/marginalized/minority response towards a global/dominant/majority power.

Although few studies have applied the term 'Indigenous' in a Tibetan context, the applicability of the classification in this instance has been suggested in a selection of publications. Bunten and

Graburn (2018) argued that China's fifty-five minority groups present an important venue for Indigenous research. Yeh (2007) noted that neither Tibetans in Tibet, nor those in exile deployed the term "Indigenous." However, she (2007) urged the use of 'Indigenous' by those promoting political pursuits related to the land and self-determination for Tibetans. Following Emily Yeh's line of thought, her Tibetan student Gaerrang (2017), born in a part of the greater Tibetan region of China and now working in China following his graduation from post-secondary in the USA, adopted a softer tone. Gaerrang employed the term 'Indigenous knowledge' as a contrast to 'mainstream knowledge', which denotes scientific, data-based knowledge (p.528). My view is closely aligned with Gaerrang's (2017) in using 'Indigenous' mainly in contrast to mainstream/dominant. Other scholars, such as Chan et al. (2016) and Wu (2012), also apply the term 'Indigenous' to describe Tibetans in China.

Centering on Indigenous ontologies, knowledges, and research opens up spaces for different ways of thinking and being. Indigenous knowledge (IK) possessed by specific Indigenous people within particular areas shares several characteristics, summarized by Grenier (1998) who described IK as:

> The cumulative experiences and reflections of a group, passed down both orally and in writing by generations; continuously adapting and recruiting new elements; shared by every community member regardless their age and gender; could be conveyed through any form, including "stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, dances, myths, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, cultural community, laws, local language, artifacts, forms of communication, and organization. (p.6)

This wide range of expressions of IK denotes that the "knowledge itself is an assemblage of lived experience, religious beliefs and situated practices" (Gaerrang, 2017, p.527), which is significantly different from western knowledge, particularly knowledge engendered under a post-positivism epistemology aimed to 'distill' or 'break down' certain abstract information as 'data'. This assemblage is epitomized by Agrawal's (1995a) view of the "organic relationship between the local community and its knowledge" (p.416). Because of the inseparability of IK and its community, some scholars (Laenui, 2000; Chilisa, 2012) also coined the term "Indigenous knowledge system" to describe the wide range of aspects in the knowledge development process. Second, IK is an accumulative and dynamic process through which new elements and adjustments are continuously added in (Grenier, 1998). Gaerrang (2017) unpacked the importance of such dynamic views in avoiding romanticizing IK as a time-and-space-fixed form. Similarly, Smith (2012) elaborated on the stereotyped perception of IK through her own experience in which the audiences were disappointment

by a group of Indigenous people who did not show up for a photographic event with colourful dressings and feathers. Third, IK is context, space, and time specified (Agrawal, 1995a, 1995b; Grenier, 1998), in Haraway's (1988) term, 'situated knowledge'. As elaborated in the previous section, imperialism and colonialism encompass applying universalized and simplified categories into diversified contexts (Ingold, 1995); by contrast, IK is "deeply rooted in its context" (Agrawal, 1995a, p.418).

Notably, most studies present Indigenous knowledge in contrast to western knowledge, a dichotomy that many consider ridiculous. In Agrawal's (1995b) view, it is impossible to say that Indigenous and western knowledge have not influenced each other. In a similar vein, Grosfoguel (2007) emphasized that the aim of decolonization is not to oppose western knowledge, but to coexist with it. Many Indigenous scholars have clearly stated their stance, that Indigenous knowledge and methodologies are not a "total rejection of Western theory, research, or knowledge", but about changing the focus, "centring our concerns and world views and them coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes" (Smith, 2012, p.41; Chilisa, 2012; Louis, 2007; Pedri-spade, 2016; Victor, et al., 2016). Accordingly, while claiming to "center Tibetan knowledge", I value their knowledge, while holding no intention of devaluing western knowledge.

Focusing on Indigenous ontologies enables the de-linking from Western epistemology and opening up Indigenous ways of knowing, an action which makes decolonial studies significantly different from postcolonial studies as summarized in the previous section (Section 2.1.1) (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Grosfoguel, 2007; Lowman & Mayblin, 2011; Mignolo, 1993, 2009). This is part of the reason that most studies on Indigenous methodologies begin by elaborating on colonialism, a practice supporting the overview of colonialism at the beginning of this literature review. Thus, decolonial studies expedites further discussion on Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies. Broadening the analysis scope to onto-epistemology makes clear distinctions between traditional anthropologists' accounts and Indigenous accounts. The former might engage with Indigenous communities through interviews and participation for a long period of time; however, all the information drawn from Indigenous communities is projected onto "the theoretical and methodological frameworks of Anglo-European forms of research, reasoning and interpreting" (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001, p.58). This academic dilemma was deemed by Mignolo (1993) to be "a new form of intellectual colonization" (p.130). In other words, traditional anthropology studies of

Indigenous people are still trying to fit into the dominant framework rather than opening up alternatives from knowledge production roots (Escobar, 2010; Little Bear, 2000; Victor, et al., 2016; Wilson, 2008). Therefore, engaging in the discussion of Indigenous ontologies not only provides new information for contemporary knowledge and understanding, but also provides "the condition of possibility for constructing new loci of enunciation as well as for reflecting that academic 'knowledge and understanding' should be complemented with 'learning from' those who are living in and thinking from colonial and postcolonial legacies" (Mignolo, 1993, p.131).

Conducting respectful research prompts leaving space for Indigenous people to introduce their onto-espitemologies without any imposition and, as a non-Indigneous researcher, it is important for me to acknowledge and be sensitive to relevant ontological variation. Hollinshead (2012) made detailed comparasion of ontological differences between Indigenous groups in western Austrilia and Western/Eurocentric society. He crtiqued many Western experts' ignorance of such differences, labelling these studies as "the baseless pretensions and the stultifying blindness of the standpoints" (p.50). Meanwhile, he aruged that aboriginality is a continuous process of dialogue over time with efforts from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous parities who are decidedly cultivating the space for dialogue. In short, instead of assuming the same worldview between Indigenous and non-Indigenous parties or imposing western concepts (which is dominating current literature) into Indigenous society, non-Indigenous researchers should "become more open to the worldviews of 'other'" (Hollinshead, 2012, p. 43).

Accomplishing this requires awareness of differences in ontologies which may lead my participants to see the world differently from my views. In the fieldwork, my approach to maintaining this awareness included, but was not limited to: 1) embodying humility through open-mindedness and a willingness to 'learn from' participants; 2) consistently checking reasoning for or assumptions behind their statements; 3) acknowledging my own assumptions and biases that might influence my research in reflecting on my methodology section. In my analysis of their stories, being sensitive to the onto-espietomological differences enabled me to ground my interpretations based on Buddhist knowledge, rather than western frameworks. I also discuss some connections between Tibetan paricipants' voices with existing literature, as suggested by Hollinshead (2012) to cultivate 'dialogue'.

The reader might critique the above for not defining or distinguishing between multiple terms, such as 'ontology', 'epistemology', 'worldview', 'way of knowing', 'cosmos', and 'philosophy'. My reasons are twofold: 1) drawing clear boundaries between two things is itself a frequently critiqued

Western way of thinking, and 2) most current literature on Indigenous ontologies does not distinguish among the various terms but rather each author uses his or her preferred term for the same content addressed by another author under a different term. For instance, in Cree researcher Wilson's seminal book, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous research methods*, he stated that Indigenous "epistemology is our cultures, our worldviews, our times, our languages, our histories, our spiritualties and our places in the cosmos. Indigenous epistemology is our systems of knowledge in their [the western] context, or in relationships" (Wilson, 2008, p.74). This statement indicates that the terms, 'epistemology', 'worldviews', and 'cosmos', are the same for Wilson. Little Bear (2000) used the term 'Indigenous philosophy' in a similar context.

To recapitulate, the review of the definition of 'Indigenous people' justifies the applicability of the term 'Indigenous' in a Tibetan context, to form a contrast to the mainstream/dominant culture. Research on 'Indigenous knowledge' views knowledge from a broad perspective, as opposed to the narrowly definition of accumulated facts or written text. IK is context, space, and time specified. Adopting such a broad view allows me to include various sources into my study, such as their oral trandition or real-life experiences. 'Indigneous ontologies' reminds me to avoid interpreting Indigenous experience through western frameworks.

2.2 Tourism and Indigenous People

I will briefly review the questioning of western-centered tourism knowledge and research progress about or with Indigenous people. Both topics shed light on the need for and significance of deconstructing tourism knowledge production via embedding Indigenous knowledge and acknowledging ontological differences, a gap which my study responds to.

I start with the critical turn and hopeful tourism initiatives, which have led researchers to interrogate related power-knowledge relationships and encouraged the exploration of different ways of knowing. Second, the research progress of Indigenous people in tourism is mainly expanded around two themes: tourists' visits to Indigenous communities and the tourism development in Indigenous communities. Clearly, a uniting theme in the threads discussed in both the critical turn and tourism and Indigenous people is the significance and need for employing Indigenous voices to deconstruct current academic knowledge-production process (Carr, Ruhanen, & Whitford, 2016; Grimwood et al., 2015; Holmes et al., 2016; Nielsen & Wilson, 2012; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016).

Therefore, my research closely aligns with the critical turn and enlarges the idea of utilizing 'Indigenous opinions' in tourism development to acknowledge Indigenous people's rights to travel and add their travel experience and perception as an alternative stream of knowledge to the literature.

2.2.1 The critical turn and questioning the production of tourism knowledge

Tourism scholars have taken 'a critical turn' that challenges the power inequalities that encircle the western centered way of knowing by adopting a radical stance (Ateljevic, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2007; Mair, 2018), as indicated from the first Critical Tourism Studies Conference in 2005 and the publication of the book, *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies: Innovative Research Methodologies* (2007). Pritchard, Morgan, and Ateljevic (2011) reworked the phrasing from critical turn to 'Hopeful tourism' to emphasize the role of love and hope in this process. They outlined it as "a values-led humanist approach based on partnership, reciprocity and ethics, which aims to achieve co-created learning and which recognizes the power of sacred and Indigenous knowledge and passionate scholarship" (p.949). Interrogating the power-knowledge relationship is a key direction in working through this critical turn. For instance, Fullagar and Wilson (2012) identified the critical engagement of "surfacing the power–knowledge relations that underpin mainstream or normalised ways of thinking" (p.1). In the same vein, Mair (2018) encouraged critical tourism scholars to assess whether the knowledge generated from their research "reinforces or challenges the status quo" (p.54).

The questioning of power-knowledge relationships has been ignited by the recognition of western centered knowledge production in tourism, as Pritchard and Morgan (2007) highlighted as follows:

> Clearly, tourism is a base which is closely entwined with the imperial project and colonialism. Most tourism research is Eurocentric study that privileges and is interconnected with capitalism and linear thinking, while most of the research has been conducted or grounded in English and from limited scholarly perspectives. As such, the conceptualization and scholarship related to extant tourism literature has been created largely by white, Anglo-centric, masculine voices. (pp. 21-22)

Aligned with this view, Winter (2009) highlighted that this problem is not only limited to tourism: "nearly all the field's key concepts have been grounded in societal changes occurring in Western Europe or North America" (p.23). He proceeds to identify the domination by 'Anglo-Western centrism' in key tourism concepts, the geographical location of key journals and their chief editors, and analytical frameworks of tourism. Winter (2009) further clarified that the acknowledgment of

western-centric knowledge production does not indicate lack of studies in a non-western context, but rather that western ways of knowing have been used to "interpret 'non-Western' tourists' practices and industries" (p.24). Ten years after the first Critical Tourism Studies Conference, a frustrating fact was acknowledged by Chambers and Buzinde (2015): "tourism knowledge is still predominantly colonial" (p.1) because western epistemologies are still privileged and people from the South continue to be research objects "rather than the producers of tourism knowledge" (p.3).

To counter the western-centric tourism knowledge, I center the voices of Indigenous people, as the role of their voices has been highlighted by Pritchard and Morgan (2007):

> Other voices (particularly those of women, ethnic minorities and aboriginal peoples) have struggled to be heard…And yet, ours is a tourism scholarship where Indigenous voices are rarely heard. As reflexive researchers we must act to decentre the tourism academy and respond to the challenges and critiques being articulated by Indigenous scholars so that we may begin to create knowledge centred on Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. (pp. 21-22)

The critical turn initiative is critiqued for failing to engage Indigenous scholars (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015). Higgins-Desboilles and Whyte (2013) challenged hopeful tourism, citing the following two reasons: 1) the claim that it should do good for 'others', which itself is a privileged attitude that continues to reproduce injustice; 2) its emphasis on the benefits of improved research quality with Indigenous people's participation, while failing to elaborate on how research can contribute back to the Indigenous communities (in other words, it benefits researchers or academics more than the oppressed). As a result, Higgins-Desboilles and Whyte (2013) considered that the hopeful tourism initiative is merely several 'mild agendas' with only limited capability to improve the conditions of the oppressed.

Although both legitimate and valuable critiques, I don't believe such flaws discredit the concept of hopeful tourism. Even with 'mild agendas', the initiative is arguably still a step in the right direction as opposed to continuing to walk on the current dominating path which is centred around western and neoliberal ideals. Additionally, creating a better space for humans and the planet is an overarching long-term goal and is, in all probability, one that has existed throughout the whole of human history. Achieving such a broadly defined objective is not something to be instantaneously accomplished, but rather the ultimate intention behind a series of smaller, manageable checkpoints, a process in which 'mild agendas' can be a crucial step. These two points are closely connected to the limitations of my

study in that I could not conduct rigorous participatory research in which all the research purposes and questions were identified by the community rather than by the researcher. Multiple reasons preventing me from doing so include funding, time, having clear research purposes with a solid proposal before starting the fieldwork, and building long term relaitonships with participants. Thus, my research is subject to the criticism supported by Higgins-Desboilles and Whyte (2013). Being unable to avoid this limitation at this time does not mean that I will not work towards doing so in the future when conditions allow. For now, I have continually reminded myself of their suggestions—prioritizing community needs and concerns, considering potential contributions to the community, building meaningful contacts with participants, and being aware of researchers' privilege (more details are provided in the methodology section). Deeper discussion of how critical lenses are used differently and related debates are beyond the scope of my study.

Power-knowledge relationships have been challenged by critical tourism scholars, and many of them have called for centering Indigenous knowledge and acknowledging ontological differences. The existence of limitations does not eliminate the usefulness of working towards broader research goals, and even confined initiatives present important opportunities to tackling these widely identified needs within the existing literature.

2.2.2 Overview of research about or with Indigenous people in tourism

'Indigenous tourism' is a unique form of tourism (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012; Hinch & Butler, 2009), which frequently refers to the travel in an Indigenous territory, rather than the travel experiences of Indigenous people. Two books have been published, both by Butler and Hinch, to address this topic specifically: *Tourism and Indigenous People* (1996), and *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications* (2007). Additionally, two recent special issues of the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Volume 24 Number 8&9 (2016)— focus on sustainable tourism and Indigenous peoples. Indigenous cultures and their people have been viewed as appealing pull factors for visitors. Valene Smith (1996) is frequently cited, such as by Chambers (2009) and Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012), for identifying the major features in Indigenous tourism as the four "Hs": habitat, heritage, history, and handicrafts.

Tourism literature about Indigenous people has mainly focused on two broad themes: tourists' visits to Indigenous communities and tourism development in Indigenous communities. The first

theme includes visitors' understanding of authenticity, stereotyped representation, otherness as attractiveness, host-guest relationships, unraveling tourists' discourse of responsibilities; the later involves positive and negative impacts of tourism on Indigenous communities, mitigating negative impacts, integrating of communities voices in tourism development, hosts' (Indigenous people's) perceptions of authenticity, empowerment, sustainability, rights reclaiming (Carr, et al., 2016; Grimwood et al., 2015; Holmes et al., 2016; Nepal, 2004; Nielsen & Wilson, 2012; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). Some topics might not fit neatly into these two broad themes, such as the methodological trends in several recent studies—direct collaboration with Indigenous communities in research (Carr, et al., 2016; Holmes et al., 2016). Carr, Ruhanen and Whitford (2016) point out that collaborating in research and claiming rights to control their culture, environment, and lands in tourism studies are only recent new directions.

Based on an extensive literature review of Indigenous tourism with 403 journal articles from 1980 to 2014, Whitford and Ruhanen (2016) identified the notable growth of academic attention since 2000. Between 1980 and 2000, many studies focused on promoting tourism as a means of socio-economic improvement for Indigenous people and cultivating of Indigenous businesses via Indigenous organizations, such the American Indian Alaska Native Tourism Association (AIANTA). Between 2000 and 2014, 75.5% of the analyzed 403 articles were published, a trend which is consistent with the growing involvement of Indigenous communities in tourism industries; for instance, there were 350 Indigenous-themed or Maori-owned operations in 2008 and 566 independent Native American tribes involved in tourism. Regarding the geographic location of these studies, more than 60% of the 403 tourism articles with an Indigenous focus are mainly based in Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada. This notable knowledge concentration on these four countries also indicates the necessary of engaging more Indigenous knowledge from other parts of the world, such as Tibet.

Embedding Indigenous perspectives in research processes and knowledge production has been identified as one vital direction for tourism researchers to embark on, a direction which has been pointed out in three extensive reviews on tourism and Indigenous people: by Nielsen and Wilson (2012), Whitford and Ruhanen (2016), and Carr, Ruhanen, and Whitford (2016). Nielson and Wilson (2012) identified four different degrees of engagement for Indigenous people's roles and voices in research: invisible, identified, stakeholder, and Indigenous-driven. The third category 'stakeholder'—refers to when Indigenous people partly participated in the study and their voices are used in a limited

way or mainly based on non-Indigenous researchers' academic interests. In the fourth category, 'Indigenous-driven', Indigenous people drive research that facilitates their own needs and wants.

The stakeholder and Indigenous-driven approaches are more recent and have only been adopted in a few studies. Therefore, Nielson and Wilson (2012) called attention to the need to employ Indigenous voices and self-determination to deconstruct current academic knowledge-production processes. Along the same lines, Whitford and Ruhanen (2016) sharply critiqued tourism literature in the twenty-first century for too often repeating the ideas of the twentieth century. One major reason is the predetermined research agendas, which echoes with Wilson's (2008) statement that "we can never really remove the tools from their underlying beliefs" (p.41). Therefore, researchers should be fully aware of ontological differences and avoid interpreting Indigenous experiences through western concepts, freamworks, and theories as is discussed extensively in Section 2.1.

In tourism literature, embedding IK is mainly discussed in the context of engaging Indigenous people in discussions of how the tourism in their communities should be developed, which has turned out to be beneficial for sustainability. This is an important, but previously "under-presented" area (Carr et al., 2016). But including IK in tourism planning and management might still present the tourism industry as "a Hobson' choice" (Carr, et al., 2016, p.1090), the only choice the local community might have. My research encourages researchers to enlarge their views beyond just utilizing tourism as a developmental means; that is, to acknowledge Indigenous people's rights to travel, and to add their travel experience and perception as an alternative stream of knowledge to the literature.

Section 2.2 reviewed two issues: 1) the critical turn in tourism that aims to open up alternative ways of knowing, and 2) the research about or with Indigenous people in tourism. It starts with the critical turn and hopeful tourism initiatives that have led researchers to interrogate related power-knowledge relationships and encouraged the exploration of different ways of knowing. Second, the research of Indigenous people in tourism is mainly expanded around two themes: tourists' visits in Indigenous communities and the tourism development in Indigenous communities, which encourages conducting research from the perspective of Indigenous people themselves as tourists.

2.3 Travel Experience

I start with the definition of travel experience, the consumption view, and the construction of measurement models for different types of experience. The most notable context in which the topic of Indigenous people and their communities are involved within current travel experience literature surrounds non-indigenous tourists' pursuit of authenticity. The following subsections identify the fact that limited Indigenous travel experience has been recorded. Thus, the knowledge gap identified from literature is: lack of recognizing Indigenous people as tourists. My second research question aims to address this gap. The 'narrative turn' in tourism is related to the study of travel experiences, which focuses on the methodological aspect and thus will be presented in Section 3.2.

2.3.1 Definition and quantitative way of knowing about 'peak' experience

The term 'travel experience' has been widely studied, particularly after Pine and Gilmore (1999) announced our entry into a new Experience Economy, based on a business term, 'customer experience'—"the internal and subjective response customers have to any direct or indirect contact with a company" (Meyer & Schwager, 2007, p.118). Thus, the 'customer experience' in a tourism context, termed 'travel experience', refers to "an individual's personal perception of and response to a specific sightseeing region or tourism product" (Hsu, Lee, & Chen, 2017, p.120). Chronologically, travel experience includes not merely the time during the trip, but also before (such as planning and envisioning) and after or post-hoc the trip (physiological consequences and memories) (Gnoth, 2016; Tung & Richie, 2011). Studies of travel experience might intervene at any stage, before, during, and after the trip, but the majority are conducted after (Kim & Fesenmaier, 2015). In Tung's (2009) extensive literature review, he pointed out the trend by which the terms 'tourism experience' and 'travel experience' are used interchangeably by many scholars. Clearly, these definitions are consumption-oriented. Therefore, rather than formally defining "travel experience" based solely on literature, my Findings section explores how paricipants themselves define travel and tourism, and whether they perceive tourism as simply a consumption of a product.

Due to the experiential nature of tourism products, travel experience has become one of the pivotal points of tourism research (Tung, 2009) in at least two research areas: industry and personal. From an industry perspective, studies on travel experience have been utilized to improve the services at, or management decisions about, a destination or different tourism enterprise sectors, such as hotels, attractions, and transportation (Carreira et al., 2013; Kong & Chang, 2016). In addition, past or previous travel experiences directly influence future trips, such as future travel motivation (Hsu et al.,

2017; Tung, 2009), revisit intentions (Cole & Scott, 2004; Tung, 2009; Kong & Chang, 2016), and the following travel-information-selection process (Yasin, Baghirov, & Zhang, 2017). Pine and Gilmore (1999) identified four realms of experience for engaging customers, 4E: entertainment, education, escape, and the esthetic (p.31). Their book, *The experience economy: Work is theater and every business is a stage (*Pine & Gilmore, 1999), has inspired many businesses, including tourism ones, to provide and manage staged experiences for their customers. From personal perspectives, scholars have worked on identifying the personal benefits of travel, such as broadening one's horizons, learning about a new culture, building relationships with locals, being aware of other worldviews, and affirming traveler's own abilities (Hsu et al., 2017). Based on Li and Xu's (2007) review of the research progress of tourism experience, studies have roughly explored seven aspects: essence, motivations, types of tourists, authenticity, meaning of travel, quality, and experience-based activities. Due to the huge numbers of studies on travel experience, a complete review of this extensive body of literature is beyond the scope of my study. I will briefly outline only some 'peak' experiences frequently referred by scholars.

Generally, studies on tourist experience have focused on what is received (objective features /experience factors) and 'how it is perceived' (perceptions/experience components), and the interrelationships between these two (Carreira et al., 2013; Gnoth, 2016; Kim & Fesenmaier, 2015). Specifically, 'what is received', referred to by Carreira et al. (2013) as 'experience factors' and by Kim and Fesenmaier (2015) as 'objective features' of a destination, refer to "customer perceptions on all aspects of a product or service", such as cleanliness, comfort, equipment and physical facilities, safety, and price (Carreira, et al., 2013, p.234). 'How it is perceived', called 'experience components' or 'tourists' subjective interpretations', means "customer internal responses to the service provided" (Carreira, et al., 2013, p.235); such responses could be at cognitive, sensory, and emotional levels. In some quantitative studies, travel experience can be simply measured by the intention to repeat a visit, or by recommendations to others (Kong & Chang, 2016), or merely based on frequencies, such as numbers of countries visited, and number of trips abroad (Chen, Bao, & Huang, 2013; Paris & Teye, 2010; Hsu, et al., 2017).

Some 'peak' (or intensive) experiences have been defined and constructed in models, such as 'satisfactory experience', 'optimal experience', 'extraordinary experience', and 'memorable experience' (Tung, 2009; Tung & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie & Hudson, 2009). Considering the time each concept was proposed and their complexity, Richie and Hudson (2009) considered them as an

evolutionary process, of which memorable experience is the most advanced part. I disagree with this 'evolutionary' ranking and believe that those four just emphasize different facets of experience. Satisfactory experience is mainly built on the quality of service experience. The SERVQUAL model built by Zeithaml et al. in 1985 is the best known model to measure this quality (Ritchie &Hudson, 2009). Csikszentmihalyi (1990) defines 'optimal experience' as a "sense of exhilaration, a deep sense of enjoyment that is long cherished and that becomes a landmark in memory for what life should be like" (p. 3). Seven components of optimal experience are constructed: "a challenging activity that requires skills", "the merging of action and awareness", "clear goals and feedback", "concentration on the task at hand", "the paradox of control", "the loss of self-consciousness", and "the transformation of time" (pp. 143-187).

Measuring and objectifying a 'magic' feeling for generalization or universalization purposes has been a notable practice in tourism experience studies (Li & Xu, 2007). The measurement scale of 'extraordinary experience' has been built in a North American context, for white water rafting activities; however, it has also been widely applied in different cultures and activities, such as by Otto and Richie (1996) to develop a more comprehensive measurement scale for airlines, hotels, tours and attractions in general, and by Hanefors and Mossberg (2003) in their evaluation of meal experiences in Hong Kong restaurants. Similarly, Tung and Ritchie (2011) admitted a limitation in developing their 'memorable experience' model —majority of interviewees were students in a Canadian university; however, this limitation did not prevent them from creating a measurement model for all the rest of the world. In Ritchie and Hudson's (2009) review of travel experience studies, they pointed out that one major challenge for researchers is that scholars have not yet "reach[ed] a consensus concerning the true meaning of the Tourism Experience" (p.123, original capitals). They are not alone in their desire; 'consensus' and 'universalized' models are often developed by many scholars in an attempt to encourage wider application of their research. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) announced the reach of consensus and elaborated on universalized application of 'optimal experience' as follows: "optimal experiences were described in the same way by men and women, by young people and old, regardless of cultural differences…It was reported in essentially the same words by old women from Korea, by adults in Thailand and India, by teenagers in Tokyo, by Navajo shepherds, by farmers in the Italian Alps, and by workers on the assembly line in Chicago" (p.30).

I must clarify that I am not denying the validity or usefulness of those quantitative studies on travel experience, but rather being cautious because many other voices that might be missing from those 'universalized, closed and fixed' models. The review above has demonstrated a notable practice in understanding travel experience, which informs my study in three ways:

1. It encourages me to undertake a contrary direction—adopting an open-ended approach. These universalized aimed models demonstrate a notable research direction in experience studies and also confirm western centered and predetermined research agendas, as discussed elsewhere in my thesis, such as in the section on scientific colonialism and the critical turn in tourism. In contrast to such a research approach, I only asked my participants about the travel experience that they would like to share with me and their reasons for sharing this experience, regardless of whether such experience was satisfying, optimal, extraordinary, memorable, or other.

2. It boosts my curiosity about whose travel experiences are studied. I have to say that tourists in North America are the major origins or sources in building these measurement models. Thus, my research would take a detour away from this most-studied region—North America, and be moderate, with no ambition to generalize for the rest of the world.

3. It provides me with sources by which to share 'theory' with my participants. As Smith (2012) and Higgins-Desbiolles and Whyte (2013) strongly recommend that researchers should share 'theory' with their participants, after my participants have shared their travel experience with me, I shared and discussed this research practice with two participants.

If we pay close attention to where and how Indigenous people are presented and involved in the literature of travel experience, it is not surprising to find that most experience studies involving or identifying Indigenous people are discussions about providing authentic travel experience to non-Indigenous tourists. Coming from metropolitan centers to an alien place, tourists' major concern is to experience the otherness of this place rather than the similarity. Thus, "there is often a deliberate intent to feature, and perhaps to make a commodity of, the 'otherness' of the hosts as the essence of the attraction" (Hinch, & Bulter, 2009, p.18). The landscapes, the cultures, the local people, and other surroundings all cultivate a feeling of exoticness. Coincidentally, the purpose of observing and experiencing otherness conspires with and enhances orientalism to otherize the other.

Object authenticity is directly associated with pure, genuine, real, and traditional experience, which is also a racialized understanding. What tends to be interpreted as 'real' in discussions of authenticity,

are normally those objects and activities that are visually striking and that conform with tourists' preconceptions of the other. Visitors' visual expectations can be noticed from the following quotation from Ralph (1895) about the attractiveness of 'colored folks':

> To me the colored folks form the most interesting spectacle in the South. They are so abundant everywhere you travel; they are so eternally happy, even against fate; they are so picturesque and funny in dress and looks and speech; their faults are so open and so human, and their virtues are so human and admirable (1895:376). (Julian Ralph, 1895, cited in Mellinger, 1994, p.756)

These racialized descriptions were written in 1895, but similar visual-extraordinary expectations of ethnic and Indigenous groups are still noticeable today. In the discussion of authenticities in travel experience literature, Indigenous communities are resources to be exploited by tourists, rather than endowing Indigenous people with the rights of travel, which encouraged me study to explore Indigenous people as tourists.

2.3.2 What is wholly absent—Indigenous people as tourists

Freya Higgins-Desbiolles has rich research experience and many publications on Indigenous tourism (Carr et al., 2016; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2009; Higgins-Desbiolles, Hales, & Sparrow, 2019; Peters & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012). Her work with Australia Indigenous scholar Andrew Peters (2012) highlights that "*What is wholly absent* [from the tourism literature]… is *any recognition of Indigenous peoples as tourists*" (Peters & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012, p.78; emphasis added). In a similar vein, Winter (2009) satirizes this absence thus: "It appears, the 'native' has yet to be liberated as the agent of tourism, and take on the role of the tourist" (p.26, emphasis added). Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) conducted a review of 'Indigenous tourism' definitions but were disappointed by the fact that even the definition of Indigenous Australian Tourism in the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (NATISITIS) included the role of Indigenous people "as employers, as employees, as investors, as joint venture partners" but not as "tourists". They further identified three potential reasons that lead to this knowledge gap in Australia: 1) the "profit-driven focus of tourism" based on western (capitalistic) measures normally ignores Indigenous thoughts; 2) pervasive 'whiteness' in politics, health, and education; and 3) lack of Indigenous researchers in academic settings. Winter (2009) echoes the second reason and emphasize language's role in preventing non-western experience being heard in English literature. I totally agree with their analysis and will expand on the first reason.

Indigenous people might be restricted by lack of disposable income and travel opportunities; thus, their travel behaviours may be too subtle to notice, based on capitalistic logic. Statistics on tourist arrivals and employment numbers are frequently cited to indicate the great economic influence of tourism and serve as an excellent justification for research focused on marketing and management to further push up those numbers. Aside from these statistics, tourism is also regarded as the world's largest voluntary transfer of resources from rich people (the West, the North) to poor people (the East, the South) (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010; Scheyvens, 2011). Consequently, tourism is represented as one of the few economic opportunities available to remote communities (McKercher, 2003) and is accordingly viewed as a saviour of less developed regions (Mair, 2006; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). Effective marketing and improved service quality have dominated the attention of tourism destinations and research. Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) are well aware of this capitalistic logic and suggest future research to explore the influences of disposable income on legitimating Indigenous people as tourists.

Given that discussions of Indigenous people's travel is limited in tourism literature, I then enlarge the search scope to non-western travel experiences. Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) called for a concerted effort on exploring/advancing a non-western understanding of tourism. She briefly analyzed the few available, if scattered, studies on non-western travel, which confirmed tourism's transformative capability as a social force. According to Inayatullah (1995) and Higgins-Desbiolles (2006), the majority of tourism literature does not merely follow neo-liberal economic logic, but also understands travel experience from a narrowed 'western' perspective—individualistic and marketised views. Most people only consider tourism as an 'industry' for profit-making in the current era of neoliberalism along with the expansion of multinational tourism corporations and ideas promoted by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. This situation motivated Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) to examine a few 'non-western' perspectives as alternatives. Allcock and Przeclawski's (1990) study on tourism in socialist countries revealed tourism's role in fostering communist solidarity and being a means of "socialist education" for youth. Inayatullah's (1995) exploration of Islamic pilgrimages indicated the importance of gaining spiritual knowledge via visiting wise people and holy sites, a practice sharply opposed to the hedonistic focus of mainstream tourism studies.

In addition to the above-mentioned non-western travel examples, Winter (2009) seriously questioned the repetition of the 'western-centric modus operandi of research' (p.13) in interpreting non-western tourism experience and practices. Despite the sharp increase of visitors from

economically emergent Asian nations, such as China and India, "the field of tourism studies is institutionally and intellectually ill equipped", given to frequent mimicry of western onto-epistemologies (Winter, 2009, p.21). Therefore, we do not merely lack recognition of Indigenous people as tourists, but also need to engage their views in methodology, epistemology, and ontology. The latter has been extensively unpacked in my review of decolonial and Indigenous studies and provokes me to adopt a more participatory-oriented approach to ensure that my research is well informed by local experience. Although Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) pointed out this knowledge gap, they did not conduct empirical research to directly address this gap, thus necessitating a study, such as my study, on travel experience from the Tibetan perspective.

2.4 Tibetan History and Knowledge

Studies on Tibet should represent the intersection of ethnicity, economics, and regional differences. I will therefore first describe the unbalanced economic development between rural and urban regions, and between coastal and West China, then touch on the status of China's 55 ethnic minority groups, including the Tibetans. Following a brief presentation of Tibetan culture, society, and history, I will elaborate on the currently limited knowledge on Tibetan peoples as tourists, which is restricted to pilgrimages and a news report about the reflections of a Chinese Han tour guide. The rationale for selecting Tibetans as my study case is based on the noticeable existence of the knowledge gap in the Tibetan context and their unique culture. My assumption is that Tibet's unique culture may be involved in the debates on the China-Tibet relationship. Thus, I briefly present the views from the different sides of historical and contemporary debates. However, I personally consider that privileging Tibetan knowledge does not support either side. In other words, acknowledging the uniqueness of Tibetan culture does not support argument that Tibet should be independent from China.

2.4.1 Unbalanced regional development in China

Any discussion of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) should consider the overall unbalanced rural and urban developments in China because of the TAR's large rural population and area. According to the National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC (2013), the term 'first-tier industry' refers to agriculture, forest, herding, and fishing; second-tier industry includes mining, production, electronic power, heating, gas, and construction; and third-tier industry refers to service industries, such as tourism, transportation, and food and beverage services. In 2015, the portions of the first-, second-, and third-

tier industries in the TAR were 9.4%, 36.7%, and 53.9%, respectively (Government of Tibetan Autonomous Region, 2016). By contrast, in the same year, the portions of such industries in Beijing were 0.6%, 19.6%, and 79.8%, respectively (Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Evidently, the first-tier industry in the TAR was weighted at thirteen times more than that in Beijing.

Given the cold weather, low fertility, and lack of arable land in the TAR, its farming and herding scale is larger than that of the other parts of China to compensate for the low productivity. For instance, the highest wheat production per acre is 313 kilograms in Tibet (Jiao, 2017), compared with 764.2 kilograms in the inner land of China [Tibetans addressed other parts of China "inner land", I follow such saying in my thesis] (Yu, 2014). Therefore, to produce the same amount of wheat, the TAR needs twice as much land and related inputs. The portion of the three tier industries has been significantly changed since 1959, with 73.6%, 12.6%, and 13.8% in 1959, and 37.8%, 21.9%, and 40.3% in 1997 (State Council Information Office of PRC, 2009). Evidently, the GDP contribution of the first-tier industry decreased, whereas the third-tier industry, such as tourism, has been rapidly growing in the past 60 years. The earliest available statistics within my reach corroborate that 80.7% of the TAR population in 2000 comprised rural residents (Gesang Zhuoma, 2019). Therefore, the first-tier industries, namely, farming and herding, are the traditional economic activities and livelihood of the majority of the TAR's population.

Moreover, as of 2013, the urbanization rate of the TAR was lower (23.72%) than the average Chinese urbanization rate (53.73%) (Zhai, 2015). The comparative low urbanization rate also means that the majority of the TAR's land comprises rural areas. Meanwhile, Suolangduoji, a member of the Population and Environment Committee of the TAR, has noted that agriculture and herding were the major industries of the TAR in the past, contributing to its extremely low urbanization rate (Zhai, 2015).

China has been experiencing rapid economic growth, built on an extremely unbalanced status between urban and rural areas (Yan, 2005, 2010, 2015), and between coastal and Western parts of China. Harvey (2007) identified urbanization as a characteristic of Chinese neoliberalism, beginning with its open reform in 1978. Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong, and Shenzhen have become the top four mega-metropolises, and their expansion cannot be controlled. On the other side of urbanization, most rural areas have lagged behind in terms of economic performance among all sectors in the nation (Yan, 2005). In Hairong Yan's (2005) interviews with rural migrants' housemaids, she documented how rural migrants still firmly choose the path of migration despite their humble and marginal status

in metropolises. This unbalanced status between urban and rural areas has also been manifested in the discourse on intellectual and manual work (Yan, 2010), which have led many rural populations to consider migrating to urban metropolises as a means of lifting themselves out poverty.

Such imbalance is also notable in the TAR. For instance, the average annual net income of the rural residents was RMB3170 in 2008, whereas the average-disposable income of the urban residents was RMB12300 (Government of the TAR, 2009). Although the statistics standards are slightly different for both numbers, rural residents' income is only roughly one-quarter of its urban counterpart. The current economy is less developed than those of other cities in China and is associated with its gradual shift away from the less profitable, first-tier industries. The low economic development of the TAR should not be considered a fault of the central government.

The regional differences between the costal and western parts must be involved in the discussion of Tibet because of the TAR's geographic location in the western part of China. The coastal areas of China were the first regions to become open to foreign investments in the 1980s and to accept products outsourced by Western countries (Harvey, 2007), as indicated in the left-side map in Figure 4. The map on the right in Figure 4 presents high speed railway locations in China in 2020 (Travel China Guide, 2020). As indicated in this map, most infrastructure, including railways, is located along coastal areas. The significant imbalance between coastal regions and the western part of China hinders further development.

The open reform took place in the 1980s in coastal areas, and the western part of China is still copying the development path of the coastal regions. For instance, Guizhou Province in the western south identified coastal regions as its development models and duplicated the regions' urbanization and industrialization (Guizhou Yearbook, 2014). The development and urbanization in the coastal regions of China are powerful and have been legitimized as a reliable development path. For instance, at the foot of Mt. Everest, several residential buildings near townships have been built to accommodate nomadic farmers as a means of poverty alleviation (Deqing Baizhen, 2016). The local government claimed investing heavily in rural infrastructure was too wasteful and expensive, and that if encouraged to relocate, nomads and farmers could work in town for cash. Development through urbanization and industrialization presents important lessons learned from coastal areas and has been influential in the development of West China.

Figure 3 Maps of foreign investments (left) and high speed railway distribution (right)

Source: Harvey, 2007 Travel China Guide, 2020

2.4.2 The relationship between Chinese Han and the 55 ethnic minority groups

In addition to the Han people, who comprise the majority of the Chinese population, 55 ethnic groups exist in China (around 8.49% of the overall population) (National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC, 2012). The smaller population scale of the latter has led to them being referred to as 'ethnic minority groups'. However, 'ethnic' and 'minority' are comparative concepts. For instance, Koreans, Mongolians, and Dai comprise the majority population of North and South Korea, Mongolian People's Republic, and Thailand respectively, but the Koreans, Mongolians, and Dai people who share a similar culture and living in China are considered as one of the 55 ethnic minority groups in the country. In other words, Koreans are major citizens of South Korea but are considered to be an ethnic minority group in China.

Different minority ethnic groups have differences in population. For instance, the largest minority ethnic group in China is the 17 million Zhuang people, whereas the smallest group is formed by the 4000 Hezhe people (State Council Information Office (SCIO) of PRC, 2009). China is not the only nation with diverse ethnic groups. For instance, Said (1978) pointed out that different ethnic groups and religions one peacefully coexisted in Palestine. In China, over 70% of minority ethnic groups are

in specific areas, such as autonomous regions, prefectures, and counties (SCIO, 2009). Most of these ethnic areas are located in the western part of China, where the economy is less developed. This part of China is also considered to be lagging behind in terms of development by the central government and mainstream media. Figure 5 highlights the distribution of ethnic groups in sharp color, whereas the gray color (light yellow) represents the Han group (Zeng, 2017). Clearly, ethnic groups are located mainly in the western part of China with less infrastructure and less economic development as indicated in Figure 4. Therefore, studies on Chinese minority ethnic groups should not disregard the imbalance between urban and rural areas and between coastal and Western parts of China. In this sense, studies on Tibet should represent the intersection of ethnicity, economics, and regional differences.

Figure 4 China's ethnic groups

THE MAP OF CHINA'S ETHNIC GROUPS

Source: Zeng, 2017

Areas where ethnic groups are concentrated are normally set up as autonomous areas at different administration levels: county, prefecture, and provincial (called 'regional'). Currently, China has five ethnic autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures, 120 autonomous counties, and 1256 ethnic villages (SCIO, 1999). Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) is one of the five autonomous regions.

These autonomous regions are also called ‘ethnic-minority-group concentrated areas’, and account for more than half of China’ territory, but only comprise approximately 9% of its overall population. The proportion of ethnic group population in these autonomous areas is more than 75%. The setting up of autonomous areas has three goals: to ensure that ethnic people consist of the majority of their regional government; to make ethnic group-specified national policies easier to apply to the targeted populations; and to ensure that any protection plans for ethnic culture, such as on languages and intangible heritage, are crafted by their autonomous governments, and thus are tailored to fit that specific culture (SCIO, 1999). For instance, more than 74.9% of government officers and 78% of leadership in TAR are Tibetans (SCIO, 1999).

Moreover, the legal age for marriage for both men and women in the Marriage Law of PRC are modified in some autonomous regions to suit local ethnic marriage traditions (SCIO, 1999). China’s previous family planning policy, the One-child Policy (implemented from 1979 to 2015), was expanded to three children for some ethnic minority groups, whereas no limitation was imposed on other ethnic minority groups. Zeng (2017) posited that this difference boosted the population of ethnic minority groups, while simultaneously restricting the growth of the Han people. Clearly, the Chinese central government has considered the special needs and requirements of the 55 ethnic minority groups and enabled different degrees of autonomy to suit for their context-specified needs. My proposed work will choose one of the five ethnic autonomous regions, namely, the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), for further examination.

2.4.3 General introduction of Tibetan culture, society, and history

Tibet can refer to both the geographical area of the Tibetan Plateau and the administrative region of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Only half of Tibetans live in the TAR, whereas the other half is spread throughout the autonomous Tibetan prefectures or counties in different provinces. In Chinese Mandarin, ‘Xizang’ refers to the TAR, and ‘Zangqu’ refers to Tibetan-concentrated areas. According to the statistics of the Sixth National Census, 3 million people live in the TAR, among which 2.71 million are Tibetans (90.48%) (National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC, 2012). A total of 0.2 million Han Chinese live in TAR and account for 8.17% of the total population. The remaining1.35 % of the population in TAR is composed of other ethnic groups, such as Hui, Monpa, Lhoba, and Nashi (National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC, 2012). Aside from the TAR, Tibetans also live in other ethnic autonomous prefectures and counties in Qinghai Province, Sichuan Province, Yunnan

Province, and Gansu Province. A total of 6.28 million Tibetans live in China (National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC, 2012). Based on geographic locations and dialects, Tibetans in China can be further divided into three sub-groups: Khams, Amdo, and U-Tsang Tibetans (Xirebu, 2017). These three subgroups have their own dialects but share the same literary language. Other Tibetans have different cultural practices; thus, these Tibetans are listed as special branches, such as Baima, Jiarong, Gongbu Tibetans, and Sherpa (Xirebu, 2017), with the latter being well known for their mountain-climbing skills. Some of these branches, such as the Baima branch, do not speak the Tibetan language. Clearly, historical, regional, and group specific issues are diversified within Tibetans; thus, they should also be considered specifically. I have chosen Lhasa City in TAR as my study area, where the U-Tsang Tibetans live. Thus, I hereafter use the term "Tibetans" to refer to the Tibetan people living in the TAR, except where otherwise specified.

Over 85% of the territory of TAR is 4000 meters above sea level, with five mountains over 8000 meters (Government of PRC, 2016). TAR is composed of four cities, namely, Lhasa, Shigatse, Nyingchi, and Chamdo, and three prefectures, namely, Nagqu, Ngari, and Shannan. Plateau agriculture, clean energy, natural drinking water, Tibetan medicines, tourism, and ethnic handicrafts are prolific industries in TAR (Government of the PRC, 2016). In 2015, the portions of the first-, second-, and third-tier industries in TAR were 9.4, 36.7, 53.9, respectively (Government of the TAR, 2016). Thus, the service industry is a major economic activity in TAR.

One specific cultural practice must be mentioned here, as it informs choices I have made in writing about the people of this area. Tibetans only have first names and do not have family names (Lobsang Tenzin & Zhou, 2003). In other cultural practices, people are normally addressed by their family names. The American Psychological Association (APA) citation style requires that the authors' family names to be listed, which is not applicable to Tibetan names. In the following writing, the full spelling of Tibetans' first names is given in citations to respect their tradition.

Buddhism was introduced to Tibet in the 7th century. Most Tibetans are dedicated believers of Buddhism, which has been embedded in the Tibetan culture and formulated as a special branch of Buddhism (Lobsang Tenzin & Zhou, 2003). Tibetan Buddhism has developed into four sects, namely, Gelug, Kagyu, Sakya, and Nyingma, with Gelug as the largest sect (Lobsang Tenzin & Zhou, 2003). The Dalai Lama and the Baingen Erdeni are the top two religious leaders of the Gelug sect. Historically, the "Dalai Lama in Lhasa ruled the east part of Tibet while the Baingen Erdeni ruled the remaining area from Shigatse [the west part of Tibet]" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC, 2003a).

Reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism posits that the Buddha and religious leaders would not die and but rather transform into children (Lobsang Tenzin & Zhou, 2003). For instance, the 14th Dalai Lama is the 13th reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. Over generations "the Chinese emperors enacted regulations stipulating that the selection of children as the reincarnations of the Dalai Lama or Baingen Lama should be reported to the imperial court for approval, and that the central government would send high officials to supervise in person" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC, 2003a). This supervision still continues.

The lives and daily practices of Tibetans are closely connected to Buddhism. For instance, the Tibetan civilization is largely based on Buddhist doctrines (Lobsang Tenzin & Zhou, 2003), including its philosophy, sociology, ethics, religion, medicine, and sciences (Khenpo Sodargye, 2013, p.133). For instance, Shi-lun-jing-gang Sutra, a Buddhist sutra, includes Buddhist knowledge and calendars. Based on this Sutra, the occurrences of solar and lunar eclipses can be accurately calculated to the minute, without using any astronomical instruments (Khenpo Sodargye, 2013). Most Tibetans' names are from Buddhism. Aside from the Tibetan New Year and agricultural-related festivals, most Tibetan festivals are related to Buddhism (Lobsang Tenzin & Zhou, 2003). Tibetans have the pilgrimage tradition of visiting sacred places where famous monasteries are located or saints once lived and practiced, such as the Johkang Monastery in Lhasa (Lobsang Tenzin & Zhou, 2003).

In ancient times, before the plateau became a part of China in the 13th century, it was composed of several small independent countries occupied by the Qiang people (Tan, 1996; Chapel Tseten Phuntsog, et al., 2012; Zhang, 2007). Chapel Tseten Phuntsog et al. (2012) clarified that the word "Qiang" is a Chinese word used by people living in inner land to address shepherds in the west, and "Qiang" people addressed themselves as "Er-ma". The steep geographic environment was the main reason many tribe leaders or kings occupied small territories, with 12 countries and 40 kingdoms on records. Later these countries were united into the Tubo Kingdom in the 7th century when China was an empire ruled by the Tang Dynasty (Zhang, 2007). The Tubo Kingdom was the largest country across the Tibetan Plateau at that time. The largest palace, the Potala Place, was gradually built with the establishment and expansion of the Tubo Kingdom. The King of the Tubo kingdom had a close relationship with the Tang Dynasty, and addressed the Tang emperor by the courtesy title of "uncle" (Zhang, 2007), which is also considered a brotherhood relationship by Lin (2002). These two countries had close ties through the exchange of marriages, culture, and goods (Zhang, 2007; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC, 2003a, 2003b).

2.4.4 Tibetan travelers

As noted above, most Tibetans are dedicated believers of Buddhism (Lobsang Tenzin & Zhou, 2003). Some people, such as a high ranking Buddhist monk, Khenpo Sodargye (2013), believe all Tibetan people practice Buddhism. A Tibetan saying states that when "toddlers are able to pronounce the word 'mother', they already know how to recite the Cherenzig mantra, Om Mani Padme Hum." (Khenpo Sodargye, 2013, p.34). The lives and daily practices of Tibetans are connected closely to Buddhism. Thus, the facts that the travel experience of Tibetan people is influenced heavily by Buddhism and pilgrimage has been practiced with dedication by Tibetans since the 7th century are not surprising. Prostration is one of the holy ways of praying and mobilizing means to reach their holy destinations. Eckholm (2001) described the details of the prostration as follows: "The four [the pilgrims] began mumbling mantras and raised their hands to heaven. They dropped to their knees and flung their bodies forward, fully prone against the damp earth. Then they stood up, took three small steps, and repeated the sequence" (no page). This form of pilgrimage means Tibetan are using their bodies to measure and move towards their holy destinations. Although not every Tibetan pilgrimage is done through prostration, a common practice in Tibetan culture is to visit holy Buddhist places. Therefore, pilgrimage is one major motivation for Tibetans to travel.

Even though a few simple words cannot explain the true meaning of Buddhism, the fundamental doctrine is the mind of bodhicitta – the great compassion and the great wisdom (Khenpo Sodargye, 2013). One difference between the Buddhist worldview and scientific worldviews is the acknowledgment of uncertainty. Many scientific studies are driven to find the truth by testing facts. In contrast, Buddhism believes that too many things exist that mortal people cannot know simply through their senses; thus, even though an object can be seen, heard, felt, smelled, and touched by humans, it does not mean that the object is real. In other words, Buddhism acknowledges the enormous unknown, uncertainty, and impermanence (Khenpo Sodargye, 2013) that humans cannot test and prove through simple scientific research. Moreover, the discourse of tourism activities is heavily based on consumerism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006), which assumes that the more trips people take, the happier people are. Marcuse (1964) described such needs as 'false needs' that "are superimposed upon the individual by particular social interests " (p.5). Conversely, Buddhism guides its followers to eliminate their material needs (Khenpo Sodargye, 2013), a view that might lead to Tibetans limiting their number of their trips as well as their consumption during these trips. Clearly, the Buddhist worldview shapes Tibetan peoples' behaviours as tourists, which is different from the mainstream.

In devoted Buddhists' daily interaction with others, they are selfless, empathetic, harmonious, and believe in the existence of causes and effects. In this sense, Tibetan travelers are highly moral because of their Buddhist beliefs. As a contrast, the tourism industry has increasingly been challenged by moral concerns (Muldoon & Mair, 2016; Urry & Larsen, 2011), such as tourists' impatient or rude attitudes in overcrowded scenic attractions, their vocal anger about cheating and inconsistency between promoted and actual products, and their arrogant attitudes towards staff based on their status as paying tourism consumers. Several scholars and NGOs, such as Tourism Concern, have sent out the call for 'a good tourist' or 'a responsible tourist' (Butcher, 2005). A diary written by a Chinese Han tour guide suggests some preliminary differences between Tibetan tourists and others. The Tibetan tourists under her lead were extremely patient and calm while facing 'unpleasant issues' and even continuously said "thank you" to her (Ji, 2013). The guide was shocked and revised her previous perception that "the Han Chinese are the center of China and a more civilized group", whereas the Tibetan people are "dirty, rude, poorly educated, and act like barbarians" (Ji, 2013).

However, with the exception of this new report and the pilgrimage travel of Tibetans, knowledge on Tibetan travelers has been limited in academic circles. Based on questionnaire surveys and public transformation information, Cheng and Wangzong (2018) reported that the daily average frequency of visiting religious sites is 2.43 times per day for believers 24 to 48 years of age in Lhasa. Their participants of 61 to 65 age group walked for 7.8 kilometers to circulate sacred sites on average. Clearly, according to this data set, pilgrimage is a significant practice in Tibetans' daily life. Huber (1999) documented a Tibetan tradition of pilgrimage to Mt. Tsari with a detailed explaination of specific practices and related Buddhist ideology, which serves as an important source to understand Tibetan pilgrimage. However, religious studies, like Huber's (1999), could be further extended in regards to the discussion of tourism, such as how Buddhism affect travel choices or behaviours on non-religious trips? Is there non-religious travel? How do individual Tibetans perceive or narrate such experiences? As these questions, among others, are targeted points of discussion within my thesis, my research advances knowledge of Tibetans as tourists.

In another of the few academic studies on Tibetan's pilgrimage, Wang (2016) argued that the traditional pilgrimage is different from modern tourism because: 1) Buddhism requires its followers to live a simple life, which conflicts with the consumption behaviours of modern tourism; 2) some Tibetan pilgrims even walked throughout the course of pilgrimage without utilizing any tourism infrustructure. Wang's (2016) arguments might be valid from a profit or management perspective;

however, whether Tibetan's pilgrimage can be classified as a form of modern tourism is not as important as the three directions that my study addresses: How do local Tibetan's perceive their own travel? Is their travel limited to pilgrimage only? And how could the consumption-oriented tourism learn from the non-consumption-oriented nature of pilgrimage? Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 will address these questions in detail based on rich data from fieldwork.

2.4.5 Rationale for focusing study on Tibet and debates on China- Tibet relationship

As detailed in the introduction section and the first three sub-sections of the literature review, my research centres Indigenous knowledge to address the knowledge gap: limited recognition of Indigenous people as tourists in the current literature. This gap is notable in the Tibetan context. First, as introduced at the beginning of my thesis on the discourse of improved well-being of Tibetans related to the railway, Tibetans are described as welcoming hosts, rather than tourists. The literature and general media lack information on Tibetan people as tourists. To satisfy tourists' quest for authentic experience, Wu (2012) incorporated local Tibetans' opinions on authentic Tibetan culture elements that can be further developed as tourism assets for visitors to experience. However, some Tibetan youth expressed that they "hated being gazed at by tourists" (Wu, 2012, p.199). Clearly, in addition to being touristic destinations for outsiders, it is also important to know Tibetan peoples' traveling knowledge as tourists.

In addition to the knowledge gap requiring attention, Tibet fits perfectly into my research for its unique culture. However, this uniqueness is based on the assumption that Tibetan knowledge differs from mainstream/dominant knowledge. As I have clarified in the section on the definition of Indigenous people, I follow Tibetan scholar Gaerrang's (2017) application of the term 'Indigenous knowledge' in the Tibetan context in contrast to 'mainstream knowledge', which denotes scientific, data-based knowledge (p. 528). Moreover, Gaerrang (2017) emphasized that the Tibetan culture is engulfed in the 'modernity' and 'market' discourse; however, he did not criticize the Chinese government for sending numerous settlers to Tibet. The latter has been claimed by many Western scholars and media, such as news in the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Canada.

The intention of emphasizing differences, however, may be involved in the contentious debates between Western news and the Chinese central government on Tibetan independence. These debates are too huge and intense for my dissertation to expand on in detail. Roughly, the debates focus on

historical and contemporary issues. I will only briefly present views from both sides to help readers gain further knowledge about the China-Tibet relationship. However, I personally consider that privileging Tibetan knowledge does not relate to and support either side.

From a historical aspect, considerable conflicting information about Tibet and the last three dynasties of China has been provided from both sides of the debate. The Yuan, Ming, and Qing are the last three dynasties in Chinese history (from the 13th to the early 20th century, and were ruled by Mongolian, the Han, and the Man people respectively. Figure 6 presents two maps of China during the Ming Dynasty each provided by one side and useful in illustrating the debate on whether China includes Tibet or not. The map on the right is provided by the China Cartographic Publishing House, and includes the Tibetan plateau as a territory of the Ming Dynasty (Tan, 1996). Zhang (2007) listed the interactions between Tibetan rulers and Ming-Dynasty emperors. Zhang (2008) found several old maps published by Western countries that support Tibet being part of China. However, the map on the left of Figure 6 is provided by a professor of History at City University of New York and Adjunct Professor at Columbia University, Morris Rossabi (2013), and indicates that Ming Dynasty China did not include the Tibetan plateau. These historians from both sides hold totally different opinions on the same issue as indicated in Figure 5. It is even harder for a person to draw a clear line on this contentious issue without historical background, access to records in the Tibetan language, and other historical resources. Western historian, Melvyn C. Goldstein, has published eight books on Tibetan history to support the argument for Tibetan independence. On the other side, there are also numerous historical books ignored by western historians, such as *The Brief History of Tibet* (2012) by three Tibetan scholars, Chapel Tseten Phuntsog, Nortrang Urgyan, Phuntsog Tsering. In fact, the argument for and against Tibetan independence from China has been debated since 1959.

Figure 5 Map of China in the Ming Dynasty

Source: Rossabi (2013) Tan (1996)

The Chinese government draws reader attention to the fact that the central government's rule of Tibet has varied over time. During the Yuan Dynasty, Tibet had a close relationship with emperors as evidenced in the recruitment of a young Tibetan monk named Phags-pa Lama to teach China's royal family Tibetan Buddhism and his employment as State Preceptor by one of the Yuan emperors, Khubilai (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC, 2003a, 2003b; Rossabi, 2013). This point is agreed on by both sides. However, the current government considers Phags-pa Lama to have been a Chinese citizen, whereas Rossabi (2013) interprets him to have been a foreigner from Tibet. Chinese scholar, Zhang (2007) supports the Chinese government and has elaborated that local rulers were commonly assigned to govern small territories in Tibet on behalf of the central government in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. The subject Tibetan rulers collected officer stamps from Ming-Dynasty emperors to represent their obedience to the central government (Zhang, 2007). Officers from the central Chinese government were assigned and sent to Tibet to supervise its governance in the Qing Dynasty (Zhang, 2007). Moreover, the Qing army was sent to Tibet to defeat invasions from Nepal in 1718 (Zhang, 2007).

As for histories in the early of 20th century, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation stated that in "1906, Britain recogniz[ed] China's control over Tibet", and therefore Britain justified its peace-maintaining role and held conferences in India to "work out an agreement under which China

maintain[ed] control over Tibet and the region [was] divided into an inner Tibet [later] to be incorporated in China and an outer autonomous Tibet in 1913" (CBC News, 2011). This agreement has frequently been cited by the media as proof of China's ratifying of the agreement and denial of Tibet's independence. However, this news did not mention other facts at that time: Britain's control over India and the agreements that Britain forced China to sign, such as the Treaty of Nanjing, which was signed in 1842 after China lost the Opium War in 1840. This treaty enabled the official acquisition of Hong Kong as one of the British colonies (Wang, 2010). Clearly, there is some hypocrisy at work.

The 14th Dalai Lama has been leading Tibetan independence movement. In his book, *My People and My Land* (1960), he summarized three reasons for the Chinese occupation of Tibet: Tibet has a low population, so the large Chinese population wants to occupy it to gain more land for feeding its people; China is looking for the mineral resources in Tibet; and China aims to occupy all of Asia and considers Tibet as an importance military base. The last intention of the Chinese government claimed by the Dalai Lama in 1960 has not happened in the past 60 years. On the contrary, Meisner (1999) elaborated that Chinese farmers, including Tibetan farmers, have benefited from the Chinese Communist Party's policy, "Land to the tillers". All Tibetan lands have been distributed to Tibetans who were living there during China's Land Reform throughout the whole country in the 1950s.

For contemporary issues, the western media has frequently charged the Chinese government with inhuman treatment of Tibetans, such as masses of Han immigrating and occupying Tibet (the 14th Dalai Lama, 1960), the assimilation the Tibetans into Han culture, and strict control of religion (Mills, et al., 2005). In 1985, the 14th Dalai complained that "thousands of Han Chinese migrants were moving to Tibet to assimilate our people" (cited in Sautman, 2006). On the other side, statistics provided by National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC (2012) rejected the claims made by Dalai. There is one Han Chinese person for every 100 Tibetans (National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC, 2012). The Han Chinese are not the dominant population in TAR. Statistics reject this claim as well, as the Tibetan population been grown from 2.75 million in 1953 to 5.4 million in 2000 (State Nationalities Affairs Commission & National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC, 2000).

The second charge focuses on the cultural degradation of Tibetans. Mills et al. (2005) acquitted the Chinese government from this charge based on their observations on the changes of diaspora Tibetans. Around 1.5 million Tibetan people as a result of a diaspora are living in other countries, mostly in nearby, India, Nepal, and Bhutan (Mills, et al., 2005). Cultural displacement is one of the

reasons identified by Mills et al. (2005) for Tibetan refugees. However, the Tibetan refugees living overseas are also not free from the wash of non-Tibetan culture. "Western music, jeans, and western ideas" are popular among Tibetans in India, as was pointed out by Sonam Chophel, a Tibetan welfare officer in Dharamsala, India (Sautman, 2006). Some Tibetans in India prefer the English language over Tibetan, Indian music over Tibetan music, Indian food over Tibetan food. Thus, the Chinese government is not the only cause for traditional Tibetan culture transforming into a more globalized one.

Religion, as one significant aspect of Tibetan culture, has frequently been cited as the site of cultural destruction (Tsering Woser, 2015). News from the Chinese side does not support this charge. Sautman (2006) argued that the Chinese government supported the Tibetan monasteries with 3.7 billion US dollars from 1978 to 2002. Li (2008) reported that the government invested another 3.7 billion US dollars on the repair of major Tibetan heritage sites, such as the Potala Palace and Saga monastery from 2002 to 2008. Many people have also listed the damage to Tibetan monasteries during Mao's Cultural Revolution as proof of the Chinese Han's violence (Tsering Woser, 2015). On the other side, scholars such as Sautman (2006) have contended that it was not racialized action towards Tibetans alone because most monasteries in China were damaged during that time. The protectors of Marxism claimed that the monasteries represented its antithesis and that damaging them symbolized a farewell to the past world and a move toward the new world of equality. This destructive impulse is not new; for instance, similar events occurred in England under Cromwell, with many churches vandalized in support of cultural/political change. The next government in power admitted these actions as a mistake of the Cultural Revolution period. Thus, this one historical event cannot be used to support a generalized view that the Chinese government intends or has intended to destroy Tibetan culture.

Such contests from both sides intensified physical conflicts in 1987-1988 and 2008. Between 1987-1988, many Tibetans protested, wanting their religious leader, the Dalai Lama, to come back to Tibet. This petition was rejected by the government with force (Tang, 2008). Another large-scale conflict was in 2008 (Tsering Shakya, 2009; Tsering Woser, 2015), just before Beijing would hold the Olympic Games, which was also interpreted as a symbol of the growing power of the country in international affairs. A group of Tibetans burned and destroyed the stores of Han people in the city center of Lhasa and fought against any Han people or polices they encountered on the street (Li, Pimba Tsering, & Lhapa Tsering, 2008). Around 18 died and 382 people were hurt in this conflict

(Li, et al., 2008). Tsering Shakya (2009), in support of Tibetan independence, responded to the issue of arsonists killing Chinese Han and argued that the arsonists might not have "any idea that there were people hiding in the shops' upper floors or backrooms, nor that they were unable to escape". This means that the deaths of the Chinese Han victims in the riots were caused by accidents and were not intentional. On the other end of the spectrum, China's official news media, CCTV (2008), broadcasted videos showing that the arsonists purposively attacked the Chinese Han people that they encountered on the streets with stones and knifes, and by setting them on fire.

This brief review above has included voices from both sides. Tsering Woser (2015), Tsering Shakya (2009), the 14th Dalai Lama (1960), Mills et al. (2005), CBC News (2011), Rossabi (2013) are from the campaign supporting the independence. Tan (1996), Zhang (2007), Sautman (2006), Chapel Tseten Phuntsog, et al. (2012), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC (2003a, 2003b), State Nationalities Affairs Commission & National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC (2000) are scholars and Chinese government administrative bodies, who are against the independence. Language is one barrier in this debate. Most information in English, such as the CBC news, BBC news, and CNN news, focuses on supporting independence, whereas information in Chinese provides historical information against it. For Westerns who are particularly interested in this contest, Barry Sautman (2006), a professor at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, has provided a detailed defense against many plausible arguments for independence in his book *Cultural Genocide and Asian State Peripheries*. But it is clear to people on both sides and readers of these historical events that the interpretation of history is heavily influenced by politics (Du, 2015). For instance, in the acknowledgments of his *The History of Tibet*, Alex Mckay (2003), thanked the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, a charity organization named after Taiwan's previous president, for funding support. Taiwan is just one of many countries that are against China's growth and thus interested in promoting independence arguments.

2.5 Pilgrimage and Religious tourism

Because of Tibetans' dedication to Buddhism, their travel experience is related to pilgrimage and religious tourism. I next briefly review the literature on the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy and the sources of

current religious tourism knowledge. The review is brief, reflecting the uncertainty about what specific issues would emerge from the fieldwork.

The pilgrim-tourist dichotomy is among the most debated concepts in literature (Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Olsen, 2010, 2019; Yang et al., 2019; Kim, Kim, & King, 2016). A pilgrimage is a journey to a distant sacred goal, “both outwards, to new, strange, dangerous places, and inwards, to spiritual improvement, whether through increased self-knowledge or through the braving of physical dangers.” (Barber, 1991, p. 1). It has been practiced by many religions and is the oldest form of non-economic travel (Barber, 1991; Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Olsen, 2019). Bremer (2005) cautiously reminded us that modern tourism was developed from the Grand Tour, rather than pilgrimage travel.

It has become increasingly difficult in distinguishing between pilgrimage and tourism, for at least three reasons (Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Olsen, 2019; Yang et al., 2019, Kim, et al., 2016). First, the word, ‘pilgrimage’ has been widely used to label secular journeys in the search of a valued ideal, such as finding family ‘roots’ or a tourism trip. Graburn (1989) described tourism as a ‘sacred journey’ out of daily life. MacCannell (1999) considered a tourist to be a ‘contemporary pilgrim’, from the extensive emotion before departure, to spending savings to see ‘must see’ sites “with all their heart” (p. 43). Second, with the widespread marketing of religious sites, many non-religion-affiliated persons are crowding these sites for non-religious purposes, either sightseeing or cultural interest. As a result, pilgrims and tourists share the religious sites, transportation, or other infrastructure, which makes it harder to differentiate between these two groups (Smith, 1992; Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Olsen, 2019; Fleischer, 2000). A recreationally-motivated tourist might experience spirituality through such a visit. Third, pilgrimages, even those in the 13th century, have involved many sorts of sightseeing and recreational activities (Urry & Larsen, 2011); as Turner and Turner (1978) summarized, “a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist” (p.20).

As a result of these blurring factors, pilgrimage “is generally considered a sub-niche market of religious tourism” (Olsen, 2019, p.111; Fleischer, 2000). Industry practices normally define tourists based on their activities, rather than their motivations (Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Olsen, 2019; Nyaupane, Timothy, & Poudel, 2015). Collin-Kreiner (2010) urged scholars to shift their attention from pilgrim-tourists debates to other meaningful directions, such as tourism planning or economic perspectives. However, some scholars have continually contested this classification or differentiated tourism from pilgrimage based on various factors. Ostrowski (2000) contended that tourism activities are usually embodied hedonistic and pleasure elements, which would denote negative

impacts for pilgrimage if pilgrimage is classified as a form of tourism. Cohen (1992) termed those who travel for religious significance as 'pilgrim-tourists', and non-believers as 'traveler-tourists'. Similarly, Russell (1999) offered the classifications 'religious tourists' for visitors for religious purposes and 'religious heritage tourists' for visitors for educational and leisure purposes. Smith (1992) developed a continuum between sacred pilgrimage and secular tourism (Smith, 1992). Kim et al. (2016) extended Smith's continuum by adding other layers of factors, such as religious affiliation and religious intensity. Cohen (1992) suggested adding religious affiliation and distance of the shrine from home as objective factors that are observable for classifying purposes. Nyaupane, Timothy, and Poudel (2015) made the innovative suggestion of asking participants to self-identify themselves as tourists or pilgrims and, not surprisingly, found that self-identified pilgrims had a higher religious motivation than mere tourists did.

Some scholars were alert to the fact that the origin of religious tourism literature is western-centric and identified some differences between western and non-western societies. For instance, Olsen (2010), building on Towner's (1995) and Cloesen's (2005) ideas, posited that "the pilgrim-tourist debate is built upon a specifically Eurocentric construction of the ''pilgrim'' that all but ignores the history of pilgrimage in cultures such as China, Indian, Japan, and other non-European nations and cultures" (p.849). Similarly, Wong, McIntosh, and Ryan (2013) pointed out that most existing literature on religious tourism is based on non-Buddhist contexts. Drawing on a non-western/Christine context, they promote four different types of visitors to Buddhist sites, rather than lumping everyone together under the term pilgrims—the homogenized believers in previous western literature.

The most widely applied religious theory in existing literature—pilgrimage theory, developed by Turner and Turner (1978)—is not a fitting framework for interpreting other religions. The reason for its inapplicability was pointed out by Cohen (1992): that is, the Turners' pilgrimage theory was developed from Christian pilgrimage, but aimed for universal application. Christians tend to emphasize the separation of political and religious domains so that the sacred religious life and profane society are fall into polar distinctions as well, a characteristic that limits a theory developed from such a context being applied to other contexts where religion is closely integrated with daily life. Cohen (1992) illustrated its inapplicability in a Buddhist context in Thailand. Smith (1992) reported another reason for inapplicability based on cultural background differences. In Europe and North America, "individuals increasingly place their religious views 'backstage' in their lives" (p.14), as

science becomes the arbiter of knowledge. As a result, pilgrims might conceal the religious motive of their pilgrimage trip, whereas non-religious trips are becoming a mark of accomplishment to be proudly shown off. Therefore, for Smith (1992), the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy is in essence a religious-science knowledge dichotomy.

Notably, despite the fact that pilgrimage or spiritually connecting to sacred sites is a subjective process, I did not find a religious tourism study employing narrative inquiry. Nonetheless, narrative inquiry is a fitting methodology for capturing the subjective feelings and transitions of individuals and will be introduced with full details in Section 3.2.

To summarise, this section reviews the pilgrim-tourist debates and a few scholars' questioning of western-centric knowledge in religious tourism. Accordingly, the findings from the fieldwork present how Tibetans perceive the relationships of tourism and pilgrimage and provide other evidence of the inapplicability universalized pilgrimage concepts.

2.6 Chapter summary

My work is closely connected with and built on the five bodies of literature reviewed above: decolonization and Indigenous knowledge, tourism and Indigenous people, travel experience, Tibetan history and knowledge, as well as religious tourism. The first two sections share many interrelated components. Specifically, both decolonization and Indigenous literature, as well as tourism initiatives such as the critical turn or hopeful tourism, have challenged the western-centered power permeating in both methods and ideologies under the mantle of knowledge production (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Chilisa, 2012, p.10; Cordova, 2016; Hollinshead & Suleman, 2017; Johnson & Murton, 2007; Little Bear, 2000; Smith, 2012;). Both bodies of literature have highlighted the need to de-link knowledge production from Western epistemologies and open it up to other ways of knowing through centering on the voices and acknowledging the onto-epistemological differences of colonized/ marginalized/ Indigenous/ethnic groups (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Grosfoguel, 2007; Lowman & Mayblin, 2011; Mignolo, 1993, 2009). The review provides both a solid foundation and a solid rationale for my research—centering Tibetan voices, acknowledging ontological differences, and give heed to their living experiences. Compared with decolonial and Indigenous studies, far fewer tourism

studies are privileging Indigenous voices or acknoweldging ontological differences of Indigenous knoweldge.

The fouth section of the literature confirms the existence of the knowledge gap in the Tibetan context and briefly introduced the 55 ethnic minority groups in China, as well as Tibetan culture and Tibetan Buddhism, and the debates for and against Tibet's independence, to help readers understand the context. The fifth section reports western centered knowledge in religious tourism, which adds another layer of rationale of conducting my study. My literature reviews also shed light on prioritizing community benefits as primary research purpose, which will be detailed in the methodology section.

Chapter 3
Methodology

My literature review illustrated the extent to which scholars have interrogated long-held assumptions of Western expertise and superiority and revealed power imbalances in knowledge production. Therefore, throughout the course of my research, I made efforts to construct Indigenous knowledge in a more equitable manner. Winter (2009) in particular, reminded us of the repetition of the “western-centric modus operandi of research” (p.13) in non-western contexts. Therefore, the research process is as important as its results and modifying existing methodology is necessary.

Crotty (1998) defined methodology as, "the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes (p.3)". As this definition encourages, this methodology section provides the rationale for how the research moved forward. I first discuss the methodological rationale and my research practices inspired from Indigenous literature, and then expand on what is narrative inquiry, and why it is suitable. I also describe how photo elicitation and unstructured interviews were used to collect narratives. I then briefly introduce my fieldwork, provide a profile of participants, and describe the actual implementation in the fieldwork, followed by a discussion of analysis process and subjectivity.

3.1 A participatory oriented approach

Chilisa (2012) summarizes two types of Indigenous methodologies: indigenization of conventional research and relational Indigenous research (Chilisa, 2012, p.97). The former refers to western methodologies tailored for an Indigenous perspective, and the latter is mainly grounded in Indigenous ways of knowing and ontologies, such as talking circles as a research method. For my study, I modified a conventional research methodology to better suit the purpose of constructing Tibetan travel knowledge in a more equitable manner that respects their expertise. I also explained the purposes and special needs that the modifications should meet. Indigenous methodologies have become just as valid as their western counterparts, although such validations are based on different value systems and different evaluations. Indigenous methodological publications inform me about the rationales for modifying the research process, as well as for adding special arrangements to meet the goal of privileging Indigenous knowledge. I will discuss three principles inspired from Indigenous

methodologies and participatory-oriented approaches conducted in Indigenous communities, followed by an explanation of my arrangements and research practices, most of which are also drawn from previous studies. The actual implementation in the fieldwork is summarized in Section 3.7.

3.1.1 Prioritize community benefits from my research

Different from Western knowledge that is owned by individual researchers, several Indigenous communities have declared that "the first beneficiaries of Indigenous knowledge must be direct Indigenous descendants of that knowledge" (Smith, 2012, p.123). Chilisa (2012), Smith (2012) and Wilson (2008) strongly believed that the purpose of conducting research should be to promote love and harmony, a view which highlights the sincere relationships between researcher and participants, as well as non-human beings, and the cosmos. We may call this participant/community-centered research, which is different from the current conventional gap-oriented research that flourishes under the post-positivism paradigm. Today's conventional research is strongly motivated by the aim to discover; thus, the major reason for conducting a study is that a similar one has not yet been done. Put another way, research is generally driven by the urge to identify and meet knowledge gaps so as to benefit the academic circle. Pedri-Spade (2016) argued that this research logic is based on competition, significantly different from the Indigenous focus on love, which emphasizes not results, but the mutual learning and sharing process. Ignoring community benefit from research is one of the critiques on hopeful tourism by Higgins-Desboilles and Whyte (2013).

In short, Indigenous research should prioritize community benefits from the research. Due to an institutional requirement that I develop a solid research proposal before contacting any potential participants, at the proposal-development stage, this study was gap-oriented research (based on the lack of recognition of Indigenous peoples as tourists pointed out by Peters & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012 and Winter, 2009), and was not initiated by community needs. As I moved into the fieldwork, three main "actions" helped me to include community concerns so as to improve this study's potential benefits to them: 1) I used partly open research questions, leaving room for participants to decide on their own choice of relevant issues; 2) I developed part of interview questions from the fieldwork; 3) I asked participants about any potential benefits my studies could offer them. Those three "actions" helped to tailor this study to meet participant and community needs and to ensure they were decision makers in this study. Thus, this study was reshaped to participant/community-centered research during the fieldwork.

3.1.2 Cultivate sincere researcher-participant relationships

Indigenous knowledge highlights sincere relationships between participants and researcher (Smith, 2012; Chilisa, 2012). As reviewed in Section 2.1.1, scientific colonialism assumes that researchers are powerful, determining and owning the knowledge gained from research. Thus, such researchers dominate and lead the research, and are normally associated with arrogant attitudes towards studied communities (Smith, 2012). By contrast, Indigenous research methodologies require researchers to discard such attitudes, by clearly identifying their perspective (Wilson, 2008), cultivating sincere relationships with their participants (Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008; Chilisa, 2012), and promoting ownership and authorships of community participants. In this sense, a research process could become a mutual learning process between the researcher and participants.

Many useful lessons have been learned from existing Indigenous methodologies and community-based participatory research (CBPR) with Indigenous communities in terms of building sincere relationships with participants, which is a challenge, particularly for non-Indigenous researchers, like me (Garakani & Peter, 2016). Grimwood et al. (2012) highlight that "research is a relationship-forming process" (p.220). Specifically, my steps to achieving solid relationships are as follows: 1) maximizing the fieldwork period within allowable funding and time constraints; 2) being a humble, honest, open, patient, respectful learner of local culture (Chilisa, 2012; Wilson, 2008; Grimwood et al., 2012); 3) participating in non-data-collecting activities.

3.1.3 Privilege Indigenous knowledge

Since the primary research purpose is benefiting Indigenous communities, and the nature of the research is mutual learning, Indigenous methodologies emphasis on engaging the research participants as co-researchers throughout the research process (Chilisa, 2012; Garakani & Peter, 2016; Holmes, 2015; Loppie, 2007; Louis, 2007; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008; Victor et al., 2016). Cochran et al. (2008) has recorded an Alaskan Native saying—"researchers are like mosquitoes, they suck your blood and leave" (p.22). Those disrespect practice and passive engagement of Indigenous people is a result of disvalue of their knowledge legitimacy. In order to make changes, Indigenous methodologies call for privileging of local knowledge and fully or actively engage local communities.

In this sense, Indigenous methodologies are closely aligned with existing community-based participatory research (CBPR) approaches that have been widely applied in work with other oppressed groups, such as peasants (Chilisa, 2012; Holmes, 2015; Victor et al., 2016). Victor et al.

(2016) highlighted that CBPR is closely aligned with their Nehinuw (Cree) worldview, which emphasizes interconnection and interactivity among members.

In order to privilege Tibetan knowledge and engage participants as co-researchers, my practices involved: 1) inviting them to participate in data analysis and conclusions session and inviting them as co-authors of journal publications; 2) inviting them to make suggestions about the research process; 3) sharing interview transcripts and will share final presentation and reports with them; 4) sharing my literature review with them; and 5) disseminating my research findings via non-academic publications. All these five actions were implemented depending on participants' willingness.

3.2 Narrative inquiry

The principles of cultivating sincere researcher-participant relationships, privileging Indigenous knowledge, and engaging participants as co-researchers, also support the employment of narrative inquiry as my methodology. I start with general introduction of narrative inquiry, shed light on the three features embedded in narratives. Followed by its application in tourism studies, I directly present why narrative inquiry is a fitting methodology for my study.

3.2.1 What is narrative inquiry?

"Narrative inquiry revolves around an interest in life experiences as narrated by those who live them" (Chase, 2011, p. 421). Chase (2011) defined 'narrative' "as meaning making through the shaping or ordering of experience, a way of understanding one's own or others' action, of organizing events and objects into a meaningful whole, of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time (p.421)". Other researchers might tailor their own definition by focusing on certain aspects. For instance, Polkinghorne (1995) defined narrative "is the primary way through which humans organize their experiences into temporally meaningful episodes" (p. 5). Along similar lines, Clandinin (2013) outlined narrative "as a way of understanding into experience" (p.13).

Narratives provide rich information for research for three reasons: imposing order on experiences, reflecting of the 'narrative environment', and prompting the emergence of a temporary 'new subject'. First, the narrative/stories provided by participants are completed products, made evident by three characteristics: 1) narratives have been organized with their justifications and reasons; 2) narratives reflect people's apprehension of the world narratively; 3) narratives carry rich information within

voices (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Richardson, 1990; Tedlock, 2011; Glover, 2003; Chase, 2011; Clandinin, 2013). Narratives are easily accessible to human beings; in Richardson's (1990) words, "people can 'apprehend' the world narratively and people can 'tell' about the world narratively" (Richardson, 1990, p.118). Similarly, Tedlock (2011) also admires the reasoning embedded in narratives, noting that the "pleasure of narrative is that it seamlessly translates knowing into telling about the way things really happened" (p. 335). The organization and reasoning of participants' narratives are normally ignored by researchers who fragment participants' voices and re-organize them into themes or stories that are considered a better version. However, narrative inquirers suggest paying close attention to people's stories (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Richardson, 1990; Tedlock, 2011; Glover, 2003; Chase, 2011). Labov and Waletzky (1967) argue that original and unsophisticated narratives provide richer information than sophisticated stories crafted by researchers. Glover (2003) suggests researchers revisiting original data that they have previously intercut with their thematic analysis as illustrative examples. Chase (2011) reminds us that narrative inquiry not only thinks across voices, but also within voices. By 'within voices', researchers should pay close attention to each story as it has been organized by participants.

Second, individual narratives are grounded in, and also constrained, shaped, and negotiated within large narrative environments (Chase, 2011; Clandinin, 2013; Griffin, 2018). A basic assumption is that the stories we tell are deeply grounded in the larger culture around us. In Patton's (2015) words, stories are "translucent windows into cultural and social meanings" (p. 279). Narrative "makes individuals, cultures, societies, and historical epochs comprehensible as wholes" (Richardson, 1990). Therefore, "the focus of narrative inquiry is not only on individuals' experience but also on the social, cultural, and institutional narratives within which individuals' experiences are constituted, shaped, expressed, and enacted" (Clandinin, 2013, p.12). Such context is also called the 'narrative environment' (Chase, 2011), 'metanarratives' (Somers, 1994), 'grand narratives'(Boje, 2011), 'master narrative' (Caton & Santos, 2007), and 'big stories' (Griffin, 2018). Chase (2011) believed that "these environments provides myriad circumstances and resources that condition but do not determine the stories people tell (and don't tell)" (Chase, 2011, p.422). As this quotation reveals, narrative inquiry recognizes both individual and grand narratives and focuses on how the narrators negotiate/conform with grand narratives (Lopez, 2018).

Third, during the storytelling process, participants may also gradually develop new relations with meta-narratives and they might experience the emerging of new subjects, such as finding a temperate

self while reflecting on their own experiences. Richardson (1990) underlines that “narrative is the best way to understand the human experience” (p.133) because it enables people to ponder and understand their own lives. In such narratives, “positionality and subjectivity” (Reissman, 2000) are lit up by spotlights. “A subjective sense of self-continuity” is amalgamated into the plot of life stories (Tedlock, 2011).

3.2.2 Application of narrative inquiry in tourism studies

Stories are everywhere—from pre-tour and on-tour to post-tour (Bruner, 2005). In a similar vein, Griffin (2015) argue that tourism activities provide ‘natural inspirations’ for tourists to develop their personal stories based on their interactions with different cultures and places. According to Bruner’s (2005) observation on western travel patterns, tourists begin to consider the stories and potential plots that they would share after their trip. During the trip, tourists collect materials, such as photographs and souvenirs, to prepare for their stories to be told afterward. After the trip, tourists ‘officially’ share their stories, but with a decreasing audience as time goes by. The popularity of social media encourages tourists to share their travel stories with wider audience (Griffin, 2015, 2018). This strong desire to share travel stories might fit western tourists who focus on themselves and possess many travel experiences. Althought Tibetan travelers involved in my fieldwork did not demonstrate such a story sharing desire described by Bruner, Bruner’s work still highlights the ubiquitous stories in travel experience, and narrative inquiry is a fitting approach to study this topic.

Given the omnipresence of stories, narrative inquiry is emerging in tourism studies. Application of narrative inquiry in the tourism field was also limited. Tribe (2005) reviewed tourism research and identified two narrative inquiries applied by Botterill (2003) and Fullagar (2002) as “new tourism research” (p.5). Smith and Weed (2007) provided detailed introduction of how narrative inquiry works and proposed their call for engaging in narrative inquiry in sport and tourism studies, given the current limited application. More tourism scholars are now employing narrative inquiry. In a recent review, Griffin (2018) identified the wide application of narrative inquiry in touristic experiences, as well as identity and representation of destinations (p. 169).

‘Opening up’ subjective meanings and ‘rich, in-depth understandings’ are identified as the two strengths of narrative inquiry in studying travel experience. For instance, Dunkley, Morgan, and Westwood (2011) used narrative to explore the meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. They

added emotional accounts of battlefield tour experiences by engaging the subjective ways of seeing. By engaging participant's subjective stories, Caton and Santos (2007) represented the complexity in reality, which denied the nostalgia theory's encapsulation of their participants' experiences in a historical site. To depart from the tourism literature's focus on individualism and consumerism, Fullagar (2002) used her travel diary to provide rich descriptions of the different trajectories of desire structure in the movement of feminine subjectivity. Noy (2004) narrated the complex social cultural context of traveling in Israel.

By constructing different narratives of loss and of hope of two New Zealand destinations, Tucker and Sheldon (2018) exemplified how different tourism settings generate varied narratives, which also suggests tourism narratives' role in 'mobilizing hope'. Speaking from Tebrakunna epistemological perspective, Emma Lee (2017) presented a countering narrative of the colonial encounters, which tells a different version while acknowledging the legitimacy of tebrakunna knowledge. In the narrative, she also shed light on how tebrakunna female bodies were made place-based connections to the land. Therefore, narrative inquiry is an important methodology for studying touristic experience because it presents the complexity of social actors' subjective meaning-making processes, unlike fixed theory.

3.2.3 Narrative inquiry as a fitting methodology

My study aims to depart from current western-dominated tourism knowledge and build alternative knowledge in a more equitable manner that respects the expertise of Tibetan peoples. Narrative inquiry is a fitting methodology for my study, not only because stories are everywhere in the touristic experience and there is growing application of narrative inquiry in experience studies (Bruner, 2005; Griffin, 2015, 2018), but also because its overlaps with the principles inspired by Indigenous methodology and CBPRs in the following two aspects.

First, narrative inquiry is closely aligned with the principle of privileging Indigenous knowledge in the following three aspects: 1) it values participants' capability of reasoning and regards stories shared by them as completed products rather than devaluing them as 'raw materials' (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Richardson, 1990; Tedlock, 2011; Glover, 2003; Chase, 2011; Clandinin, 2013). 2) it encourages participants to lead the topics so that their world views and philosophy are reflected. 3) story-based inquiries are consistent with oral traditions of several Indigenous cultures (Wilson, 2008; Chilisa, 2012; Holmes, 2015, and Holmes et al., 2016). In my study, Tibetan participants are fully trusted as experts and have the freedom to share their views on travel using narrative inquiry. The famous Tibetan story, the Epic of King Gesar, has been orally passed down for over a thousand years

(Xiong, 2017). Moreover, stories are overwhelmingly present in Buddhist sutras to inspire followers to digest Buddhist principles (Khenpo Sodargye, 2013). Traditional Tibetan culture value story forms of knowledge. My participants shared their tradition of obtaining Buddhist teaching through oral narratives and storytelling.

Second, narrative inquiry closely aligns with the principle of cultivating sincere researcher-participant relationships because it acknowledges that narratives are socially constructed; hence, the stories are co-constructed between the narrator and researcher. Accuracy and truth might not be as important as the reality narrated by the participants and how they tell their narratives, which is context-specific knowledge (Griffin, 2018). Narrative inquiry thus emphasizes the relationship between participants and researchers more than any other methodology does. This also confirms the importance of relationship-building, which is highlighted in Indigenous studies (Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008; Chilisa, 2012).

3.3 Collecting narratives

3.3.1 Photo elicitation

I used photo elicitation as a method to collect narratives. ‘Photo elicitation’, or ‘photo novella’, “involves using photographs to stimulate reflections, support memory recall, and elicit stories as part of interviewing” (Patton, 2015, p. 484). As early as the 1920s, photographs have been employed to facilitate interviews (Castleden et al., 2008) and Collier (1967) documented this usage in 1967 (Castleden et al., 2008; Wu, 2012). Of course, photographs do not lie, but as written or oral narratives, “all photographs are socially constructed” (Ketelle, 2010, p.553). Thus, photo elicitation has moved beyond specific photographs and focused on the meaning-making associated with the photos. In Ketelle’s (2010) words, there is “the need for a story to give the photograph meaning” (p. 551). Photo elicitation interviews are well recognized in narrative inquiry. For instance, Bach (2007) phrase “visual narrative inquiry” to refer to the “use [of] photographs within a narrative inquiry framework” (p.290).

I invited participants to select three photos during their trips, describe the photos, and explain why do they chose these three photos. These photos can be related to any experience, either meaningful, extraordinary, satisfying, optimal, memorable, or in any other special experiences that they would like to share. Photo elicitation is closely aligned with my participatory orientation for four reasons: 1)

photographs are easily accessible; 2) participants are experts of their own experience and photographs; 3) Tibetans can access smartphones with cameras (Castleden et al., 2008; Kong et al, 2015; Muldoon, 2018; Mair et al., 2019; Wang & Burris, 1997).

First, compared with texts, photographs remove language constraints, which are major barriers for cross-culture studies and people who "do not read or write in the dominant language" (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 370). In the words of Scarles (2010), "where words fail, visual ignite" (p.905). Participants involved in my study reported that they are more comfortable with oral and visual communication than written. Thus, they found the research process enjoyable compared with passively answering questionnaires (Castleden et al., 2008; McHugh, et al., 2013).

Second, photographs provided by participants are relevant, familiar, and emotionally connected with themselves. Thus, participants are experts about their photographs and are likely to lead the unstructured interviews to their preferred issues and concerns. Ryan (2011) stated that photographs work as the perfect eliciting stimuli when informants from certain cultures are too hesitant to talk about themselves, such as Chinese. This is also applicable to Tibetans.

Third, most Tibetan families can easily access smartphones with reasonable prices (State Council Information Office of PRC, 2017).

The above-mentioned reasons make photo elicitation interviewing a fitting approach for my research purpose of center the Tibetan people's travel knwoeldge. These strengths were supported by participants. To illustrate, photographs were reported as a good media for reconnecting to travel memories. Dorje mentioned his nervousness compelled him to stare at his photos to organize his words. Thus, the photographs were good triggers for our conversations. Yangla noted that while she looked at her photographs taken in 2013, she recalled many sweet memories and felt that she traveled back to Beijing and Yunnan again. Similarly, Kamar reported that while he was selecting his photos, he felt he opened up his photo albums again.

Smartphones have become popular in recent years. Several participants shared the trips they took 10 or 20 years ago while they had no access to cameras. I said that it would be okay if the participants could not find the photographs from the trips that they wanted to share or if they could not select three trips. In total, 93 trips with 88 photographs and 2 videos were shared by the 35 participants. However, several participants only shared one trip. Meanwhile, 29 trips were shared without photographs, and 2 photographs were first collected and later removed for religious considerations (See detailed

explantion in 3.4). Two videos were collected because participants thought videos worked better for the viewers' understanding. I suggested that they select one photograph for one trip, but a few of them shared more than one photograph of one trip and then asked me to select one. I kept all the photographs they shared with me.

3.3.2 Unstructured interviews

In addition to using photographs to facilitate interviews, unstructured interviews were used. The overall design was broad and flexible because no solid understanding of the travel experiences of Tibetans has emerged; I tried to de-center my own voice to give privilege to the Tibetan view. 'Unstructured interviewing' offers "maximum flexibility to pursue information in whichever direction appears to be appropriate, depending on what emerges from observing a particular setting or from talking to one or more individuals in that setting" (Patton, 2015, p. 462). It is also called, 'conversational interview' or 'ethnographic interviewing' (Patton, 2015, p. 462). Unstructured interviews are frequently adopted in narrative inquiry, such as by Miller (2017) in narratives of climbing Sherpas, by Holmes and her colleagues (2016) in narratives of Indigenous visitor codes, by Fisher and her colleagues (2018) in narratives of women's experience in mix-gendered gyms, and by Griffin (2015) in narratives of hosts of VFR.

The strength of unstructured interview lies in their flexibility and responsiveness to specific individuals and situations. The weaknesses of unstructured interview might be the fact that this interview is time consuming, requiring several rounds to clarify researcher's confusion; on the part of researchers, they must have the skill to ensure that impromptu questions are quickly and smoothly formulated (Patton, 2015). The four months' fieldwork and following up via second and third interview or via WeChat messages helped address these weaknesses.

I encouraged participants to talk broadly about any story of their travel experience and about their expectation of authentic experience, with their photographs as triggers. As topics of interest arose naturally throughout conversation, such as mention of festivals or other notable experiences, I immediately followed-up with subsequent questions . I, a non-Tibetan researcher, tried to be a supportive listener and repeatedly check about my assumptions of differences and similarities between Tibetan and non-Tibetan cultures. From the participant's perspective, what stories to tell and how to tell them depended on to whom they are talking. When they tell their stories, they might expect certain responses from the listeners (Griffin, 2015). I honored their stories; thus, I showed my interest in listening so that they continued to tell their stories.

On the other hand, the cultural differences between participants and myself were both challenges and opportunities (Griffin, 2015). For the challenging part, I might not view things the same as they do; however, such differences also became the opportunities for me to explore their sub-conscious or tacit knowledge. I asked about their assumptions about certain statements, which helped to contextualize their stories. Moreover, I am familiar with and embedded in the consumption view of tourism and read related tourism literature on critiquing this view, which helped to prompt inquiry into the differences between Tibetan and non-Tibetan views. In Patton's (2015) words, "the interviewer is free to go where the data and respondents lead" (p. 463) in unstructured interviews. One example of my exploration of sub-conscious tacit knowledge is as follows:

Yang: Why did you visit the meditation cave of Milarapa?

Participant: Because I like to perform a pilgrimage.

Yang: Why do you like to perform a pilgrimage?

Participant: Because I am a Tibetan. Tibetans always pray.

Yang: Why do Tibetans like to pray?

Participant: Praying is our custom. We feel highly relieved after praying.

Yang: What did you do to feel relieved?

……

Many participants acknowledged that the unstructured interview of my study was the first interview in their lives in which the reasons for their preferences were acknowledged. Tsering commented, "*You know, I do not have too much knowledge. I like the freedom in this [unstructured] interview because I can decide what to say. If you asked too many questions, I would be afraid of being unable to answer or understand your questions. I would be ashamed if I took a long time to think about my answers.*" Many of the participants reported their nervous state during the interview. Sonam Tashi commented, "*I am very happy to share with you because you are interested in our culture. However, I am nervous because any mistake I make would affect people like you, who are interested in learning more about Tibetan culture*."

3.4 Ethics

The ethical considerations of my study are as follows:

First, all my participants signed consent forms to participate in my study. This study was reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#41009). Participants held the freedom to quit the study at any point. The participation consent and the information letter were translated into Tibetan. They were fully informed about my research purpose, process, and how the information generated from this study would be used with textural descriptions and specific examples. I showed them examples of thesis and journal articles, go through the content and how it would be stored and spread. These actions oriented participants to academic practices that they might not be familiar with.

Second, I kept asking my participants about any conflicts my study poses with their culture or personal values and avoid such conflicts. One action corresponding to a research ethical limitation, pointed out by Smith (2012) and Chilisa (2012), is that no Indigenous people are involved in the university's research ethics committee. For instance, one participant shared with me a photograph of a Buddhist sculpture, as it was the most meaningful part of his visit and he frequently took out to recall the memory. He deemed it to be okay to share the photo with me, although I double checked with other participants who then reminded me to be cautious when using it. Their hesitancy was due to the potential risk of my thesis and, by extension, Bhudda's likeness, being treated disrespectfully. I then reconnected with the participant with potential concerns and he agreed to remove this photograph. Obviously, even if my participants totally agreed with the ethics committee's decision, it is still important to check their opinions as a means of respecting them.

Third, I made sure that consent was given for every use of a photograph. One tricky issue involved in photographic inquiries is that some people shown in the photo provided by participants might not be informed of its use (Wang & Burris, 1997; Castleden et al., 2008; Muldoon, 2018). Most participants shared their photographs showing their faces, but some still included facial-identifiable photographs. Nyima could not find a solo photo of himself but did find a clear one with his brother. I thus ensured that his brother consented to sharing the photo with me for research purposes.

Four, based on their willingness, I shared transcripts and my final writing with some participants, so that they checked for accuracy and made sure they were comfortable with it.

Five, participants were offered the choie of being referred to by their actual names or not. Indigenous Cree scholar Wilson (2008) challenged the academic practice of assigning pseudonyms or even just numbers to participants, which actually can be interpreted as not acknowledging participants' contribution to a study. Thus, he encouraged the use of participants' real names. However, doing so conflicts with the confidentiality principles of the University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics. I informed participants about both considerations and allowed them to make their own decisions about names. All but two participants preferred to go by their real names.

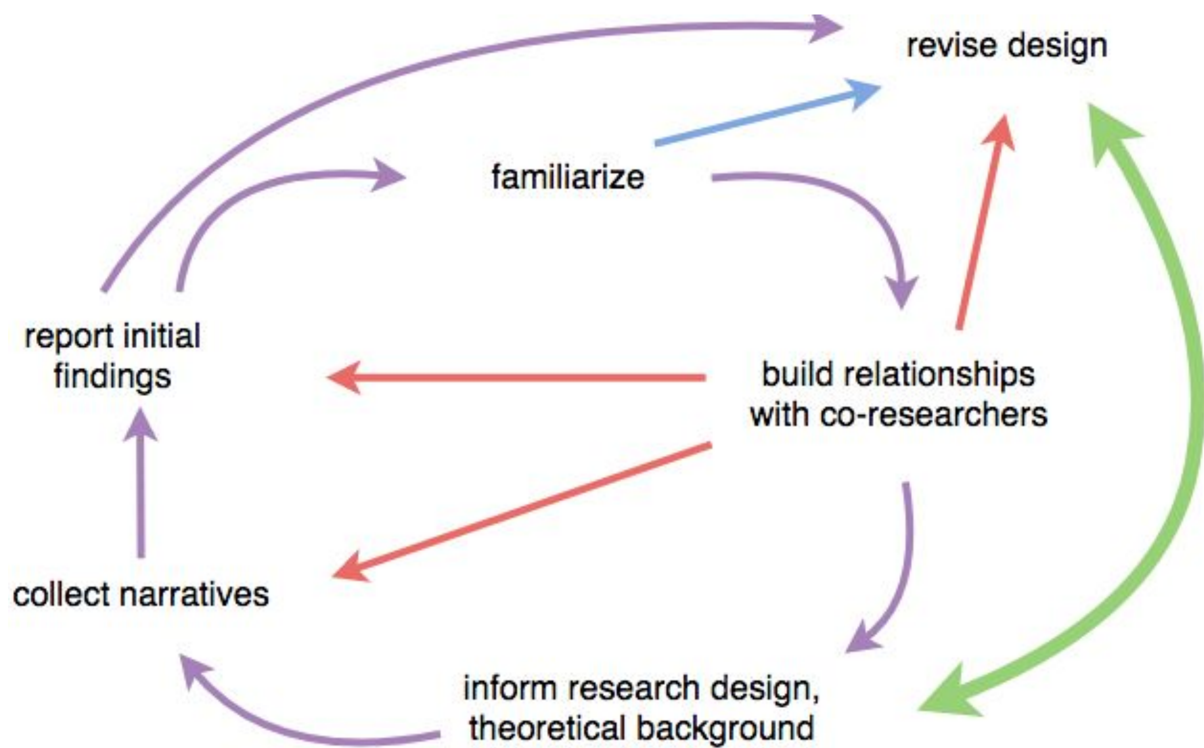
3.5 Overview of my fieldwork

I will briefly outline research process, how I connected with potential participants, a brief profile of the 35 participants, and the potential influence of political survienience.

3.5.1 A spiral research process

Indigenous research methodologies are context-specific and context-sensitive approaches that emphasize opening up the methodology, rather than adhering to a fixed and linear process. The linear thinking of research assumes that the research has clearly distinguished, and discrete steps, such as design, data collection, and data analysis. Scholars informed by Indigenous research methodology argue that research is a holistic undertaking and may not have clearly separated steps. Such a view is consistent with the characteristics of Indigenous knowledge identified in previous sections, being context, space, and time specified (Agrawal, 1995a, 1995b). Instead of dividing research into steps of data collection and analysis, this current study adopted a spiral research process as indicated in Figure 3.2.

Figure 6 Research process in fieldwork



I started my fieldwork immediately after receiving ethics clearance from the University of Waterloo's Office of Research Ethics at the end of July 2019. I started writing chapters after two months of fieldwork and reaching out to 25 participants. I also continued conducting interviews while analyzing data. After three months, I decided to stop reaching out to any new informants owing to the large and insightful of information I already had. The fieldwork was conducted in Lhasa and Shigatse City. I spent most of my time in Lhasa and went to Shigatse several times from a couple of days to more than one week. I lived by myself in Lhasa and stayed in several friends' homes in Shigatse.

I first entered into the field to familiarize myself with its social-cultural settings, and then built relationships with key informants. I started with my seven Tibetan friends who have kept friendships with me since living and studying abroad for nearly ten years. Selecting cases with expertise and prior knowledge is termed "purposive sampling" (Neuman, 2014). Study participants were selected based on the criteria that they were Tibetans who self-identified as having travel experience and who were willing to participate in the study. Five friends participated in the interviews and actively introduced me to their friends who were also willing to discuss their travel experiences with me. This phenomenon, called the 'snowball' effect, refers to a researcher gaining an expanding local network

of participants, and is also known as “snowball sampling." I normally joined their social gatherings at first, such as by having dinners, drinking, or walking with them, and then briefly explained my research. My new friends expressed their interest and made appointments with me for detailed interviews. In total, 35 informants shared their stories, 33 of them being either friends or referred by friends. I connected with the other two participants, who are painters, coincidently, owing to my interest in Tangka painting [a Tibetan Buddhist painting].

3.5.2 Profile of participants

Given the cyclical research design, I was only able to follow up with participants if they were available. Therefore, in some cases, I was unable to clarify previous answers or ask further questions emerging from the later stages of the fieldwork. Consequently, I interviewed four participants thrice and eight participants twice. The average formal interview time with each participant lasted for 97 mins, ranging from the longest of 244 mins (over three interviews) to the shortest of 30 mins. Recording of parts of two interviews were accidently missed. In one case, a participant was fiddling with the recorder and accidently pressed the button that stopped it recording, I was too focused on our conversation to notice. Another time, the participant, a village leader, kept being called away from the interview, and I forgot at one point, to switch the recorder back on when he returned. On the top of these formal interviews, information was collected from non-research related activities and numerous chats with participants, face-to-face and WeChat (like Facebook) messages, which were only noted and not recorded or accounted as interview time. As I drafted part of the findings chapter in the fieldwork, I continued following up with participants while writing, via WeChat messages. For accuracy, only recorded interviews and WeChat messages that were stored as chat history were quoted as direct quotations.

The participants preferred to use Chinese Mandarin (23), Tibetan (4), English (1), part Mandarin and English (1), and part Mandarin Tibetan (6). Mandarin is my mother tongue. I am fluent in English, although I occasionally might mishear some complex words, or misunderstand unfamiliar context. I did not have any problems in communicating with my participants. I spoke a bit of Tibetan and started to learn Tibetan writing with a private tutor weekly during my fieldwork. I relied heavily on native Tibetan speakers to help the Tibetan part of discussions during my study. During times when solely or some Tibetan language was used, a participant’s family member or friend assisted our communication. No professional interpreter was employed for the interviews. Although I informed participants of the option to hire an interpreter to assist our communication, they still preferred their

friends as language assistants. I verified the Mandarin and Tibetan bilingual language ability of the selected 'volunteer' translators based on their history with the language—whether they had learned Mandarin through formal education, or their work or social contacts involved the use of Mandarin. I thus appreciated their help and informed them to attempt to keep the original contexts of the speaking person throughout their translation. Research-related documents, including information letters, participation consent forms, and letters of appreciation, were distributed in Tibetan and Chinese versions. I translated those documents into Chinese and then two Tibetan native speakers helped further translate into Tibetan. One translated first, and another confirmed their translations. I met the second translator three times to explain or clarify each sentence to ensure the Tibetan documents were accurately translated. In sum, 24 interviews were conducted in Lhasa and 11 in Shigatse. Interview places included tea houses, coffee shops, restaurants, as well as participants' home and the hotel they stayed at.

Table 1 presents a brief introduction of all 35 participants involved. Despite my attempt to establish an equal number of male and female respondents, I only successfully reached out to eight female participants. Regarding age distribution, 19 participants were in their 20s, eight in 30s, four in 40s, two in 50s, and two in 60s. In terms of formal education, 5 were illiterate, 3 completed primary school, 10 completed middle school, 5 completed high school, and 12 completed or were attending university. In terms of occupation, 5 were construction workers, 5 small business owners, 1 self-educated poet, 2 painters, 5 temporary workers, 4 university students, 8 hotel and restaurant workers, 2 farmers, 1 sales person, and 2 government officers. I did not expect to interview government officers, but the two interviewed officers had extensive connections with farmers: 1) Yangla helped others who were illiterate with documents after her work and she generously helped translate several interviews from Tibetan to Chinese; 2) Losang worked in a village and was intensively engaged with farmers. The 5 small business owners seemed to display better economic status at the time of interviews, with 4 of them being my friends from ten years ago who, at that time, were experiencing financial difficulties. They were previously construction workers or truck drivers when I met them and, throughout the years, they slowly developed their business and improved their economic status. Two of them still recalled their trips during difficult times. Clearly, the majority of my pariticipants were experiencing, or had experienced, times of unsound socioeconomic status.

Table 1 Participants list

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	General	Travel Experiences
Lhakpa	40-50	Middle school	Small business owner	Originally from Tingri County. Attended his primary and middle schools in India and Nepal. Michael Jackson's music accompanied his growing. He came back to China to work as a constructive worker in Tingri County. He moved to Lhasa City for several years and operating a guest-house. He likes reading books and watching movies.	Visited Beijing for 4 times, Hainan once, recently once to Nepal, and widely across Tibet
Chokyap	20-30	Middle school	Poet	Originally from Sichuan Province, self-educated poet, published a book, attending a three-year English training program in Lhasa, teaching on-line English course, wishes to be a tour guide in the future	Travelled around Tibetan regions, such as Sichuan & Qinghai Province
Tse Kelsang	20-30	University	Hotel worker	From Tingri County, newly graduated from a Tibetan university, start a career in a hotel in Lhasa	Mainly travelled near hometown, university, and Lhasa
Tsering	30-40	Illiterate	Small business owner	From Tingri County, was a driver for a tour company, changed to a truck driver, started his own business in the past few years	Travelled widely across Tibet because of work
Jigme	30-40	Illiterate	Small business owner	From Tingri County, was a truck driver, started his own business in recent few years	Travelled widely across Tibet because of work
Yangla	20-30	University	Government officer	From Shigatse City, attended her university education in inner land, work in government after graduation, passionate about environmental and cultural protection at spare time	Visited Beijing, Hunan, and Yunnan, and also travel across Tibet for work related duties
Lhakpa Tsering	20-30	High school	Construction worker	From Tingri County, lived in several inner land cities, worked for various jobs in TAR now	Traveled to inner land and across TAR for works
Tashi Phuntsok	20-30	University	Sales person	From Tingri County, studied in Lhasa, and work there as well. Interested in playing *Douyin* with over 3000 followers	Traveled to inner land once, mostly near his hometown and Lhasa
Penpa	20-30	High school	Construction worker	From Tingri County, mostly worked in Lhasa	Travelled near Lhasa
Norbu	30-40	Middle school	Construction worker	From Tingri County, mostly worked in Lhasa, also worked in various sites in Tibetan areas, worked in Potala Palace for three months	Travelled near Lhasa
Wangyal	30-40	High school	Small business owner	From Tingri County, attended medical school, was a driver for government, started various businesses in recently year,	Travelled to Chengdu, Hainan, and widely across

				interested in inner land for purchasing cars and body check	Tibet for work duties
Drolma	20-30	Middle school	Hotel worker	From Tingri County, worked in several restaurants in both Lhasa and Shigatse City, interested in learning Mandarin via watching TV shows, self-identified dedicative Buddhism believers	Travelled to Chengdu, and near her hometown for pilgrimage
Dorje	20-30	University	Hotel worker	From Shigatse, studied in a Tibetan university, newly graduated, start a work at a hotel in Lhasa	Travelled near home, work, and university
Namgyal	20-30	University	Hotel worker	From Shigatse, studied in a Tibetan university, newly graduated, start a work at a hotel in Lhasa	Travelled near home, work, and university
Tashi Norbu	40-50	Primary school	Construction worker	From Tingri County, worked in construction for nearly 20 years in Lhasa, and also worked at various places across TAR. withdrew from middle school for financial reasons.	Travelled across Tibet for work duties
Pasang	40-50	Illiterate	Construction worker	From Tingri County, worked at various places across TAR in construction	Travelled across Tibet for work duties
Chompel	40-50	Middle school	Small business owner	From Tingri County, started as a construction worker, and now own his small business in construction	Travelled across Tibet for work duties, self-identified as a traveler travelled to every city of TAR, except the Kham City, and visited multiple cities in inner land
Kunga	30-40	Middle school	Painter	From Shigatse, worked as a construction worker, started to learning painting in Lhasa in recent years	Travelled around Lhasa for painting work, and across Tibet for pilgrimage
Tashi	30-40	Middle school	Painter	From Shigatse, learning painting after middle school, now has painting experience of more than 15 years	Travelled around Lhasa for painting work, and across Tibet for pilgrimage
Kelsang	20-30	Middle school	Hotel worker	From Tingri County, worked in the same hotel for many years and enjoyed her life in Lhasa, self-identified dedicated believer	Travel around Lhasa for pilgrimage
Youdon	20-30	University	Hotel worker	From Kham City, attended university in inner land, start to work in a hotel in Lhasa	Visited places near her university, pilgrimage around Lhasa

Palzom	20-30	University	Hotel worker	From Kham City, attended middle school, high school, and university in inner land, start to work in a hotel in Lhasa	Visited places near her university, pilgrimage around Lhasa
Karma	20-30	University	Student	From Motok County, attending university in Lhsasa, intern in inner land,	Travelled near home, university, and work sites
Sonam Tashi	20-30	University	Student	From Nagqu, thus, naturally like horse riding, attending university in Lhsasa, intern in inner land,	Travelled near home, university, and work sites, visited Chengdu once
Nyima	20-30	University	Student	From Nagqu, thus, naturally like horse riding, was a rider in young age, attending university in Lhasa, intern in inner land,	Whole family are dedicated believers, his family conducted a circulated pilgrimage within Lhasa, Lhokha, and Shigatse City via walking for half a year. Many years later, they repeated such a circular route again by driving.
Phurbu Dandul	30-40	Primary school	Temporary worker	From Kangma County, moved to Tingri after primary school, a driver for a tour company before, self-educated at work on Chinese, a temporary worker in the post office	Various travel opportunity at work
Chimy Dolkar	20-30	Middle school	Temporary worker	From Shigatse, started work at gas station before graduation from middle school, dedicated believer who always feel being blessed by Buddha	Pilgrimage near home
Nyima Tsering	20-30	Middle school	Temporary worker	From Shigatse, and worked at various counties in Shigatse	Always visit to local temples
Tsering Drolma	60-70	Illiterate	Farmer	From Tingri County, farming and taking care of families, has several kids, current priority was taking care of grand kids, self-identified as dedicated believer,	Tried to pilgrimage to various sites
Tsamchoe	20-30	Primary school	Hotel worker	From Tingri County, shepherd at young age, attended primary school at 12, started as a baby sitter, and then changed work in several restaurants in both Lhasa and Shigatse City, self-identified dedicative Buddhism believers	Travel near home

Tsering Youdon	20-30	University	Student	Her hometown was near a holy lake, attending university in Lhasa, interested in being a MC, enjoyed reading various books	Travelled near home and university
Jo Chompel	60-70	Illiterate	Farmer	From Tingri County, as a village leader for 20 years, was busy with farming and taking care of grand kids	Pilgrimage to Chorten Nyima for four times
Lhosang	30-40	University	Government officer	From Lhasa, attended university in inner land, with rich village work experience, villagers' favorite officer, like back-packaging	Visited inner land during study and for work
Phurbu Tashi	50-60	High school	Temporary worker	From Shigatse, worked as temporary worker for many years, lived in city	Visited inner land once, pilgrimage near home sometime
Nyi Tse	50-60	High school	Temporary worker	From Shigatse, worked as temporary worker for many years, lived in city, enjoyed cooking,	Visited inner land once, pilgrimage near home sometime

Following the general practice observed in most research, I listed the education and occupations of participants within the study. However, the socioeconomic and formal education of participants proved to be a potentially misleading indicator from which to draw any conclusions related to the study. To shed some light on the at times contradictory backgrounds of some participants, I attempted to capture a broader context when documenting any observations and conclusions. For example, Phurbu Dandul only attended primary school, but had learned Chinese characters at work as a temporary worker at a postal office. Tsering did not attend school but could memorize and recall a Chinese contract in its entirety - despite only having been read the text once. Jo Chompel could recite the phone numbers of all his phone contacts regardless of the fact he did not know any of the words on his Chinese-manufactured phone. The abilities of participants, regardless of their formal qualifications, served as a reminder to avoid fixed judgements of others based on education and occupation.

3.5.3 Potential political influence

Political surveillance is a potential barrier that could have influenced this research. I clearly stated in the Information Letter the importance that participants and I agreed with the current Chinese government's policy that Tibet is an inseparable part of China and subsequently developed our discussion under this rule.

During my fieldwork, I clearly oriented my questions within cultural realms without touching upon any political issues. Accordingly, most participants did not talk about or mention the topic, which could be a result of either participants' focus on the specific topics at hand, or perhaps their own awareness of potential surveillance. Although it would be nearly impossible to definitively determine which of the listed reasons resulted in the lack of political discussion, my previous understanding of the culture and community leads me to believe it was likely a combination of both aspects. Only a few of the participants discussed the issue with me and two of them asked me to double-check our conversation transcripts. One example is as follows:

Participant: "*I am fine with using my own name if our conversation does not break any law.*"

Yang: "Did we? I don't think we talked about such issues."

Participant: "*It would be better if we did not talk about politically related issues. Can you double-check on this matter?*"

Yang: "Sure, I will check again after I have typed up our interview transcripts."

Participant: "*That's great. Please omit such content if any exists.*"

After I transcribed the interviews, I did not identify any political issues, which indicated participants were careful when choosing the wording of their responses. Despite the potential for participants to "filter" their responses, focusing on cultural realms helped ensure the relevance of discussions, thus encouraging the likelihood of notable contributions to current tourism knowledge. Moreover, designing interviews in a way that allowed participants to freely share their experiences without fear of political commentary ultimately allows their accounts to be shared with a wider audience.

3.6 Analyzing and representing narratives

Narrative inquiry honours the stories shared by participants and considers them worthy of documentation (Patton, 2015). However, such views present researchers with both challenges, as well as opportunities, in how to treat or analyze these stories. Narrative inquirers balance themselves on the spectrum between researchers' voices and participants' voices. On the extreme side of participants' voice, scholars such as Griffin (2015) write concise syntheses of each participant's stories and provide detailed transcripts of interviews so as to let the participants speak their stories by

themselves. Griffin (2015) argued that even polishing the original stories should be minimized to keep their originality.

On the other extreme, scholars such as Miller (2017) and Fisher et al. (2018) ‘re-story’ original stories so as to generate ‘collective stories’ or narratives across multiple participants. Researchers think across stories and find potential linkages to present complexities (Chase, 2011). Miller (2017) shared with her participants the stories she crafted based on their contributions. Participants then approved and positively recognized these versions. Doubtless, even the scholars who re-story original stories tend to use large amounts of direct/verbatim quotations so as to remain “very close to the original data” (Fisher et al., 2018, p. 481).

Because of my cyclical research design, analysis was performed throughout the whole research process: during the interviews, right after the interviews, during transcribing, in the time blocked off for analysis, and when connecting the research with existing literature. During the interviews, I jotted down notes while listening to participant’s stories and also followed up with further clarifying questions. I did realize the limitations of on-the-spot responses; thus, I conducted preliminary analysis shortly after the interviews via reading the notes, transcribing the interviews, or listening to the audio recordings again. Due to the long duration of interviews, I was not able to transcribe each one right after it had finished; my ability to do so was determined by the gaps I had between interviews. I listened to the audios again if I was not immediately able to transcribe an interview. In this re-hearing process, I highlighted certain words, put question marks, added “does this mean that….?”, remarked “worth further exploration” or “potential interview questions to be asked”, and then listed potential questions and points for the second interviews with the participant.

I then revisited all transcripts and read them multiple times. I decided to represent the interviews in two ways: employing thematic analyisis to introduce relevant Indigenous concepts and a summary of trips shared (Chapter 4); presenting pariticipants’ experiences in narrative form (Chapter 5). I used one qualitative software product, Quirkos 1.5, to facilitate the analysis across different interviews. Specifically, the software helped me to mark or note some points, and to navigate to all original words of participants on certain topics. This software made it easy for me to list all participants who commented on certain topics, as proof that my statements were based on their own views.

Although thematic analysis had been challenged by many narrative inquirers, such as Glover (2003), I have still provided a sort of summary based on different categories, mainly because of the large amount of information I collected. I engaged with 35 participants, recorded 3396 minutes of our

conversations, and produced over 300,000 transcribed words. Thus, it was difficult for me to follow the side of analysis that focuses on participants' original voices and provides only edited transcripts of interviews, such as in the work of Griffin (2015) and Torabian (2019). Following their line of practice would have resulted in 35 edited transcripts. I worried that readers would lose interest in reading all of them. Thus, I have presented a summary in Chapter 4 to provide brief outlines/sketches reflecting the complexities and diversity Tibetan travelers. I have tried to use lengthy direct quotations to remain close to participants' words so that the Tibetan participants remain the narrators of their own experiences.

On the other hand, I have re-constructed and re-storied part of the interviews in story format in Chapter 5. Thus, in this part of analysis, I created the second analysis project in Quirkos 1.5 and mainly pulled the same trip together to facilitate my writing. More detailed thoughts about analysis are provided at the beginning of Chapter 5.

3.7 Actual implementation of the open designs

At the beginning of the Methodology (Section 3.1), I listed three research principles inspired from Indigenous literature and coordinated action plan to embody these principles into this study. The following sections summarize the actual fieldwork corresponding implementation.

3.7.1 Prioritize community benefits from my research

Three "practices" helped tailor this study to meet the needs of participants and their communities, who were also decision makers of this study: 1) partly open research questions, leaving room for participants to decide their own choice of relevant issues; 2) develop part of interview questions from the fieldwork; 3) the intention to ask participants about any potential benefits my study could offer them (unpacked in Chapter 7).

1) Research questions proposed by participants

Research and interview questions were gradually developed from fieldwork. Two of the three research questions were purposively left open for participants to decide on: What travel and tourism-related issues do Tibetan participants consider important? and How does the research contribute to

building a critically-informed understanding of tourism issues relevant to Indigenous peoples (e.g., experience, knowledge)?

For the first research question, I selected an issue my participants cared about—document codes of conduct for tourist behavior (unpacked in Chapter 6). Other potential research questions proposed by participants are as follows: What are generational and time differences among Tibetan travelers? urban and rural residents' differences in travel patterns; comparison of psychological changes between pilgrimage and daily lives; psychological status of travelers who have not performed pilgrimage for more than half year; contribution of pilgrimage to one's wellbeing; causes of generational differences on pilgrimages; improving information access to Tibetan travelers; adaptation of food for Tibetans traveling outside of Tibet; role of economic influence on tourism; playful status during pilgrimage trips; the influences of pilgrimage trips on the religious dedication; and psychological differences between pilgrimage via walking and taking cars. This list demonstrated that pilgrimage-related topics drew most of the attention of the participants.

2) Emerging interview questions

As stated previously, the rationale of using unstructured interviews in Section 3.3.2 is to de-center my voice and to privilege the Tibetan view. I encouraged participants to talk broadly and followed up upon the mention of notable topics with further questioning and requests for elaboration. Through such processes, I found some emerging interview questions worth exploring with other participants. To illustrate, my first participant, Lhakpa, informed me that pilgrimage and tourism are two existing travel forms in Tibetan society; Thus, I included questions about the two forms in subsequent interviews. In another instance, I was curious about why the second participant, Chokyap, chose Lhokha as a family-visiting destination. He told me that this place has been introduced in several oral stories in their village nearly 2,000km from Lhokha. I then included information sources of pilgrimage as potential interview questions for extensive dissemination. Other emerging interview questions included the following:

- Why were there so few tourism trips in Tibet in the past?
- Is it caused by the religion being linked to all trips?
- Did low economic development make travel unaffordable to people?

- Regardless of potential restrictions, where is your ideal destination and why?
- Which type, either pilgrimage or tourism, will you choose if you could afford only one trip?
- Why do you sense peace after a grueling pilgrimage?
- Why did you take photos during your pilgrimage?
- What factors contributed to your dedication to Buddhism?
- How do you see the differences between staying at someone's home via knocking at their doors on your trip and the contemporary hotel industry?
- How do you feel differently about the pilgrimage by foot versus by vehicle?

Overall, these questions were generated from my conversations with previous participants, which helped me tailor my inquiry based on local culture. However, I did not use structured questions or considered these interview questions as a mandatory for everyone. Put another way, the interviews remained flexible with these emerging questions. One notable contribution of using emerging interview questions to the research process is the reductions of the author's assumptions. Thus, the interviews were tailored on the basis of Tibetan context and participant's expertise.

3.7.2 Cultivate sincere relationships

My steps to achieving solid relationships are as follows: 1) maximizing the fieldwork period within allowable funding and time constraints; 2) being a humble, honest, open, patient, respectful learner of local culture (Chilisa, 2012; Wilson, 2008; Grimwood et al., 2012); 3) participating in non-data-collecting activities.

I must balance these steps with the specific context of my study: its limited timeframe, Tibetan interpreter costs, and severely limited funding. As a result, the maximum self-financed-affordable fieldwork period was just four months, from the end of July 2019 to end of November 2019. The four-month period provided me sufficient time to learn about Tibetan culture and build sincere relationship with participants.

The importance of being humble, honest, open, patient, respectful of local culture has been well identified (Chilisa, 2012; Wilson, 2008). McCarthy (2018) based on his seven years' participatory research with Indigenous communities in both southern and northern Ontario in Canada, shares that

being humble enough to learn is the most important quality. Similarly, Wilson (2008) argues that it is impossible to conduct research with Indigenous communities without "deep listening" (p.113). Learning suggests that the researcher takes up the role of learner with a humble attitude, to learn from the participant-researchers (Grimwood et al., 2012).

Participants extended their support when they saw my learning of their culture, which increased their willingness of support and their reflections on learning. To illustrate, Drolma remarked that: "*You have learned much knowledge, but you are still humbly learning about our Tibetan culture. I can see the spirit of life-long learning with you. I should learn from you.*"

Grimwood et al. (2012) suggest engaging with local communities via doing activities that are significantly different from those for collecting 'data', such as walking around on the land and participating in community events. They call these actions 'crafting relations'. During my four months' stay, I engaged with many non-data-collecting activities, such as drinking at local tea houses, joining their celebrations (e.g. birthday gatherings and family events), praying in circles with them, walking along monasteries, visiting the museum, soaking up in sunshine, and learning Tibetan language. Given that I spent most of the time in Lhasa, we walked around the Jokang Temple in Lhasa for many times and we preferred to walk rather than talk about my study.

I spoke a bit of Tibetan before. Thus, I decided to learn Tibetan writing with a private tutor weekly in my fieldwork as preparation for continue learning Tibetan in the future. Most participants taught me research-related words, such as *qu-lu* (Buddhism), *qu-mie* (Buddhist lights), *giang-jia* (prostration), *rang-qun* (sacred relics), *gong-ba* (monastery), *la-kang* (temple), *gu-xiu-la* (monk), *a-ni-la* (nun), *la-mu* (female angel), *chang-a* (Buddhist beads), *guo-sang* (Tibetan incense), and *ren-po-qie* (living incarnate lamas). Although learning the language would not directly help my research, I still decided to learn from the very basic words. At the end of my stay, I completed learning the grade one textbook for primary students. I was delighted, given my ability to match the written text with the spoken words I knew before. I also understood some words when the Tibetan participants did not know how to express the word in Chinese.

These non-data-collecting activities substantially contributed to my study in the following four aspects: 1) They greatly helped me understand Tibetan culture. 2) They helped me better understand the participants' views. 3) They helped build sincere relationships with participants. 4) They helped me balance the interactions with research and non-research purposes. Therefore, these non-research activities are as important as the interviews for the research and for the researcher.

3.7.3 Privilege Tibetan knowledge

In order to privilege Tibetan knowledge and engage participants as co-researchers, my practices involved: 1) inviting informants to participate in data analysis and conclusions session and inviting them as co-authors of journal publications ; 2) inviting informants to make suggestions about the research process; 3) sharing interview transcripts and final presentation and reports with them; 4) sharing my literature review with them; 5) spreading my research findings via non-academic publications. All these five actions depended on participants' willingness.

1) Inviting informants to participate in data analysis and conclusions session

Garakani and Peter (2016) underline that "the research process was[is] as important as the results" (p.451) because it creates dialogue among stakeholders and empowers community members. Previous participant research also invited participants into authorship of journal publication. For instance, Castleden and Garvin (2008) add the Huu-ay-aht First Nation in the authorship in their participatory research in the community, and Holmes, Grimwood, and King (2016) invited the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation to participate as co-author. To honour their contributions, I mentioned about inviting them as authors.

My study was less participatory than previously planned. No participant was interested in engaging in the research process or joining the authorship for the following reasons: 1) most participants still had no knowledge of conducting research; 2) research seems to be a boring process; and 3) large amounts of time and energy are required.

2) Inviting informants to make suggestions about the research process

Although no participants joined me in conducting the research, many suggestions about the research process, particularly for reaching out to potential participants and final presentation, were actively put forward. Some participants made no suggestions, others made critical comments. For example, Tsering Drolma, a local farmer in her 60s, asked about learning about a new thing merely via verbal communication. Based on her experience in farming, she thought knowledge and understanding came from practice. Thus, she suggested that I should participate in local activities to supplement the oral interviews. Her words reminded me of Chilisa's (2011, p.100) view that Indigenous knowledge includes embodied knowledge beyond the written literature.

After realizing that I had few senior participants, Lhakpa suggested that I try my luck in a local famous park. However, Tse Kelsang thought that the idea was not worth attempting because the

length of my interview was long, and most Tibetans were shy to talk to a stranger. I followed Tse Kelsang's suggestion. Several participants advised that I reach out to knowledgeable persons, such as professors, monks, or tourism management majors, as informants. Yundon and Tsering Yundon, who did not know each other and commented in separate interviews, suggested including students who studied tourism management because they were expected to be knowledgeable about scenic attractions and Tibetan culture. Yundon herself worked in a hotel and still considers herself lacking knowledge about tourism because providing services was totally different from traveling as a tourist.

Other than reaching out to potential participants, Tse Kelsang, Yundon, and Palzom, who attended university and had general ideas about questionnaire surveys, discussed adopting quantitative methods. I explained to them the process, weaknesses, and strengths of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. I later learned that their concerns were actually related to the final presentation of the writing. They agreed with me that my study focused on Tibetans as tourists was significant. Thus, they expected me to reach out to large amount of participants to be more representative. Moreover, they were concerned that the readers of this study would use the elaborations of the over 30 informants as a representation of the entire Tibetan people.

Many other participants including Lhakpa, Chokyap, Lhakpa Tsering, Norbu, Pasang, Dorje, Drolma, Karma, Chimy Dolkar, and Nyima Tsering, were worried about my generating individual opinions, which would then be considered as opinions of the entire Tibetan group. To demonstrate, Lhakpa was cautious about his wording and frequently added "*this is my personal view*" or "*this is my own thought, and many of my friends share similar thought with me on this matter*." He was cautious about the application range of his statement. He further explained the reason for his cautious behavior: "*I have read many articles that I assumed that the author only asked one or few persons but used such findings to generate or infer as the opinion of our entire ethnic group. I cannot say such content is wrong, but such is inappropriate*."

Another participant, Karma, explained the local diversity:

> *Not mention to the diversity within Tibet, there are various cultures within our city. Seven counties are within our city, which means seven different languages and clothing. Gongbu area's clothes are most special among the seven. Thus, outsiders, such as yourself, think Gongbu represents our city. In fact, another six different styles exist … I am afraid that I can only speak for myself rather than the views of our city or Tibetans.*

I discussed potential solutions with these informants who were concerned about the generalisational/inferential effects of the writing. Temporary solutions were adding a statement of individual opinions at the very beginning of the thesis; adding personal views while quoting someone who originally addressed the issue as personal view; and avoiding or reducing the use of generational/ inferential tones in the writing.

3) Sharing interview transcripts and final presentation and reports with participants

Sharing interview transcripts and final reports with participants has been proposed by many scholars, such as Stewart and Draper (2009), and Castleden et al. (2008). Stewart and Draper (2009) advocated that researchers should pay attention to report back to the community and leave the field in an appropriate way, rather than just 'leave' like mosquitoes that suck blood and depart. Castleden et al. (2008) addressed that reporting research findings back is not only for checking accuracy and collecting feedback, more importantly, is to facilitate reciprocity with participants and reduce researchers' fatigue aroused by merely storing research in journal articles and books in library.

Based on participants' willingness, I shared the interview transcripts with 14 participants, and appropriate behaviour codes of tourists visiting Tibet with 19 participants. Later, I will share my thesis with six of them upon completion, based on their willingness. I first sent Tse Kelsang's interview transcripts to him, and we spent half an hour together. He read through the transcription while I sat silently beside him. After a while, he suggested reviewing it later when he was free at home. I agreed and I sent the transcripts to other participants to review by themselves rather than in my presence. Most of them confirmed the accuracy of the content. In addition, 19 participants reviewed the codes of conducts for welcomed tourists.

I explained to Chimy Dolkar about my plan for the collected stories because I happened to stay at her home during my thorough analysis. However, she said I should decide for myself, as participants entirely lack knowledge of academic rules.

4) Sharing my literature review with participants

Smith (2012) and Higgins-Desbiolles and Whyte (2013) strongly recommended that researchers should share the "theory" with their participants. I previously thought that I could share my literature

review via cartoons or short presentations. To inform participants about the rationale of conducting this study, I prepared a six-slide short presentation in English to my first two participants, Lhakpa and Chokyap, who knew English. Thus, I directly used the content from my research. However, they were less interested in the content during this presentation, and thus, I changed to only sharing the literature relevant to participants' stories. Examples of my sharing are as follows:

- After participants described how they carried food and bedding on their pilgrimage journeys for several days, I followed that many researchers commented that tourism is a western product that people can venture with disposable income and time, but some researchers argued about its non-western origins. For example, specific organizations helped Japanese travelers to organize their living and transportation for a pilgrimage in the 19th century (I was referring to Chambers' (2009) work on Native tours). The pilgrimage trips participants shared echo Nash's (1981) arguement that different types of tourism activities exist in all society (referring to Nash, 1981).

- After participants brought up their cautious views on inferring from individual opinions to presenting certain groups, I shared the development and application of the measurement model of the satisfaction travel experience.

- After I introduced the debates between protecting privacy and acknowledging contributions via using real names (proposed by Wilson, 2008), I left the choice to the participants. A typical response was like this one by Lhakpa: "*I am not the ethnic people in the Western society, but I like the idea of acknowledging my contribution*."

- After participants described how they limited their material needs and cared about human and non-human beings, I shared the knowledge that I gained from a course, titling "Indigenous knowledge", that many Indigenous people in North American cared about our Mother Earth and paid attention to environmental impact.

- Once participants highlighted the psychological changes after their pilgrimage trip, I introduced how other researchers conducted surveys before and after people's trips to track their psychological changes.

- A local saying indicates that a local plant could help with mountain sickness. One participant considered developing the plant into a product, but he was not confident in the local saying and checked with me about "scientific tests" to confirm its effects. I first found research studies to explain the experiment process to him and shared similar dilemmas of other Indigenous

communities who used scientific testing to confirm the validity of their local knowledge and how a plant used to deal with starvation in the desert was patented by a UK company as weight-reducing pills (I was referring to Chilisa, 2011). Although this issue was unrelated to my study, I spent time explaining the narrative and wishing that my friend would be confident about their knowledge.

Although such exchanges only remained at the surface level, the interaction was important given that research is a co-learning process, in which participants and researcher exchange ideas with each other. In my practice, such exchanges were very important for building relationships. Some participants even interviewed me or asked questions as a response as well. To illustrate, Wangyal asked whether I could provide any example of potential research questions about the Han people's travels when I asked him about his suggestion on potential research questions on Tibetan travelers. I then introduced two studies with one via qualitative and the other quantitative methods. Other questions I was asked included the following: What have you learned from the PhD? What do certain ceremonies of Han people look like? Do Han people feel dizzy in crowds? Which trips would you like to share if you were interviewed? How to continue self-studying given the fact that some of them only completed primary school or middle school and they wished to learn something? Can you teach me how to say this word in Chinese?

5) Spreading my research findings via non-academic publications

Chokyap was the only person who was interested in publishing our interview transcripts via his official account (Back To Tibet) on WeChat. He was a self-educated poet and wrote articles that introduced Tibetan culture in Tibetan and English. He published the transcript on April 23, 2020 on his official account. This news feed was read 1083 times and 'liked' 51 times as of Sep 15, 2020. We both were impressed by the amount of readership the transcript had attracted. He did not enable the 'feedback function' on the post, so we were unable to see any readers' comments or responses. However, we plan to publish the transcript again after I learn the manipulation and editing of WeChat articles.

Figure 7 Snapshots of the beginning and ends of Chokyap' published transcript

ཛ་ཡོག་གི་མིག་ནང་གི་ཡུལ་སྐོར་དང་ཁ་ན་ཊའི་བུ་མོ། Tourism In My Eyes

Original -- Back To Tibet 4/23

👉 གོང་གི་ཡི་གེ་སྔོན་པོ Back To Tibet ལ་མནན་ནས་དོ་ཁུར་གནང་རོགས།

Back To Tibet

Back To Tibet

ནང་ཆོས་ལ་དད་གུས་མངའ་བའི་མི་ཞིག་གི་མིག་ནང་གི་ཡུལ་སྐོར་དང་གནས་མཇལ།
Pilgrimage and tourism in the eyes of a dedicated Buddhist

- This transcript covers interviews with Xiaotao carried out for her PhD thesis. Each entry is preceded by the interview question. Xiaotao is interested in our descriptions of three trips and in identifying the specialtiesof Tibetans' trips, including both nei-gor (གནས་སྐོར) and yul-gor (ཡུལ་སྐོར). ཚོམ་ཡིག་འདི་ནི 2019 ཟླ་ན་ཊ་ནས་ཡིན་པའི་བུ་མོ་ཞིག་དང་གནས་མཆོག་ལྷ་ས་ནས་འཕྲད་བྱུང་བས། མོས་ང་ལ་སྐད་ཆ་འགའ་འདྲི་བའི་གནང་བ་ཞུས་པ་ལྟར་ཡན་དུ་བཏབ་པའི་ང་རང་ཉེ་ཁ་མ་ཁུལ་གྱི་གནས་འགར་ཞིག་ལ་གནས་མཇལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་ལམ་གྱི་ཚོར་བ་འགའ་ཕན་ཚུན་གྱིང་མོལ་བྱས་པ་དག མོ་རང་གིས་སྐྱ་བྲིས་ནས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་རྗེས་ཡི་གེར་བཏགས་ནས་བསྒྱུར་བྱུང་བའི་ངའི་གནས་མཇལ་རེག་ཚོར་ཞིག་ཡིན།

Back To Tibet

ནང་དོན་ཡག་པོ་འདུག་ན་མཐེ་བོང་ནོན།

Reads 1083

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3.8 Non 'traditional' practices involved

Although every culture has its own way of knowing and interpreting the world (epistemological inquiries refer to "how we know what we know"), most methodologies applied in contemporary research are deeply rooted in western culture, a phenomenon which was coined by Winter (2009) as the "western-centric modus operandi of research" (p.13). Specifically, my study found three common practices in western methodologies deserving secondary thought or modification, such as inviting friends as participants, using real names, and accompanied 'individual interviews'.

3.8.1 Including friends as participants

Wilson (2008) identified one important practice of Indigenous research is "the use of family, relations or friends as intermediaries in order to garner contact with participants" (p.129), which has seldom been applied in Western research that address the detachment of researchers from the studied objects. Among these exceptions, Tom Griffin (2015), a non-Indigenous researcher, co-constructed narratives with five of his friends and four introduced by mutual acquaintances and found that such relationships facilitated people's willingness to share (p.92). As introduced at the beginning of the methodology section, cultivating sincere relationships with participants is an important principle informed by Indigenous methodologies (Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008; Chilisa, 2012). 'Building relationships' was an important principle empahised by both CBPR and Indigenous methodologies.

In my fieldwork, starting with friends greatly facilitated the rapport between researcher and participants, and also allowed me to explore candid questions. For sure, my friends had the autonomy of not being involved or having different degrees of involvement after I shared my research plan with them. In fact, one friend frankly rejected participating in interviews or referencing because she thought she was not accountable as a farmer and farmers were not good at expressing themselves. I attempted to persuade her that I wished to obtain ordinary persons' perspective and praised her or her brilliant ideas. Although I was disappointed to miss her voice, I respected her choice in the end. We continue to be good friends and we talked about various topics. I stayed at her home, and she frequently checked on my research progress. The primary ethical concern at work here is that they may feel obligated to partake because they wanted to help. Also, they may leave out details so as not to embarrass themselves. I tried my best to address their autonomy of being involved or not. The benefits outweight potential concerns.

de Leeuw and colleague (2012) were the few researchers that reflected on the influence of friendship in research, and remarked that friendship requires stricter accountability than research ethics boards (REBs). I agree with their opinions. Some participants and I will probably be friends for the rest of our lives, whereas this research only lasted few months. Therefore, I should behave and act for the long term good of our friendship, rather than only considering my short-term academic goals. Our friendship urges me to do things considerately and sincerely, a criterion higher than any ethical requirements from the university. For instance, REBs normally require the researcher to share findings with participants. I not only continue updating the participants about the research findings, I also maintained correspondence with them after I left the fieldwork. In another instance, I stayed at my friend's place for some time, and we spent a few hours at night after her work. These few hours could have been a good time for me to ask research-related questions. Nonetheless, I restrained myself from asking and left such time as personal time without any research agenda. No REBs regulated on these incidents.

Most Tibetans believe in the natural law of cause and effect; the simplest interpretation is that if someone does bad things then he or she will experience bad consequences, either later in life or in their next life. I agree with this belief, and it sometimes causes me to have second thoughts about my behaviours. One participant referred by a friend mentioned that he knew me via some photos at his relatives' home. In the past, I occasionally visited villages, took photos for villagers, and printed copies for them. I had never realized that such a trivial thing I have done more than 10 years ago would help to connect me and a participant to this day. He said that it was not easy for villagers to get photos at that time, so he knew I was a kind person and was willing to share his stories with me. It also reminded me that doing only good things during my fieldwork now would prevent bad things happening to me later.

The only thing I think I did that was inappropriate was that I bothered my participants with long documents. At the very beginning of my fieldwork, both my close friends and translator suggested that the Information Letter and Participation Consent were extremely long with some unnecessary content. Some of them were doing temporary work in the cities, and they did not even have to sign a contract for their jobs. It was really hard for them to understand why they need to officially consent to helping a friend or having a conversation. They basically got headaches trying to read the two files and did not want to sign, but said they would do whatever they could to help me. I had to tell them that most of the content was required by the Research Office of the University of Waterloo and that I

have to follow the rules. It took me nearly three months to get ethics approval, and I was really scared about any further waiting that may arise if I followed participants' suggestions and proposed modifications to the Research Office. Thus, I requested my participants' patience and asked them to take time to digest the content. I felt apologetic for 'forcing' them to go through the long and headache-inducing documents. I appreciated their support despite their dislike of such reading.

3.8.2 Using real names versus pseudonyms

Existing methodologies emphasizing privacy are explicit on the use of pseudonyms and unidentifiable photographs, which were inapplicable in my study after I left the choice to participants themselves. I informed them of the advantage and disadvantages of using pseudonyms and real names. During the interview, only one participant preferred to go by a pseudonym because he thought his story was simply ordinary rather than appealing. I encouraged him by saying how attractive and special his stories were, but he still preferred using a pseudonym. During my writing, another participant changed from using his real name to using a pseudonym because he was concerned about the potential impact of the study on him.

The use of real names was mainly due to the nature of the discussions, which centred around cultural topics rather than controversial or political issues, as well as the additional anonymity resulting from many Tibetans sharing the same common names. Three participants shared the same name, Nyima Tsering. I suggested that they use Nyima, Nyi Tse, or Nyima Tsering to distinguish one another, and they agreed to do so. Another two shared the same name, Chompel. Thus, I suggested to add "Jo" (which means brother) before the name of the senior respondent. Therefore, 33 out of 35 participants preferred to go by their real names.

I thought not referring to anyone's real names while talking about contentious topics was a good idea, such as our conversation on unpleasant behaviours of visitors who travel arounded Tibet. I checked again with participants, and they all agreed on this matter and asked me to decide in which instances to use their real names or not mention their names. Thus, I carefully thought about whether the statements would arouse negative impact on the participants if I would use their real names.

3.8.3 Accompanied "individual interviews"

Notably, only nine participants were interviewed individually, as the rest of the interviews were conducted in the company of their friends who happened to be my participants as well. Several participants were simply present, while I interviewed one of them. Others were helping supplement the speaker's thoughts. I cannot name such interview as "individual" or "group" according to western methodological books. The term "accompanied individual interviews" may be appropriate.

When I interviewed Tsasi Norbu, he was with four friends (friends of his and also of mine), who mainly spent time on their phones, although occasionally paid attention to our interviews. When Tsasi Norbu wanted to talk about the village of his origin, his friends reminded him that we were talking about tourism and pilgrimage so it was odd to talking about his hometown as a travel experience before I asked him. While I seemed confused and had difficulty imagining dancing on a deity mountain, one friend suggested that he show me a video of such a scene. One time, he suddenly switched from speaking Mandarin to Tibetan with his friends. I asked him to translate what he just said. He responded that he was asking his friends to check whether he talked about any inappropriate topics, such as politics. In another instance, after I checked with Jigme about whether he had any other thoughts on his trip to the inner land, he first responded "No." However, his friends added that he felt very happy with the strong sunshine and blue sky upon his arrival at Lhasa. I confirmed with Jigme that this description was exactly his feeling he shared with his friends two years ago. Clearly, these four examples showed that interviews within the presence of friends profoundly affected the outcome of interviews by providing supplemental and confirmatory information.

Existing research methodologies, which are deeply rooted in western culture that emphasizes individualism and protection of privacy, may consider the interviews with company to hold potential risks of privacy violation, or for one person to overshadow another's thoughts by dominating the conversation. The latter refers to the accompanying person's ability to influence the participant's opinions. I did not deem these two issues to be of concern for two reasons. First, Tibetan culture emphasizes the importance of relationships with each other and thus, they view interviews as a kind of social gathering and were not concerned about their friends knowing their thoughts. Second, peaceful thought is part of Buddhist teaching. Thus, no accompanying person in my interviews attempted to dismiss or override another person's thoughts, but rather, demonstrated supportive behavior to the interviewee.

3.9 Subjectivity

"We always speak from a particular location in the power structures. Nobody escapes the class, sexual, gender, spiritual, linguistic, geographical, and racial hierarchies of the 'modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system'"; so said Grosfoguel (2007, p.213). Spivak (1988) echoed that investigating the researcher's positionality is important for preventing ideological reproduction in research. The concept of social location includes the need to recognize both the values and experiences held by a researcher, and how these factors may influence his/her research decisions. In the following reflections, I first describe my own privilege that grounds my experiences, followed by my attitude as a non-Indigenous researcher undertaking an Indigenous-focused study. Unlearning my privilege requires that I consciously examine and often rethink much of what I usually take for granted. I must continuously reflect on my social location throughout my life.

1) Unlearning privilege: Language can be a privilege

I, a Han Chinese, grew up in the largest autonomous region of Yi ethnic people in China (Liangshan Perfecture, Sichuan Province). Throughout my life and work, I have seen, heard, read, and thought about the differences between Han Chinese and other ethnic groups, but I never realized that I was privileged until I encountered my own linguistic difficulties. I worked as an officer in a Tourism Bureau in Tibet for 2.5 years. I was the only Han Chinese in our bureau, a situation that came with the assumption that my major task was to write various bureaucratic documents. Of course, the majority of them were in Chinese. However, a few official documents, either released to us or to be drafted by us, were written in Tibetan, perhaps because the Tourism Bureau had less contact with local Tibetans. Other bureaus, such as Civil Affairs or Agricultural Administration, required Han Chinese employees to be fluent in speaking and writing Tibetan. Opposite our office was the county's middle school. I had always heard about how poor at Chinese the Tibetan students were, and that their lack of fluency blocked them from achieving high scores in most exams. Except for the Tibetan-language exam, all other subjects were written in Chinese.

Even then I did not fully realize how greatly language can be a source of privilege until the issue became personal and my studies at Waterloo in Canada were hindered by my imperfect English. I suddenly felt 'guilt' that other ethnic minority groups, either Yi or Tibetan, must live, study, and work

in a Mandarin linguistic environment. I can imagine how difficult this situation is for them and how hard it is to live as a minority group.

I then delved into decolonial theories that address the interplay of race, gender, class, and politics in the world-system. I realized that inequality is not limited to economic status, such as poverty, but also extended to the ideological level, such as certain cultures being viewed as superior to others, or western ways of knowing being regarded as a universalized way of knowing. In response, I reconciled with myself and my imperfect English, and actively learned more about Chinese culture. Meanwhile, I frequently checked and reviewed whether certain practices or my own behaviours were equitable or reinforced unequal structures on minorities, either in terms of economic status, race, geographic location, or language. To make a metaphor, I feel like I have one antenna that receives signals beyond myself, or that some form of extra awareness jumps out from my body and reviews the issue from a minority perspective.

In short, I am a Han Chinese, currently the majority group in China. I am willing and have made efforts to understand minority groups' experiences, consider their knowledge in a more equitable way, deeply listen to them, and amplify their voices as needed.

2) Non-indigenous research in an Indigneous-focused study—A humble learner, an ally, and being in the present moment

The Indigenous scholar Whittaker (1999) contended that it is "an obligation for White people to stop talking for Aboriginal people and to let them speak for themselves". I am aware of this comment and consider that his suggestion can be implemented sometimes or on specific issues. Meanwhile, scholars such as Smith (2012) and Hollinshead (2012) posited that indigenous studies should form alliances with non-Indigenous groups to "promote and support indigenous communities in their particular struggles" (Smith, 2012, p.xii). Bearing both perspectives in mind, I have been continuously reflecting and struggling with being a non-indigenous researcher throughout the course of my research. However, I think these struggles are healthy battles that will encourage researchers to avoid negative impacts on indigenous communities. Compared with what indigenous people have experienced, my struggles are minimal.

For instance, I felt deeply guilty for being part of a system that forces others to live in my language. This guilt made me feel frozen. I talked to some of my Tibetan friends and participants about this

issue. As expected, my friends shared their experiences of having to fill and read government reports in Chinese, or that many words they encountered in construction were Chinese. While admitting these difficulties, Tsering also shared with me the importance of equality and sincerity in improving such situations, stating that: "*When you think about ethnic differences, they will always be there. We have maintained our friendship for more than ten years. I rarely consider you to be different from any other Tibetan friends. Maybe sometimes. You don't have to think that much; just be simply, equal, and sincere*". Yes, sincerity, but that important element is seldom mentioned in academics.

Additionally, I negotiated between presenting 'descriptive data' and being critical and making notable knowledge contributions. To maneuver through this paradoxical situation, the Buddhist idea—mindfulness—was a pivotal point that has guided me. Arai (2017) indicated that by engaging "in paradoxical thinking, we relinquish the division between right and wrong... engage in a 'both/and' perspectives to open up space for other possibilities (p.164)". Accordingly, I simply read and intently listened to participants' stories, totally forgetting existing literature, and barring from my mind any judgment or fears of how my writing would be judged. As I went through this process, I read Kincheloe & Steinberg's (2008), stating that researchers should "'soak themselves in this knowledge…assimilate the feelings, the sensitivity' of epistemologies that move in ways unimagined by most western academic impulses" (p.136). I could not agree more with these suggestions.

To summarize, I critically reviewed my own privileges grounded in my experiences, and shared some of my struggle as a non-Indigenous researcher undertaking an Indigenous-focused study. Being a humble learner, an ally, and being present in the moment are some of my responses.

Chapter 4
A Sketch of Tibetan Participants' Travel Behaviours

My second research question focuses on how Tibetans narrate their travel experiences. To respond to this question, the first step is to understand what travel forms exist within Tibetan society, which will be answered in this chapter. Travel takes two major forms in contemporary Tibetan society: *yukour* (tourism, ཡུལ་སྐོར་།) and *neikour* (pilgrimage, གནས་སྐོར་།). This chapter starts by introducing *neikour* and *yukour* practices in Tibet and the distinctions between the two concepts. A profile of the trips shared by participants is summarized at the end, followed by a discussion connecting with existing religious tourism literature.

Both Indigenous knowledge/methodologies and tourism literature suggest that researchers introduce and define Indigenous concepts, which is the purpose of this chapter. First, literature on Indigenous methodologies proposes the integration of Indigenous concepts into research (Smith, 2012; Chilisa, 2012). Scientific colonialism (See Section 2.1) tends to apply universalized "Western-based research methodologies and techniques of gathering data across cultures" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 64), with the assumption that homogenized concepts/usages/definitions exist across all cultures. However, Chilisa (2012) asked a thought-provoking question: How can Indigenous people "talk about their experiences without the imposition of *nonculturally cogent terms*?" (p. 119, italic added). One approach to countering the western-centric knowledge system is through paying close attention to terminological differences in specific cultures. The language of researched communities embodies their values and worldviews; thus, their language, stories, songs, and rituals should be important aspects of research. Moreover, engaging Indigenous concepts could contribute new knowledge, ways of knowing, and perceptions of reality to the existing knowledge system. Instead of a researcher using unfamiliar terminologies from the literature that are unlikely to appropriately to reflect Indigenous knowledge, he or she should adopt Indigenous concepts and venacular to make participants feel confident in the research process by referring to "what they already know" (Chilisa, 2012, p.49). For those considerations, Indigenous methodologies especially emphasize the importance of engaging Indigenous concepts over other methodologies.

Second, tourism activities exist in all societies (Nash, 1981), but different societies or cultures might have different understandings and interpretations of "tourism" (Berno, 1999). Accordingly, Berno (1999) suggested that tourism researchers should opt for Indigenous definitions of tourism as the starting point for successfully crossing cultural boundaries. These definitions might differ significantly from those of western literature or official statistics. However, such research practices have seldom been followed. Berno (1999) reported that the inhabitants of the Cook Islands themselves travel actively. They even had two definitions of tourism: one considering themselves travelling as 'guests' and the other considering outsiders visiting their community as '(white) tourists', a distinction that might be overlooked when all 'tourists' are grouped together under the universalized definition.

Therefore, given the seemingly common failure to regard and understand Indigenous people as tourists (Section 2.3), especially in a Tibetan context (Section 2.4), I provide participants' definitions of several related concepts in detail within the following chapter. This inclusion aims to provide an entry point for understanding their travel experiences, as well as to set out a reliable foundation for future research.

4.1 *Neikour* (Pilgrimage)

This subsection focuses on the Tibetan tradition of pilgrimage. It describes pilgrimage-related terms, as well as pilgrimage purposes and frequency.

4.1.1 *Neikour* and related terms

Tibetans have the pilgrimage tradition of visiting sacred places or shrines where famous monasteries are located, saints once lived and practiced, sacred mountains and lakes lie, or other empowered substances (such as water, plants, or stones) have been identified. Three other concepts related to pilgrimage are *kora*, *lingkour*, and *choenjay*. *Kora* (སྐོར་ར།) means circulating around deity mountains and *lingkour* (གླིང་སྐོར།) means circulating around monasteries. *Choenjay* (མཆོད་མཇལ།) refers to visiting and entering local and nearby religious sites, whereas *neikour* (གནས་སྐོར།) indicates longer distances and durations. However, in many cases, the four words are used interchangeably, in accordance with individual preference. For instance, circulating around a mountain can be referred to as either *kora* or *choenjay*. A religiously motivated trip from Shigatse to Lhasa may be called a *kora* by some people and a *neikour* by others, depending on whether they perceive the distance as long or short.

Roughly, *neikour* refers to visiting faraway, sacred sites for religious purposes. A visitor's motivation also influences word choices. For instance, visiting Jokang temple is sightseeing for non-believers, but a pilgrimage (*neikour*) for Buddhists. *Neikour* and *choenjay* are not distinguished by specific criteria, such as clearly defined distances or durations. Participants use *neikour* to refer to pilgrimage lasting half a year, one month, or—the shortest length—one day. *Neikour* and *choenjay* are used interchangeably depending on personal preferences, particularly as the improvement of transportation options have shortened most journeys overall. For instance, the traveling time of a single trip by taking cars from Tsering Drolma's home to Tashi Lunpo Monastery was shortened from 15 hours twenty years ago to only 4 hours in present day. As a result, she used *neikour* to describe this trip in the past and the present, although such trips can be completed within one day now. During interviews, I framed my questions with the word *neikour* in Tibetan. Accordingly, I assumed participants' elaborations were based on their own judgment of *neikour*.

Most people carry tsampa (barley powder, which is the major agricultural product and foodstuff) and salt butter tea as food sources on their trips. If overnights are involved, they normally carry bedding with them and look for homestays by knocking at villagers' door along their trip, or they may stay in tents. There is a long-standing tradition of providing homestays for pilgrims for free, if such are requested and empty rooms are available. The longer the duration of the trip, the heavier the packages pilgrims carry.

Whether a pilgrimage is performed by walking or by taking cars depends on multiple factors, such as road conditions, participants' dedication, and financial situation. Even when road and financial conditions permit car travel, some pilgrims are still likely to choose walking— believed by many to be the more traditional and spiritual way. Travelling by foot can provide for a more immersive spiritual experience for travellers, as full-length body prostrations are performed at intervals along the route, or around certain sacred sites. It is also common for people to chant a prayer while walking.

4.1.2 Purposes and frequency of *Neikour*

"Washing off" and "cleaning" defilements and sins, as well as praying for better luck and for the wellbeing of all the living beings were identified by most participants as common pilgrimage purposes. Buddhism promotes equality among human and non-human beings; consequently, the killing of animals is considered a sin. Even if people avoid killing animals for their meat in honour of this principle, it is highly probable that harm will be brought to living beings in other ways – such as by unintentionally killing small bugs while walking. In fact, it is inevitable that even devout people

will make some sort of mistake during daily life; fortunately, a pilgrimage is one solution to remove such *drib* (defilement) or *dik* (sin). As Buddhists believe in the vicissitudes of life in cyclic existence, purification is one of many practices that contribute to the plausibility of living a smoother life with fewer tragedies, dying in a less painful way, achieving a better life in the next life, or even the ultimate pursuit: becoming enlightened, like Buddha. When Buddhists encounter difficulties—such as illness, accidents, or frustrations—performing pilgrimage is believed to lead to better luck. Altruism is part of the core teachings of Buddhism; thus, many followers actually pray for the wellbeing of all the living beings, rather than themselves.

In addition to special festivals, certain days, such as the 1st, 15th, 30th of each month in the Tibetan calendar, are considered lucky days on which to visit temples. Most study participants reported a high frequency of *neikour* or *choenjay*. For instance, Kelsang elaborated that:

> *I get off from work at 9 PM. The next day, I would get up at 5 AM to catch a coach bus to the temples. Although I have visited these temples many times, I still visit them as long as I have time. I never counted how many times I had been there. It would be meaningless to do so… During the Saga Dawa Month (the Buddha Enlightenment Month), I got off from work at 9 PM and performed prostration around the Jokang Temple until 11 PM. I had a super peaceful and sweet sleep after it.*

Similar practices were adopted by Norbu who got up at 4 AM to circulate monasteries before going to work and circulated again after work at 8 PM. However, it is not always the case that the more frequent the *neikour* or *choenjay*, the better. Everything depends on the degree of dedication. Wanggyal shared a local saying that "*as long as you keep the belief within your heart, it is not necessary to actually worship Buddha physically.*" This saying suggests that dedication is more important than the frequency of visits, or the value of materials provided for offering.

To recapitulate, this subsection describes *neikour* and other pilgrimage-related terms, and pilgrimage purposes and frequency reported by participants.

4.2 *Yukour* (tourism)

Tourism is believed to be a newly introduced word to Tibetan society. This subsection first describes the timing of the introduction of the word *yukour*, and then moves on to consider the participants' definition of tourism, travel preferences as tourists, and certain push factors in tourism participation.

4.2.1 The timing of the introduction of the word *yukour*

All participants but one believed that the Tibetan word *yukour* (ཡུལ་སྐོར་།, which is similar to sightseeing, tourism, or leisure), was literally translated from Chinese. Lhakpa described that the word *yu* means other places and *kour* means walk around and stated that "*I do not think we used this word many years ago. This is my personal view, and I am not sure whether it is true. To my knowledge, it was translated from Chinese.*" Many of the participants reported that *neikour* was the major activity in Tibetan society, and *yukour* was a newly introduced word. Even though this external word "tourism (in Chinese, *lv-you*)" has been translated into *yukour*, some participants still use Chinese word *lv-you* when they had to refer to tourism in the middle of their communication in Tibetan. They felt difficulty connecting or relating this word to their daily life, so that they used the imported vocabulary *lv-you* to be alien to this "foreign" word. Only one participant, Chokyap reported that the word *yukour* existed in written Tibetan in the past but was seldomly used or referenced. He explained that the word *yukour* was considered as an imported word because it was only seldom referred to in written format, and people did not use it in the speaking at all. Another Tibetan, who was not my participant but knowledgable in Tibetan culture, definitively confirmed Chokyap's point. Regardless of whether *yukour* exisited in Tibetan writing, the majority of participants' misinterpretation reveals its use is a relatively recent phenomenon.

Some participants even considered that the word *yukour* was widely used after 2010. According to many scholars, such as Song (2017), Chinese tourists started to increase sharply beginning in 1998. Wide use of the term—tourism—is different from active participation or sudden growth. Thus, Tibetans participation in tourism activities may have increased at least ten years later than the Chinese national level.

The timing of the introduction of the word *yukour* varied based on the age, occupation, social setting, and travel experience of the participants. Having travel experiences seemed to influence whether Tibetans used the word *yukour*. For instance, Lhakpa stated,

> My parents traveled to Nepal in the 1990s. We still called the trip *neikour*, instead of *yukour*… You knew that there were many tourists who visited Mt. Everest [his hometown] as early as the 1980s, but I seldom heard villagers talk about or use the term *yukour*. Some villagers even asked, 'why did they [the tourists visiting Mt. Everest] visit us?' Or 'do they travel for *neikour* as well?' I guess it was because *yukour* was an outsider's activity. I started to hear the word *yukour* in the 2000s when we Tibetans became tourists and started to visit the inner lands for non-religious purposes.

The above statement also suggests that tourism typically referred to non-religious activities in the view of Lhakpa. Drolma, who was unaware of Lhakpa's comments, echoed the villagers' curiosity about tourists and, in almost the same words, recalled, "*I told my parents that the Han people and Westerners came here* [her hometown—Mt. Everest] *for yukour, but they still perceived these visits as neikour. It was hard for them to understand traveling without religious purpose.*"

Similarly, Chokyap and Drolma confirmed Lhakpa's point that Tibetans started to use the word "tourism" when they themselves acted as tourists within the last 10 years and in response to exposure to outsider travelers who visited Tibet. Drolma was unsure when most Tibetans started to use the word *yukour*. However, based on her own experiences and social circle, she never used *yukour* in her family, village, and school. She only learned the term after working at a hotel following the completion of middle school, 10 years ago (roughly in 2010). Her work at the hotel largely contributed to her learning the word—tourism, but she still did not talk with her friends about *yukour* until the time of the interview. Despite her exposure to tourism activities through her occupation, she had never discussed the topic on a personal level. This demonstrates how knowing about a term is different from speaking and being knowledgeable about the topic itself. Nyi Tse and Phurbu Tashi, both in their 50s, believe that *yukour* was widely used at the end of the 1990s, around the time when they first started working. Clearly, the timing of using the word *yukour* depended on the social environment surrounding the participants, whether it was within the traditional agricultural circle, or a modern urban setting.

In sum, *yukour* is evidently a newly introduced word, possibly within the last 10 years, and is still not a popular topic among Tibetan villagers and some university students. The unpopularity of tourism activities is supported by many other participants, namely, Lhakpa Tsering, Chokayp, Norbu, Tashi Norbu, Dorlma, and Tashi Phuntsok. As Tse Yundon confirmed, "*We, particularly in nomad areas, seldom talked about yukour*."

4.2.2 Participants' definition of *yukour* (tourism)

I shared with the participants the following definition of "tourism": "the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one year for leisure, business, and other purposes" (Nickerson, Kerr, & Murray, 2014, p.310). I then invited participants to determine whether they considered their trips as a *yukour* trip and why. Many participants did not think that the specific durations—less than 12 months—was necessary. Most participants still considered that the purpose and mood of travel were more important factors than the length of stay. Relaxing activities without religious purposes were categorized as *yukour*. Therefore, *yukour* is similar to leisure or tourism in English. Therefore, hereafter in my dissertation I will not make the distinction between leisure and tourism because *yukour* does not donote further distinguishment between these two and can be referring to both. When asked about why they considered the described a trip as *yukour*, several of them, such as Dorje and Namgyal, replied that "*because there is no religious motivation involved*."

Chompel further extended non-religious purposes and defined "tourism" as:

> *Tourism has three purposes. First, you visit a new place to see new things that meet your curiosities. For example, when I visited Metok* [also spelled as Medog or Motuo], *I saw many new objects, such as rice and stone pots. Second, you enjoy yourself by relaxing. Finally, you experience other people's lives and see how the local people make a living and how they do things differently.*

It is clear participants felt experiencing new environments and relaxation were considered important factors for judging certain activities as tourism. Similarly, Lhakpa shed light on new environments and defined tourism as such: "*Yukour is visiting a new place to see things that you've never seen before.*" Nyi Tse regarded that one's financial situation is crucial for tourism.

4.2.3 Travel preferences as tourists

Regarding travel preferences for tourism, participants described their preferences for places rich with plants and water in contrast to the scenery found closer to home. Lakes and seas were appealing for most participants. For instance, Tashi Phuntsok elaborated how he sat by the side of a lake for two

days, just gazing and listening to the sounds of the water. Wangyal expressed his excitement of boarding a boat and diving for the first time during his trip to Hainan Island.

Linka (གླིང་ཀ་།) is one of the few pure leisure activities without religious elements in traditional Tibetan society. *Linka* or *Shuabazi* in Amdo areas, which is a popular activity in early summer, is a Tibetan word that means playing in woody areas. Tibetan people normally find a beautiful place—on grasslands, in the woods, or by the river bank—and spend the whole day, or several days, there with families and friends—singing, dancing, playing dice, drinking, and enjoying snacks. Tents are sometimes put up.

The official celebration in Shigatse City is from June 1st to 7th, but people actually celebrate it throughout the summer. *Linka* is similar to picnics or camping in other cultures, with overnight stays in tents potentially being involved. Those who choose to forgo staying in tents through the night go home and come back the next day. According to Nickerson et al. (2014), *linka* may not be considered a tourism activity because staying overnight is not involved in some cases. When asked about why participants regarded *linka* a *yukour* activity, most of them referred to the relaxing mood involved. For instance, Tashi Phuntsok commented, "*I seldom travel for yukour, unless I go for linka because celebrating linka is my only purely relaxing activity. For me, neikour is much more important than yukour.*" This view was confirmed by three other friends who accompanied him during the interview. Although *linka* referred to a tourism activity, people preferred saying "go for *linka*" instead of "go for *yukour*."

Nyingchi City, located in the Eastern side of the Tibetan Plateau with a lower altitude, is endowed with a variety of flora and fauna. Other parts of the Tibetan Plateau are comparatively barren with low plant coverage. Subsequently, Nyingchi City is a close and accessible place for people from other parts of the Plateau to come and enjoy its natural scenery. Several participants stated that Nyingchi is called the "Tibetan version of Jiangnan" (Jiangnan is a coastal region of China with a picturesque landscape). The Peach Flower Festival is a newly created event that started in 2014 in Nyingchi City, where visitors can enjoy a large vista of peach flowers in a valley. According to Norbu, "*We barely have any trees in my hometown. However, trees are everywhere in Nyingchi, where you can tell the air there is fresh, humid, and mixed with aroma of different trees.*"

In addition to Nyingchi City, some small-scattered valleys, such as Qudang, Rongxia, and Kyrong, dot the foot of the snowy mountains along the Himalayas. These valleys are the most accessible places for Tibetans to enjoy the beauty of nature. Among the 93 trips shared, nine trips were about

Nyingchi City and the Kyrong valley, Rongxia, Qudang, and Metok had two trips each. Thus, nearly 20% of the shared trips (and 60% of the shared *yukour* trips) were about places with beautiful natural scenery. Rich plant coverage and a variety of fruits and vegetables were reported as the highlights of the inner land.

Visiting the inner land of China was frequently referred to as a tourism trip and not a pilgrimage because the visit was not for religious purposes. Jigme and Wangyal were impressed by the fast pace, hot weather, and gray skies of inner land. Wangyal shared, "*In Chengdu, I saw that people eat their breakfast while walking. I did not understand why people are too busy for a meal…. I am actually an outgoing person. However, I seldom had conversations with others during my trip. People seemed to be busy and impatient when I asked for directions.*" Jigme regarded language as a barrier for him to understand the cities in the inner lands. Thus, his limited knowledge led to his lack of interest in visiting such places. Several of participants reported their inadaptability to hot weather in the inner lands. Karma elaborated that "*I felt like I was a steaming piece of bread in the oven, hot and hard to breathe.*"

4.2.4 Some push factors of participating in tourism

The higher income and improved access to information were reported as the two major push factors for Tibetans to participate more in tourism activities. Several participants, such as Chompel, Losang, Nyi Tse, Namgyal, Tashi, and Phurbu Tashi, considered growing financial income as a major push factor for sightseeing. As noted above, some of them regarded tourism as an activity of rich people. However, Lhakpa, who had better economic status than other participants [I assumed so because he was doing small business in Lhasa and most other participants were temperate workers.], did not think the same, and he and his friends were enticed to join more activities. They simply talked more about *yukour*, as he remarked,

More friends are talking about tourism. Sometimes, we joke by saying, 'Let's go to Chengdu to eat hotpots in winter'…But my friends and I are just joking about traveling for tourism instead of putting it into action. Time, money, and close friends contribute to engaging in actual activities.

Notably, information exchange also plays a part in the process. Yangla, who attended university in the inner lands and worked for the government, believed that the wide dissemination of information pushes more Tibetans to travel. This idea was supported by Chimy Dolkar, who only attended middle school and recalled that the geographical classes in formal education and news or media programs

informed people about various places. According to Tashi Norbu, more Tibetan people became curious about the outside world after receiving additional information. Wangyal added that more Tibetans traveled to the inner lands of China for health checks or purchasing cars because they had learned about the price differences.

To recap, the Tibetan word *yukour*—similar in meaning to tourism or leisure—was seldom referred to in traditional Tibetan society and started to be widely used in the past 10 or 20 years. *Yukour*'s definition is mainly based on the core distinction of travel for non-religious purposes. *Linka*, similar to picnics or camping, is one of the very few non-religious relaxation activities in traditional Tibetan society.

4.3 Distinction between *yukour* and *neikour*

This subsection first elaborates on the elements of scenery and entertainment involved in a pilgrimage, aspects which make it more difficult to distinguish between *yukour* and *neikour*. I then provide direct comparisons of the factors of tourism and pilgrimage, and the participants' preferences between the two.

4.3.1 Scenery and entertainment elements involved in pilgrimage

Although *yukour* is typically related more directly to the concept of leisure or tourism due to the lack of religious motivation, as described above, enjoying scenery and entertainment plays a role within *neikour* practices as well. As pilgrimage routes include circulating deity mountains and lakes, with numerous monasteries having been built in the middle or at the peak of mountains, picturesque views are often considered to be an inherent part of most pilgrimage journeys. Pilgrims are often amazed by the natural environment along their trips, which might contribute to their peaceful mind, and even further motivate them to embark on their next pilgrimage. For instance, Tse Kelsang's description clearly illustrated the fantastic view they saw along their trip to Mount Benri:

> *As we kept hiking towards the peak, the view was like magic. There were lush trees with blooming peach flowers at the bottom of the mountain. Clouds and fogs were circulating the middle part of the mountain. While sun was rising, it shone upon the clouds and fogs with a pink mask. As you looked up toward the peak, it was covered with snow. I felt that I was looking at a fantasy land where Buddha resided.*

Similarly, Karma commented on the views during his pilgrimage to Mt. Gongdui:

> *The view along my pilgrimage trip was like dream paradise that came to life. It was the most beautiful view I had ever seen. Few people walked on the paths where several wild animals were freely roaming around. Many lakes, big or small, were like jades lying in the earth. Furthermore, colorful flowers were peacefully blooming along the slope.*

According to participants, pilgrims carried food and snacks with them and normally found a beautiful place to have their meals—either on grassland, by the river, or in the woods. Tashi Norbu recalled their visit to Norbulingka, saying, "*We visit the Norbulingka* [a garden-style palace where several generations of Dalai Lamas resided and a sacred site as well] *to make an offering and also to observe the plants and animals and to linka there. Thus, it is an all-in-one trip that meets our religious and relaxation purposes*." The attractive scenery also pushed some pilgrims to choose places with beautiful views as their pilgrimage destinations. For instance, Norbu shared, "*We, young people, prefer to neikour around deity lakes because we can enjoy the scenery and worship Buddha together.*" The existence of religious sites could make the natural scenery more beautiful. As Norbu commented, "*The overall view of Nyingchi City is beautiful. The most beautiful place there is Basong Lake because of a temple on the island in the middle of the lake*."

Although religiously motivated in nature, participants noted their efforts extended beyond grueling walks over challenging terrain. Enjoying the views and experiencing nature were two aspects indirectly involved in their pilgrimage. According to Lhakpa,

> *In fact, neikour does not mean 'tourism,' but we sometimes use it as 'tourism,' a joyful activity for us. At the end of a hard-working year, roughly around November, a friend would ask around the village about going for a neikour. Many of us, particularly those of a similar age, would join in. It was easy to gather over 10 people. It was always a happy activity for me…The process was, in fact, not easy. In addition to around 30 kilometers of arduous walking each day, we were poor at that time. Sometimes, the shoes did not fit well, the pants were too tight for such long trekking, or the clothes were not sufficient for the cold weather. However, we were clearly so happy on our trips. We would not hit the trail if we did not believe in Buddhism. But we were young and did not have too much Buddhist knowledge at that time.*

These words indicate that some pilgrims considered pilgrimage as a happy and relaxing activity, a point echoed by several participants, particularly those at a younger age. Drolma explained that a pilgrimage was a good opportunity to entirely spend time with friends for several days, something

that would be impossible and would be interrupted by their house chores if they stayed in their village. Tsamchoe and Nyima each reported that they accompanied their parents for pilgrimage in their childhood when they did not have enough knowledge about Buddhism. Nyima considered his half-year pilgrimage trip to be a leisurely walk.

4.3.2 Distinguishing factors between tourism and pilgrimage

The abovementioned scenery and entertaining elements were typically involved in tourism, but were also mentioned by pilgrims, reinforcing the most important distinction being whether the trip was motivated by religion. All participants agreed that enjoying scenery and entertaining moods on the pilgrimage trips did not affect the "pilgrimage nature" of the trip. However, the participants held different ideas on the relationship between the two travel types— often either considering *neikour* to be a broad idea that included *yukour* or believing *neikour* and *yukour* to be two parallel concepts. To demonstrate the former notion, Tse Kelsang explained, "*Personally, I think that neikour is a larger concept that includes yukour because neikour is our tradition legacy and includes relaxing activities that are similar to yukour*." Other participants provided a different reason for such judgment and believed that any trip with religious purposes is *neikour*.

When I asked Lhakpa to share a travel experience as a tourist, he responded, "*No, I am not a tourist and I never travel.*" I was surprised by this answer and further asked, "*You previously mentioned visiting Beijing four times, would you consider this to be a pilgrimage trip*?" He remarked, "*Yes, visiting Beijing is a pilgrimage for me as I visited the temple where the Panchen Lama lives in Beijing*." Regardless of numerous other famous scenic attractions he visited, the involvement of visiting a sacred site with a religious purpose contributed to his judgment of the entire trip being a pilgrimage. Several participants shared views similar to Lhakpa. For instance, Namgyal commented, "*We almost have nothing that is not related to religion. Most of our trips are neikour*."

On the other hand, other participants, such as Norbu, Sonam Tashi, and Tsering, argued that the primary motivation was important in differentiating *neikour* and *yukour*, which were two parallel concepts. Taking Norbu's trip to Nyingchi, for example, he went there for sightseeing and had the opportunity to visit a small temple on their trip. Thus, he considered such trip as *yukour* rather than *neikour*. Similarly, Tsering stated that while most people planned for a pilgrimage, lasting either one day or several days, they would prepare an offering in advance, check the calendar for an auspicious day, set aside all other things, and visit the sacred site. Thus, for Tsering, *neikour* differed from *yukour* before the launching of the trip and visiting a religious site during a trip for leisure was not

considered *neikour* from his perspective. Sonam Tashi supported Tsering's point and clarified that he only relaxed after finishing worship—the primary trip purpose. He acknowledged diverse views on strict definition of *neikour* and this was his personal view.

However, Phurbu Tashi and Nyi Tse questioned why I attempted to differentiate these two terms as they considered them inseparable for Tibetan travelers. On a trip to visit sacred sites, Tibetan travelers enjoyed the scenery and went on *linka* for relaxation. Tibetan travelers often visited a temple during the trip as a wonderful addition to their sightseeing, whereas other ethnic groups would seldom do so. The latter opinion was supported by Chompel, Phurbu Dandul, Tashi, and Kunga.

In addition to primary motivation as a distinguishing factor of a trip's nature as *yukour* and *neikour*, some proposed using economic status to differentiate these two words. Tashi and Tashi Norbu, who did not know each other and were interviewed separately, distinguished tourism and pilgrimage as follows: "*Yukour* is the activity you do when you are rich, whereas *neikour* is something you must do even if you are poor and have to borrow money for it." Chimy Dolkar confirmed that people with limited income would try their best to allot money for *neikour* but held a different opinion on borrowing money. She thought that most people chose their pilgrimage destinations on the basis of their own economic status. This means that people would visit closer religious sites, rather than borrow money, if their incomes were limited.

4.3.3 Participants' preference over *yukour* and *neikour*

Chapter 4 has thus far introduced the pilgrimage tradition in Tibetan society and their increasing participation in tourism. Topics related to *yukour* have discussed more by Tibetans now than 10 years ago. Subsequently, I was curious about which one, *yukour* or *neikour*, was more prominent and important for participants. Hence, I asked them what kind of trips they would prefer regardless of practical factors, such as holidays and incomes.

Only six participants, Tse Youdon, Youdon, Palzom, Yangla, Losang, and Wangyal, chose *yukour* over *neikour*. Except for Wangya and Tse Youdon, the four participants pursued their university, or high school, or middle school education in the inner lands of China. When asked about whether the education experience outside TAR affected their preference to *yukour*, Yangla and Losang explained that they did not choose *neikour* because they worked in the government, and all Chinese government officials were not allowed to believe in Buddhism. Youdon and Palzom agreed that their education outside TAR offered them many eye-opening opportunities to witness diverse places and so were

curious about different worlds. Moreover, participants were informed of the benefits of enjoying life and taking opportunities to travel to different places through TV programs and classmates from the inner lands. They both dreamed about visiting Norway after watching geographical TV programs and reading travel blogs. Wangyal considered himself open to new things and wished to visit the inner lands, particularly warm and places near the sea during hush winters in Tibet. Tse Youdon grew up and was educated in Tibet. She had watched numerous books and TV programs about the inner lands of China and overseas. Hence, she would choose tourism to satisfy her curiosity. Six other participants who attended university within TAR, namely, Tse Kelsang, Namgyal, Dorje, Karma, Nyima, and Sonam Tashi, still preferred pilgrimage over tourism. Education might influence their preference to tourism but was not always the case.

The other 29 participants listed their reasons for preferring *neikour* over *yukour* as follows: saving enough time for *neikour*, considering *neikour* as meaningful thing, connecting with Tibetan culture, and enhancing knowledge about Tibet. The first two are the most preferred reasons. Most participants extended their preference to *neikour* as long as they had free time. For instance, Kelsang considered that pursuing tourism was a waste of time, and she tried *neikour* when she was free. She prayed for the well-beings of all the living beings during *neikour*, which was more meaningful for her. Norbu, also a dedicated believer, questioned, "*You can enjoy magnificent scenery…and then what? These sceneries made a small contribution to the meaning of life. But if you spent time on neikour, you would obtain the directions for the following life. You would obtain a peaceful mind and feel relaxed immediately.*" Many participants shared a similar feeling with Norbu. Tse Kelsang, a newly graduated university student, would like to visit major sacred Buddhist sites in Tibet because performing *neikour* was regarded as a way of obtaining a deeper understanding of Tibetan traditions and exploring the diversity of the Tibetan Plateau. Some of the participants had dreamed about visiting sacred sites within the Tibetan Plateau, such as Mt. Kailash and Sedar. Chimy Dolkar provided the frankest answer by saying that she had not had the chance to visit many sacred sites mentioned in Buddhist stories, a fact which prevented her from thinking about *yukour*. India, Nepal, and Thailand were also listed by several participants as the ideal pilgrimage destination because these countries had strong ties with Buddhism.

To recap, the elements of scenery and entertainment involved in a pilgrimage contribute to two different ideas held by the participants—whether *neikour* as a wide concept that included *yukour*, or

these two were parallel concepts. Some participants proposed using primary trip motivation or economic status to differentiate these two words. The majority of participants still preferred *neikour* over *yukour* regardless of practical factors, such as holidays and incomes, which indicates that *neikour* was still the prominent travel behaviour among Tibetan participants.

4.4 Profile of trips shared by participants

After being familiar with the general ideas relating to *neikour*, *yukour* practices, and their differences presented in Chapter 4 thus far, this subsection focus on the profile of trips shared by participants. Table 4.1 lists all the destinations shared by participants. Among the 93 trips shared, 60 trips to approximately 39 destinations were *neikour*, and the remainder of the 33 trips to 23 destinations were *yukour*. These numbers supported the notion that pilgrimage was the more prominent activity in Tibet. Section 4.3 mentioned the overlap between *yukour* and *neikour*, and the categorization of trips as *neikour* or *yukour* in the table was based on the participants' own judgment. Similarly, the regional classification was based on the participants' original statements. For instance, some monasteries on the list were located in the Lhoka City. If participants only addressed one specific monastery, then the name of the monastery was used, rather than being categorized under Lhoka City. If they mentioned multiple sites along their trips, then the name of the whole region, Lhoka City, was used. In addition, different people might have visited the same place for different purposes. For instance, Motok was visited by Chompel for its scenery, but Karma and Kunga visited Motok for its deity mountains with religious purposes. Thus, the former was accounted as *yukour* and the latter as *neikour*.

Table 2 List of destinations shared by participants

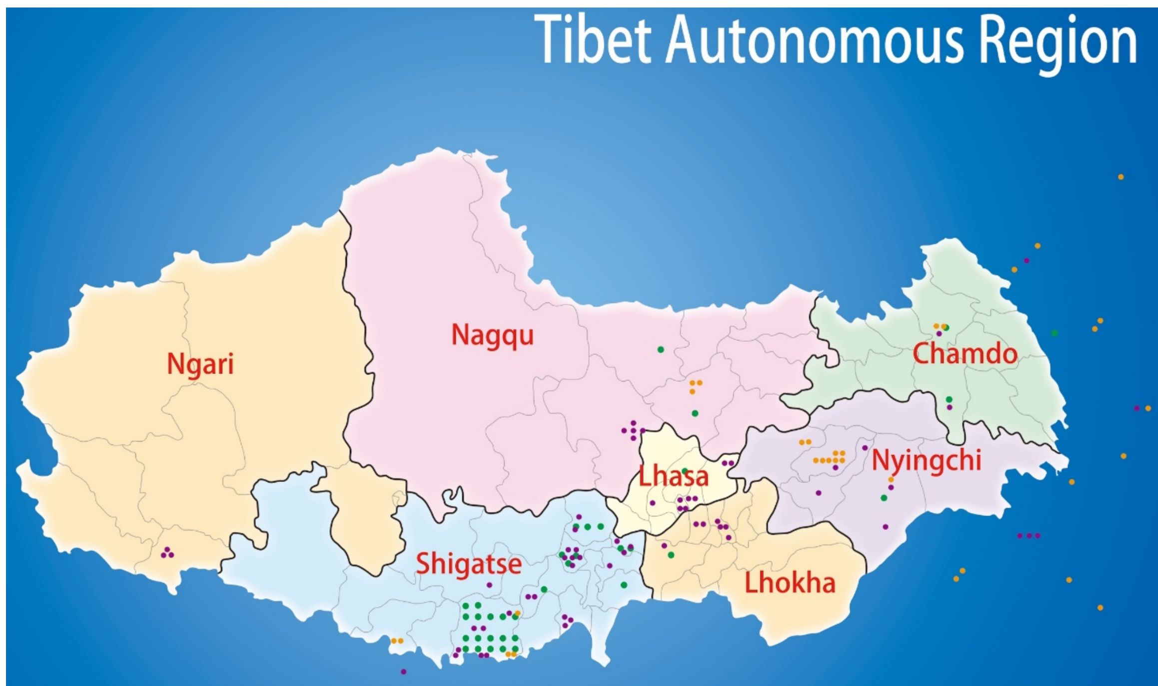
Types	*Neikour*	No.	No. trips	*Yukour*	No.	No. trips
Deity mountains & lakes	Mt. Karlashi (3), Chorten Nyima (3), Mt. Drolma, Mt. Namcha Barwa, Mt. Everest (2), Namtso (5), Yamdrok Lake, Mt. Benri, Metok-Mt. Gongdui	9	18		0	0
Local deity mountains & lakes	Mt. Ziburi, Mt. Longsang, Mt. Nisiri (2), Yongdro Lutso Lake, Mt. Bomutso, Mt. Nanjie, Mt. Nuri, Mt. Dola	8	9		0	0

Monasteries & Palaces	Yasang Gomba, Ta'er Temple, Xialu Temple, Potala (2), Jampaling Monastery, Tashi Lhunpo (3), Guocang Gomba, Samye Gomba (2), Tsurphu Monastery, Drigung Monastery (2), Palcho Monastery, Norbulingka , Druk Yerpa Monastery (2), Sakya Monastery (2), Yungbulakang Palace (2)	15	23		0	0
Regions	Lhoka City, Angren County	2	2	Qamdo City (2), Nagqu City, Xining,	3	4
Valleys	Rongxia (2), Metok-Pema Valley,	2	3	Kyrong (2), Qudang (2), Nyingchi City (5), Nyingchi- Pagsum Lake (2),Nyingchi-Peach Flower Festival (2), Metok County,	6	14
Inner land of China	Leshan-Emei(3), Guiyuan Temple,	2	4	Disney at Shanghai, Yunnan, Jinggangshan, Beijing, Xianyang, Chengdu, Guilin, Er-hai, Hainan, Yuanjia Village,	10	10
Others	Nepal, Ongkor Festival	2	2	Senga Village, Horse Riding Festival (2), Qinghai–Tibet railway	3	4
Overall		39	61		22	32

Note: places involved with dark tourism are underlined.

Famous and local deity mountains and lakes, monasteries and palaces, valleys, and religious festivals are all popular pilgrimage destinations. In addition to visiting these regular sites, nine out of the 60 pilgrimage trips were related to 'dark tourism' (Sharpley, 2009; see details in Section 5.2) , including seven to sky burial sites and two to a deep, dark cave. These trips were underlined in the table.

Figure 8 Participant's origins and their *yukour* and *neikour* destinations



Note: Green indicates participant origins, Purple, *neikour* destinations, and Orange, *yukour* destinations

Map 4.1, presenting participant origins in green, suggests that the majority of participants were from Shigatse. Notably 27 out of 35 participants were originally from Shigatse City, among which 17 are from Tingri County specifically. Two thirds (61 out of 93) of the shared trips were classified as *neikour*. Purple dots indicating their pilgrimage destinations show that their trips extended all across the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Apart from one in Nepal and four in the inner lands, the rest of the religious sites visited are located within TAR. Namtso, the most popular trip, is shared by five participants, followed by Mt. Karlashi, Chorten Nyima, and Tashi Lhunpo Monastery, each shared by three participants. Nearly half (25 out of 61) of the pilgrimage destinations are located in Shigatse, perhaps because visiting such a close site is most feasible for pilgrims within the city. Two thirds (40 out of 61) pilgrimage destinations are within Shigatse, Lhasa, and Lhokha City, all three of which contain large numbers of sacred sites and temples. Buddhism was first introduced from India to Lhokha City before its further expansion across Tibet. Of the 15 monasteries shared by participants, 13 are within these three cities. Thus, it was understandable that Nyima and his family devoted half a year to visit temples and scared sites in these three cities. The pilgrimages within TAR, but beyond

these three cities include nine trips to deity mountains, five trips to deity lakes, and one trip to a monastery.

Orange dots are *yukour* destinations. Many participants defined *yukour* (tourism) as relaxing activities without religious purposes (See Section 4.2). Only three orange dots are within Shigatse—the hometown of 27 participants, which supports the observation that there are few local tourism activities for participants. Most tourism activities take place outside of TAR or in Nyingchi for its natural beauty. Ten of the 32 tourism trips are about visiting the inner lands of China. These inner land places are either metropolitan centers or well-known tourism destinations. Among the 22 tourism trips within Tibet, 14 are about enjoying *linka* or lush environment at valleys, four trips to different regions, and one trip on the train are about traveling to different parts of Tibet to see its cultural diversity, one trip to visit a hometown, and two trips to a horse riding festival. Clearly, apart from enjoying the natural scenery, a few trips within Tibet were related to tourism.

4.5 Chapter summary and discussion

To address the second research question (How do Tibetans narrate their travel experiences?) this chapter elaborates on two major forms of travel taking place in contemporary Tibetan society: *yukour* and *neikour*. The terms are explained from a conceptual perspective, providing participants' definitions and differentiation between the two. Readers will thus have a useful background for understanding the travel behaviours in Tibetan society and specific experiences that will be presented in Chapter 5. A profile of overall trips shared by participants is summarized in Table 4 and Figure 8. Some issues that are closely related to these definitions are illustrated, such as the purposes and frequency of *neikour*, the timing of the introduction of the word *yukour*, Tibetans' travel preferences as tourists, and the factors pushing participation in tourism.

Figure 9 Comparison of Tibetan concepts and existing literature

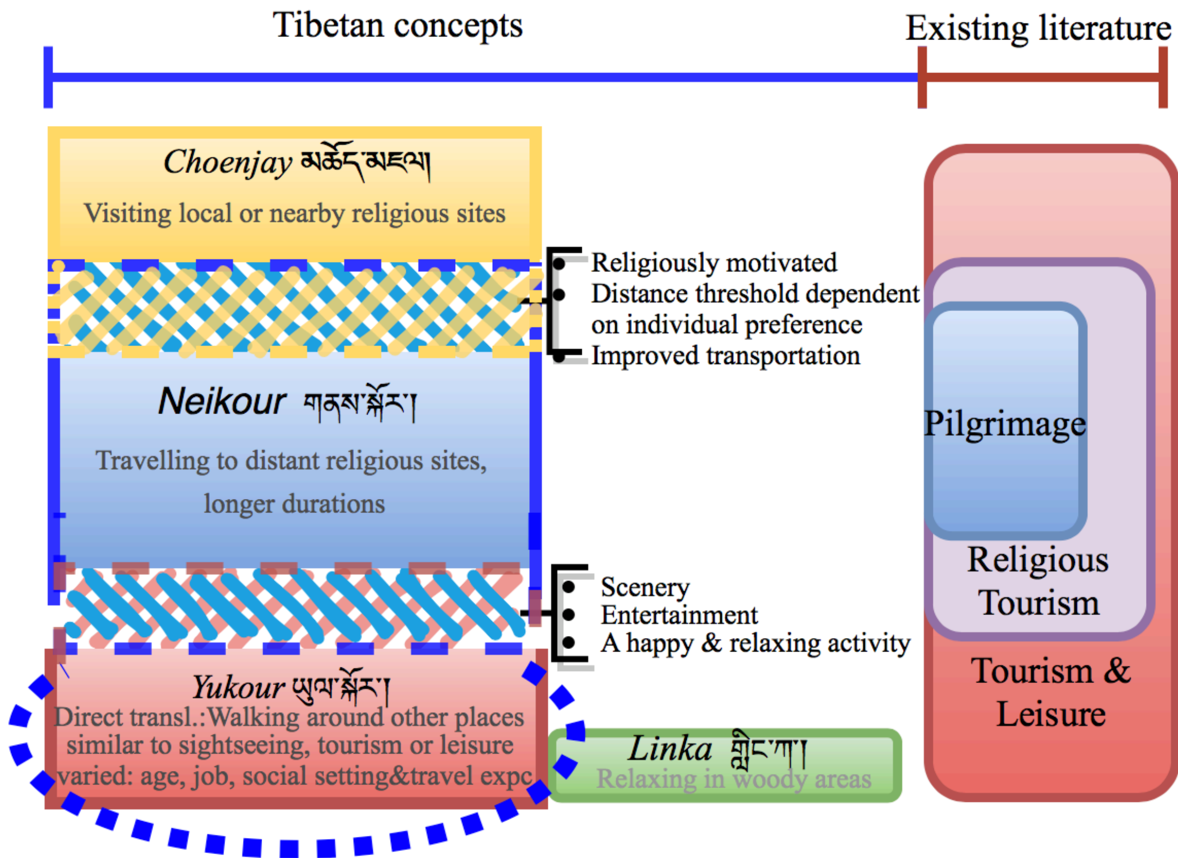


Figure 9 visually summarizes Tibetan concepts, on the left side of the chart, and existing literature, on the right side. Both *choenjay* and *neikour* refer to religiously-motivated visits to spiritual sites, with the latter typically involving going further and staying longer than the former. These two words overlap, as no clearly defined distance threshold exists in Tibetan culture; thus, the use of these terms is dependent on each individual's subjective interpretation of distance. Additionally, significant transportation improvements have now reduced the travel time for former long-haul journeys, but the terminology used to refer to such trips has remained unchanged in many cases. *Yukour*, referring to non-religiously motivated travelling, is similar to sightseeing, tourism, or leisure in the literature.

As suggested by scholars involved in Indigenous knowledge, engaging Indigenous concepts might open up new ways of understanding and perceiving reality (Smith, 2012; Chilisa, 2012). Participants held two different ideas: *yukour* is a form of *neikour*, an overlap reflected in the blue and yellow cross-hatched area in the diagram; *yukour* is different from *neikour* due to its primary trip purposes. Both views differ from those in existing literature, which normally consider pilgrimage to be a sub-niche market of religious tourism (see more-detailed discussion in Section 2.5, Olsen, 2019;

Fleischer, 2000). This different perception is also visually represented in Figure 9. On one hand, such different perceptions reflect that *neikour* is still the major travelling form in Tibetan society. On the other hand, it indicates participants' emphasis on travelling purposes and motivations. Tourism industry practices normally define tourists based on activities, rather than motivation, which leads some scholars to propose the need for new practices shedding light on travel motives (Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Olsen, 2019). The participants' view supports these scholars' suggestions. I am not suggesting everyone should necessarily engage in pilgrimage or *neikour*, but rather inviting more people to think about the purposes and motivations of their trips. Doing so holds certain introspective potential, as eloquently highlighted by Norbu, who asked "*You can enjoy magnificent scenery…and then what*?"

Participants described *neikour* as being different from pilgrimage as described in the literature in three ways. First, "the Latin word for pilgrim—*peregrinus*—implied a person leaving the comfort of their home to wander" (Olsen, 2019, p. 112), whereas *neikour* does not denote the meaning of leaving comfort or not. Second, "pilgrimage" has been widely employed to describe secular journeys, not just religious ones (Olsen, 2019; Olsen & Timothy, 2006), whereas *neikour* refers to religious journeys only. Third, many studies have reported the increasing quest for the existential meaning of life and increased stresses as push factors for involvement in religious tourism (Buzinde, 2020; Olsen, 2019; Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Timothy, 2013), whereas Tibetan participants were mainly motivated by the idea of "washing off" and "cleaning" their defilements and sins to comply with Buddhism teaching.

On the other hand, Tibetans' *neikour* experiences echo the literature in some ways. For instance, the involvement of scenery and recreational mindsets through the course of pilgrimage (Olsen, 2019; Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Kim, Kim, & King, 2020). The concept of tourism is highly nuanced and subject to a plethora of culture-dependent variations. As reviewed throughout the section, tourism in the western sense is a relatively new idea in Tibetan culture. Section 4.2 suggested that *yukour* was seldom referred to in traditional Tibetan society and started to be widely used only in the past 10 or 20 years, with most participants considering it to be a newly adopted term translated from Chinese, or preferring the use of *lv-you* to distance themselves from the foreign concept. Notably, *linka* is one of the very few non-religious relaxing activities in traditional Tibetan society, as 14 out of 22 participants shared *yukour* trips within Tibet for *linka*, which indicates their inclination to connect to nature. In addition, the interviewed participants, including these who worked in the tourism and service sectors, did not further distinguish *yukour* within the modern tourism industry. Another

example of “unorthodox” interpretations of tourism stemming from cultural norms was outlined by Berno (1999), who reported that the Indigenous people of the Cook Islands follow their own traditions of travelling actively, as well as provide services to tourists who visit there. Although, to a third party the activities of domestic travellers and outside tourists may seem similar, residents do not conceive of their own travel as ‘tourism’, as the latter was connected with consumption logic. Although the Indigenous islanders in Berno’s study perceive “tourism” differently from how the Tibetan participants do, both groups’ definitions reject the idea of having a universalized perception of the topic. Details of their views relating to tourism are culture specific and sensitive, as proposed by Indigenous scholars. Clearly, different Indigenous groups or individuals have their own definitions of ‘tourism’ that contradict those suggested in the majority of mainstream literature.

Chapter 5
Narrative accounts of Tibetan Travelers

After introducing the general ideas of tourism and pilgrimage in Tibet, this chapter presents eight reconstructed travel stories based on the original stories shared by participants. The following considerations, also presented in Table 2, were taken through the course of analysis:

1. Matching up the characteristics of trip profiles

The selection of stories is consistent with the listing of overall trips summarized in **Error! Reference source not found.**, which attempted to include different types of pilgrimage (mountains, lakes, monasteries, etc.) and tourism destinations (valleys, the inner lands of China).

Some stories are based on accounts of trips to the same destinations by multiple participants, referred to as 'direct voices', whereas some information included may be based on details of similar trips reported by other participants, called 'indirect voices'. For instance, although several participants had not visited the same local deity mountain as others, the story I have re-storied compiles the similarities among their different stories. In total, 22 direct voices from 17 participants, and 14 indirect voices from 9 participants, have been combined in the re-storied narratives. This means that 36 out of the overall 93 trips are captured in these ten stories, composited to inform readers with a rich picture of narrative accounts of Tibetan travelers.

2. Privileging participants' voices and knowledge

Drawing from Buzinde (2019), "IK as practice is anchored in the local context, but it is not bound by it" (p. 88). She also questioned the developmentalist's view that arbitrarily defines knowledge as "necessarily valid, legitimate, warranted" (p. 87), noting such a restrictive definition promotes the idea that IK is only valuable when usable for broader generalizations or utilitarian purposes. This interpretation ultimately dismisses the subtle nuances of IK that can be beneficial to one's deeper understanding of the dynamics and complexity of communities' agency. My study aims to center the voices and world views of Tibetans, and so their narratives of travel experiences are presented on the basis of their world views. As listed in the column "Rationale" in Table 2, the first three stories consist of core Buddhist teaching, followed by three other important pilgrimage trips for most participants, and move on to the intersection of tourism and pilgrimage stories. At the end of each story, I introduced discussion of potential links between Tibetan knowledge with existing literature,

without placing either one as more-advanced or superior to the other. The literature review is not extensive because they are emerging issues that are related to the topics brought up by participants.

Also, to make a clear distinction between the participants' voice and the researcher's voice in the main body of the recrafted stories, the writing in this chapter adopts a special style: the original words of participants are in italics, whereas my added-on words are included as regular text, with the few supplemental explanations of Tibetan culture in square brackets. Instead of making big changes to their original words, I translated their words directly into English, and compiled them into a cohesive narrative by adjusting the sentence sequences, revising the interview dialogue between the participant and myself to be reflective of the solo story told by the participant, and linking and connecting different participants' voices together.

For instance, Drolma originally shared her attachment to Buddhism at the end of her story; I moved this portion to the beginning to let the readers know that this pilgrimage was a natural choice to her. As a result, the composed narratives consist of a large amount of verbatim quotes that are, although unfocused at times, necessary for maintaining and honouring the richness and legitimacy of participants' original voices.

Moreover, I maintained the original language style of participants. For instance, most participants' wording was sort of plain with few decorative words and non-consecutive ideas used throughout. To maintain the authenticity of their experiences, I did not do much polishing of their narratives to make their story more appealing, nor did I revise their stories with a fixed structure resembling that of a typical chronological narrative.

3. Contextualizing the narratives

Patton (2015) highlighted the importance of "placing the story in context", which is especially critical for the current study as most readers might not be familiar with the Tibetan culture. Contextualization will allow them to envision themselves in a Tibetan context to better understand and reflect on the stories. The contexts comprise the narrative environment (big stories) that informs individual narratives (small stories). Such contextualization is included in:

- Presenting stories that reflect Tibetan teaching and knowing.
- A brief introduction of the participants who shared such experiences, as presented at the beginning of each story

- Within each interaction, the participants were aware of that fact that they were telling a story to me, an outsider, which would be widely disseminated to non-Tibetans through this research project. Thus, they explained the cultural context that informs their behaviours in their original stories.
- The discussion following each composited story adds further perspectives, as I have added how each individual story spoke to wider Tibetan culture.

Table 3 Organization of and voices included in the re-storied travel experiences

Direct voices	Indirect voices	Destinations	Rationale of selection	**Justifications**	Highlight	Discussions
Jo Chompel, Tashi Phuntsok, Jigme	Chimy Dolkar	Chorten Nyima	Core Buddhist teaching & knowing	Samsara and cleansing one's sins reveals participants' strong faith in traditions	A tradition I never question	Tibetan ways of knowing
Tsering Drolma, Karma, Drolma, Chimy Dolkar	--	A sky burial site		Death, impermanence, and Bodhicitta 7 trips shared include a visit to sky burial sites Many other participants also acknowledged such visits.	Everyone will die, sooner or later	Imperminance, Uncertainty & Dark tourism
Lhakpa	--	Nepal		Compassion for human and non-human beings Many participants reminded me about this speciality in Tibetan culture	I pray for the wellbeing of all the living beings	Anthropocene

Drolma & Chompel	Lhakpa, Tse Kelsang	Mt. Ziburi	Popular pilgrimage trips	17 participants were from Tingri A typical mountain pilgrimage	I was born a Buddhist	Eudaimonic V.S. Hedonic Experience
Chokyap, Norbu, Nyima	Tashi Norbu, Tse Youdon, Chokyap	Potala Palace		A pilgrimage center for all Tibetans	A pilgrimage center for all Tibetans	The beauty of Indigenous knowledge
Tashi Phuntso, Nyi Tse, Phurbu Tashi, Namgyal, Dorje	Chimy Dolkar, Karma, Tse Kelsang	Local deity mountains		Every village has a deity mountain	A hard hike rewarded with Buddha's blessing	
Jigme, Chimy Dolkar, Phurbu Tashi	Phurbu Dandul	Mt. Chomolungma	Intersection of pilgrimage and tourism	Same destination, different experiences	A popular touristic destination for locals	Rearticulation of the territorial
Chompel	Tse Kelsang, Nyima,Norbu, Yangla, Norbu, Tashi Youdon,Palzom	Metok		17 trips related to travelling work 14 out of 22 *yukour* within Tibet are about enjoying nature	A lush garden of Tibet	Beyond Pilgrimage-tourism debates
22voices/17 persons	14voices/ 9 persons					

5.1 Jo Chompel, Tashi Phuntsok, and Jigme's pilgrimage to Chorten Nyima — A tradition I never question

5.1.1 The rationale of selection

Rationale: The following story was reconstructed based on Jo Chompel, Tashi Phuntsok, and Jigme's pilgrimage to Chorten Nyima and Chimy Dolkar's pilgrimage to Yongdro Lutso Lake. Both places have a deity lake in which it is believed that one can see their next life. The water there is believed to be able to "wash off" the worst sins, a belief that is recognized by most Tibetans.

This compiled story is selected because: 1) it directly reflects overall themes and experiences from four trips of four different participants; 2) Chorten Nyima is one of the most holy pilgrimage destinations for many Tibetans; and 3) it introduces a mystical practice of Tibetans, which is hard for non-Tibetans to understand, but reveals participants' strong faith in their long-held traditions and beliefs.

Whose Voices: Jo Chompel visited it four times as his only pilgrimage destination. His first trip was in his 20s. The next was when his oldest son was seven. His two more recent visits were with his sons and grandsons. It was a family tradition for their family to visit Chorten Nyima. Similarly, it was a family tradition for Chimy Dolkar's family to visit Yongdro Lutso Lake. Jigme visited it twice. Tashi Phuntsok went there when he was 13. Jigme and Tashi Phuntsok considered this trip to be magical, whereas Jo Chompel regarded it to be the most cleansing trip.

5.1.2 A tradition I never question

As winter came, it was impossible to grow any crops, giving us farmers plenty of free time. Some villagers initiated a pilgrimage to Chorten Nyima. Nearly 20 villagers, from seniors to toddlers, joined and rented a bus to go there. I had gone there three times and was still interested in continuing to go. I used a yak to carry to our bedding and walked for two days on my first trip and stood in a truck body for the second trip. Part of the road was a sandy road that would be easily damaged by rain in summer. A car was stuck in a pit, and then everyone got out to help the driver to pull the vehicle out. We went to borrow some tools from a nearby village. The villagers there, whom we did not know, not only lent us what we asked for but also offered us hot tea and qiang [a local barley wine]. *We came back and helped each car to pass the pit. I felt so warm from helping people I did not know and being helped by people who did not know me. Luckily for us, this trip turned out smoothly, and we arrived at our destination at around 4 p.m.*

Figure 10 The view on the way to Chorten Nyima

Photo credit: Jo Chompel

We collected our packages and climbed a slope for half an hour. We arrived at a Congjia, meaning the deity lake in which one can see their succeeding life. A glacier nearby melted water into this lake. I wrapped few barley seeds in a corner of a khada [a piece of white silk that was usually used to demonstrate welcome/respect to guests or Buddha statues] *and threw it into the lake. The khada gradually disappeared in the lake. I then sat down by the lake and stared at the lake all the time. It was said that a view of one's succeeding life would appear in the lake. I waited silently and concentrated for nearly one hour, but nothing showed up in the lake, which was a common result. I heard from a friend that he saw some buildings in this lake. Some people kept their visions private because they believed that the vision would not come true if it was spoken out loud. We then unpacked our beddings in a nearby temple that offered pilgrims several rooms*.

As we went down from the lake, a stream formed a small pool and a water fountain for pilgrims to use. Elders told us that this water was empowered; it could wash off the worst sin. Normally, only hot springs produced dense fog. The water here was extremely cold, but also formed lots of fog. I thought this phenomenon was like magic. I drank some water and took a quick shower in the pool. The water

was extremely cold! My body soon huddled up! I tried my best to tolerate such cold. However, I was only able to stay in the cold water for two to three minutes, which was also the longest limit for most people. I felt my body was as clean as the water, and I also felt lighter afterward.

Figure 11 A Deity lake at Chorten Nyima

Photo credit: Jigme

On our way down, there was a sky burial site. There was no road sign for it. Nevertheless, we knew directions to it from our elders. We needed two more hours for us to climb to the sky burial site. I had been there three times. I still went there this time because we Tibetans must visit sky burial sites as much as we can. We would all die. In the past, Tibetan society had three levels: monks, normal people, and people from low status. Although we do not differentiate the last two groups now, three different sites are still used to provide burial for each group. We did not encounter any funeral there. Nonetheless, such a visit re-confirmed my understanding of the meaning of life—we people come to the world with a bare body and leave the world with bare body as well; thus, we should do some good deeds that benefit other people and the society to best use our life.

Overall, after this trip, my body was lighter, and my body and mind were very relaxed. I was able to eat twice the amount of food as I could before the trip.

Figure 12 Yongdro Lutso Lake

Pilgrims travel all the way down the steep hill to the lakeside for their visualization experience. Photo Credit: Chimy Dolkar

5.1.3 Tibetan ways of knowing

Many highlights have surfaced from the above narrative compilation, including the following:

- Although the water was extremely cold, participants still chose to stay in it for as long as they could tolerate, as a way of cleansing their souls. Clearly, not all elements of a trip should be within the comfort zone of travellers.
- They were helped by strangers and also provided help to others, complying with the part of Buddhist teaching of Bodhicitta. It echoes Hall's (2006) observation that "the journey and the people encountered along the path also provide opportunities to practice" (p.176) Buddhist teaching.

- Participants recalled the different logistic arrangements over time, from merely walking to renting trucks or buses.
- The convenience of transportation saved their energy on the road, which echoes Olsen's (2019) observation of pilgrims' need to experience sacrifice and suffering only at the religious sites, rather than throughout their entire trip like in the past. However, it is notable that many Tibetans, such as Nyima and his family, still carry out pilgrimages and perform prostration throughout the course of their journey.
- Around 20 villagers embarked on the pilgrimage together. Similar observations of group pilgrimage were reported by Tsering Drolma, Lhakpa, and Dromla. Obviously, a pilgrimage is also a social event.
- Although Jo Chompel had been to the same sky burial site three times, he still chose to go for the fourth time to follow the Tibetan saying, "*We Tibetans must visit sky burial sites as much as we can*". See more discussion on immortality and dark tourism in Story 2.
- Participants demonstrated no intention of being as close as possible to the glacier. As the photo above shows, the water of the lake comes from the glacier, but none of the participants attempted to move close to it. Jigme warmly smiled while he shared this photo with me and reviewed it again, commenting: "*Look, how peaceful this scenery is! With the glacier behind us, melting water into the lake*". On the internet, I read two other stories about Chorten Nyima, one by a western tourist and the other by a Chinese Han tourist. Both were awed by the beautiful view there and tried to approach the glacier as closely as possible. One even took a photo of herself wearing shorts in front of the glacier to demonstrate human power in front of nature. Although these outsiders and the Tibetan participants both visited the same site, their travel experiences were totally different from the above-mentioned narrative. This difference also reflects that the Tibetans reacted with more awe and respect for nature.

The most remarkable point is that Tibetan participants strongly believed in their long-held traditions. At least two core Buddhist teachings/beliefs were conveyed from the above story: samsara and cleansing one's sins. Buddhists believe that sentient beings are involved in the boundless cycle of birth and death, called "samsara". There are "six realms of samsara: the hell, hungry ghost, animal, human, demigod, and god realms, respectively" (Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992, p.286). Samsara is

frequently mentioned to urge Buddhists to consider things beyond this current life and as a reminder that all of their deeds will have consequences in the infinite ocean of samsara. Practicing Bodhicitta is the way to rebirth into a better life among these six choices, or even a path to enlightenment (Khenpo Sodargye, 2013; Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992). Accordingly, visualizing in the deity lake reminded Tibetans about their next life, which motivated them not to indulge entirely in the present. Meanwhile, accumulating merit and cleansing one's sins are conducts that should be carried out by all Buddhists throughout their lives, which was the major reason for them to stay in the extremely cold water.

These two traditions—visualization in the deity lake or cleansing in an extremely cold pool—might seem mystical to outsiders. Regardless, the four participants who shared in these experiences firmly believed in them. When asked why they still believed in the visualizations in the lake even though it was common to not see any image, participants listed multiple reasons, including: "*a friend…saw some buildings in this lake*" (Jo Chompel); "*There are too many things that we humans don't know and cannot see,… I guess it is just because there was no karmic connection for this time*" (Chimy Dolkar); "*There was no building around. We walked there for one hour. Even motorbikes cannot reach there. But an image of a house can be shown in the lake…It's magic…." (Jigme); and "Elders told us so…*" (Tashi Phuntsok). Moreover, their ancestors' tradition was reported for their confidence and dedication for them to follow, as revealed in the quotation shared by three of them in almost the same words: "*Our parents, parents' parents and grandparents, visited these sacred places, leaving the practice and path for us to follow. We are not creating new paths, but merely following theirs*." Similar statements were referenced by other participants regarding their pilgrimage practice, suggesting the smooth transition of traditional Tibetan knowledge and the inappropriateness of applying western theories and frameworks in a Tibetan context.

As well documented in Section 2.1, scientific colonialism normally legitimizes western knowledge while subjugating other ways of knowing (Chilisa, 2012, p.10; Cordova, 2016; Smith, 2012). One common way of being able to do so is through over-simplifying complex situations into straight-forward categories (Ingold, 1995). The Enlightenment in Western history, also called the "Age of Reason", considered measurable, objective, linear, reasoned, or scientific understanding more advanced than other ways of perceiving and knowing. Conversely, the myths of Indigenous people, being considered as "not truths", were then used to justify classifying these people as primitive (Smith, 2012, p.57).

Many rich nuances, including those in Indigenous myths, were lost through Western reductive processes. Smith (2012) and Cook-Lynn (2008) argued that these rich nuances of myths, which entailed fundamental aspects of Indigenous cosmologies, were easily missed in both the theorizing and translating processes. For instance, a Maori' story on *tipuna* was reduced by outsiders to "a story of 'man' and 'woman', like a Judaeo-Christian account of 'Adam and Eve'" (Smith, 2012, p. 173). This simplification missed rich original meanings, such as male and female 'spirits', and human and non-humans' 'life force'. In the same vein, Cook-Lynn (2008) emphasized that Dakotahs's story of *mahpiyato* might be simply translated into "'blue' or 'sky' or 'cloud' in English" (p. 330), which failed to convey human's wonder or close interaction with the sky and awestruck attitudes towards nature.

Resonating with Smith (2012) and Cook-Lynn (2008), I agree that Indigenous myths are not primitive knowledge, as they are regarded through western reason-centric logic, but rather potentially insightful lore that might convey rich information about Indigenous cosmologies and ideologies. Furthermore, I would argue that Indigenous myths might signal the necessity of departing from western theories in the interpretation and representation of Indigenous knowledge. This departure also aligns with the argument of decolonization that advocates for not only centering specific Indigenous knowledge, but also their onto-epistemologies (Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2012). Wilson, Fisher, & Moore (2010) condemned the fact that cultural factors were merely used as a background feature in tourist studies despite the claims that these factors could establish and shape specific travel patterns. Acknowledging onto-epistemological differences among cultures avoids oversimplifying key nuanced information relating to a culture for the purpose of forcing the application of universalized/dominant western interpreting frameworks.

It might be most respectful to save the task of introducing relevant onto-epistemologies to Tibetans themselves, as despite my best efforts, my own understanding may still remain bound by limitations similar to those of other scholars referenced. However, my realization of the importance of de-linking from western thoughts and conscious efforts to do so are, I believe, providing a more-effective discussion overall, through, in a sense, bridging the two worldviews. Decolonial theory highlighted that one culture is not necessarily superior to another. As I adopt the idea of parallel lenses, I am able to identify many strengths of Indigenous culture and trust in participants' capability to actively engage in the research process. Accordingly, presenting the findings of my study in the form of open and flexible dialogue with comparisons to existing literature, rather than applying specific conceptual

frameworks from existing literature, is most appropriate when interpreting nuanced Tibetan experiences.

Moreover, if the findings would be better grounded and organized upon a typical scholarly framework or structure, it must be one that reflects important Tibetan teachings and knowing, echoing Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles' (2012) suggestion of employing Indigenous knowledge and discourse as necessary tools of analysis. However, it is also hard to concisely develop or select a simple framework, as Tibetan Buddhism is a holistic and systematic set of beliefs, which is also beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, the first three recounted narratives directly convey multiple core Buddhist teachings, including cleansing, samsara, death, impermanence, Bodhicitta, and compassion for human and non-human beings. Instead of leaning on existing western theories, the narratives provide sufficient and legitimate explanations of Tibetan experiences in the words of Tibetan participants themselves.

To obtain a better understanding of the Tibetan world view and ideologies, I spent four months there, participating in many non-data-collecting related activities, and reading related books. Although I have not been able to obtain a complete understanding of their views, I sense one difference in particular; that is, I, like many researchers, tend to focus on the physical. The preoccupation with what we can see and hear strays from the practice of participants, who consistently left some room for uncertainty and unwitnessed parts. As revealed in the above story, they did not question their traditions despite the fact they did not witness any image refracted from the deity lake.

In addition to the onto-epistemological difference, Tibetan knowledge is different from existing pilgrimage literature on societal background. Many scholars, such as Olsen (2019), have observed societal trends related to religion, suggesting that "religion has [in the last century] lost its importance in the public sphere" (p.110) but has since emerged and been revitalized in past decades. This is not the case in Tibet. Although there have been dramatic political shifts from a political-religious society to a socialist one (Government of the TAR, 2018a), the observations based on the participants involved in this study do not indicate a sharp decline and resurgence, but rather a steady and continuous passing of religion practices down across generations. The above narrative of pilgrimage to Chorten Nyima and Droma's narrative on her family teaching in Story 2 exemplifies the transition of traditions within family, and participants' confidence in their ancestors. The background difference indicates the inappropriateness of applying western theories as well.

Some scholars considered that referring to existing western theories in interpreting eastern phenomena facilitated the dialogue of western and eastern knowledge exchange. For instance, Buzinde (2020) applied self-determination theory (SDT) in the interpretation of a yoga/meditation retreat in India, so as to enlarge the debate on well-being at the global level. However, I would respectfully argue that scholars should be extremely cautious of applying western theories in non-western or Indigenous contexts, as the onto-epistemological and societal differences discussed above might result in the misapplication of over-generalized concepts. SDT has been widely applied in spiritual tourism literature because it captures three fundamental psychological needs of humans: autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Buzinde, 2020). Autonomy might be based on western society's emphasis on individualism, whereas the above story emphasizes collectivism: pilgrimage in groups and following the ancestors. Although SDT has often been utilized in the context of spiritual tourism, applying it while interpreting Tibetan pilgrimages or tourism experiences would silence many beauties of Tibetan Buddhism such as impermanence, samsara, and the equality of living beings. Moreover, the spirituality of connecting to the Buddha might be considered as a moment of holiness, which cannot be reflected in SDT, a similar dilemma to those reported for other Indigenous culture, such as by Smith (2012) and Cook-Lynn (2008).

Similarly, the most widely applied religious theory in existing literature—pilgrimage theory developed by Turner and Turner (1978)—is not the best fitting framework for interpreting Tibetan pilgrims. The reason of its inapplicability had been pointed out by Cohen (1992) in Section 2.5. However, Cohen (1992) only criticized one theory in existing pilgrimage and religious tourism literature, argueing "Turner's concept is culture-bound" (p.47). How many other concepts or theories in existing religious tourism literature, such as Turner's, are based in Western society, but claim to be universally applicable? Have these concepts been referred to without critical scrutiny and applied in non-western or Indigneous contexts? I cannot answer these questions, but the decolonizing theories elaborated upon in Section 2.1 center Indigneous knowledge and place emphasis on context, time, and space specified knowledge. These theories have empowered me to trust participants' capability and reasoning, to be open minded, and to give heed to and discover the beauty of Indigenous knowledge while conducting research in indgenous communities.

5.2 Tsering Drolma, Karma, Drolma, and Chimy Dolkar's pilgrimage to a sky burial site—Everyone will die, sooner or later

5.2.1 The rationale of selection

Rationale: Tibetan people follow a funeral practice called sky burial. They carry the corpse to specific mountains or temples, cut it into small pieces, and burn leafy incense as a signal to invite vultures to eat the body. Sky burial is a unique funeral practice, but also an important aspect of Tibetan teaching and knowing. As part of Buddhist teaching, Tibetans are encouraged to visit the sky burial sites to get a direct view of how we people come into the world with a bare body and leave the world with a bare body as well. Most participants and other Tibetans also shared the belief that bringing a greedy person or thief to the sky burial site would automatically teach them how to behave appropriately.

Seven out of the 60 pilgrimage trips shared include a visit to sky burial sites. Many other participants also acknowledged their visits to such sites. Some participants who visited such sites, such as Tse Kelsang and Tashi Norbu, decided not to share their visits, explaining that they were common trips for Tibetans and, given their nature, not joyful for sharing. One participant, Kunga, frequently shared his personal photos with a picture of a sky burial scene on his social media. Undoubtedly, the following re-constructed story on visiting a sky burial site reflects a significant practice for some Tibetans.

Most Tibetans do not hold funeral ceremonies at the sky burial sites. Only four or a few more family members would carry the corpse to the site because of the far distance to travel. Thus, most visitors to the sky burial sites are purposely there for the educational experience rather than for attending funeral ceremonies as in other cultures. Sky burial sites are normally affiliated or close to monasteries; thus, visits to one are inevitably accompanied by visits to the other.

Whose voices: Tsering Drolma and Karma, who did not know each other, visited the sky burial site at the Drigung Monastery, purposely for the funeral process. It was the most impressive trip for Karma. Drolma and Chimy Dolkar visited the burial site at the Druk Yerp Monastery as part of their trip.

The following story was composed by combining the experiences of these four. Of course, their opinions about the experience differed, largely due to their various ages. Tsering Drolma was in her 60s, whereas Karma was in his 20s, an age difference that greatly affected their interpretation of such

an experience. I follow the storyline of Tsering Drolma and include both views by adding her interpretation of the younger generation.

5.2.2 Everyone will die, sooner or later

A funeral, even a sky burial, depends on one's financial conditions. Most people actually hold them in a nearby local sky burial site, particularly in the past when it was hard to move the corpse over a long distance. There are many sayings about a specific site. Normally, there would be a temple nearby or within a certain distance of the site. Actually, I was not sure why certain sites were more famous than others. I assumed that it would depend on its history, scale, or specific sayings. The site I visited was the one at the Drigung Monastery [nearly 700 km away from Tsering Drolma's home]. *It was very famous, with a very long history. Given that many people own a private car now, some people from my hometown drove their family member's corpse to the Drigung sky burial site. Everyone will die, sooner or later; thus, it is better to prepare earlier and learn about the process. Visiting such a site would be a psychological challenge. Thus, for me, more visits are connected with better psychological readiness and thinking about how I should spend the rest of my life. However, no photographs or videos are allowed to be recorded throughout the whole process out of respect for the dead bodies.*

My family and one brother's family visited there in two cars. We left Shigatse to go to Lhasa on the first day and stayed in Lhasa for one night. We departed for the monastery at 4 a.m. the next morning. We first arrived at the gate of the monastery. Many monks formed a circle, chanting prayers. Several corpses were placed in the center of the circle. Following this ritual, the corpses were moved to the sky burial site. The site was a circle paved with stones. We called the person who worked on disassembling the body, sky burial master (tian-zang-shi). *There were five sky burial masters. Each one was holding a knife. The covering clothes were removed. Eight corpses, with the youngest body in their 30s, were soon cut into small pieces. The vultures stood in an outside circle and were too impatient to wait for their food. As the sky burial masters left the center, vultures came in flocks. In just three minutes, all the bodies were eaten up. Only the bones were left.*

On our way home, the younger people in our trip suggested that *we have a linka (picnic) in some grassland. This area did have lush forests and grassland,* but I was not in any mood for food. I guessed these young people were relaxing, but with their minds wandering as well, as shown through their facial expressions. *My mind stayed with the young body I just saw. We all would die one day, including me, and then would be sent to a sky burial site like this one. It was a great loss of the young*

soul in his 30s. What happens to humans? They suddenly disappear. So simple! No matter how rich you were, you could not take away a penny when you die. You could not even wear any clothes. Everything is a petty thing, except for death. I recalled our Buddhist teaching of impermanence, which revealed a fundamental fact of life. Life is out of control, filled with uncertainties. Then, how should we make best use of such an uncertain and short period? I strongly agree with the Buddhist teaching of doing good and not committing any sin. I kept reminding myself of this for the following life.

I did not have any appetite for three days. Honestly, it was not scary, but I had deep thoughts about life. Surprisingly, I visited the Drigung sky burial site again the following year.

Figure 13 Chimy Dolkar's pilgrimage to the Druk Yerp Monastery

Photo credit: Chimy Dolkar

5.2.3 Impermanence, Uncertainty and Dark tourism

The above recounted story combines the travel experiences of four different participants, although the resulting narrative remains concise—mainly because all expressed similar feelings. The overlap among different individuals suggests that such ideas are commonly held beliefs in Tibetan culture. I will first present how the visiting of sky burial sites related to Tibetan teaching and knowing on a larger scale, discuss how such views shape their daily practices and trips, and then bridge these Tibetan views to existing literature on dark tourism.

As shared by the participants, sky burial sites remind visitors of a fundamental Buddhist belief—impermanence: with things arising and vanishing, life is inherently uncontrolled. Buddhists believe that the foundational fact about the objective world is impermanence. Conversely, the human's subjective mind gets used to things being fixed. This mismatch between subjective perception and objective fact creates feelings of suffering, characterized by insecurity, dissatisfaction, disatisfaction, or frustration (Yongey Mingyur Rinpoche, 2019). In order to change or transform, the first step is to accept the impermanence and let go of the fixed mind. Contemplating impermanence deeply is a way of knowing. Tibetans navigate through uncertainties by training the "nature of [their] minds" and engaging in compassion. The magisterial book—*The Tibetan Book of Living and Dying*, by Sogyal Rinpoche (1992)—states that: "In the Buddhist approach, life and death are seen as one whole, where death is the beginning of another chapter of life. Death is a mirror in which the entire meaning of life is reflected" (p.11). The participants' combined story matches up with the teachings of great Buddhist Masters. Tibetan knowledge on death includes a wide range of practices and beliefs, far beyond the scope of this study. Thus, I will focus on the understanding of death and impermanence only.

Arai (2017) argued that engaging in mindfulness practice is a way of knowing to shift one's attention from obsessing over the feeling of suffering to moment-by-moment awareness. Doing so interrupts habitual patterns of thoughts and helps practitioners reaches a status of mind, called "beginner's mind". With this fresh mind, people can finally "drop labels, assumptions, opinions, and pre-assessments we make of objects" (p.152). Similarly, the visiting of sky burial sites and continuously being reminded of impermanence are definitely a way of knowing that informs participants to interpret things that happen around them and guide their decisions, which is evident from the story above and other stories in my thesis. Individuals embodying the same Buddhist teachings may behave variously under different situations. Sharing the same beliefs does not mean that every Tibetan is always well prepared and accepting of impermanence. In Hall's (2006) words, "Buddha can only teach the path to follow; individuals have to find it and follow it themselves" (p.174). However, some participants do behave differently from non-Tibetan tourists, at least in two aspects: the response to scenery and the interpretation of challenges during trips as well as in life.

First, impermanence influences how participants' view of scenery. Chimy Dolkar shared one Tibetan meditation practice that was fully embedded with death and impermanence. While the practitioner is closing the eyes, s/he imagines that his/her skin and muscle are gradually decomposing, until only the skull is left, and to finally be surrounded by an endless sea of skulls. This visualization

practice of impermanence is extremely similar to Chokyap's view on the temporality and subjectivity of scenery, in his answer to whether Buddhism affected his response to the beautiful scenery encountered along his trips:

> *Buddhism also teaches us that our feelings on things are subjective. In Buddhism, we say that almost everything is beautiful and all the living beings are equal, no ranking. If you find it is useful for you, then you feel it is good. There is no ugly; that is just the effect of your feelings. But, it* [judging something as beautiful] *is not true, nor accurate. Good, and bad, depends on your feelings. Thus, whether the scenery is beautiful nor not, is subjective.*
>
> *Buddhism highlights that our feelings are temporary, they fade away quickly, are not stable, and not permanent. So, you cannot believe in such feelings. All things are changeable, as was the beautiful scenery in front of you. You must be kind. If you know how things change, you understand this meaning; we cannot live forever, but you can understand what is important in your life. In short, your judgement on the places you visit is subjective, up to you.*

Obviously, Chockyap connected impermanence with his attitude toward scenery. He was a self-educated poet, who only attended formal education until he finished middle school and had a spent tremendous amount of time reading Buddhist books by himself. His view was more influenced by Buddhism than that of other participants, who did not think that the impermanence idea affected their attitude toward scenery.

Second, the teaching about death and impermanence directly influenced participants' interpretation of challenges along their trips as well as in life. This point is well illustrated in Story 9: while Chompel was driving on a dangerous road with completely unknown challenges ahead, he reflected on his own conduct before and felt he had tried to be a kind person. This was the "tool" he held onto to navigate uncertainties, and it reassured him with the courage to continue. Similar reflections were reported by other participants, such as Chimy Dolkar, Tsering, and Jo Chompel. In addition to visiting the sky burial sites, participants also visited other related locations to continuously be reminded of impermanence, as revealed in Story 7, in which they visited a dark cave said to be similar to the path to hell.

Tibetan participants' narratives of their visit to dark spots might enrich and extend the existing literature of dark tourism in two ways: 1) it adds a different perspective to the current literature on dark tourism, which is heavily based on Western society in which death is a paradox, both a forbidden

topic but also a popular spectacle; and 2) it sheds light on dark tourists' thinking, which tends to be overlooked in the literature in favour of management perspectives.

Dark tourism, an umbrella term, refers to visits to disaster, death, tragedy, or trauma related sites (Sharpley, 2009; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Stone, 2020; Xie, Wang, & Lu, 2019). Brian and Poria (2012) questioned if the word "dark" might indicate a negative connotation, thus proposing to replace "dark tourism" with alternative terms, such as "prayer tourism", "grief tourism", or "reconstruction tourism". Still, the term—dark tourism—has been widely used to refer to a unique group of tourism forms driven by motivations significantly different from other tourism pursuits, such as for escape, hedonism, or pleasure. Due to the wide range of dark tourism, the following discussion is narrowed in scope to death-related sites or trips, a focus Seaton (1996) terms "thanatourism". I am not seeking to enter into the details and debates over dark tourism, but simply to acknowledge the different cultural backgrounds that inform current literature.

The existing literature of dark tourism is heavily based on Western society in which death was previously a forbidden or invisible topic and is now widely exposed, especially through mass media. Philippe Ariès (1974) produced the most-cited works on "death mentalities". All human cultures have the element of relieving people's anxiety or acceptance of death (Becker, 1973). These constructs, termed "death mentality", from social, cultural, and psychological perspectives, have guided people's attitudes towards death. Ariès (1974) divided the successive death mentalities prominent since the Middle Ages into four stages: "tamed death", "one's own death/death of the self", "thy death/death of the other", and "forbidden/invisible death". In the first stage, medieval people's life expectancy was short, so people were all too familiar with death and were forced to accept it. In the "forbidden/invisible death" stage, western society tended to either hide or deny death. With the fast development of medical technologies since the 20th century, people started to seek hope, control, explanations, and meaning, heavily from medicine while confronting death. Doctors along with other emerging professionals, such as bereavement counsellors and grief therapists, replaced priests as the "masters of death". In short, "death was slowly removed from public sight—its medicalization went hand in hand with its privatization, institutionalization and professionalization" (Jacobsen, 2016, p. 6). The mentality of death was narrowly locked into a medical or technological perspective. The invisibility of death in the public realm has been confirmed by others, such as Walter (2009), and Becker (1973) with his book, *The Denial of Death*.

Jacobsen (2016) updated and extended Ariès's (1974) idea and advocated for the "spectacular death" as the new death mentality after the 1980s, in which death gradually came out of the closet and became a topic for spectacle. As a response to the repression and neglect of the topic of death (Jacobsen, 2016; Stone & Sharpley, 2014), people demonstrated obsessive interest and curiosity about "knowing more about it without getting too close to it" (Jacobsen, 2016, p.10). He analogously stated that: "It seems that while we successfully kicked death out of the front door of modernity, it appears to have sneaked its way in through the back door or has squeezed through the cat flap in contemporary society" (p.14).

Jacobsen (2016) listed five dimensions of "spectacular death", with three of them being echoed by Stone (2020) as "imperative to future dark tourism scholarship" (p.2), namely: "new mediated/mediatized visibility of death", "commercialization of death", and "re-ritualization of death". People are increasingly and vicariously exposed to mortality through the extraordinary deaths of others, at a safe distance, being mediated through mass media and dark tourism, such as visiting Ground Zero. Also, entrepreneurs are using death as a gimmick to sell death-related services or products, as long as it promotes sales, such as creating Auschwitz themed trinkets, or developing dark sites as new touristic attractions. A study even estimated that a person might have seen 18,000 homicides on television from the 1970s to the 1990s. People are now spectators of more deaths than any prior generation, but from a comfortable distance: "we see death, but we do not 'touch' it" (Stone, 2009, p.33). An impressive number of residences of deceased celebrities or figures have been developed into memorial sites to attract mass visitation.

Referring to Berger's "marginal situations" and Giddens' (1991) "ontological security", Stone and Sharpley (2008) and Stone (2009) confirmed Ariès (1974) and Jacobsen's (2016) argument and asserted that dark tourism is one of the mechanism that makes "absent death present" (Stone, 2009, p.23). The word "absent" refers to the invisibility of death within the public realm, and the word "present" indicates the confrontation of death within dark tourism. In addition to the invisibility of death and the exposure of mortality through mass media, Stone (2011), and Stone and Sharpley (2014) noted the decreasing rate of religion to be another layer of the push factors for people engaging in dark tourism. With the decrease of religious beliefs in western society, people lost the institutionalized guidance related to death and morality from religious institutions, a situation described by Stone and Sharpley (2008) as "a significant loss of ontological security" (p.582). Accordingly, dark tourism is presented as one of the few marginalized situations that may help

individuals reconfigure their own understanding of mortality and morality. These three push factors—the invisibility of death in the public realm, increase of death as spectacle, and decrease of religious beliefs—for dark tourism, obviously, are not the case in a Tibetan context. As introduced by my participants, they are encouraged to visit the sky burial sites, and the overlap among different individuals indicates that Buddhism has nourished them with a collective and shared interpretation of the significance of these experiences. Western individuals visit dark spots to configure sense of meaning by themselves, whereas some Tibetans visit to confirm their Buddhist teachings. The latter aligns with Hall's (2006) assertion that life itself is a journey for Buddhists, being "an integral component of understanding or 'testing' of Buddhist teachings" (p.173).

Although Ariès (1974) tagged his works with "western" to demarcate the discussion range as within western society, and his works have occasionally been challenged for their Eurocentric (that is Western European or North American) point of view (Jacobsen, 2016), applications of and references to his works in dark tourism tend to adopt a perspective free of context or consideration of cultural dimensions, presenting generalized views that ignore the variety of death mentalities in various cultures. This knowledge gap is supported by Xie, Wang, and Lu (2019) in their analysis of 156 dark tourism research papers. Nearly half of these studies were based on the UK, Australia, and the US, with only 10% based on China.

Moreover, despite the notable cultural backgrounds and practices that inform and push those visiting death related sites, these generalizing attempts are noticeable, as described in the following direct quotation:

> "However, … these categorizations (of motivations for dark tourism) are largely descriptive and may be related more to specific attractions, destinations or activities…to a limited extent,…Drawing upon contemporary sociological theory related to death and grief in modern societies, it seeks to establish a theoretical foundation for exploring the consumption of dark tourism experiences…contributing to the contemporary sociology of death more generally." (Stone & Sharpley, 2008, p.576)

Two subtexts are embedded in this quotation: 1) universalized theories seems to be more advanced than contextual specified knowledge; 2) the assumption of the existence of universalized modern societies and the negation of other societies, like Tibet, that have the tradition of purposely visiting dark spots, rather than it being a recent sensationalized trend.

The Tibetan perception of death and impermanence, as reflected in the above recounted story, suggests the inapplicability of the paradoxical relationship between "forbidden death" and its triggered "spectacle death". Tibetans' experience seems to share great similarity with two concepts in Western culture: vanitas and memento mori. Memento mori, a concept from Christianity, reminds people about the inevitability of death and, thus, restricts unnecessary desires and motivates followers to live with virtue. Vanitas highlights the transience of life and futility of pleasure. Without solid knowledge about Tibetan Buddhism and Christianity, a further detailed comparison between vanitas and memento mori and Tibetan's view on death and impermanence cannot be definitively drawn. Vanitas and memento mori are simply mentioned within related research, without deep exploration in current dark tourism literature. However, parallels between the concepts arise, as both tackle similar topics and seemingly urge people to explore the existential meaning of life.

Seaton (1996), one of the few scholars to introduce thanatopsis, explained memento mori in detail. Thanatopsis was part of pilgrimages occurring during the Middle Ages, in which pilgrims physically visited shrines to the dead, for the purpose of catharsis and to ready themselves for death. Seaton also acknowledged the shift in the public sphere of morally and religiously significant death to individualized self-indulgent pursuits in modern western society. As highlighted by Jacobsen (2016), death has been used as a source of entertainment and a product to be consumed, "fueled by commercialized and consumerized interests" (Jacobsen, 2016, p.12). This impact is also noticeable in dark tourism and restricts it moving towards more meaningful exploration. Sharpley (2009) attributed seven degrees of motivation to tourists visiting dark sites, from the darkest, with an education orientation, to the lightest, with an entertainment orientation. Much of the existing literature reports multiple motivations for trips and a notable amount of light motivation involved (Wang & Zhang, 2016).

Walter (2009) contended that dark tourism sites, such as the museum or battlefields, are different from everyday places related to the connotation of death such as hospitals or nursing homes. Accordingly, the narratives of dark tourism sites might be related to "the narratives of modernity, or of nation", or of heritage, rather than an individual's mortality. He further questioned whether tourists are specifically or purely motivated to visit dark attractions, and suggested that, rather, said endeavours were opportunistic in nature. He noted that attending a site was "contingent on whether the guidebook mentions it, whether it is chanced across on the way to other sites, whether it fits your

schedule" (p. 54), with a few exceptions based on personal interests and beliefs, such as battlefield addicts or pilgrims.

Miller (2017) applied the anthropologist concept—liminality, developed by Arnold van Gennep — in interpreting the living and dying in mountaineering of Sherpas, an Indigenous group who believes in Tibetan Buddhism. She sensed that the Buddhist understanding of death influenced her participants' attitude towards death, such as praying in the monastery before departure, replacing fear and sorrow with laughter and humour, and attributing death to luck and fate. Accordingly, she acknowledged her Western background with limited Buddhist understanding as one limitation, thus advising future studies for employing eastern philosophies as a more suitable lens in examining the Sherpas' experience, so as to disrupt colonial thought. This study partially responds to Miller's (2017) suggestion by presenting Tibetan's attitudes and teachings surrounding death, as well as providing related Buddhist philosophies.

Given the different perception of death in various cultures as illustrated in this section, it is necessary for future studies to review not only dark tourism literature, but also specific societies understanding and perceptions towards death. Meanwhile, I have more questions than answers: will it be possible to produce more generalizable models or frameworks for dark tourism? Are light motivations in the current dark tourism motivation model still applicable to the Tibetan context? In addition to providing visitors with the opportunities of being in close contact with death and fatality, can attractions be managed to trigger visitors' exploration of the meaning of life?

5.3 Lhakpa's pilgrimage to Nepal—I pray for the wellbeing of all the living beings

5.3.1 The rationale of selection

Rationale: Many participants, such as Kunga, Nyima Tsering, and Phurbu Tashi, were aware that I was an outsider of Tibetan culture and purposely explained to me that: "*It was a hard trip… we Tibetans were not praying for our own fortune or ourselves, but for all the living beings*." All the living beings include the poor and hungry, war refugees, humans in general, large animals, as well as small worms or tiny ants. Participants consider all the living beings to be equally important - a special and characteristic viewpoint in Tibetan culture, as well as a core teaching of Buddhism.

Lhakpa happened to share with me a succinct story emphasizing his peaceful praying for all the living beings. Thus, I included his own voice only without combining others.

Whose voice: Lhakpa attended his primary and middle schools in India and Nepal. Michael Jackson's music accompanied his growing up. He came back to China to work as a constructive worker in Tingri County. He moved to Lhasa City for several years, operating a guest-house. He likes reading books and watching movies. Because of his improved financial situation after starting a small business, he was able to afford to travel to other parts of China, such as Beijing and Hainan Island.

5.3.2 I pray for the wellbeing of all the living beings

Lhakpa has made pilgrimages and worked widely across Tibet and also visited the inner land several times. He could not select any trip that he felt was worth sharing during our first interview and sent me the long text message below:

It was my first time to Nepal in my adulthood, I have been there 3 decades prior but I didn't pay much attention like many teenagers. I may have walked around the Buddha temple many times but mostly my mind was occupied by my shortage of pocket money. there were lot of nice things to eat that I can't afford to buy.

But it was different this time, my relatives told about the sacredness of the temple and that there was a chapel which house the mother who build the temple.

I was also told that you will granted with one thing if u pray at the chapel earnestly and that was exactly what I did. I closed my eyes and prayed for the wellbeing of the entire living beings.

Figure 14 Lhakpa, praying

Photo credit, Lhakpa

During our second interview, he explained why he chose this trip to share:

The photo shows a peaceful moment of my trip, but it is not the most peaceful. Because many peaceful moments have disappeared from my memory over time and many others have not come yet, I don't rank them.

I have to say that the trip was a relaxing one. I mainly stayed at Pokhara City for one month. I walked around temples and stupas. Some days I did not pilgrimage at all, whereas other days I visited temples far away. I stayed at my relative's home. Most of the time I ate whatever he cooked. Sometimes, we had only one dish and no 'grand dinner' with a full table of dishes. I remembered one trip to Beijing, we stayed at a five-star hotel with buffets. We traveled with luxury tour buses. But, as I am recalling my memories now, I don't think the luxury made the trip a special time. Many things on the trip were not worth spending too much time.

I do not know why the Nepal trip was more impressive than the luxury Beijing one. Many things do not have answers. If I had to say one, I guess it would be my characteristic fit in Nepal's culture.

Local people there were friendly. I could start a conversation easily in shops or restaurants, whereas in modern cities like Beijing, you go to the supermarket, pay and leave. Sometimes you do not even have any contact with a person; a machine sells items directly. The relationship there was simply buying and selling.

5.3.3 Compassion for human and non-human & Anthropocene

Many important details emerged from the above narrative, including, but not limited to:

- His hesitation when ranking his trips in terms of which he considered to be the "most peaceful" reflects the Buddhist teachings about equality, a concept which was also mentioned by Chokyap.
- His comparison of the trips to Nepal and Beijing, in which he noted that material sufficiency did not necessarily result in feeling of happiness, will be discussed in Story 4, on eudaimounic experiences.
- The underlying contrast between the way the participant recounts his experiences and the typical Western mindset provides broader insights into the impact of cultural differences on one's experiences. The "Standard Man", a concept presented within humanism, describes a "universal" set of common human traits, including an assumed focus on rationality (Kumm, Berbary, & Grimwood, 2019). Lhakpa's denial of "rational" thinking, observed when comfortably asserting that "*Many things do not have answers*", challenges the definitive way of perception, which is deemed productive and typical in the Western world. The disparity between the theoretical profile of the Standard Man and the participant calls attention to fundamental differences in ideology that ultimately provide context when interpreting the documented narrative.
- His emphasis on the significance of relationships along the trip echoes many travel experiences documented throughout literature, especially the concept of "communitas", coined by Turner (1969). Communitas entails the feeling of belonging and of group devotion to families, friends, and a team, which would positively contribute to the overall trip as it is an attribute item in a measurement model for 'extraordinary experience' (Arnould & Price, 1993).

Although his first narrative was concise, his remarkable opinion—compassion for all the living beings—is worth further illustration, not only because it was one of the major motivations for participants to head out on their trips, but also because such beliefs directly affected their travel behaviours. I will briefly introduce Buddhist teachings about equality shared by participants and in Buddhist books, how this view shaped their trips and daily lives, and then initiate preliminary connections with literature on post-humanism and animal consumption in tourism research.

Participants' shared that their views and attitudes regarding animals were informed by Buddhist teaching. Tibetans and other Buddhists believe in rebirth and reincarnation. Only those who have accumulated enough virtues can be reborn as human and displaying noble conduct in current life will lead to a better rebirth. A human being in this life could reincarnate into an animal in the next life, or the reverse. Taking away the life of living beings is one of the most serious sins, whereas saving and preserving others' lives is appropriate conduct in Buddhism.

The participants' views reflect those well documented in Buddhist books. Khenpo Sodargye (2013) further pointed to an essential equality between humans and animals, stating that all the living beings hold the potential for enlightenment. He also argued that "We humans treasure and consider our own lives as priceless, whereas we are comfortable assigning a price for the lives of other living beings, taking their lives for granted" (English translation by the author). Khenpo Tsultrim Lodro (2020) advocates treating animals with equality and without utilitarian thoughts of consuming their meat, furs, or bones as an initial step in cultivating a loving heart that can be expanded to other humans.

Lhakpa only mentioned his praying for all the living beings. Other participants shared how their compassion for humans and non-humans directed their behaviours from at least three aspects. First, they cared for non-human living beings, as evidenced throughout their trips. In addition to being spiritually connected with sacred sites, another important purpose is to apply Buddhist teachings, such as compassion and caring, throughout the course of pilgrimage (Hall, 2006). While Tsering Drolma took me along her pilgrimage, circulating Tashi Lhunpu Monastery, those praying seemed to be spreading news to others. I repeatedly heard the word, *bu* (འབི་ means, worms). A few minutes later, we encountered an area with many black worms travelling. Tsering Drolma, pointed towards the black spots on the road, while pushing my elbows to the side of the road to leave spaces for the worms. We then walked carefully in that area. Tse Kelsang shared a similar experience, about people choosing not to visit a temple in Lhokha in August because there would be many worms on the road to that temple.

Second, participants expressed their preference of not having fish as food, or fresh killing. Four participants, Lhakpa, Phurbu Tashi, Namuyal, and Nyima Tsering, used the same words in respective interviews: "*Killing one life of a cow could feed more people, whereas you would need to steal the lives of many fish or shrimp to feed one person*". The overlap indicates that this is a commonly held opinion in Tibet. Lhakpa shared that he and his tour companions normally requested to not have seafood during their package tour, which was supported by travel agencies. Wangyal reported his friends' shared strong suggestions to not take seafood during their trip to Hainan Island. Although he self-identified as less attached to Buddhism and not averse to seafood, he still followed his peers.

Instead of taking consuming animals for granted, some Tibetans were well aware that their survival needs were met at the expense of killing other animals. They strongly believed that humans should appreciate animals for providing them with valuable resources and should avoid adding to humans' exponentially increasing demand for animal products. Lhakpa explained this paradox. On the one hand, they had to consume meat for sustenance. On the other hand, killing animals for meat made him feel guilty. He reported their special ritual of praying for forgiveness before slaughtering. Both Lhakpa and Drolma mentioned that, in summer, some Tibetans did not kill any herds for nearly three months to let them enjoy the rich grasses, while admitting that keeping a vegetarian diet for such a lengthy period created challenges for them. In his words, "*Summer is like the new year for herds to enjoy their life*."

Thirdly, I witnessed how participants preserve the lives of other living beings. For instance, Tsering's arms were bitten by mosquitos and the swelling lasted for a few days. During our interview, he simply blew away a mosquito that was sucking his blood and explained that it was just sucking his blood to survive, and that it was not as necessary to kill it. Similarly, there were some annoying flies during the interview with Chimy Dolkar. I asked why she did not use repelling chemicals to remove the flies. She responded that "*The flies feel dizzy after smelling the chemicals, as I noticed they couldn't fly straight afterwards. I would be very uncomfortable if I felt dizzy, and I'd prefer not to create discomfort for them*". We both neglected to pay attention to our tea. Two flies had drowned in the tea by the end of our interview. I felt pity for wasting the tea. But she said, "*It is a pity. Their lives end.*" While I was transcribing the interview with Chimy Dolkar, I still occasionally heard the sound of buzzing flies, which reminded me of the scene and her loving heart for non-human beings, like flies. Clearly, praying for all the living beings, a core teaching of Buddhism, has motivated Tibetans' pilgrimages and influenced their travel behaviours. Timothy and Conover (2006) pointed

out the potential contributions of Buddhism to building harmonious relationships with nature. Studying the compassion for human and non-human life inspired by Buddhism represents one of the many possibilities of posthumanism. Posthumanism, an umbrella term, refers to a wide range of concepts, including "Transhumanism, Antihumanism, Metahumanism, Posthumanities, and Metahumanities" (Ferrando, 2019, p.26). Antihumanism is one of the work directions captured within the theoretical framework of posthumanism. Posthumanism started with the questioning idea of the "anthropocene" epoch, in which "the Human has become a geological force capable of affecting all life on this planet" (Braidotti, 2013, p.5). Posthumanism does not necessarily discard the core values of Humanism, but instead combines Humanist values in creating different ways of living that are less human-centric (Kumm, et al., 2019).

Kumm, Berbary, and Grimwood (2019) envisioned that Indigenous knowledge might actually serve as a knowledge source for imagining human and non-human relationships. Along the same lines, Kincheloe and Steinberg (2008) argued: "We want to use Indigenous knowledge to counter Western sciences' destruction of the Earth". Smith (2012) emphasized that Indigenous communities offer many elements to provoke thinking about humans' relationships with the environment, the earth, and the universe. As reflected in Lhakpa's narrative and other participants' sharing, I was directed to pay close attention to animals and insects along the trips, and often reflected on the assumption of consuming animals without an afterthought, which engaged alternative visions of the earth, as well as tourism practices. Participants' sharing also suggested two directions of thought for future research to nail down. First, although the equal importance of human and non-human beings is a core Buddhist teaching, it has seldom been explored, especially in how it may open space for posthumanism, in tourism literature. Wong, McIntosh, and Ryan (2013) pointed out that most existing literature on religious tourism was based on non-Buddhist contexts. While further examining the specific areas that the literature of Buddhist tourism addressed, most studies are from the human perspective. For instance, Yang et al. (2019) and Wong et al. (2013) explored the management and marketing of Buddhist sites, Son and Xu (2013), Choe, Blazey, and Mitas (2015), and Nyaupane, Timothy, and Poudel (2015) researched motivations for visiting Buddhist sites. Obviously, the idea of equality between humans and non-humans is another direction for future studies.

Second, how Buddhist equality view shapes tourists' animal consumption deserves further investigation. As Kline (2018) mentioned in her timely, edited book, *Tourism Experiences and Animal Consumption: Contested values, morality and Ethics*, "With the ever-increasing mobility, the

continued loss of biodiversity and climate change, the ethics of eating animals will continue to be a critical topic for consideration" (p. 208). Rob Wallace and his collaborators (2020) argued that the capitalist animal production system is the cause of COVID-19 because animals are squeezed into extremely crowded spaces, leading to reduced immunity, and consequent higher chances of producing "super viruses". Thus, the COVID-19 pandemic serves as the "loudest" reminder for humans to review their relationships with other non-human living beings. Tourism could construct or distort animal identities. Kline's (2018) edited book has presented the complex ethical debate over animal consumption. Some tourism destinations mask animal consumption as a culture or heritage perspective, such as labeling the consumption as "exotic". She further questioned how humans behave as the stewards of Mother Earth with Anthropocene moral dimensions. However, the book failed to collect a study with a detailed unpacking of how Buddhism affects or decreases animal consumption.

Buddhism is the only religion, among the three with the most followers, that advocates for restricting or even discarding the practice of killing animals to meet human needs and desires. However, there is more than one singular identity of Tibetan characteristics. Zhou and Grimwood (2018) reported how some Tibetans have changed their traditional nomadic grazing of yak herds into raising Tibetan savory pigs to meet the increasing consumption demand of tourists travelling there, a change which has posed tremendous challenges for the local environment. Future studies could shine a light on how Buddhist equality views shape or decrease tourists' animal consumption, as is suggested in the above documented narrative on Tibetan's fundamentally different view on human and non-human beings.

Cohen (1992) studied Buddhist practices in Thailand and reported on visitors' prayers for a better life in the present or future life, such as obtaining fortune and health, which is similar to the motivation as Tsering Drolma reported. However, this representation of prayer content is dissaligned with the purpose identified by most of my participants. There, I present the purpose of prayer for the wellness of all the living beings to inform readers of a differing aspect from Cohen's (1992). In Lhakpa's words, "*praying for all the living beings and for personal fortune do not conflict because himself is one of the living beings*". I am not capable of concluding whether participants' words and Cohen's (1992) observations are different because Buddhist teachings in Thailand are different from those in Tibet, or because it is an oversight of Cohen. Based on the Buddhist ideas shared by my participants and my reading, I question the likelihood of praying only for oneself as a Buddhist

practice. Nevertheless, I shed light on the prayer for all the living beings for readers and other outsiders to develop a better understanding of the Tibetan worldview.

5.4 Drolma and Chompel's pilgrimage to Mt. Ziburi—I was born a Buddhist

5.4.1 The Rationale of selection

Rationale of selection: It is a common Tibetan saying that every village has a deity mountain that protected the villagers. Mt. Ziburi is such a deity mountain that is believed to protect Tingri County's people and has attracted many of them to circle around or worship. 17 participants were from Tingri County and most of them had visited or circulated around it. Thus, the following story about Mt. Ziburi is an important destination for most participants and represented a typical mountain pilgrimage in Tibetan culture.

Whose voices: The following story is mainly based on Drolma's four-day pilgrimage around Mt. Ziburi in her early 20s, which was a memorable trip for her. I combined Chompel's trip to the Guocang Temple at Mt. Ziburi, which was a lighthouse that guided his life. A few sentences in the story were also drawn from Lhakpa and Tse Kelsang, who mentioned Mt. Ziburi as an example of a pilgrimage, but did not go into detail.

Drolma worked in a restaurant in Shigatse City. Chompel was a small business owner. Both self-identified as dedicated believers.

5.4.2 I was born a Buddhist

My parents were my first Buddhist teachers, who took me and my siblings on the pilgrimage route and showed us Buddhist practices and teachings. My parents used a wagon to carry the beddings and the kids on their pilgrimage, but I did not know anything about Buddhism at that time. I remembered that we did not have television during my childhood. Our whole family sat around the oven, and our parents taught us how to chant different prayers and explained their meaning to us. Even until now, my understanding of Buddhism is on the basis of a song my parents taught us. The song is about a kind heart that shows the golden merit of a person, which is also my understanding of the core of Buddhist teachings. I am passing down the same practices to my kids. When I pray in front of Buddha, I told my daughter to pray as well. She follows whatever I do. She is two now. When she

enters the praying room, she prays by herself. We are lucky to have been born into such an environment that cultivates our kind heart and believes in Buddhism at a very early age.

Legend says that a poisonous lake was once found here. Then, this mountain flew from India to cover the lake, as its name, Ziburi, indicates, which means "a flied mountain". Numerous temples were built along the mountain, with 108 temples at its peak.

I have conducted pilgrimages around this mountain several times. I started with going there with my parents in my childhood. As I grew older, I typically joined my friends. The most recent one was six years ago in my early 20s. It was an important trip because I can still clearly recall it after six years. After I started my work in Shigatse City when I was 16, I seldom had the chance for such pilgrimage that took four to five days. I was only able to return home during breaks. A few days before the New Year holiday, I went on a pilgrimage with two friends, one younger sister, and three of her friends. Mom helped us pack our bags with tsampa, milk candy, dried beef, and a bottle of salt butter tea. Everyone had to carry a thermal bottle. [The salt butter tea is normally placed in a thermal bottle to keep warm. Although it is inconvenient, Tibetan people still carry it.]

We left home at 5 am, when it was still deep dark outside with only the moon as light. Such scene reminded me of a scary Korean TV show about a legendary fox with nine tails who needed to find meat to hide her tails once the moon rose. My sister asked me to share this show with her friends. We were a little scared of the darkness and the story. Thus, we tried to walk closely to one another.

Pilgrims had to select between two circling roads. The inner circle at the middle of the mountain was only accessible by walking. The outside path was a gravel road accessible to horse wagons at the foot of the mountain. We chose the inner circle as it had a shorter distance. We headed toward the middle of the mountain and reached the circling path as it would be bright soon. We had a quick breakfast with the hot tea we carried and continued our walk. We happened to walk toward the wind, which made our trip much more difficult. My eyelashes were frozen with ice. Our excitement about the trip turned to focusing simply on walking silently.

We approached Zhaguo Village at noon. I knew it as I accompanied my parents' pilgrimage as a child. We could not stay there for a long time if we wanted to reach our destination before the sunset. We washed our faces in the river as we would encounter people in the village soon. A friend's relative who lived in this village invited us home. They treated us with potatoes, tsampa, and beef and refilled our bottle with hot tea. We left their home quickly as we would have a long journey ahead.

Figure 15 Chompel on the path to the Guochang Temple

Photo Credit: Chompel

We visited the Guochang Temple along the road in the afternoon. It was a famous temple within the county, and more than 90% of Tingri people visited it. A living Buddha, Gongbuduojie, lived here 1,300 years ago. He was a simple person who did not show off in front of people nor attracted others' attention. Instead, he focused on his own practice and meditation of Buddhism. He built several buildings along the edge of the cliffs by himself. These buildings were incredible because of their locations on the steep slopes. Gongbuduojie extensively worked on them, carrying construction materials by himself. I imagined that it was hard work for him. He meditated in a cave for eight years where many fleas sucked his blood while he was mediating. The cave is now known as the Flea's Cave. He did all these things silently. I visited the sacred site filled with his stories, and I reflected on my impatience and being easily distracted. I persuaded myself that I needed more courage and determination to focus on the things that I thought important. This temple and Gongbuduojie's stories

served as lighthouses in my life. We prostrated around the temple and in front of Gongbuduojie's statue.

We arrived at the Meimu Village at night as planned. We stayed at another friend's home, and he made delicious curry rice for us. Our first day went by smoothly.

We started our journey at 5 am the next day with our thermal bottles filled with tea by the host. As it was hard to walk on the sandy road, we had to use flashlight to guide our path. However, my clothes were too short to cover my arms. My hands were almost too frozen to hold the light. Thanks to Buddha, the sun rose as we were walking. We had snacks along the road and arrived at a temple at 2 pm. We had to climb for a while to reach the temple. A nun there treated us with milk tea, which helped us to finish our quick lunch. The road we took in the afternoon was bumpy and had a combination of ups and downs. My friends and I were tired and were only able to walk slowly. My sister and her friends were singing and dancing as a way to tease about our poor physical ability. We arrived at Yaoxia Village at around 5 pm. We had a relative in the village, but we chose not to stop by and continued walking.

We arrived at Pazuo Village at night. When we knocked at a villager's door, the first family said that they could only provide room for four people. We then separated and found the next house. The family that hosted us had three children, one housewife, and two grandparents. I sensed the hardship that the family experienced, as the kids only wore thin clothes in this harsh winter. Despite their limited condition, they still lent a room for us with an oven and provided us with meat soup. They had no extra beds, so we slept on the floor. It was a peaceful night.

Nothing was special on the third day. We only walked. Then, we prostrated around the Kadong Temple. Although it was a small temple, we spent an hour to complete a prostration circle. I felt a strong pain in my feet. We were less lucky on the third night, as we had to find water and dried-cow droppings for heating by ourselves. While we walked around the village to find dried-cow droppings, a dog suddenly jumped out and chased after us. We ran away quickly, and the dog owner came out and provided us with dried-cow droppings. We joked at one another's running poses as we returned to the house hosting us. We were too tired to cook anything. We ate simple snacks and slept right away.

We were not able to wake up early in the fourth morning. Although we said that we would better get up now, nobody got up. Everyone fell asleep again. We suddenly jumped up when the sunshine

shone on us. We packed our belongings, and the host prepared hot tea for us. As we went our way, we came across two paths. One was shorter but steeper than the other one. We chose the steeper one as we made up for lost time. We encountered some shepherds along the way. We arrived at the Naisha Village at around 5 pm. We could have stayed there for the night, but we decided to walk in the evening to arrive home early. My feet were burning and I had difficulty moving my legs. Nevertheless, I still made an effort to continue walking. I had known that this journey was naturally tiring, and some people even prostrated for a whole month to circulate this deity mountain. In those difficult moments, our beliefs kept us moving. Moreover, such hardship was easier with friends around. Our parents said that pilgrimage could clean our souls. The end of the pilgrimage was the most difficult period. However, I overcome this difficulty as I felt delighted about the achievement of purifying my soul.

5.4.3 Eudaimonic V.S. Hedonic Experience

Notably, there are many highlights from Drolma and Chompel's accounts of their travels for an outsider, like me, including but not limited to the following:

- The intergenerational transference of knowledge of Buddhist beliefs in Drolma's family, which she felt grateful for.

- Her knowledge of the routes: In her early 20s, she had demonstrated extreme familiarity with pilgrimage routes around Mt. Ziburi, evidenced firstly by her accurate knowledge of the road conditions, anticipating upcoming steep or sandy stretches, or quickly identifying which path to choose. Her prior experience was further highlighted through her acquaintance with indicators of daily progress, which ultimately informed the timeline of their activities, reflected throughout the group's travel decisions through comments such as "left quickly", "chose not to stop by", or "washed faces" before crossing a village ahead.

- The attitude toward pilgrimage difficulties: Undoubtedly, the four-day pilgrimage was fraught with hardships, but Drolma only passingly mentioned such difficulties in one or two sentences. In her own words, purifying her soul had motivated her to overcome all challenges.

- The normalcy of non-religious side activities during pilgrimages: Drolma's experience echoes Olsen's (2010) observation that it is hard to find a purely religiously motivated pilgrim who participates only in holy activities, as evident in Drolma's discussion of the Korean TV show, and her

jokes and fun interactions with her peers along the trip. Those entertainment elements offered stress relief during the grueling walk.

What stands out from this three-page narrative is the way the experience differs entirely from the hedonic and consumption-based experiences prominent in current tourism literature, in the following three aspects. First, regarding the trip's purpose, participants were motivated by an opportunity to cleanse their souls, ponder the meaning of life, reflect on daily behaviours, and connect to the sacred Buddhist Master. Second, in terms of specific activities involved, walking, prostration, and praying are not related to securing pleasures or comforts for oneself. Third, from the logistics of the trip itself, this pilgrimage was purely based on non-commercial activities, such as participants packing and carrying food, drinks, and snacks with them rather than purchasing in restaurants, and involved searching for homestays by knocking at villagers' doors along their journey rather than relying on purposive accommodation businesses like hotels.

Those three aspects are widely supported and echoed by the majority of participants. Obviously, Drolma and Chompel's experiences align with "eudaimonic experience", which was characterized by Garland et al. (2015) as "a sense of purpose and meaningful, positive engagement with life that arises when one's life activities are congruent with deeply held values even under conditions of adversity" (p.294). The story recounted above demonstrates that their pilgrimages were motivated by a strong spiritual purpose and such deeply held goals that participants were able to continuously generate the courage to overcome the difficulties along their journey. Following Garland et al.'s (2015) idea of "eudaimonic experience", Arai (2017) criticized existing leisure literature's focus on individualism, separation, and attachment and proposed the notion of engaging in "insight leisure", which focuses on "a different set of qualities about leisure. It instead emphasizes the mind's capacity for wisdom, love, and compassion as the conditions for leisure practices" (Arai, 2017, p.160). Similarly, Tibetan travel stories support a set of tourism qualities that explore narrative meaning-making and eudaimonia.

Huta and Ryan (2010) differentiated eudaimonia from hedonia. The latter seeks pleasure, enjoyment, and comfort at both the physical and emotional levels, whereas the former aims to connect with a greater and more complete sense of self. They proposed to differentiate these two concepts based on underlying motives rather than specific activities, because different people might have different motivations for the same activity. Notably, the different motivations need not be mutually-exclusive and more than one can be involved in one activity. Their experimental study found that

hedonia links more frequently with life satisfaction than eudaimonia, but eudaimonia produced longer-lasting impacts than the former.

Notably, these two terms, eudaimoia and hedonia, are used differently. For Voigt, Howat, and Brown (2010), and Rahmani, Gnoth, and Mather (2018), eudaimonic and hedonic experiences are two parallel types or aspects of well-being; whereas for Buzinde (2020), eudaimonia is equated to well-being and hedonia is "a symptom of well-being". Voigt et al. (2010) contended that eudaimonic and hedonic experiences were two psychological concepts that had seldom been applied in the tourism field, which motivated them to apply both in their analysis of three touristic activities: beauty spas, lifestyle resorts, and spiritual retreats. Spa visitors only demonstrated hedonic characteristics, such as pleasure, relaxation, sensory stimulation, and these effects were short-lived. In contrast, spiritual retreat visitors almost exclusively exhibited eudaimonic characteristics, such as fulfillment and identity-building, which lend themselves to having more long-lived implications. Such findings confirmed those of Huta and Ryan's psychological (2010) study in which eudaimonia was determined to generate lasting effects. Voigt el al. (2010) concluded that spa visitors might temporarily feel "well", rather than obtaining "true" well-being. Meanwhile, they were also against simplifying hedonic as shallow, unhealthful, or overindulgent, because such needs are also basic necessities for humans.

Although many scholars consider discussions on eudaimonia and hedonia to have happened recently (within a decade), those debates tend to focus on defining, differentiating, and comparing these two concepts (see Nawijn and Filep, 2016, Rahmani et al., 2018, Voigt et al., 2010), analyzing whether the two can co-exist or transform into each other (Lee & Jeong, 2019), or building related measurement models (see Lengieza, Hunt, and Swim, 2019). No discussion has occurred in either of the following two directions: 1) assessing the portion of eudaimonic and hedonic experiences described in current tourism literature; and 2) exploring the potential role of eudaimonia in delinking from consumption-oriented tourism.

Direction 1 is hard to address within my study because the term "eudaimonia" is defined differently across the literature. For instance, Lengieza et al. (2019) included meaning and reflection as two core features, whereas Lee and Jeong (2019) used a wide scope that includes meaning, self-connectedness, accomplishment, and personal expressiveness. An additional perspective of core features relating to the topic was offered by Buzinde (2020), who combined eudaimonia in a Self-Determination Theory that includes aspects of autonomy, competence, and relatedness. However, the recounted story above

speaks only to searching for the meaning of life, not to avoiding pain/hardship. I suspect the portion of such "eudaimonic experiences" to be much fewer than that of hedonic tourism experiences for two reasons. First, listed potential tourism activities account for only a small number of overall tourists. Lee and Jeong (2019) listed some tourism examples that evoke eudaimonic wellbeing, including dark tourism, volunteer tourism, and nostalgia tourism. Buzinde (2015) echoed these examples, but also admitted that not "many more individuals [are] engaging in these forms of travel". According to UNWTO, 27% of tourists travel for visiting friends and relatives, or for health or religious purposes (UNWTO, 2019), which indicates just a small proportion of religious tourists among the overall numbers.

Direction 2, the urgent need to delink from consumption-oriented tourism, has been well documented in the current literature. The strongest argument was made by Higgins-Desbiolles and her co-authors (2006, 2010, 2019). Under the capitalistic system of production, in order to obtain "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey, 2007, p. 116), corporations have created the consumption discourse that entices tourists to consume products offered. Accordingly, tourists have developed insatiable needs and continuously "seek out newer and more-novel tourism destinations and experiences" (Higgins-Desbiolles, Carnicelli, Krolikowski, Wijesinghe, & Boluk, 2019, p.1931). This consumerism ideology has urged scholars to propagate degrowth tourism in response (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019).

Hall (2006) explained why Buddhists shift their attention from specific materials to spiritual pursuits, and his thinking is worthy of lengthy quotation,

> From a Buddhist perspective, therefore, how a person travels in relation to others is more important than the act of traveling itself. Such a position also means that from such a perspective the concept of secular itself needs to be drawn apart to recognize that those who hold secular human values that emphasize compassion, caring and sharing and a recognition of the spiritual need to be distinguished from those who see the world primarily in terms of the material (p.180).

Specifically, the above story along with the interviews with other participants support the change of de-linking from consumption in at least three ways. First, while travelers were focused on the meaning of life, their attention to material needs was not as significant as their daily activities. Not limited to Drolma and Chompel, none of the other 33 participants—excluding one—described the quality of conditions and facilities, or the level of luxury of the hotels or restaurants they visited. Most

of them did not mention these features at all throughout the course of interviews; a few merely mentioned them as a necessity of their trip. Only Wangyal described a forest-themed hotel on his trip to Hainan Island.

I noticed this phenomenon during the primary analysis of their narratives and double checked with some participants in the middle of my field research. Two reasons were offered: on the one hand, 2/3 of trips shared by participants were pilgrimages during which they merely used the simple accommodation provided by the monastery, a free offering or self-arranged, rather than having the chance of staying in fancy hotels. On the other hand, the modern accommodations they stayed at were not considered important enough to be included or mentioned in their pilgrimage story. For instance, in a follow-up interview with Lhakpa, I asked why he did not mention any hotels or restaurants he stayed at, to which he replied: "*I remembered one trip to Beijing, we stayed at a five-star hotel with buffets. We traveled with luxury tour buses. But, as I am recalling my memories now, I don't think the luxury made the trip a special time.*"

Such a viewpoint might be considered inconsistent with current literature on pilgrimages and eudaimonic experience. Nawijn and Filep (2016) pointed out that even tourists visiting dark tourism sites are expecting the feeling of pleasure, which falls into hedonic experience. Similarly, Kim with her collaborators (Kim et al., 2020; Kim & Chen, 2020) reported pilgrims' pursuit of pleasure and comfort, such as searching for local food or staying in luxury hotels to refresh themselves for the next day's hard walking. Olsen (2019) noted that "Christian pilgrims demand air-conditioned buses, and pilgrims participating in the hajj are increasingly expecting modern conveniences and comforts" (p.112). These expectations might, however, indicate contextualized cultural differences. The discussion would be made more productive not by focusing on the involvement in hedonic activities themselves, but rather by exploring whether hedonic consumption contributes as heavily to their experience as their spiritual pursuit along their pilgrimage. Tibetan participants may also exhibit a different view of consumption needs compared to non-Tibetan pilgrims, which are documented in the literature, for reasons described in the next point.

Second, part of Buddhism teaching focuses on searching for internal solutions and restricting material needs (Khenpo Sodargye, 2013), which would restrict travelers' consumption desires. When asked about whether consumption needs were mitigated by this Buddhism teaching, most participants expressed that this view was part of the Buddhism teaching that they received and agreed with. Beyond their direct acknowledgement of the influence Buddhism may have had on their consumption

habits, the implications of their views on consumption were observable through other anecdotes mentioned in passing. Drolma mentioned that whenever she supported her parents with cash, they always chose not to purchase too much, but donated the money to monasteries. Similarly, Tibetan pilgrims might choose to minimize their consumption so as to allocate more money for offerings to monasteries, as Chimy Dolkar and Chompel confirmed.

Third, the hospitality Drolma encountered on her trip embodies the original meaning of "hospitality", prior to its use within the hotel industry. Such an idea might be hard for non-Tibetans to imagine or think about, but it aligns with the concept of "social hospitality" and is the key to shifting away from viewing "tourism as a profit-maker" to "tourism as a social force". Undeniably, the villagers who offered hospitality to Drolma were motivated by certain conditions mentioned by some participants: 1) Mt. Zibuzi is a local deity mountain so that only pilgrims within a limited range would come, which erased their concerns about the potential risks of contacting strangers; 2) there is a Buddhism saying that assisting pilgrims is a way of providing an offering to Buddha.

The original meaning of hospitality does not include the business operation of hotels, referred to as "the hospitality industry". In the past, hospitality functioned to provide safety and protection, friendliness, connectedness to cultural norms and traditions, thus playing a vital role in society. Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) introduced hospitality in different Indigenous communities, such Polynesian hospitality in the Cook Islands and the mannakitanga—the Maori values of hospitality. Therefore, social hospitality has been recognized by scholars, as cited above, to potentially restore the social function of the hospitality industry.

Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019) urged the return to ideas of hospitality and connection as a direction of countering neoliberal capitalism. Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) foresaw one potential contribution of studying Indigenous people as tourists as the opening of social, cultural, and spiritual dimensions of tourism, thus enabling people to feel connected through their tourism encounters. Such outcomes are supported in the above narrative. On Drolma's pilgrimage, although the villagers were not wealthy, they still provided accommodation for free to facilitate the trip. Such narratives augment the literature with another remarkable example of social hospitality and the possibility of travel without conventional hotels and restaurants. Therefore, more tourism studies could productively explore eudaimonic experience, as exemplified in the recounted story above.

Although Tibetan narratives of pilgrimage align with the English word eudainomia, it is also important to note that the existing discussion of eudainomia mainly follows Eurocentric terminology.

Suffice it to say that the literature commonly states: “The tradition of hedonism can be traced back to the Greek philosopher Aristippus of Cyrene (435-366 BCE)…Eudaimonia’ is a concept introduced by Aristotle (384–322 BCE)” (Voigt, Howat, & Brown, 2010, p.543), “the Aristoleian concept of edaimonia” (Buzinde, 2020, p.2), which ignores the diversified use in various cultures and languages. For instance, The Buddha enumerates different types of happiness (nearly 30), from basic ones that come from being free or possessing wealth and property, to the superior kinds, such as guarding one’s mind (Holmes, 2019). The latter is similar to the concept of eudainomia in English. Obviously, besides western philosopher Aristotle, many philosophers in different cultures do contemplate eduainomia and hendonia, though not in the English language.

5.5 Chokyap, Norbu, Nyima’s pilgrimage to Potala Palace—A pilgrimage center for all Tibetans

5.5.1 The rationale of selection

Rationale: Map 5.1 indicated that only one participant was from Lhasa City. Some other participants worked in or had pilgrimages to Lhasa, a pilgrimage center for many Tibetans. For them, Potala Palace, Norbulingka, and Jokhang Temple were the three most attractive sites in Lhasa.

Whose voices: The following story was combined from Chokyap, Norbu, and Nyima’s pilgrimages to Potala Palace and Tashi Norbu’s pilgrimage to Norbulingka. Nyima and his family conducted a circulated pilgrimage within Lhasa, Lhokha, and Shigatse City via walking for half a year. Many years later, they repeated such a circular route again by driving. Potala Palace was one stop on their trip. Norbu worked in Potala Palace for three months on its electronics and plumbing improvement project. He would even like to work there if he was paid less. Chokyap was attending a three-year English learning program in Lhasa. Tashi Norbu had been a construction worker in Lhasa for nearly 20 years. For three of them and others who worked in Lhasa, such as Kelsang and Tashi Phuntsok, visiting the inside the palace or circulating outside of it held great religious and spiritual comfort.

5.5.2 A pilgrimage center for all Tibetans

Lhasa is a pilgrimage center that all Tibetan people, whether Kham, Amdo, or Shigatse, have dreamed about visiting. I can say that all Tibetans would like to visit Lhasa, which is called the Holy City. I have worked in Lhasa for nearly 20 years since I withdrew from middle school. One advantage of working in Lhasa is that I can visit many religious sites when I was off work. I always circulate

around the Potala Palace after work. In the 7th century, Songzang Gambo lived in the Potala Palace, so it is historical, and meaningful. For us, the Lama is the reincarnation of Guanyin [also known as Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva] *and they save lives. So Tibetans circle around this palace, showing respect for the kings, monks, and Lamas. This custom has been passed down for many generations. We call it ze-guo, specifically meaning go around the Potala palace. The word—Potala—come from the Sanskrit language, not Tibetan.*

Figure 16 A view of Potala, taken during the second circulating pilgrimage of Nyima

Photo Credit: Nyima

Luckily, I had the chance to work in Potala Palace for three months. I enjoyed that period, not only because I could pray when I had a bit of a break from work but also because I felt peaceful while working in religious sites. Our Tibetan ancestors are wise and strong, and they built such a building that has stood for over a thousand years [built in the 7th century]. *Particularly, as I knew from the maintainers' perspective, only replacing roofs and painting outside walls are required for its current maintenance. Our ancestors included ventilation and drainage systems when they built this palace. There were many small holes in the walls as a natural ventilation system without any electronic components. All the lumber was transported from Nyingchi* [400 km away] *without any trucks. I am familiar with modern construction that heavily relies on concrete, steel, and excavating machineries. The palace was built on a mountain. Without any modern machines, they made it. I don't think our*

Tibetans are stupid at all. I admire all the hard work our ancestors put into this master palace. I am proud of our ancestors.

Figure 17 Yumbu Lakhang Palace, another palace that Tibetans feel proud of

Photo Credit: Chokyap

We were able to see different sites where the Lamas lived, studied, prayed, and worked. Accordingly, there were many sacred items that have existed for several hundred years, such as Buddha statues, thrones and burial stupas of past Dalai Lamas, and paintings. These items represent our religion and also our Tibetan history. I normally prayed with mantras in front of these sacred items one by one and observed them carefully before moving on to the next one. I prayed for the peace of the world.

During my visit, I noticed a difference between us believers and the tourists. Many tour guides introduced the sacred items by noting that they were made of so many kilograms of gold, silver, or jades; whereas for us believers, those items are sacred and priceless treasures that cannot be measured by the weights of their materials. The tour guides should explain sufficient religious meanings of these items. When tourists hear about the weight of the gold making up the statues, I feel they would better off thinking about why Tibetans invested so much gold in this statue? What is the meaning of this statue to them?

After visiting the Potala Palace, or any other temple, I felt peaceful and blessed by Buddha.

Figure 18 Chokyap, enjoying a snowy and peaceful moment in front of Potala

Photo Credit: Chokyap

For Tibetans, like me, who born far away from Lhasa, Potala Palace is the world of my mind. I like it too much. This photo was taken in 2018 in front of Potala Palace. People said that it had not snowed for nearly ten years. So we were so excited about the snow in 2018. It was heavy and thick. Everything was covered by a white veil. My friends and I just recorded this snowy and peaceful moment in front of the Potala palace. Such peaceful moment stays in my mind with this photo.

5.5.3 Introduce the beauty of Indigenous knowledge

The difference between the tour guides' introduction of Buddhist status and local Tibetan's perception reflected the different foci of these two groups, one from the material perspective and another from the spiritual one. Such differences are another example of different perceptions of the same situation, an idea that will be further discussed in Story 7, on re-articulation of the territorial.

Another thread emerging from the above story is that participants were proud of the wisdom of their ancestors, evident in their motivation to travel to connect with their traditions. Under the

engulfing of science and technology, some Indigenous groups might lose connection or confidence with their traditions. Many examples around the world are listed in Section 2.1 on scientific colonialism. Maybe one typical example is that mathematical knowledge applied by European 'experts' was considered as a more sophisticated approach when studying the pyramids, while local Egyptians could only stare at it from a far distance (Said,1978). For this consideration, Smith (2012) included discovering the beauty of our [Indigenous] knowledge" (p.161) as one of the 25 Indigenous projects she envisioned. Similarly, Tuck and Yang (2012) advocated for elevating Indigenous knowledge to shift attention from the damages of western powers. Therefore, discovering the beauty and privileging Indigenous knowledge, as reported by the participants in their own practices, is one important direction for Indigenous knowledge to serve as a counterpart to mainstream knowledge.

In addition to connecting to the belief system and higher being, participants' pilgrimage trips function as an important platform to connect with their ancestors, as these religious sites are heritage sites as well. Visiting tangible locations of one's heritage is reported to facilitate such connections, such as the monastery built beside the cliffs reported by Chompel in Story 4, the sacred and empowered items in the Potala Palace, the footprint of a great master meditated in the cave shared by Jigme in Story 7, and many other comparable examples not presented in my writing - such as Chokyap and Tse Youdon's visit to Yumbu Lakhang Palace and Samye Temple.

Intangible heritages were also reported as important ways of passing down their pilgrimage traditions, which provided rich pilgrimage travel information. Three major sources are identified: 1) oral communications from family members, friends, and villagers; 2) Tibetan Buddhist stories; and 3) local sayings. More specifically, the first source is not surprising given that pilgrimage has been practiced in Tibetan society for over 1300 years; consequently, oral histories collected from senior family members were frequently cited by participants. For instance, Karma elaborated, "*You cannot collect our pilgrimage information online, which is our oral legacy…. for outsiders, finding the pass is difficult, but it is easy for us because we can read the stone marks piled along the path, which has been passed down by our grandpa's grandpa's grandpa.*"

Second, Tibetan Buddhist stories contain rich information about famous sites. For example, Samye Gompa, the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet, is considered the starting place of the first breathing after Tibetan's death [because of the belief in rebirth]. Indeed, there is a song that specifically introduces its structure. This song is a narrative map illustrated by Tse Youdon, which includes such details as a sculpture of a white rooster displayed in a corner of the temple. The Tibetan calendar is

based on a twelve-animal-year cycle. Deity mountains and lakes have been identified for each year, e.g. Mt. Karlashi for the horse year and Lake Namtso for the sheep year. Visiting the designated site in the appropriate year is considered a most-auspicious or most-purifying pilgrimage. However, not everyone is able to carry out such an undertaking.

Third, aside from famous places, many local sacred sites have been introduced by participants. Rituals, such as hanging up *lungta* or visualizing in the lake, have been recorded in local narratives. Monks in local temples actively promote the history of their temples via public speaking or serving as individual guides. At the beginning of a new year, temples publicly preach about their history and Buddhist knowledge, which lasts from three days (e.g., in Tashi Norbu's hometown) to two weeks (e.g., in Nyima's hometown).

Obviously, both tangible and intangible heritages informed participants of their pilgrimage traditions. Participants' sharing reflected the smooth transition of traditional knowledge, as unpacked in Story 1.

5.6 Tashi Phuntso, Nyi Tse, Phurbu Tashi, Namgyal, and Dorje's pilgrimage to local deity mountains—A hard hike rewarded with Buddha's blessing

5.6.1 The rationale of selection

Rationale: Many participants shared their pilgrimages to local deity mountains, including the ones to be circulated, such as Mt. Ziburi, Mt. Gongdui, Mt. Bomutso, and Mt. Dola; and the ones to be climbed to hang up paying flags, including Mt. Longsang, Mt. Nisiri, Mt. Nanjie, and Mt. Nuri. The former might require longer durations, such as several days, than the latter does. Both are important and accessible religious sites for Tibetan Buddhist followers. From the participants' perspectives, the visiting of both places is *neikour* (pilgrimage).

Whose voices: The following story combined the experiences of Tashi Phuntso's pilgrimage to Mt. Longsang, Nyi Tse and Phurbu Tashi's pilgrimages to Mt. Nisiri, Dorje's pilgrimage to Mt. Nanjie, and Namgyal's pilgrimage to Mt. Nuri. It was a sweet trip mixed with laborious walking for Dorje.

Chimy Dolkar, Karma, Youdon, and Tse Kelsang also shared their trip to local deity mountains, however, such experiences were hard to be combined because of different process.

5.6.2 A hard hike rewarded with Buddha's blessing

Elders told us that every village has a deity mountain that protected the villagers, which was well known for local people but may not be known by outsiders. The mountain that protects my village is Mt. Nanjie, with a lake on top of the mountain. We believe that hanging up praying flags on the mountain or by the water by sunrise is auspicious. We normally hang praying flags on auspicious days, such as the 15th or 30th of the Tibetan calendar. The largest-scale one is during the Tibetan New Year. In our area, we do so on the 3rd day of the New Year, and other areas might do so on different days before or after the New Year. One person from each family joined the village's pilgrimage team. I was the oldest son in our family; thus, I started to join such a team at 12 years old. We prepared praying flags, leafy incense, tsampa, barley, and snacks in advance.

Figure 19 Pilgrims, hanging *lungda* after reaching the peak of the deity Mt. Nuri

Photo Credit: Namgyal

We got up at 2 a.m. to arrive at the top by sunrise. We had more than 20 people in our village. We first rode motorbikes for half an hour to the foot of the mountain, where we encountered many other

peoples from other villages, nearly 100 persons. It was still deep dark when we started climbing. Because of the large cloud of people, I followed the footsteps of the person in front of me. People were either chanting prayers or chatting as they walked. Upon arriving at the middle of the mountain, we rested for around an hour. We burned some dried bull dung and enjoyed hot tea and snacks that we brought. Due to the cold weather, I held a piece of bull dung for heating. The bottom part was burning, and I held the upper part. I would throw it away when most of it had burned. Gloves were warm enough for most people.

Figure 20 The views of mountains as seen from the peak of Mt. Nanjie

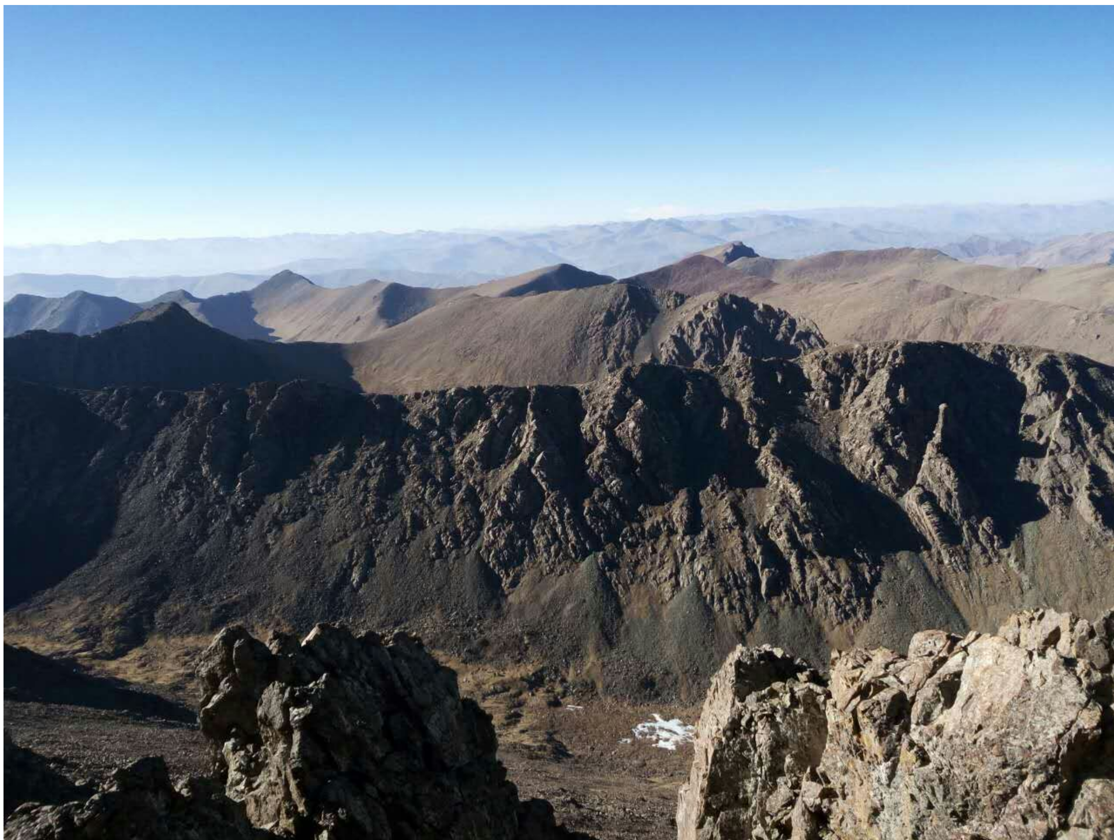


Photo Credit: Dorje

As we approached the upper part of the mountain, the wind became strong and the road was steeper than the bottom part. We had to walk slower and rest more. We arrived at the peak at around 9 a.m.; the sun had just started heating the world. We first burned dried bull dung, spread leafy incense on top of the fire, and smoke the praying flags in the smokes of incense. Lungta is a straight line consisting of many small flags that were printed with sutra. Two persons held each side of the

strop and hung it up on stones. We prayed "yi-ga-suo-suo" and spread out tsampa and barley, praying "la-jia-te-ma." Some people had a bit of high mountain sickness, and they took out some local food to relieve their headaches. We drank hot tea there and enjoyed the view. The lake on the mountain was frozen with thick ice. Steep cliffs were behind this peak. Most other mountains were lower than this one. I could see our village from this peak. I was delighted when moving down because I felt that my family and village would be blessed with a smooth new year. Tashi Delek! [lit. "prosperous"].

Figure 21 A view of Mt. Bomutso

Photo Credit: Chimy Dolkar

On our way down, we arrived at a small temple, where there was a flat space in front of it. We circuited around a pile of Mani stones [stones that were caved or printed with the six-syllable prayer]

and danced around it, like dancing at a square. Hanging up lungta and dancing are believed to bring luck.

We arrived home at around 5 p.m. Fifteen hours' hiking was done. However, I was not tired because great new year celebrations were waiting for us. Our hard hiking day was rewarded with Buddha's blessing.

Figure 22 Pilgrims dancing at the end of their pilgrimage

Photo Credit: Tashi Norbu

Figure 23 Pilgrims enjoying the view as seen from Mt. Drolma

Photo Credit: Tse Kelsang

Figure 24 A rock at Mt. Gongdui which, when observed on-site, was said to resemble the image of a man's face near the left side of the base

Photo Credit: Karma

5.6.3 Every village has a deity mountain

The above compiled story consolidates main themes from the accounts of eight separate participants regarding their pilgrimages to seven local deity mountains. Each story revealed its own unique qualities when told in its entirety. Although the composite of these narratives
may not completely capture the different processes reflected in each individual story, the above six photos can supplement readers understanding of participants' trips to local mountains. I will briefly explain four aspects worth highlighting.

First, local deity mountains are as important as other famous sites. My other composed stories mentioned that the Potala Palace is the pilgrimage center for most Tibetans and that visiting Chorten Nyima could wash away pilgrims' worst sins. Although these major sites are considered important, local sacred sites were considered to be equally significant. Such a view might sound contradictory to outsiders, but some participants reject the idea of ranking among different sites. For instance, Tsering stated that "*Local deity mountains are as important as other famous sites because both small and large sites are equally holy. Similarly, all Buddha statues, whether in in small or large monasteries, are equally important*." Thisstatement reflects Buddhist teachings on equality.

Second, local sacred sites are approachable places for awakening spirituality. Building a connection to the belief system is not a steady process; it consists of constant negotiating, reflecting, and dialoguing. In most shared stories, participants reflected on the internal transitions within themselves along the trips, which echoes Hall's (2006) observation that "In Buddhism, any act, including pilgrimage, derives its value from its ability to awaken positive mental states" (p.175). Pilgrimage is part of the awakening processes. The various local deity mountains serve as the most-approachable sites for participants to engage with.

Third, sanctification of nature contributes to rethinking relationships between humans and nature. As the diverse pictures show, various mountains that might seem to be normal mountains to some were identified as deity mountains to bless local villagers. Accordingly, these mountains receive villagers' awe, inspiration, and respect. Nyi Tse elaborated that part of Buddhism teaching aligns with environmental-protection policies, though these two were motivated by different considerations. For instance, environmental laws regulate the forbidden killing of wild animals to protect the ecological system. In line with this regulation, Tibetan Buddhists refrain from the killing of animals, although their motivation to do so is to comply with the Buddhist teaching of avoiding killings. Despite the differing rationale, the same result was achieved. This view echoes previous literature regarding the contribution of Buddhism to natural preservation. Wang (2016) recognized that Tibetan people's preservation of ecological systems is not ecologically-oriented but is instead the result of them venerating these systems, motivated by faith. Thus, their attitude functions as the best ecological protection system possible, one implemented on a strict, continuous, and long-term basis.

Similarly, in some Indigenous cultures, nature is believed to possess a superpower. Some groups, such as the Anishinaabe people, have the tradition of exchanging tobacco with nature before taking items from it (Schuler, 2017), or have legends of monsters in nature, such as the Windigo, working

against humans' insidious greedy (Kimmerer, 2013). In Timothy's (2013) words, "There are thousands of examples, such as, these" (p.37). Similarly, he shed light on the sanctified natural the environment in some religions, which stimulated believers to venerate nature (2013). He presented, even contested, multiple perspectives on this and emphasized that these are religiously specified traits. He further described how, worldwide, mountains, caves and grottos, rivers, and forest have often been protected because of religious considerations. Clearly, pilgrimages fulfill religious requirements, and also are a process for connecting with Mother Earth, which is particularly evident in India, Nepal, and Tibet. This fact raises the following questions: for non-Indigenous societies, what would happen if certain mountains around us were believed to be imbued with special powers? Would such empowered mountains remind people of the limitations of humans? Would what we could learn as humans about building a harmonious relationship with such mountains be a catalyst for a new perspective extending to our interactions with all other non-human beings?

Four, the broad view/definition of knowledge encourages me to pay close attention to the participants' local and oral stories. Most scholars consider only written texts or accumulated facts as knowledge (Peters & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). Conversely, many scholars involved in Indigenous studies have extended understanding of knowledge to "ways of living and understanding the world" (Peters & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012, p.77; Smith, 2015), such as oral legacies, dreams, ceremonies, rituals or beliefs (See Section 2.2). Specifically, following this broad understanding and definition of Indigenous knowledge has allowed me to consider many innovative insights that have captured my attention, allowing me to discover Tibetan culture's beauty, as exemplified in the above story. Many of these traditions have been passed down through oral stories. Dorje and several other participants shared that they were not confident that what they gained during the above pilgrimage to local deity mountains could be described as knowledge. Dorje said that he was just a normal person, and felt he did not have extensive or unique knowledge.
He suggested that I interview university professors instead. I explained to him that Tibetan knowledge was not limited to that which is recorded in books, but also encompasses how ordinary Tibetans live their life. The discussion above on building harmonious relationships with nearby mountains only revealed one of the many wisdoms embodied in such rituals. Clearly, through extending the definition of knowledge, researchers can continuously challenge the "legitimacy" of mainstream knowledge, opening up spaces for Indigenous knowledge and wisdom. The above narrative aligns with Chilisa's (2012) argument: "Imagine that in the lived experiences, oral traditions, language, metaphorical

sayings, and proverbs of the communities that you research are concepts and theoretical frameworks that can inform the research process" (p. 32).

5.7 Jigme, Chimy Dolkar, and Phurbu Tashi's pilgrimage to Mt. Chomolungma—A popular touristic destination for locals

5.7.1 The rationale of selection

Rationale: This re-storying represents how Tibetans visit the same destination differently from non-Tibetan travelers with nonreligious purposes and how certain places were used to test and reconfirm Tibetans' dedication to kindness. The latter was shared by other participants about various places.

Whose voices: The following story was based on Jigme, Chimy Dolkar, and Phurbu Tashi's first pilgrimage to Mt. Chomolungma and on Phurbu Dandul's impressions of Mt. Jiawula from his trip to Qudang. Mt. Jiawula is a must-climb mountain for visitors of Mt. Chomolungma and Qudang. Jigme's original story focused on his pride toward his hometown and his visits of two caves; it was his proudest trip. Phurbu Tashi's original story addressed the sunset clouds of Mt. Chomolungma. Chimy Dolkar did not share about a trip to Mt. Chomolungma but elaborated on how the dark cave there inspired and motivated her dedication to kindness.

5.7.2 A popular touristic destination for locals

For many outsiders, "Zhu Feng" [the Chinese name for Mt. Everest]*, the highest peak in the world, is a famous tourist destination and a summit for climbers. We Tibetans call it Chomolungma (ཇོ་མོ་གླང་མ), meaning "Holy Mother Peak." Some pilgrims or yogis meditate there, including a famous siddha, Milarepa. The mountain is located in Tingri County; thus, we Tingri people can be called the sons and daughters of Mt. Chomolungma. I grew up in Tingri and always heard people talking about the mountain and how many tourists come here to visit it. For many reasons, especially financial ones, I never had the chance to visit it until 2011, when I was 27 years old. At the end of another hardworking year, we had a free time. A friend asked： why don't we use our break to visit Chomolungma? Five of us joined instantly and rented a car because we were all truck drivers and did not have a smaller car. During the two-day trip, we visited Mt. Chomolungma and a hot spring and circulated Mt. Ziburi.*

We left at 6 a.m. and started climbing Mt. Jiawula when it was still deep dark. The uphill and downhill roads at Mt. Jiawula were twisted like snakes. I calculated the turns with a Buddhist necklace. When the car turned, I moved a bead. The circle of the necklace had 108 beads. This mountain had 112 turns, uphill and downhill, based on my calculations. As we arrived at the mountain pass, a magnificent view appeared—the Himalayan mountain range was in front of us. A line of mountains was covered by snow, which made them stand out from the rest of the mountains. Mt. Chomolungma was in the middle of the white snowy line and was the most attractive one because of its superior height and large size. As we looked downward, it was covered by fog. It seemed that we were above the clouds, and only the mountains above the clouds were viewable. We were extremely excited!

Figure 25 A view of the Himalaya range from Mt. Jiawula

Photo credit: Phurbu Dandul

We arrived at the base camp of Mt. Chomolungma at noon. We were in awe of its huge size. I suddenly knew why many tourists overcame mountain sickness to come here. The mountain was a

magic creature of nature. I felt strong pride for my hometown and a great pity that I was only able to visit this great mountain when I was 27. It was good to know that some Tingri people were conducting tourism business there by renting tents and yaks.

We visited Shang Rongbu Temple, which was basically only a small room. Only one monk, Ebu Sangjie, lived there. We admired him for his dedication to practicing Buddhism at such a high-altitude place. He was older than us, but he walked faster than us. A tunnel at a corner of the room connected to a cave downward. The monk led our way and used a flashlight to light us. He explained to us that the cave was a narrow meditation cave of Milarepa, formed in between huge stones. He showed us where Milarepa sat. There was a footprint on the lower side of a stone, evidence of Milarepa's long sitting there. A print of one pigeon was on the upper side of the same stone. What harmony that humans and animals could live together! I felt guilty about eating animals. I never ate pigeon meat after visiting this cave. I knelt down and touched the footprint and the pigeon print with my forehead. The stone was cold, and I felt a spiritual connection with Milarepa and the pigeon.

Ebu Sangjie guided us to another cave, hundreds of meters away from the temple. The cave was absolutely dark, like hell is. Before our entrance, he introduced to us the structure of the cave: a huge stone was in the middle of the cave; The few steps beside the stone were walkable, but beyond these steps was a sheer valley with an invisible stream deep down there. We needed to be very careful inside and try to walk as close to the stone as possible. Legends said that, after death, everyone would encounter a path like this one. Thus, walking on such a path will make one familiarize with the process after death. This cave could also test the kindness of a person. A kindhearted person would circulate the stone safely, whereas an ill-hearted person would have a high chance of falling down to the invisible stream deep below. I was nervous because it was absolutely dark and I felt like a blind person. Meanwhile, I felt a bit relaxed because I had been a kindhearted person in life.

We needed to step down to enter it, but it was a steep stone, as high as my head. I started to be extremely nervous at this entrance. My heart was beating fast. I told myself that this cave was much better than the path to hell because I had friends around now; I would need to face this path by myself after my death. I finally managed to enter the cave with a friend below holding my legs and another above holding my arms. There was ice at the bottom part of the stone. We were told to eat a piece of that ice, which could purify our soul. We followed Ebu Sangjie closely, holding the stone tightly, and walking after making sure there was a solid step ahead. The nervous mood was replaced by focusing on each step carefully. The flashlight seemed useless because we could not see anyone

beyond the light. Everything was absolutely dark. It took half an hour to complete a circle. As we left the cave, I felt like a blind person suddenly gaining sight. It was so great to be "back to life," to view the things that we had taken for granted. I did not know when I gained a peaceful mind; maybe when I was focusing on walking or when I saw the light again. I felt extremely peaceful, grateful, and dedicated to being a kind person in life.

We stayed near the base camp and waited for the sunset. As the sun was sinking, its shine shrank gradually. Around half an hour later, all other peaks turned dark, and only the peak of Mt. Chomolungma shone with pink. Its absolute height allowed it to hold this special moment longer than other peaks. It was beautiful and special. Mt. Chomolungma at that moment seemed like a light offered in front of Buddha. I kept that moment in my mind all the time.

We visited a hot spring and drove around part of Mt. Ziburi the next day.

On my way back, I felt great felicity.

5.7.3 Re-articulation of the territorial

The stories narrated by participants were novel even to me, someone who had worked in the tourism bureau there for nearly three years, visited Mt. Chomolungma many times, and created related marketing materials. The novelties embedded include that:

- Participants felt proud that Mt. Chomolungma is located in their hometown.
- Buddhism influenced daily practices, for instance, using a Buddhist necklace as a counting tool, viewing humans and animals equally, viewing sunset at Mt. Chomolungma metaphorically as a Buddhist light, or viewing the scenary in between the praying flags.
- In addition to visiting the sky burial sites, Tibetans also visited the dark cave described above to advance their search for the meaning of life.
- Among the actual changes prompted by the trip were that they never ate pigeon meat after visiting the cave, and they dedicated themselves to being kinder persons in life.
- Half of their narrated stories involved Buddhist related themes, whereas most non-Tibetan visitors might only be impressed by the mountain itself.

These novelties were best presented in the recounted story. I next discuss how amplifying the travel experiences of local Tibetans through the story above responds to the call to

address “localhood” by Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019) and to reterritorialize Indigenous lands by Buzinde (2019).

Hazbun (2006) argued that both deterritorialisation and reterritorialistion exist and are continuously evolving throughout the globalization process. Deterritorialisation refers to a decontexturalization process in which either distance, or a nation’s borders, are easy to cross-over and, in turn, neither production systems nor consumer markets are attached to one specific region. The result is homogenized spaces and places. As a response, reterritorialization addresses social actors’ responses towards deterriotrialisation and contextualized ideas. The re-articulation of their territory by Indigenous people is one critical part countering the wash of globalization (Buzinde, 2019). Such re-articulation draws from Indigenous knowledge to navigate local communities through structural dilemmas, with the result of benefiting local communities and their peoples’ wellbeing, rather than capital investors or other outsiders. Similar necessities were proposed by Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019) to address the catastrophe brought by neoliberal capitalism, as they proclaimed that: “tourism must be redefined and redesigned to acknowledge, prioritize, and place the rights of local communities above the rights of tourists for holidays and the rights of tourism corporates to make profits” (p. 1927).

Media has overwhelmingly articulated Tibet to be a tourist’s haven. Sadly, such a heaven is indeed from a tourist perspective only. Tibetan culture has been used by marketing forces (private or government) to captivate and capture tourists’ imagination, which fuels further tourism development there (Wu, 2012). A major goal throughout my thesis was to present the new articulation of Tibet as diverse *neikour* and *yukour* places for local Tibetans, a local perspective that has not been paid attention to or discussed. Tibetan tourists are actively traveling, making connections, and interacting with their land and their culture, as my research addresses. On one hand, the story above demonstrates how participants interpreted tourism as a source of pride for their homeland and, as such, was a desirable pursuit, although participants’ ability to travel to places such as Mt. Chomolungma were often limited by financial restrictions. On the other hand, participants followed traditional knowledge by visiting religious sites, such as the temple and the two caves, connecting with ancient great Buddhist Masters to readjust their daily conduct. Such trips reaffirmed their confidence with traditional knowledge.

Specifically, in the above trip to Mt. Chomolungma, Tibetan participants merely mentioned their interpretations or perceptions of tourists three times:

- "*For many outsiders, 'Zhu Feng', the highest peak in the world, is a famous tourist destination and a summit for climbers. We Tibetans call it Chomolungma, meaning "Holy Mother Peak.*"
- "*I grew up in Tingri and always heard people talking about the mountain and how many tourists come here to visit it*".
- "*We were in awe of its huge size. I suddenly knew why many tourists overcame mountain sickness to come here. The mountain was a magic creature of nature. I felt strong pride for my hometown and a great pity that I was only able to visit this great mountain when I was 27.*"

The first verbatim quotation indicates how the participants instantly differentiated between how the tourists and they themselves refer to the same mountain. Regardless of what the mountain was called by outsiders, their own naming and closeness to the mountain (Holy Mother) does not change. The second quote denotes that they were aware of the visiting of outsiders. The third one reveals their hometown pride, intensified, but did not depend on, the positive comments of outsiders. They just briefly referenced the fact that there were "many tourists" but did not go into detail on whether they encountered some, nor did they comment on tourists' behaviours.

Instead of intense resistance to outsiders at the site of Mt. Chomolungma, Tibetan participants revealed a tolerant view towards both traditional knowledge of Buddhism and modern tourism. This attitude might be related to Buddhism's teaching on tolerance, or the fact that their own activities at the site were not interrupted by tourists. Both groups shared the base camp site for viewing the scenery, and local Tibetans went on to religious sites that were seldom visited by tourists. However, they did feel hurt about tourists' misconduct at religious sites, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Smith (2013) advised scholars to add a layer of complexity by exploring beyond the version of a story that is specifically promulgated for selling to tourists, or is focused solely on tragedy and oppression, and also engage with narratives of strength and resilience. The above story is one of many versions from the local perspective included to inform readers of this thesis: Tourists are travelling on the land of Tibetans, and this story highlights what the land means to local Tibetans.

5.8 Chompel and Tsering's work and tourism trip—A lush garden of Tibet

5.8.1 The rationale of selection

Rationales: The following story sheds light on both travelling work experience and Tibetans' favourable feelings towards nature.

As shown in the demographic of all my participants, some participants worked in the construction industry, or held various temporary positions somewhere. Notably, 9 of the trips shared included participants taking advantage of the location of their work by arranging personal travel to nearby sites during their off time. For example, Drolma trained in Lhasa for one month, during which she visited nearby monasteries over her weekends. In contrast, 17 trips were naturally arising travel opportunities throughout the normal course of their work, consisting of scattered moments of relaxation or sightseeing which overlapped with their work responsibilities, as unpacked in the story below.

Moreover, participants expressed intense affect in response to natural beauty. Among the 22 tourism (*yukour*) trips within Tibet, 14 are about enjoying a *linka* or lush environment at valleys, such as Nyingchi. The following story is about part of Nyingchi.

Whose voices: Chompel shared another work trip with me, in which he again had to make a period of waiting his holidays. Tsering shared three work-related trips. According to Chompel, the change of scenery and relaxing activities accompanying this work greatly rejuvenated him and his ability to continue his work.

5.8.2 A lush garden of Tibet

I went to Motok for a construction job in 2012. The Motok county was the last county without car access in China, a situation which was improved in 2016. In 2012, it was seasonally accessible by car. I drove from Tingri County to Nyingchi City over three days, and another three days from Nyingchi City to Motok County. The latter was extremely dangerous. My truck was 2.2 meters wide and the road was 2.3 meters wide. Sometime, part of my tires were beyond the road edge. I had never driven on such a risky road before, but I had to keep going. Another stress came from the condition of my truck; it was an old truck, so I was nervous about it breaking down. I prayed. Buddhism teaching repetitively teaches us believers to be kind to all the living being. I had always tried to be a kind person in my life to that point. I was reassured that Buddha would bless me to pass through that

challenging situation when I reviewed my past behavior. Praying filled me with the courage to keep driving. Praying turned out to be helpful. My old truck did not break down on the road.

My speed was slow as the truck was fully loaded with machines and steel. I and another two workers slept under the truck bed at night. I was worried about rain while lying down there. We would get damp with any drop of rain. Honestly, I was exhausted from driving along such a dangerous road. I regretted that I had found such a difficult job. Our destination, Beibeng Village, was beyond the county township. But we had to stay in Motok County for one week because the road ahead was blocked by a mudflow. We had no other choice but made the one-week waiting period our holidays.

I went out to enjoy and explore the scenery in Motok County. My hometown—Tingri—has almost no trees. It was my first time to see in person crops of corn, rice, tea; large bamboo; and stone pots. I did not think any other place within Tibet was growing rice crops. There were many snakes on our way. It was also the first time in my life to see snakes in person. Most of them were dark, about 1 meter in length. I was nervous, but also excited. It had been so tough making my way to that place. As I saw these novel plants and animals, I felt the difficulties were rewarding. Contrasting with my anxiety on the road, I now appreciated this work opportunity. Without this job, I would have been less likely to visit a place like this just for pure relaxation.

After one-week's rest, we felt rejuvenated and continued on to the Beibeng Village. The road there was even worse than the one to Metok County. It was raining most of the days. The road was slippery and hard to drive on. After the rain, many animals came out, especially leeches. Even with our bodies fully covered by clothes, the leeches still found a way to reach our skin and suck blood. When I got up, I was scared because one leech was sucking my blood. I removed it immediately. However, I was wrong. Some local workers advised me to wait for the leech to fall off automatically after it sucked enough blood; otherwise, its lips would stay in my body. They were right. Since I had pulled it off by force, my leg swelled and stayed that way for three days. It was a novelty place, but too much novelty for me. I became stressed, particular at the very beginning.

Figure 26 Chompel, sightseeing in Metok

Photo Credit: Chompel

Due to the rain, we had to arrange the construction flexibly. For instance, if it was raining in the morning and stopped at noon, we then worked in the afternoon and night. But there was too much rain, we were not actually able to work too much and had some relaxing times via socializing with the local people who were from the Luoba ethnic group. We did not speak the same language, so we could only communicate via Mandarin. But their customs were similar to our Tibetan ones. As time went by, I got used to the life in Beibeng.

Figure 27 Pasang, enjoying the scenery in the grasslands while herding yaks

Photo Credit: Pasang

Finally, after three months' work, we finished our construction in November. The snow was so heavy, I had to leave my truck around the place designated 80K. Other workers and I walked for around five hours to reach a place that was accessible by car. I was very happy because I got my wages. Another co-worker from Nyingchi City suggested that I visit this region. I agreed because I could afford a short tour with my pay, and I did not think I would have any non-work-related opportunities to visit this region later.

I spent three days there and visited a glacier, a lake, and a temple by the lake. The local people there were Tibetans, but our dialects were different. We could not communicate via the Lhasa-Shigatse Tibetan dialect that I spoke. I felt we were connected, however, when I saw the temple, which was built on the cliff of a mountain, similar to some temples in my hometown. Our traditional Tibetan construction skills were no joke! It was small. Three nuns were dedicated to practicing

Buddhism there. Not too much space and material was needed. I prayed in front of Buddha. I was grateful for Buddha's blessing during such a dangerous trip.

I do not think that travel for pure relaxation has been a choice in my life. I do make myself available for neikour, rather than yukour. While looking at my travel experience at Motok, I don't think my experience was significantly different from that of other tourists.

It was a relaxing experience for me, and I had many opportunities to communicate with the local people there. The Motok experience was similar to my other work experiences at various construction sites. I do not have the same travel conditions, either financial or time, as other tourists, but the unexpected challenges and opportunities can sometime be used for eye opening and relaxation as well. So yukour is more about the status of mood.

The trip to Metok was the most dangerous and hardest trip in my life.

5.8.3 Traveling workers as tourists

Tibetan word y*ukour* can be referred to both leisure and tourism. To focus on the discussion of tourism and work, I will not distinguish between leisure and tourism in my study because participants classified these experiences as *yukour*. Although work-related and tourism-oriented activities are common, only a few studies focused on the interaction between work and tourism because "tourism and work are usually perceived as two contradicting fields of human activity" (Uriely, 2001, p.1). Tourism is occasionally defined as "not work" (Graburn, 1989). Uriely (2001) then classified four different types of travelers who combined work with tourism purposes: "travelling professional workers"; "migrant tourism workers"; "non-institutionalised working tourists"; and "working-holiday tourists". The first two was referred to as "travelling workers" because of their work-orientation; and the latter two as "working tourists" for their tourist-orientation. Travelling professional workers, a similar concept to Cohen (1974) termed "work-oriented travelers", refers to those who combine business and pleasure, with work as the primary purpose of the trip and tourism as a by-product. They are normally "career oriented, highly skilled and well rewarded" in professions such as "members of academic and diplomatic staff, air attendants, tourist guides, mercenaries and professional athletes" (Uriely, 2001, p.3). The second work-oriented group, "migrant tourism workers" are mainly seasonal workers at popular tourist destinations (Uriely, 2001). Migrant tourism workers differ from travelling professional workers in lower skill requirements and accordingly lower and less secure work. Migrant tourism workers differ from conventional migrants in the way that travelling opportunities function as

incentives for them to choose the work, with some of them even purposely working at various destinations to meet their tourist-related pursuits.

Both types of "travelling workers", traveling professional and migrant tourism, are not directly aligned with the documentation in the above narratives. Participants did not choose the work because of potential traveling opportunities. These occasional tourism opportunities were obtained after starting work or they took a touristic attitude during work. Two reasons might contribute to the difference between the above story and travelling workers in the literature: participants' financial status and their relaxing moods. They drove to workplaces that could provide work opportunities, as reflected in Chompel' story that he had to continue his driving even when the road conditions proved to be dangerous. In addition, relaxing refreshed them and helped them discover the beauty on-site. Pasang worked looking after others' herds, a job that includes following the herds, milking, and picking up yak droppings. This work sounds hard, but as is shown in the picture, he managed to find pockets of free time during his workday to enjoy the view of endless grasslands and sunshine with his wife who was also his co-worker. Therefore, the above narrative supplements Uriely's (2001) catergories of "travelling workers" by adding the people who were not movitated by traveling opportunities and yet adopted "touristic" moods alongside their work.

Postmodernist scholars argued for the blurring of boundaries between everyday life and travel experience (Uriely, 2005), noting that the enjoyment and pleasure of tourism are available in daily life. A person could visually 'travel around' the world via on-line browsing such as with maps or mass media. Additionally, the increase in available attractions in a broader range of locations, such as theme parks and shopping malls, as well as the accessibility of global products through local retailers or online stores both allow people to experience some appealing aspects of taking a trip without having to travel far from home. The boundaries between work and tourism could even more blurred if researchers considered psychological factors like those highlighted above. Engaging in part of their work with a relaxing mood and considering themselves tourists is one of the special charactertistics that becomes evident from looking at the participants' experiences.

5.9 Chapter summary

To answer the research question regarding how Tibetan travellers narrate their travel experiences, this chapter has elaborated upon Tibetan travel experiences, both *yukour* and *neikour*, while adding their

travel knowledge as alternative stream of knowledge while acknowledging the onto-epistemology that differs from those of non-Tibetans. Table 4 shows the wide range of topics discussed in this chapter. Eight narratives were composed, largely based on verbatim quotations, to highlight the narrative environment that informs and shapes participants' behaviour, and to outline some characteristics of Tibetan travellers (shown in the first two columns in Table 4). Following each narrative, I connected participants' experiences to Tibetan knowledge recorded in books. Clearly, interpretations of their experiences are based on important Tibetan teachings and ways of knowing, which were shared by participants or introduced in Tibetan literature, rather than on existing western frameworks.

Moreover, following Hollinshead's (2012) suggestion of cultivating dialogic space between Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge, I have engaged in dialogue with multiple existing literatures, including decolonial studies, dark tourism, posthumanism, eudaimonia experiences, Indigenous knowledge, and travelling workers. Potential working directions for future research are included (shown in the last two columns in Table 4). Rather than asserting aconfirming tone, this chapter serves as a modest opening for the purpose of inviting more studies to broaden our understanding of tourism and pilgrimage via centering on Indigenous voices, like the Tibetan one.

Decolonization (Section 2.1) and critical tourism studies (Section 2.2) sets the stage and tone of my thesis, continuously engaging with and unsettling knowledge production, leveraging greater equity in terms of values placed on different knowledge, and constructing knowledge about Indigenous people in a more equitable and participatory way. Specifically, I reviewed and reflected on participants' narratives through the lens of knowledge production. As explained in Section 1.3, most literature involved in Chapter 5 was not predetermined, but included on the basis of specific contextual and cultural value. This representation is a response to decolonizing thinking to avoid imposing western frameworks or concepts into Indigenous contexts. Moreover, a united thread that continuously emerged from the multiple dialogues with existing literature is the apparent inapplicability of western frameworks and theories to a Tibetan context, due to ontological or societal-background differences, such as different perceptions towards deaths, and human-nature relationships. Clearly, these inapplicable or unfitting issues support the argument of decolonization and that researchers should "be more open to the world views of 'other'." Thinking through the lens of decolonization that privileges Indigenous voices, I am able to identify strengths and trust the capability of participants.

Another notable issue across these eight narratives is the representation in narrative form based on large numbers of participants' verbatim quotations, a practice which centers on the participants'

voices and legitimizes their lived experience as a source of knowledge. Their subjective feelings were well captured in these narratives. Readers can benefit from the feeling of 'direct communication' with participants and, through the analysis of the captured emotions of participants, reflect on their own. I listed some highlights and unpacked key points in detail following each compiled stories. However, different take away points or reflective conclusions could be drawn by individual readers. Considering these advantages, narrative inquiry is clearly a suitable methodology for religious studies or Indigneous studies to consider.

Table 4 Summary of discussions in Chapter 5

Story	Reflected narrative environment	Contour profile of Tibetan travellers	Dialoguing with existing literature	Suggestions for future research
1	• Cleansing, • Samsara, • Death	• Strongly believed in long-held traditions • Visualization in the deity lake • Cleansing sins	• Myths signal onto-epistemological differences • Parallel lenses enable researchers to identify strengths &capability of participants • Societal differences that inform	• Be cautious of applying western theories in non-western or Indigenous contexts, which might result in the misapplication of over-generalized concepts.
2	• Death, • Impermanence • Bodhicitta	• Connect impermanence with viewing sceneries as temporality and subjectivity • Reflecting on whether be a kind person as the "tool" to navigate uncertainties during trips as well as in life.	• The current literature on dark tourism is heavily based on Western society in which death is a paradox, both a forbidden topic but also a popular spectacle; and • It sheds light on dark tourists' thinking, rather than management perspectives.	• Can attractions be managed to trigger visitors' exploration of the meaning of life? • Is it necessary for future studies to review not only dark tourism literature, but also specific societies understanding and perceptions towards death?

3	• Compassion for human and non-human beings	• Cared for non-human living beings throughout their trips • Preference of not having fish as food, or fresh killing • Preserve the lives of other living beings	• Echos Posthumanism in creating different ways of living that are less human-centric • Tourism could construct or distort animal identities.	• It has seldom been explored, especially in how Buddhism may open space for posthumanism, in tourism literature. • Future studies could shine a light on how Buddhist equality views shape or decrease tourists' animal consumption
4	• Focusing on spiritual pursuits	• Motivated to cleanse their souls, ponder the meaning of life, reflect on daily behaviours, and connect to the sacred Buddhist Master. • Activities involved are not related to securing pleasures or comforts for oneself • Logistics of the trip was purely based on non-commercial activities	• Support a set of tourism qualities that explore narrative meaning-making and eudaimonia. • De-linking from consumption in at least three ways. • Inconsistent with current literature on pilgrimages and eudaimonic experience.	• Assess the portion of eudaimonic and hedonic experiences described in current tourism literature; and • Exploring the potential role of eudaimonia in delinking from consumption-oriented tourism.
5	• Tibetan wisdom • Tangible and intangible heritages	• A proud moment •Pilgrimage to connect with Tibetan ancestors	•Re-articulation of the territorial •Introduce the beauty of Indigenous knowledge	•None
6	• Local sites are as important as famous one	•Local sacred sites are approachable sites for awaken spirituality	•Sanctificiaiton of nature contributes to rethinking relationships between humans and nature •Board view of knowledge opens for more discovery	•None

7	Test & reconfirm dedication to kindness	•Same destination, different experience •Homeland for Tibetans	•Address “localhood” Reterritorialize Indigenous lands	•None
8	Favourable feelings towards nature	•Adopted “touristic” moods alongside work	•Traveling workers as tourists •Blurring boundaries between life and travel	•None

Chapter 6 Welcomed tourists' behaviours

My first research question responds to concerns raised by my participants on an issue they cared about, document a code of conduct for tourist behaviour. I first explain why this issue was selected before introducing it in detail. I then move on to the necessity of having such codes, drawing on existing literature, followed with a brief plan for disseminating such codes through non-academic channels.

6.1 Participants' request that a code of tourist conduct be created and disseminated

As proposed by many scholars involved in Indigenous studies, it is important for researchers to prioritize community benefits from their research (Chilisa, 2012; Higgins-Desboilles & Whyte, 2013; Holmes et al., 2016; Pedri-Spade, 2016; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). Among the strategies for doing so is engaging with Indigenous participants to determine research questions that resonate with them. In my fieldwork, I asked Tibetan participants what travel- and tourism-related issues they would consider important for further discussion. This discussion focused on whether they would like me to try to bring their voices into academic tourism studies circles or would like me to discuss their issues with more Tibetan participants to learn whether they shared similar concerns. After interviewing several participants, I decided to select generational differences in pilgrimage behaviours as one of my research questions. However, at the end of my fieldwork, I switched to working on codes of conduct that highlighted welcomed tourists' behaviours.

When asked what tourist behaviours influenced participants' own travel, they listed many good examples, such as donating clothes, food, and books to local people; helping local farmers to sell their products; collecting trash on their trip; following local rules and rituals; and showing familiarity with Tibetan culture. All participants also shared their concerns about inappropriate tourist behaviours. "*Nowadays, there are more and more tourists, but I think there are more and more tourists who don't know about tourism and about respecting local culture.*" This comment was made by Phurbu Dandul, and was reinforced by Nyima Tsering who made a nearly identical comment during our discussions. These two participants, who did not know each other, shared virtually the same sentiments within their two separate interviews. I was surprised by this overlap, a coincidence, which demonstrated Tibetan's concerns about tourists' behavior in their country.

At first, I sensed it was an important topic for future research because my research was designed to focus on Tibetans' own travel knowledge, rather than appropriate behaviour codes for tourists visiting Tibet. I thus considered that their concern was not relevant to my research. Meanwhile, from a conventional research perspective, I knew another graduate student—from my department had worked on the same topic in a Canadian context (see Holmes et al., 2016). If I chose it as my research question, I would repeat her work but with a less innovative contribution to the literature. However, participants in two 'group' interviews asked me to disseminate their concerns to tourists visiting Tibet. The audio recording of the first group was accidently missed (as explained in Section 3.5). During the interview of the second group, one participant pointed directly on my notebook and said: "*Have you written it down? You really should help us to advertise these concerns. We cannot blame those visitors since they don't know about our religion. But if two parties quarrel over these concerns, it could exacerbate conflicts between two ethnic groups.*" I made detailed notes as an on-spot response, but his words shed light for me while I was transcribing the interview audio and reading them several times. I then decided to include respectful tourist behaviours as a response to my first research question. However, the second group who addressed this issue included my last participant, the 35th, a point at which I had decided to stop interviewing any new participants due to the large amount of rich and insightful information I already had. I then summarized their concerns, re-connected with most participants to check the accuracy and to collect their suggestions on how to dissimilate such a code via non-academic circles.

Table 6 documents commonly reported behaviours, both appropriate and inappropriate. Notably, participants not only reported these behaviours, but also informed me about religious reasons of doing or not doing certain things. In total, 11 items/things were listed. Five were related to Buddhist items, such as prayer flags or mani stones. Four were related to photography, which suggested that taking photos, a common practice for tourists, may easily conflict with local customs if not done appropriately and had in fact become an issue concern to local Tibetans. Other concerns included garbage pollution and hitchhiking.

Tibetan Buddhism is a unique branch of Buddhism, with a set of quite special practices. Items such prayer flags or mani stones are among its unique features. Even Buddhists who follow other branches might make mistakes without realizing it. I had lived and worked there for two and half years, but some of the features were new to me, such as not stepping into deity lakes. Many non-Tibetans, like me, would normally step into a sea or lake just as we would outside of Tibet. However, as shown in

narratives in Chapter 5, such as Story 3, 4 or 6, deity landscapes, such as mountains and lakes, must be respected. For another instance, Story 2 introduced the Tibetan belief in rebirth and reincarnation and emphasized good deeds leading to better reincarnation. Informed by such belief, Tibetans normally do not ask for compensation from a driver at fault in an accident. Compensation is believed to create an enormous burden for the default driver. One phenomenon that many Tibetans (pariticipants and non-participants I encountered from my fieldwork) talked about is that non-Tibetans ask for a large amount of compensation, which is in conflict with their belief so that some of them were not willing to get involved with non-Tibetan hitchhikers. Clearly, these differences come from two different belief or ontological backgrounds. They can raise conflict if not dealt with well.

6.2 Codes for Welcomed tourists' behaviours

The following codes were composed based on the concerns that participants shared with me. The words in italics were the original words of participants.

Most Tibetans are dedicated Buddhists. We are aware of that visitors to Tibet might experience High Altitude Sickness, language barriers, and different culture. We welcome any visitors, both Buddhists and non-Buddhists, who are interested in and respect our cultural and religious practices. Even though a few simple words cannot explain the true meaning of Buddhism, some fundamental principles include, but are not limited to: the mind of bodhicitta – the great compassion and the great love; accumulations of merits; not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of (all) the Awakened Ones; the law of cause and effect; and vicissitudes of life in cyclic existence. It is always better to learn about this land before stepping on to it. The following is a brief list of inappropriate behaviors that might conflict with our faith, make us angry, or hurt us:

Table 5 Codes of Conduct for Tourist Behaviour in Tibet, as described by participants

Forms of Misconduct	Items	Appropriate Behaviour
Print out on cards, T-shirts, beds, tattoos, even shoes.	Buddha images	*Buddha is the highest and most holly status in Buddhist world. Thus, as his follower, we demonstrate our most venerated respects to Buddha and his associates, such as images. We print out Buddha' image and carefully put them on clean and high places for worship. We never print it on any inappropriate context, such as cloth or beds. We never put Buddha related stuff, such as prayer beads, below our waist, to show our respect. Thus, if we see someone wearing Buddha images on shoes, we are extremely hurt.*
Cross over or step on Lungta while taking photos	Prayer flags / Wind-horse/Lungta	*For you, they are colorful flags that attract your eyes for photo taking (we understand such curiosity); For us, they are carrying devoted prayers. We call it, 'Lungta', literately meaning "Wind-horse". Divinity sutras have been printed on them. We hang them up on high mountains or near clean water to pray for good luck. If you have to go cross the flags, lift them up and walk under/below them, rather than cross over/above them.*
Step on or sit on Mani stone piles	Mani stone piles	Mani stones are named because the stones are engraved with the six-syllable prayer word "om mani padme hum". We pile them up in mountain-passes and on river banks.
Climb or step on pagodas	Buddhist Pagodas	There are many pagodas that contain deity materials, such as relics or sutras; thus, *we worship and circle pagodas*.
Laugh, surprise.	Elements that you cannot understand.	Some religious elements, including images, status, words, or behaviors, *might beyond your understanding. Please pay attention to how the locals respond to them and do not laugh at or surprised about them. Maybe try to search for the actual meanings of these elements*.

Shoot photos even at temples where such activities are forbidden.	Photographing in the temple	*Some temples allow for photo shooting inside of the temple/hall; however, many temples do not allow photo shooting inside for either religious or protection reasons. Therefore, check carefully, particular at the entrance of the building or by Buddha statues, for any specific regulation. Follow any signs, such as "no photographs allowed".*
Take photo with Buddha statues with postures, such as hand in hand, or shoulder by shoulder	Photographing someone with Buddha statues	*Buddha holds the highest position, whereas we humans are in a lower position than him. Obviously, it is inappropriate to have any posture that indicates parallel status with Buddha. You are suggested to not take photos with Buddha statues.* Buddhism believes that all sentient beings carry Buddhist seeds, a metaphor which suggests everyone has the potential to be fully enlightened—become a Buddha—the ultimate goal. Please respect Buddha statues.
Take photo or video of the site or the ritual, and even upload them online.	Photographing at the sky burial sites	*As part of Buddhism teaching, we encourage people to visit the sky burial sites to get the direct view of how we people come to the world with a bare body and leave the world with bare body as well. You are allowed to visit these sites and sometime might encounter some rituals; however, you should respect the dead bodies and families and no photographs or videos are allowed, not to mention uploading such files to the Internet.*
Give local people 5 or 10 Yuan, or none, and take photo directly even when the people act shy, turning their faces away, or covering them.	Photographing at people	*How would you feel if someone took photos of you and uploaded them online? It would be better to ask for permission of anyone involved, get their permission, and inform them about how these photos will be used and disseminated. If they do not give permission, do not take photos.*
Throw away garbage anywhere	Garbage	*We only have one mother earth* who has generously supported our human development; thus, it is our responsibility to keep it clean. You are enjoying the magnificent scenery, so please *save the same view for OUR kids. No tourists are allowed to visit Mt. Everest Base Camp anymore since 2019 due to pollution concerns. Look at this, who threw trashes there? What a pity!* The Only Cure for Litter is YOU!
Complaints	Hitchhike	*Be grateful even if drivers can drive you for only a short distance. Be aware of potential risks involved, such as accidents.*

6.3 Necessity of documenting community-determined codes of conduct

The necessity of documenting and informing tourists about codes of conduct comes from three main considerations: the respect due to religious sites, the abundance of religious sites across Tibet, and the need to gain some degree of local autonomy in tourism management.

6.3.1 Respecting religious sites

Government and tourism officials increasingly promote religious sites or destinations to spur tourist visits, thereby greatly boosting the number of diverse visitors, regardless of their motivations or religious affiliation (Olsen, 2019). Blending religious and tourist spaces has been an ongoing challenge for many religious sites. "Religious heritage tourists" visiting religious sites for educational and leisure purposes might lack sufficient knowledge of the appropriate behaviour for such sites, causing conflicts with religious tourists (Olsen & Timothy, 2006). As a result, the mixture of religious and recreational visitors has led to great management pressure to mitigate any potential conflicts among these two groups of visitors, as well as between one religious group and others (Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Timothy & Conover, 2006). Timothy and Conover (2006) reported conflicts between New Age believers and Native Americans because both hold different beliefs about the same sites. With the flocks of tourists, it might be challenging for some religious sites to maintain a spiritual nature (Yang et al., 2019) because the impression of sanctity tends to disappear with crowds and commercial enterprises. In fact, balancing sanctity and commercialization of religious sites has been a main area of religious tourism studies.

In addition to religious concerns, dark spots such as the sky burial sites are also problematic places for mere tourists to visit. Wright and Sharpley (2018) drew attention to a local community's perceptions when dark tourism took place. They were sensitive about and fragile in the face of the outsiders' activities because of their emotional connections with their deceased loved one. Respecting the deceased person had been identified as an important rule for visitors. In Wang et al.'s (2020) study, local villagers expressed welcomed visitors because most visitors to the site of interest respected and worshiped their deceased family members. The visitors' response reflected well on their understanding of the site and motivated their subsequent behavior. Similarly, participants shared their specific restriction of no photography allowed at the burial sites.

Accordingly, educating non-religious visitors on the meanings behind the sacred sites has been widely proposed to help those involved move from conflicts to solutions (Olsen & Timothy, 2006).

Wang (2016) emphasized educating non-Tibetan visitors on respecting deitymountains and lakes as a way of respecting local Tibetan culture so as to avoid conflicts between ethnic groups. However, few studies have explored in detail how to achieve this educational purpose, what educational content to include, and whose voices should be heard. It is not surprising that religious visitors are sometimes in direct conflict with religious heritage tourists but regulating polices are normally developed by the government or specific management sites, rather than local religious visitors.

6.3.2 Abundance of religious sites across Tibet

Two Tibet-specific factors might lead participants to be concerned about visitors' behaviours: the large number of visitors and the lack of information/education for these visitors. First, because of Tibetans' long-standing dedication to Buddhism, there are large amounts of religious sites across Tibet, opening to both believers and tourists: around 1700 temples and monasteries, with 40 Buddhist-related festivals (Yu et al., 2016). Moreover, as reflected in the narratives in Chapter 5, many mountains, rivers, caves, and lakes are sanctified as well. These sites are commonly viewed as rich touristic resources. As a result, millions of visitors have been attracted to Tibet.

Figure 13 highlights the sharp increase of visitors to Tibet in the past decade. In 2018, there were 33.7 million tourists, nearly 11 times the local population. Such tourists are very likely to visit the various Buddhist sites there. As a result, these sacred sites are visited by large numbers of tourists and local believers, a factor which might lead participants to be very concerned about tourists' behaviours at Buddhist sites. Even facing so many visitors, it is notable that most participants involved in my study were not hostile towards the tourists, as demonstrated from this sympathetic quote: "*We are aware of that visitors to Tibet might experience High Altitude Sickness, language barriers, and different culture*". Meanwhile, they felt that tourists could demonstrate more respect and watch their behaviour during their visits.

Figure 28 Tourist travel to Tibet between 2009 and 2018

Source: Tibetcn,2020; Government of the TAR, 2017, 2018b, 2019.

Second, as tourists are typically welcomed by governments to encourage economic stimulation, informing visitors of appropriate conduct is seemingly uncommon in current tourism practices. For cross-culture travelling, suggestions and tips might inform the tourists about local cultural features or contexts. However, after a non-exhaustive search on the Google and Baidu (the major search platform in China) with key words of "suggestions/tips/must-known for visiting Tibet", I went through the first two pages of search results. These must-know tips were either about protecting the tourists or from an industry-driven perspective. For instance, many tips listed detailed information either on UV protection, such as sunscreen, sunglasses, and clothing, or on mitigating high mountain sickness, such as getting enough sleep, avoiding showers, taking medicines in advance, and reducing intense movement. These detailed tips seemed to be considerate and thoughtful for tourists. Almost no tips mentioned suggestion for visiting religious sites. The only tips I found were in an attachment to a touristic contract. It briefly mentioned respecting local customs but without explaining specifically how to do so. Also, it stated that "tourists are not allowed to visit the sky burial sites", which is not true, as revealed in Story 2 in Chapter 5; Tibetan culture encourages people to visit these sites as a way of learning. However, as mentioned above, travel agencies reminded tourists not to enter certain sites because their lack of understanding may result in unintentionally problematic behaviour and cause issues for the agency. Therefore, it would be both useful and practical to have a code of conduct like the one constructed by participants.

6.3.3 Mobilizing autonomy in tourism management

Constructing visitors' codes of conduct or guidelines is not a new practice but incorporating Indigenous voices into such codes should be the direction for many researchers and practitioners to move towards (Holmes et al., 2016). Such a move would offer local people a degree of autonomy in deciding how the tourism activities in their communities should function. Moreover, it shifts the power away from western models to practices deeply rooted in local communities.

Different from regulations that are usually enforced through law or punishment, codes of conduct deliver suggestions to tourists, in a softer tone, making them aware of local standards for polite, ethical, or responsible behaviours. The hope is that once aware of these standards, most visitors will choose to behave accordingly. Codes have been proposed for ecotourism and cross-cultural contexts. However, the tourism industry or governments are the most frequent parties to construct such codes, and favour a top-down approach. Holmes, et al. (2016) reminded us to scrutinize these codes, and to consider these questions "What values become authorized in such circumstances, and who benefits, how, and at whose expense?" (p. 1180). Based on her review of existing codes of conduct, only one was developed through a "bottom-up" approach that enabled local communities to have their say. Accordingly, collaborating with the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation, she and her colleagues created an indigenized visitors' code of conduct.

As elaborated elsewhere, especially in Section 2.2, many scholars, such as Buzinde (2019) and Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019), have proclaimed that: "tourism must be redefined and redesigned to acknowledge, prioritize, and place the rights of local communities above the rights of tourists for holidays and the rights of tourism corporates to make profits" (p. 1927). Constructing and disseminating an Indigenous-community-determined code of conducts can definitely help move towards this direction.

In sum, constructing a code of conduct as determined by Tibetans meets requirements from three main considerations: respecting the religious sites, the large number of these sites across Tibet, and the need to afford locals autonomy in tourism management.

6.4 Dissemination plan

The content of my thesis that most participants considered worth an extensive dissemination was the appropriate behavior codes of tourists visiting Tibet. Nineteen participants actively responded and

supported me even when I decided to work on the codes at the very end of my fieldwork. One participant suggested including photographs of each code to increase its visibility. After multiple arounds of communications with these 19 participants, our plan was to publish on hard copy media first and then to contact the local authority to include the copy in travel contracts and upload them to the Internet at the end. Of course, disputes occurred among participants. One the one hand, participants thought uploading online was effective for wide-ranging distribution. On the other hand, others thought that being included in travel contracts would lead to actual changes. As an information and comment collector, I attempted to address all concerns and will exert my best to facilitate its dissemination. Most of the participants advised using a collective name as the author, although this name has not been decided at this moment. Two participants proposed two names. I will continue thinking on this issue and prepare a list of potential names for the participants to vote on before I find media that agree to publish the code

To reach out to tourists visiting Tibet, I first contacted several media organizations based in Beijing and Shanghai, which are major tourist source markets. After I was rejected, many participants suggested trying Tibetan local media. I have paused the progress on this step since February 2020 for various reasons, but I will keep working on publishing the code via non-academic channels because of its significance for the participants. Hopefully, I can apply for funds to convert the codes into short animation videos to improve its accessibility. Most certainly, this plan will be conducted using a participatory approach.

Chapter 6 has first elaborated on participants' request that I advertise their expectations/suggestions for tourists who visit Tibet, followed by a detailed list of items to include in such a code of conduct. I then contextualized the idea of tourist codes within the existing literature, which aligns with religious requirements and moving toward Indigenous communities' autonomy. Lastly, participants' and my plans for disseminating such a code for Tibet are briefly mentioned.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

7.1 Conclusions

In 2012, Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles, wrote "What is wholly absent [from the tourism literature] …is any recognition of Indigenous peoples as tourists" (p.78). Chambers and Buzinde (2015) acknowledged that "tourism knowledge is still predominantly colonial" (p.1) because western epistemologies are still privileged and people from the South continue to be research objects "rather than the producers of tourism knowledge" (p.3). Along a similar line, Winter (2009) questioned the repetition of the 'western-centric modus operandi of research' (p.13) in interpreting non-western tourism experience and practices. These critiques have been well documented in decolonization (Section 2.1) and critical tourism studies (Section 2.2). As a response to these claims, this study aims to privilege and center Tibetan peoples' knowledge as tourists, rather than as objects for tourists to gaze upon. Further, I pay attention to constructing Indigenous knowledge in a more equitable manner.

Specifically, three research questions have guided this study:

1. What travel and tourism-related issues do Tibetan participants consider important?
2. How do Tibetan travelers narrate their travel experiences?
3. How does the research contribute to building a critically-informed understanding of tourism issues relevant to Indigenous peoples (e.g., experience, knowledge)?

The first research question was purposely left open for the Tibetan participants, leaving room for them to decide their stance on relevant issues. After consulting with participants, we decided to develop codes of conduct for "welcomed tourists' behaviours" to inform tourists who visit Tibet. The third research question will be addressed in my last chapter.

Four months of fieldwork was conducted in Tibet, reaching out to 35 participants who generously shared 93 travel stories. Inspired by Indigenous methodologies and community-based participatory research (CBPR), this study adopted a participation oriented approach, guided by three principles: prioritizing community benefits from the research; cultivating sincere researcher-participant relationships; privileging Indigenous knowledge (Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). My study reports on methodological reflections. A series of research practices was drawn from related literature to ensure the application of these principles, with the resulting approach serving as one of the many possibilities for opening up different ways of knowing.

To address the second research question (How do Tibetans narrate their travel experiences?), I first (Chapter 4) elaborated on two major forms of travel taking place in contemporary Tibetan society: *yukour* and *neikour*. I provided participants' definitions and made a clear distinction between the two. Readers will thus have useful background for understanding the travel behaviours in Tibetan society. *Neikour* refer to religiously motivated visits to distant spiritual sites. *Yukour*, referring to non-religiously motivated travelling, is similar to sightseeing, tourism, or leisure in the literature. Engaging Tibetan concepts might open up new ways of understanding. Participants held two different ideas: *yukour* is a form of *neikour*; *yukour* is different from *neikour* due to its primary trip purposes. Both views differ from those in extant literature, which normally considers pilgrimage to be a sub-niche market of religious tourism (Olsen, 2019; Fleischer, 2000). On one hand, such different perceptions reflect that *neikour* is still the major form of travel in Tibetan society. On the other hand, it indicates participants' emphasis on travelling purposes and motivations. Details of their views relating to tourism are culture-specific and sensitive, as proposed by Indigenous literature.

I next presented Tibetan travel experiences in a narrative form through composing eight narratives largely based on verbatim quotations (Chapter 5). Following each narrative, I connected participants' experiences to Tibetan knowledge recorded in books. As evident throughout my study, the interpretation of their experiences was based on important Tibetan teachings and ways of knowing shared by participants or introduced in Tibetan literature, rather than on existing western frameworks. Moreover, following Hollinshead's (2012) suggestion of cultivating dialogue space between Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge, I engaged in a critical dialogue with multiple existing literatures, including decolonial studies, dark tourism, posthumanism, eudaimonia experiences, Indigenous knowledge, and travelling workers. Potential working directions for future research were included. Rather than asserting any confirming tone, my thesis serves as a modest opening for the purpose of inviting more studies to broaden our understanding of tourism and pilgrimage via centering on Indigenous voices, such as those of Tibetan people.

Participants' requested that I advertise their expectations and suggestions for tourists who visit Tibet, which is included as one of my research questions (Chapter 6). After consulting with 19 participants, I documented codes of conduct for welcomed tourists. I then contextualized the idea of tourist codes within the existing literature, which aligns with religious requirements and moving toward Indigenous communities' autonomy.

Overall, my thesis has established the fact that Tibetans are actively traveling, whether considered *yukour* or *neikour*, both within their homeland and outside. Decolonization (Section 2.1) and critical tourism studies (Section 2.2) set the stage and tone of my thesis, as I was continuously engaging with and contesting knowledge production, leveraging greater equity in terms of values placed on different knowledge, and constructing knowledge about Indigenous people in a more equitable and participatory way.

7.2 Contributions

To follow the principle that local communities should be the primary beneficiaries of me conducting the research, my third research question (How does the research contribute to building a critically-informed understanding of tourism issues relevant to Indigenous peoples?) was purposely left open for participants' descriptions. In my actual fieldwork, I felt it was hard to explain what "critically-informed understanding of tourism issues" is, and modified my interview question to "What are the potential contributions of conducting my study". Accordingly, the potential contributions were identified by both participants and me. One participant, Drolma, suggested that it would be better to differentiate the contributions that benefit me, as the author, my participants, non-participant Tibetan people, non-Tibetan readers, and academics. Following her suggestion, I present the following contributions from these five aspects. The first and last were mainly identified by me, with another three by participants.

First, I must admit personally benefiting from this study the most. In addition to obtaining my degree based on this thesis, I also enjoyed the hospitality I received, the brilliant thoughts shared with me, and the peaceful mindset passed on from my friends/participants. It would have been impossible for me to complete my first participatory-oriented research project without my Tibetans participants' support. Some of their words remain prominent in my mind long after my fieldwork, and I often reflect on my own behaviours in response to the content of our discussions. Indeed, conducting research is a mutual learning process as suggested by Indigenous literature (Chilisa, 2012; Holmes, 2015; Victor et al., 2016). I have learnt a lot.

Second, some of my participants felt proud of their culture and expressed being motivated to learn more in the future, a status which might be described by narrative inquiries as the "temperate self". It refers to the process of reflection narrators experience when pondering and understanding their own

relationships or dynamics with the narrative environment that informs, shapes, or restricts their individual minds (Reissman, 2000). Some participants, such as Tse Kelsang and Tse Youdon, reported their plan for learning more about Tibetan culture, as revealed in the following excerpts from Tse Youdon:

> *You did ask me some good questions that I never thought about as an insider, such as the generational differences between younger and older generations. Meanwhile, our interview just now reminded me that I don't have sufficient knowledge about our culture. I will try to learn more about our culture, either from books or elders.*

In addition to motivating their interest to learn more about their culture, Drolma commented that "*my parents have taught me since my childhood; I follow accordingly. As I am introducing our stories* [oral legacy] *to you, I feel lucky and blessed to have grown up in such an environment, with Buddhist influence that emphasizes kindness*." Similarly, Tse Kelsang, a newly graduated university student, expressed his desire to visit major sacred Buddhist sites in Tibet, as performing *neikour* was regarded as a way of obtaining a deeper understanding of Tibetan traditions and exploring the diversity of the Tibetan Plateau. Later, in early of 2020, he happened to switch to a job in landscape investigation and occasionally obtained opportunities to visit sacred sites across Tibet. I felt delighted when receiving his photos or videos from the trips because we have extended our relationship from researcher-participant to friend. Additionally, as a person interested in their culture, I greatly enjoy that former participants are willing to share their current trips with me. I derive great satisfaction knowing that our interviews can still trigger small moments of reflection.

Third, non-participant Tibetan people might benefit from this study for two reasons. On the one hand, many participants believed that the ideas captured within the hoped-for codes of conduct (explained in Chapter 6) could be amplified to prevent conflict with potential future visitors to Tibet. Most of the 19 participants who reviewed the behaviour code expressed their appreciation to me for summarizing their concerns, as they felt they were accurately represented, and wished for their broad dissemination. If this code becomes disseminated widely, it would benefit other Tibetans, who could visit their sacred sites with fewer interruptions from non-religious tourists. On the other hand, some participants also believed the wide dissemination of their stories to a broad range of readerships, including both English and Chinese readers, would serve as a channel of introducing Tibetan culture (such as mentioned by Tse Youdon, Tsering, Jigme). This impact would be shared by both participant and non-participant Tibetans. Tse Youdon shed light on the role of introducing Tibetan culture that

my dissertation would serve, stating that "*Every ethnic group has a rich culture. Many people, especially those who are interested in Tibetan culture, would obtain the opportunity of learning about our cultural practices through the publication of your dissertation.*"

Moreover, Jigme addressed a desire "to let more people learn about our heart, HEART! We are kind-hearted and friendly (passionate). It is a responsibility of us Tibetans born in the 1980s [to introduce our culture]." Karma referred to one incident to emphasise the importance of cultural exchanges such as my study would potentially contribute to:

> *I encountered a non-Tibetan who had lived in Lhasa for one year, but he wrongly interpreted Buddhists as terrorists. Indeed, a very terrible thing happened before. But as long as he sat down to listen to a little bit of Buddhist teaching or why so many of us pilgrimage, such misconceptions would disappear automatically. So it is very important to promote cultural exchanges.*

On the top of introducing Tibetan culture in general, the pleasure local Tibetans experienced from introducing their favorite places was mentioned as well. Some of the places shared by participants were important sites for them, but were seldom visited by outsiders. Introducing the narratives with details of these places was believed to promote these sites to tourists. For instance, Nyima Tsering, stated that "*I am so proud of the long history of the Sajia Monastery. I hope more people can learn about it through your thesis.*" Similarly, Tse Youdon shared three trips to within her hometown, expecting that these sites would thus become better known by non-Tibetans.

Four, non-Tibetan readers, either in academia or not, would find this dissertation a channel for learning about Tibetan culture, as explained above. Meanwhile, I shed light on some questions in Chapter 5 to provoke reflection among readers, such as "Would what we could learn as humans about building a harmonious relationship with such mountains be a catalyst for a new perspective extending to our interactions with all other non-human beings? " These questions were based on my thoughts as a non-Tibetan while reading Tibetan narratives. The most important suggestion for non-Tibetan readers who might visit Tibet in future is this: "You are travelling to their homeland. Tread lightly."

Lastly, academic contributions are achieved theoretically, methodologically, and empirically. My thesis considers the marginalized/subaltern/ethnic/Indigenous as a subject who has the right to travel and also to work on increasing understanding of their travel experiences. Tse Youdon agreed and stated that "*I agree with you that our Tibetans' travel experience is a very important topic*".

Theoretically, this work responds to at least three calls in the literature: 1) to question western-centered knowledge production in tourism and join the critical turn and hopeful tourism' initiatives of privileging Indigenous voices; 2) to echo decolonial scholars' initiation of centering on the knowledge of Indigenous peoples while being sensitive to ontological differences; 3) to problematize the stereotypical, binary tourists/hosts model. McRae (2003) refers to certain destinations that have been stereotyped in outsiders' understanding as a 'double-standard' spaces, where tourists are authorized with the freedom to transcend spaces, whereas the hosts are supposed to remain locked into old and un-modern roles and spaces. Thus, she suggests that tourism studies should challenge the black and white model of tourists and hosts. Consequently, I hope to activate the mobility of Indigenous people, who have always been considered as "hosts," with the ability to travel. Practically, the Tibetan views of travel are significantly different from the consumerist and hedonic views, and the findings might inspire tourists from mainstream society to revisit their definitions and perceptions of travel.

Methodologically, my study contributes to the literature by providing examples of adopting some non-conventional practices for opening it up to indigenous voices: leaving parts of research questions open for participants to decide, adjusting the research process, and adding emerging literature into discussion based on fieldwork findings. To unpack the second one, my fieldwork found three common practices in western methodologies deserving secondary thought or modification, such as inviting friends to be participants, using real names, and accompanying research with 'individual interviews' (see details in Section 3.7 & 3.8). For instance, 33 out of 35 participants preferred to be referred to by their real names rather than by pseudonyms in the writing. Some of them selected photographs showing their own faces. These choices were made by participants after being well informed about the advantages and disadvantages, and detailed information on how their information will be used and disseminated. This one instance does not indicate that future research should refer to participants by their real names, but does suggest that researchers should be flexible in the research process and make adjustments based on participants' willingness. Decolonization and indigenous literature has problematized western-centered knowledge production systems, urged researchers to re-think the research process, and argued that how the data is gathered is as important as the results. These adjustments are my responses to their urging.

7.3 Limitations and future directions of the study

My thesis might be criticized for the following four limitations. First, do the recounted stories capture all facets of Tibetan travellers? To this question, I would respond: of course not! These stories shed light on certain features of Tibetan travellers, some unique to their own narratives and others similar to the accounts of other participants. However, due to the richness of Tibetan culture, many other aspects were left unexplored either as a result to participants not selecting them to share during interviews, or omission of certain details during my writing process due to space and time constraints

Another question, closely aligning with the issue of representation, is: does my representation of their story reinforce the singular stereotypes of Tibetans—dedicating themselves to their religion and living in a romanticized dream? My honest answer is: Yes, to certain degree. Smith's (2012) critique on existing literature--"It told us things already known" (p.3)—repetitively came to my mind. And yes, most information obtained from the fieldwork is common knowledge of participants. There are multiple versions of stories. Through the course of my fieldwork, I realized that participants and I both had multiple dimensions of life which are often less obvious and provide unifying insights which transcend cultural boundaries. Challenges mentioned throughout participant discussions such as working two jobs to make ends meet and provide for their families, or migrating to different cities to earn higher income, might be similar to the concerns of global citizens in other parts of the world. However, the peaceful and proud narratives presented in this thesis which might fall into the idealized view of Tibetan life were the stories that participants selected as significant takeaways from their various trips; a curated selection of details both shared with me as their friend, as well as with the knowledge that these stories, their names, and their photos would be shared to a wider readership via the forms of thesis or academic writing.

An illustrative example of contrasting context which arose through my experience talking with participants came to light during my interview with Drolma. Our interviews were conducted over the course of three separate nights after she finished her shift working at a restaurant at 8 pm. During our interview, she was knitting for her daughters who were, at that time, being raised by her mom in a village far away. Despite such a strenuous situation, which would leave many feeling tired or homesick, she did not refer to any such difficulties during our conversations, but insetad enjoyed recalling many peaceful moments from her pilgrimage trips with me. Recognizing the potential for her stories to reach a broader audience, and recognizing my genuine interest in her experiences, Drolma chose to focus on topics that she felt would be gratifying to highlight to others. This

sentiment was impactful throughout my fieldwork as a whole, with participants largely leading our interviews and deciding which topics they would like to share with me. I tried to use a large amount of verbatim quotations to maintain the authenticity of their voices, capturing their feeling of fulfillment derived from their spiritual well-being. Therefore, for readers who might question me in regard to reinforcing stereotypes on Tibetans and their dedication to Buddhism, it is also important to know that it was also part of participant's decision on what to be shared with a wider readership.

Second, the writing might be criticized for an insufficient interpretation of Buddhism. Buddhism is a vast knowledge system that many practitioners spend a lifetime learning about. I appreciate and recognize many Buddhist beliefs as a source of wisdom to provide understanding and fulfill my curiousity. I read Buddhist books, especially after working on this project and at the suggestion from my participants who I came to know as friends. However, for very personal reasons, I am not a Buddhist. If I were to choose a religion in the future, I would choose Buddhism or Daonism. To provie better context to participants' stories, I quickly referred to some important Buddhist books from several great Buddhist masters. However, relying on new knowledge of such a complex and, at times, subjective system might not represent the appropriate interpretation of a deeper knowledge of Buddhism. If there happens to have been any misinterpretation, I am the one at the full, though not intentional, fault. One example of insufficient interpretations I noticed is that I did not clearly distinguish between kindness and Bodhicitta in my writing. The latter is far beyond the scope of the former. Future studies could consider being conducted by, or in cooperation with, researchers who are knowledgeable in Buddhism.

Third, due to space limit, I am only able to select a small portion of photographs shared by participants to aid readers' understanding of their narratives, rather than conducting a solid analysis of all the photographs. At the end of my writing, I realized that only 18 out of 88 photographs were directly linked to relevant writing and could be seamlessly included to complement sections which provided further explanation of said photographs, beyond the addition of brief labelling titles. I will consider conducting a solid and specific analysis of the collected photographs in the future.

Fourth, I did not unpack or explore several important points due to aforementioned time and space constraints. This study is my first time to employing a participatory approach. While writing it, I found many points which could be further improved, or many topics in interviews could be further explored beyond the analysis captured within my study. For instance, Chimy Dolkar shared her pilgrimage to the Druk Yerp Monastery and the sky burial site nearby. I realized that she took her

daughter along on this trip. Extending research to the exploration of the role of family in Tibetan culture and travel, raising the question of why she visited the site while in the company of her daughter, and how she explained it to her holds potential for deeper understanding of the development of cultural and religious ideals throughout one's life. An additional example, I realized that I would be able to collect further insights by sharing more knowledge with participants after adding 'new' literature, which is deemed more relevant to their experiences than the discursive literature I had shared (as seen in Section 3.7). Along with sharing part of the findings and the full thesis with participants who indicated their willingness to hear from me, I would continue such sharing of these 'new' literature to other participants if we get the chance of meeting again.

In addition to above, I collected potential research questions identified by Tibetans participants (as seen Section 3.7). Moreover, I discussed and listed potential working directions based on discussion on compiled narratives in Chapter 5, as summarized in the last column of Table 4.

7.4 Critics of applying CBPR in Indigenous communities

There is no one perfect methodology. For instance, the application of participatory-oriented approaches and CBPR in Indigenous communities has been criticized for at least three reasons (Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2009; de Leeuw, Cameron, & Greenwood, 2012): 1) legitimizing these approaches as 'best practices' might devalue non-participatory methods; 2) engaging Indigenous participants as collaborators might place a significant burden on them (or as it is frequently challenged, lead to "over-asking" from participants); 3) purposively forming relationships/friendships with research subjects to facilitate research, can be regarded as an extractive form of relationship.

I agree with de Leeuw et al. (2012) that some relationships between participants and researchers are initially formed primarily for research purposes; however, whether such relationships are further developed into friendship really depends on the interactions and willingness of both parties. I tried to be close to and get to know my research subjects; but not all of them became my friend. I had known some of my participants for nearly 12 years, and we were friends before I started conducting research. During my field trip, we engaged with each other and did many non-research related activities, such as circling the temple, dinner, and drinking together. I am hesitating to consider such relationships as an extractive form. Therefore, researchers should maintain a critical and honest awareness of these three critiques brought by Kindon, Pain, and Kesby (2009) and de Leeuw et al. (2012) and continuously check the actual implementations.

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Appendix A

Information Letter

Hello friends,
Greetings from Xiaotao Yang. I would like to invite any Tibetan who are self-identified with touristic experiences to participate in my study. My study is titled, **From invisible to Indigenous-focused: Narratives on the touristic/travel experiences of Tibetans**. This study forms the dissertation of my PhD in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at University of Waterloo, Canada, under the supervision of Dr. Heather Mair.

Purpose and questions of the study

Many tourists from other parts of China and western countries dream of visiting Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). However, the experiences of Tibetans as tourists/travelers are not frequently hear about. Tibetans are not alone in this: many Indigenous and ethnic groups of travelers are silenced as well. Thus, I hope to learn more about Tibetan people's travel experience. In particular, I have three research questions:

1. What travel and tourism-related issues do Tibetan participants consider important?
2. How do Tibetan travelers narrate their travel experiences?
3. How does the research contribute to building a critically-informed understanding of tourism issues relevant to Indigenous peoples (e.g., authenticity, experience, knowledges)?

First, do you have other travel- and tourism-related issues that you consider important for further discussion? It can be the questions that you would like me to try to bring your voices into tourism academic circles or would like me to discuss this issues with more Tibetan people to learn whether they share similar concerns. I will choose one issue at the end to address and record all the issues that you consider important.
Second, I would like to know any meaningful, extraordinary, satisfying, optimal, memorable, or in any other special trips you have taken. Why are you sharing those trips?
Third, many tourists visiting Tibet assumes that those who are dressed traditionally and in colorful clothing are authentic Tibet people. Thus, I also hope to learn about whether you consider visual attractiveness a symbol of "authenticity" for other ethnic groups during your trips and how do you think the research can improve understanding of authenticity, travel experience, and tourism knowledge.
Overall, I hope this study will introduce your knowledge to wider academic circle or the publics.

What will I be asked to do?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You will have the option to stop the interview at any point and you may decline to answer any question(s) you prefer not to answer by requesting to skip the question. You may also decline contributing to the study in other ways if you so wish by advising the researcher of this decision
You are free to take part in any part of the study as follows:

1. An unstructured, photo elicitation interview (around 60 minutes)
   - Your participation would involve an in-person interview that will take approximately 60 minutes of your time. As part of the interview, you are invited to share up to three electronic photos you took while on vacation in order to provide a more complete understanding of your experiences as a tourist.
   - You are suggested to share photos that do not contain images with identifying features. If you still prefer to include photos with people, you will need to inform and obtain consent from the people shown in your photos. If you would like to share the photos, but you did not and

cannot get the consents from people presented in the photo, right after our interviews they will be transfer them into: Sketches like the practices of court trails; Narratives describing the photo; or these individuals could be blurred/cropped out of images.

- Using your photos as prompts, you are welcome to talk broadly about any story of your travel experience and about your expectation of authentic experience. I will come up some questions based on your stories, such as "Can you describe the photos your provided? Why do you choose these them? What do you think 'tourism' and 'travel' are?".
- Depending on your preference, we can conduct interview in either Mandarin or Tibetan. If you prefer to use Tibetan, a translator, will help our communication. With permission, the interviews will be audio recorded to help me to review and analysis the interview afterwards.
- If you do not want to be identified as a participant in this study, your participation will be kept confidential. Identifying information will be removed from the data that is collected and stored separately. Your name will not be included in papers and presentations resulting from this study. However, with your permission, quotations may be used with a pseudonym in place of your real name. Alternatively, you may decide to be identified by name and have your quotations and stories directly attributed to you. Additionally, in order to help illustrate the study's findings, you may also choose to allow your photographs to be used in presentations and publications resulting from this research. Collected data will be encrypted and stored on a password protected computer for a minimum of seven years.
- Only I and my supervisor, Dr. Heather Mair, some unknown co-researchers who have signed CONFIDENTIALITY STATEMENT will have access to my data. Participants will be invited into this study as co-researchers (check more details in the third section to see whether yourself is willing to take on this role). This means some participants will be "unknown co-researchers" of this study at this point. They will be trained by Xiaotao on Privacy & Confidentiality before accessing to your photos and interview scripts in order to analyzing findings of this study. The co-researchers will only be allowed to access the data on Xiaotao's computer with her accompany. The file that links between pseudonyms and Identifying information is called the 'key'. The other co-researchers will not have access to the 'key' or your participants' interview audios and consent forms. This means co-researchers will only be given access to de-identified data (de-identified photos and interview scripts) only.
- As an appreciation for sharing your stories and experiences in this study, I would like to offer you a gift at the end of my fieldwork, valuing around RMB250 (CN$50), based on my understanding of your preferences.

2. Reviewing your own stories and the final writing (around 30 minutes)
   - Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will transcribe the audio-recording into text on my computer. You will have the opportunity to review the type-written version of your interview to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish.
   - Findings from my study will be presented in a dissertation, journal articles and conference presentations, which will be mainly in English. If you are interested in receiving these documents or translated into Chinese or Tibetan in either bullet points or full text, let me have your preference and I will keep you informed.
3. Collaborating with Xiaotao in conducting this study (5 hours or more)
   - Engaging participants as co-researchers has been advocated and applied in Indigenous literature so as to produce knowledge "with" or "by", rather than "about" Indigenous people. This means that you will be able to tell your own stories to academic or wilder audience by yourself, which is also a way of acknowledging your ownerships of your own stories.

- If you are interested in learning about doing a research, you are welcome to participate in analyzing, representing, and writing up conclusions of this study, as my co-researcher. Or I can do the analysis in front of you so that you will have general idea about research process and feel free to contribute to it.
- If you involve as co-researcher, you will need to learn about Module 5 of TCPS 2 CORE on Privacy & Confidentiality, from this link: https://tcps2core.ca/course/viewContainer/3iaq4iYuqpGd. You will then need to sign a CONFIDENTIALITY STATEMENT to keep other participants' data confidential with your involvement.
- In order for you to conduct analysis, you can access to de-identified data, that are interview scripts and photos that their identifying information have been removed.
- To honor your contribution to this study, I will acknowledge your contribution in my dissertation. I will list your name and what you have done for this research. In such acknowledgement, you can prefer to go by either pseudonymous name or real name.
- Depending on your willingness and contribution, you can join in me as co-authors for journal publications or in other general platforms, such as magazines or newspapers. In these publications, your name will be listed as co-authors, you can prefer to go by either pseudonymous name or real name.

4. Learning about the literature (around 60 minutes)
    - I have read many books and journals on travel experience and Indigenous knowledge. If you are interested in knowing more about it, I am willing to meet you again to share main points from the literature and answer any questions you might have.

<u>What are the risks associated with the study?</u>
Given my status as a student from a western country, it's possible that local authorities may consider this research 'inappropriate'. This may result in their request of stopping this research and questioning Xiaotao about the content of our conversation. If this extremely low chance case happens, I will offer an explanation, saying that this research is merely for cultural discussion. For whatever reason and under whatever circumstances, I will not disclose your identifying information to authorities so that your privacy will not be impacted and you do not need to worry about being questioned by authorities.

To avoid this risk, it is important for both you and I agree with the current Chinese government's policy that Tibet is an inseparable part of China and develop our discussion under this rule.

Some other research practices will be used mitigate this risk for you include:

1. de-identifying all data as soon as possible. De-identification of data will be sufficient to prevent authorities identify you so that you will be effectively protected from this risk.
2. If you preferred to be identified in findings of this study, your identifying information will still be de-identified and encrypted during the fieldwork and use your real name after Xiaotao left her fieldwork.
3. storing identifying information separately in a portable USB with password
4. suggesting you to provide electronic photos that do not contain images of identifying features
5. suggesting you to avoid less identifying information

The potential risks I have mentioned are remote. but I believe it is important to be open about them. Simply being aware of the risks and behaving cautiously and carefully are generally sufficient to avoid real problems.

If you would like to participate in this study, I will go through more detailed information in *Participant Consent* with you. You can sign your consent of participation.
If you have any questions about this study, or would like additional information, feel free to contact me, Xiaotao Yang (Mobile: XXXXXXXXX, WeChat: XXXXXXX, e-mail: x256yang@uwaterloo.ca).
You can also reach my supervisor, Dr. Heather Mair, Professor at University of Waterloo (Phone at +1-519- 888-4567 ext. 35917, e-mail: hmair@uwaterloo.ca). This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee in Canada (ORE#41009). If you have questions for the Committee, contact the Office of Research Ethics, at +1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005, or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca
I look forward to speaking with you and I would like to thank you in advance for your assistance with this study.

Your sincerely,

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ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་དང་གནད་དོན།

ཡུལ་སྐོར་བའི་དོས་ནས་བརྗོད་ན།ཁྱེད་རང་གི་བསམ་ན་ཡུལ་སྐོར་ལམ་ཡང་ན་ཡུལ་སྐོར་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་གནད་དོན་གང་དག་ནི་གལ་འགངས་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནམ།

བོད་རིགས་ཡུལ་སྐོར་བས་ཁོང་ཚོའི་ཡུལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ཉམས་མྱོང་ཇི་ལྟར་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་དམ།

ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་བསམ་ན་བོད་རིགས་ཡུལ་སྐོར་བར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ཚེ་གྲངས་ཉུང་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཡུལ་སྐོར་གནད་དོན་ལ་ལེགས་སྐྱེས་ཅི་ཞིག་འབུལ་ཐུབ་པར་དོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་དམ།དཔེར་ན།གདོད་མའི་རང་བཞིན་དང་།ཡུལ་སྐོར་མྱོང་ཚོར།ཡང་ན་ཤེས་བྱ་འཛུགས་སམ།

དང་པོ། ཡུལ་སྐོར་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་ཆ་ནས།ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བལྟས་ན་ཡུལ་སྐོར་དང་ཡུལ་སྐོར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་གནད་དོན་གང་དག་ནི་གལ་ཆེན་ཡིན་ནམ།གནད་དོན་འདི་དག་ནི་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཆ་ཏུ་བཏང་ནས་རིག་གཞུང་སླེང་གྱི་མཁས་པ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་རྒྱུས་ལོན་བྱེད་དུ་བཅུག་འདོད་དམ།ཡང་ན་རང་གི་རེ་བ་ལྟར་ན་ང་དང་བོད་རིགས་དེ་བས་མང་བ་ཞིག་གིས་གྲོས་བསྡུར་བྱས་ཏེ་ཁོང་ཚོས་བསམ་བློ་གཅིག་པ་གཏོང་གི་ཡོད་མེད་ཤེས་འདོད་ཡོད།ངས་མཇུག་ཏུ་གནད་དོན་ཡོད་ཚད་ནང་ནས་བདམས་ནས་གནད་དོན་ཞིག་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་གི་ཡིན་།

གཉིས་པ་། ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཡུལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ཉམས་མྱོང་གང་ཙང་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་བྱས་ཚོག་སྙིམྱོང་བ་དེ་དག་ནི་དོན་སྙིང་ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ།ཁྱན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཁྱད་ཆོས་དང་།ཡིད་ཚིམས་པ།ཆེས་བཟང་བ།དྲན་ཤེས་གཏིང་ཟབ་པ།ཡང་ན་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་འདོད་པའི་རིགས་གང་ཡིན་ཙང་ཚོག ．མྱོང་བ་འདི་བདམས་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན།

གསུམ་པ། བོད་དུ་ཡུལ་སྐོར་ལ་ཡོང་མཁན་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་མཛེས་ཆས་བླུས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ལྡན་མི་སྣ་དེ་དག་ནི་བོད་རིགས་ངོ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་དོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད། ．དེར་བརྟེན།ངས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཡུལ་སྐོར་བྱེད་པའི་གོ་རིམ་ཁྲོད་དུ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་མིག་དབང་གི་འགྱུག་ཤུགས་དེ་གདོད་མའི་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་དགོས་ངེས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་ཆོས་ཤིག་ཏུ་བརྩི་མིན་ཤེས་འདོད།ཁྱེད་རང་གི་བལྟས་ན་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདིས་བོད་རིགས་ཡུལ་སྐོར་བར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ནས་དེ་སྔའི་རང་བཞིན་དང་།ཡུལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།ཡུལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ཤེས་བྱ་བཅས་ལ་སྐྱུལ་འདེད་ཀྱི་ནུས་པ་གང་ཡོད་དམ།

མཇུག་ན།ངས་སྙིང་ཐག་པ་ནས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཚོགས་འདིས་བོད་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་བྱ་དང་ལྟ་བ་དེ་རིག་གཞུང་ལས་རིགས་དང་ཕྱི་དམངས་གཞན་དག་ལ་ཁྱབ་སྤེལ་གཏོང་རྒྱུའི་རེ་བ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

ངས་ཅི་ཞིག་ལས་དགོས།

ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདིར་ཞུགས་པ་ནི་རང་མོས་རེད།ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་དུས་ནམ་ཞིག་ལ་བགྲོ་གླེང་བྱེད་མཚམས་འཇོག་པའམ་གནད་དོན་གང་ཙང་ལ་ལན་མ་རྒྱབ་ཙང་ཆོག ཞིབ་འཇུག་མ་གྲོལ་ཟིན་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཞུགས་པར་ཕྱིར་འབུད་བྱེད་པའི་རེ་བ་བརྟོན་ཆོག་རང་གི་རང་མོས་དང་གཤམ་གསལ་གྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ནང་ཞུགས་ཆོག་གི་རེད།

1.གྲུབ་ཚུལ་མིན་པ་དང་འདྲ་པར་སྐོར་གྱི་བགྲོ་གླེང་ལ་ཞུགས་པ། （ཕལ་ཆེར་སྐར་མ་60ཡིན།）

འདི་ནི་གཅིག་གཏད་གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་ལ་བཅར་འདྲི་དང་།ངོ་ཐུག་གཏོང་འཕྲད་ཀྱིས་བཅར་གླེང་ཞིག་རེད།ཕྱོགས་ཡོང་ནས་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་ཡུལ་སྐོར་རྒྱུས་ལེན་ཡོང་བའི་ཆེད།ཁྱེད་རང་ཡུལ་སྐོར་ཕྱིན་པའི་སྐབས་རྣལ་འདྲ་པར་གསུམ་འདོན་སྤྲོད་བྱ་གནང་ཡོད་པ་གཞུ།

2འདྲ་པར་འདི་ཚོ་ཡག་ཤོས་བྱུང་ན་མི་སྣ་དབྱེ་འབྱེད་ངོས་འཛིན་མི་ཐུབ་པ་དགོས།གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་ཐང་བཞིན་མི་སྣ་ཡོད་པའི་འདྲ་པར་སྤྱོད་པར་བར་དགའ་ན།ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་འདྲ་པར་ནང་གི་མི་སྣའི་ཚོག་མཚན་ལ་གསལ་བརྙ་གཏོང་དགོས་པ་དང་ཚོག་མཚན་ཐོབ་དགོས།གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་ རང་འདྲ་པར་དེ་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་པར་མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད་པ།འོན་ཀྱང་།འདྲ་པར་ནང་གི་མི་སྣའི་ཚོག་མཚན་ཐོབ་མི་ཐུབ་ན།ང་ཚོའི་བགྲོ་གླེང་མཇུག་རྫོགས་རྗེས།འདྲ་པར་འདི་དག་གི་ནང་དོན་ནི་སྒྲ་ཕྲིས་བྱེད་པའམ་འདྲ་པར་རྒྱས་བཤད་བྱེད་པ།ཡང་ན་མི་དེ་ཚོའི་གྲས་བཅད་པའམ་རབ་རིབ་ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་བྱེད་པའོ།

ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་འདྲ་པར་གླེང་མོས་དུ་བྱས་ནས།ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སམ་ཡང་ན་སྟོན་གྱི་དོན་དངོས་ལ་རྒྱུས་ལོན་བྱེད་པའི་གནས་རྒྱུད་ཡོད་ཚད་རྒྱ་ཆེར་བཤད་ཚོག།ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་གནས་རྒྱུད་དང་ཐང་འབྲེལ་བྱས་ནས།ངས་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་གནད་དོན་བཏོན་པ་ཡིན།

དཔེར་ན།ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་འདྲ་པར་ཞིབ་བརྗོད་ཐོས་དང་།ཁྱེད་འདྲ་པར་འདིའདམས་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན།ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་བལྟས་ན་ཅི་ཞིག་ནི་ཡུལ་སྐོར་ཡིན།ཅི་ཞིག་ནི་གནས་སྐོར་ཡིན་

ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་དགའ་ཕྱོགས་བཞིན།ང་ཚོས་རྒྱ་སྐད་དམ་བོད་སྐད་ཐོག་ནས་བཅར་འདྲི་བྱས་ཚོག།གལ་ཏེ་ ཁྱེད་རང་བོད་སྐད་སྤྱོད་རྒྱུར་གོམས་ན།ཁོ་ལྟ་ཞིག་གིས་ང་ཚོར་འབྲེལ་འདྲིས་བྱེད་པར་རོགས་བྱེད་ངེས།གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་རང་ཚོས་མཐུན་ཡོད་ཚེ།མཇུག་ཏུ་ང་རང་ཡིག་ཆ་ལེགས་སྒྲིག་དང་སྒྲར་དང་དུབ་བགྲོ་གླེང་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱེད་ཆེད་བཅར་འདྲི་'' དེ་དག་སྒྲ་ཕབ་བྱ་ངེས་ཡིན།

གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་བང་ཞེར་འདོན་བྱེད་འདོད་མེད་ན།ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་མཉམ་ཞུགས་གནང་བར་ངས་གསང་བ་བྱ་གི་ཡིན།དབྱེ་འབྱེད་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ཆ་འཕྲིན་དེ་གཞི་གྲངས་ཡིག་ཚང་དུ་གསོག་འཇོག་བྱ་གི་ཡིན།ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མིང་ནི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་དང་འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་ཁྲོད་དུ་མི་མངོན་ལ་།ད་ན།ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཚོག་མཚན་བརྒྱུད།ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཤེད་པ་མེད་གཞན་ནས་བགོད་སྲིད།དེ་དང་

མཉམ་དུ།ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ལེགས་སྐྱེས་མཆོག་ཆེད།འདྲ་པར་དང་བསོལ་སྤྱོད་ཁྲོད་མེད་དངོས་བསོལ་ཀྱང་ཚོག དེ་མིན།ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་མཇུག་འབྲས་ཐང་བས་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་སྟོན་ཆེད།ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་འདྲ་པར་དེ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་གྱི་ཁྲོད་དུ་སྤྱོད་རྒྱུ་བྱས་ཀྱང་ཚོག།བཟོ་ཏུབ་བྱས་པའི་གཞི་གྲངས།(ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་འདྲ་པར་དང་བཅར་དྲིའི་སྒྲ་ཕབ་དང་ཡིག་ཆ）དེ་གསང་བའི་ཤང་གྲངས་ཡོད་པའི་སློག་ལྡང་ནང་མ་མཐར་ཡང་ལོ་7ཐོ་ཆག་དང་ཉར་ཚགས་བྱེད་གི་ཡིན་།

ཞའོ་ཐའོ་དང་Heather Mairདགེ་རྒན་ཆེ་མོ་བ་མཉམ་ལས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་བཅས་ཀྱིས་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་གྲངས་གཞི་མཐོང་གི་རེད། བཅར་འདྲི་གནང་མཁན་གྱི་མཉམ་ལས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པར་གསན་འདྲེན་གནང་གི་རེད།ཁོ་ཚོས་གསང་བའི་གྲོས་མཐུན་ལ་མིང་རྟགས་བཀོད་རྗེས་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་གཞི་གྲངས་མཐོང་ཐུབ། （གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱང་མཉམ་ལས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་འདོད་ན་དེའི་རྗེས་ཀྱི་ལེ་ཚན་ལ་གཟིགས་རོགས།） ཞའོ་ཐའོ་ཡིས་ཁོ་ཚོར་གསང་བ་དང་གསང་བའི་དོན་ཚན་ངོ་སྤྲོད་བྱས་རྗེས།ཁོ་ཚོས་གཞི་ནས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་འདྲ་པར་དང་བཅར་འདྲི་ཡིག་ཆར་བལྟས་ནས་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱེད་ཆོག།མཉམ་ལས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་རྣམས་ཞའོ་ཐའོ་གནས་དངོས་དེར་ཡོད་པའི་སྐབས་''གློག་ཀླད་ཐོག་ཆ་འཕྲིན་དེ་དག་ལ་ལྟ་ཀློག་བྱ་ཐུབ་ཅིང་།གསང་བའི་ལྡེ་མིག་ཅེས་པ་ནི་མིང་རྫུན་མིང་''དང་ཆ་འཕྲིན་དབྱེ་འབྱེད་བྱེད་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་འབྲེལ་མཐུད་བྱེད་ས་ཞིག་ཡིན།གཞན་མཉམ་ལས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པར་གསང་བའི་ལྡེ་མིག་དང་བཅར་བྲིའི་བགྲོ་གླེང་།མཉམ་ཞུགས་''མོས་མཐུན་ཡི་གེ་ཐོབ་མི་ཐུབ།གཞན་ཡང་ཁོ་ཚོས་དབྱེ་བ་འབྱེད་མ་ཐུབ་པའི་ཆ་འཕྲིན་ལས་ལེན་མི་ཐུབ་དཔེར་ན།འདྲ་པར་དང་བཅར་འདྲིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་སྒྲ་ཐབ་སོ།

2 ཁྱེད་རང་གི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་སྒྲ་སྒྲོག་དང་མཐའ་མའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་སྙན་ཞུ(ཕལ་ཆེར་སྐར་མ30)

ངས་བཅར་སྙེང་གི་ནང་དོན་ཡིག་འབྲུ་རེ་རེ་དང་ཚིག་རེ་རེ་བཞིན་ཀློག་ཟླད་ནང་བཅུག་ནས་ཡི་གེའི་དཔར་མར་བསྒྱུར་ངེས་ཡིན།ཁྱེད་རང་གིས་སྒྲ་སྒྲོག་གམ་ཡང་ན་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་བཅར་འདྲི་ཡི་གེ་དང་ཡི་གེ་ཡང་དག་ཡིན་མིན་ལ་ཞིབ་བཤེར་བྱས་ཆོག།ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཡི་གེའི་པར་གཞིའི་ནང་དོན་ལ་ཡིད་མི་ཆེས་ན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཐུ་མཐུན་དུ་བཟོ་བཅོས་བྱེད་ཆོག་པའམ་ཡང་ན་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་གསར་བཟོ་བྱས་ཆོག།

ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་དེ་རིག་གཞུང་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་དང་ དུས་དེབ་དེ་མིན་གྲོས་ཚོགས་རྩོམ་ཡིག་གི་རྣམ་པའི་ཐོག་ནས་སྤེལ་བ་དང་དེ་དག་གཙོ་བོ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་རེད།གལ་སྲིད་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་དེ་དག་གམ་ཡང་ན་དེ་མཚུངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་དང་བོད་ཡིག་གི་གནད་བསྡུས་སམ་ཡང་ན་ཆ་ཚང་བསྒྱུ་ལེན་བྱེད་འདོད་ཡོད་ན།ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ གློག་རྡུལ་ཆ་འཕྲིན་བསྒྱུ་ལེན་བྱེད་སྟངས་ཐབས་ལམ་ང་ལ་གསུངས་རོགས།རྗེས་སུ་ངས་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་མཉམ་སྤྲོད་ཞུས་ཆོག

3 ཞོར་ཐོ་དང་མཉམ་དུ་བརྟག་དཔྱད་ལ་ཞུགས་པ།

མཉམ་ལས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་ངོས་ནས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁྲོད་ཞུགས་པའི་བྱེད་སྟངས་དེ་ཐུར་གནས་སྟོད་དམངས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་གསར་སྐྱེད་དང་དར་སྤེལ་ཤུགས་ཆེན་བཏང་བ་མ་ཟད།ཐུར་སྟོད་དམངས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་བྱ་ཁོ་ན་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན།དེའི་ཐོག་ནས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་དེ་བས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་རིག་གཞུང་ལས་རིགས་དང་སྐད་སོ་བར་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་བརྗོད་པ་དེ་ནི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་སོ་སོའི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བདག་དབང་གསལ་བསྒྲགས་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་རེད།

གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་པའི་སྤྲོ་བ་ཡོད་ན་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་མཁན་གྱི་ཐོབ་ཐང་ཐོག་ནས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་པའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ནང་ཞུགས་ཆོག དེའི་ནང་དཔེ་ཞིབ་དང་།རྩོམ་འབྲི།ཕྱོགས་སྡོམ་བཅས་ཚུད་ཡོད།ཡང་ན་ངས་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མདུན་ནས་གཞི་གྲངས་ལ་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཆོག་དེ་ནས་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་སྤྱིར་བཏང་གི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ལ་རྒྱུས་ལོན་བྱེད་ཐུབ།ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་བསམ་འཆར་རྩ་ཆེན་འདོན་པར་དགའ་བསུ་ཞུ།

གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་རང་མཉམ་ལས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པར་གྱུར་འདོད་ན།ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་གཞན་གྱི་སྤྲོལ་མཐུད་བརྒྱུད་ནས་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་གསང་བ་དང་གསང་བའི་དོན་ཚན་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་དགོས།https:/tcps2core.ca/coyse/viewContainer/3iaq4iYuqpGd་ད་དུང་གསང་སྲུང་གྲོས་མཐུན་ལ་མིང་རྟགས་བཀོད་ནས་ཞུགས་མཁན་གཞན་དག་གི་གསང་དོན་སྲུང་སྐྱོབ་ཐུབ་པའི་འགན་ལེན་བྱེད་དགོས།

ཁྱེད་རང་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་ནང་ཞུགས་ཆེད་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་དབྱེ་འབྱེད་མིན་པའི་ཆ་འཕྲིན་གཞན་དག་སྒྲ་སྒྲོག་བྱེད་ཆོག་པ་དཔེར་ན།འདྲ་པར་དང་བཅར་འདྲི་ཡིག་ཆ་སྒྲ་ཕབ།

ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་པའི་ལེགས་སྐྱེས་ལ་བརྩི་འཛོག་བྱེད་ཆེད།ངས་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་གྱི་མགོ་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་མིང་དང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདི་ལ་ཅི་ཞིག་ལས་པ་ཡིན།གསལ་བསྒྲགས་འདིའི་ནང་དུ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་མིང་རྗུན་མ་དང་མིང་དངོས་འདེམས་ཆོག

ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་འདོད་བློ་དང་ལེགས་སྐྱེས་བཞིན་ཁྱེད་རང་ངའི་མཉམ་ལས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་ཆ་ནས་མཉམ་དུ་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་གམ་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྟེགས་བུ་མཉམ་དུ་སྤེལ་ཆོག   དཔེར་ན་དུས་དེབ་བམ་ཚགས་པར་སྣ་བྲ།འགྲེམ་སྤེལ་འདི་དག་གི་ཁྲོད་དུ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་མིང་རྗུན་མ་དང་མིང་དངོས་འདེམས་ཆོག

ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདིར་ཞུགས་པའི་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཉེན་ཁ།

ང་ནི་ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་སློབ་གྲྭའི་སློབ་མ་ཡིན་པས།འབྲེལ་ཡོད་དབང་འཛིན་ལས་ཁུངས་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདི་ངོས་འཚམ་མིན་པར་འདོད་ན།འདིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་མཚམས་འཇོག་པའམ་ཡང་ན་བརྟག་དཔྱད་འདྲི་རྩད་བྱེད་སྲིད།གལ་ཏེ་འདི་འདྲའི་དམའ་བའི་དོན་རྐྱེན་བྱུང་ན།ངས་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་འགྲེལ་བཤད་འདོན་སྤྲོད་བྱས་ནས་ང་ཚོས་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་གནད་དོན་ལ་དཔྱད་བསྡུར་བྱེད་ཀྱིན་ཡོད།དོན་ཀྱང་གནས་ཚུལ་གང་འདྲ་ཞིག་གི་འོག་ཏུའང་ངས་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཆ་འཕྲིན་དང་ང་ཚོའི་སྙིང་ཐོལ་གྱི་ནང་དོན་བཤད་མི་སྲིད།

ཉེན་ཁ་དེ་རིགས་ཐོན་འགོག་བྱ་ཆེད་ང་ཚོའི་སྐད་ཆ་ཤོད་རེས་དེ་ངེས་པར་དུ་ཀྲུང་གོའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་དང་མཐུན་དགོས་པ་མ་ཟད།མིག་ལྟའི་སྲིད་ཇུས་ཁས་ལེན་ཡང་བྱེད་དགོས་པས་བོད་ནི་ཀྲུང་གོ་དང་ཁ་བྲལ་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་ཆ་ཤས་ཤིག་ཡིན།

ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་ཐབས་གཞན་དག་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ཉེན་ཁ་འདི་ཇེ་ཡང་དུ་གཏོང་རྒྱུ་སྟེ།

1 དབྱེ་འབྱེད་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ཆ་འཕྲིན་གང་མགྱོགས་མེད་པར་བཟོ་དགོས།

2 གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མིང་ངོ་མ་ཡིན་ན།མིང་འདི་བརྟག་དཔྱད་བྱེད་པའི་གོ་རིམ་ཁྲོད་དུ་གནས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཚབ་བྱེད་ངེས་ཡིན།

3 དབྱེ་འབྱེད་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ཆ་འཕྲིན་ལ་uབརྟེན་ནས་ལོགས་སུ་གསོག་འཇོག་བྱེད་དགོས།

4 མི་སྣ་མི་སྟོན་པའི་འདྲ་པར་མགོ་འདོན་བྱེད་པ།

5 དབྱེ་འབྱེད་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ཆ་འཕྲིན་ལས་གཡོལ་བ།

གོང་སྨྲས་ཀྱི་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཉེན་ཁ་ཏ་ཅང་ཆུང་།འོན་ཀྱང་ངས་ཡོངས་བསྒྲགས་དང་སྙིང་རྒྱུ་ཏ་ཅང་གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན་པས་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཉེན་ཁ་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་རྟོགས་བྱ་བ་མ་ཟད།གནས་སྟོད་གཟབ་ནན་བྱས་ན་ཉེན་ཁ་དེ་ལས་གཡོལ་རྒྱུར་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཡོད།

གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱོད་རང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདི་ལ་ཞུགས་འདོད་ན།ངས་ཁྱོད་ལ་གསལ་བཤད་ཞིབ་མོ་ཞིག་བྱ་གསལ་བཤད་འདི་དག་མོས་མཐུན་ཡི་གེའི་ནང་དུ་བཀོད་ཡོད།ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་མིང་རྟགས་བཀོད་ནས་ཞུགས་དགོས།

གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདིའི་སྐོར་གྱི་དོགས་འདྲི་གང་རུང་དང་ཡང་ན་ཆ་འཕྲིན་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ཤེས་འདོད་ཡོད་ན།ང་ལ་འབྲེལ་བ་བྱེད་པར་དགའ་བསུ་ཞུ།ཡང་ཞའོ་ཟའོ་(ལག་ཁྱེར་ཁ་པར།19915708757སྐད་འཕྲིན།63196060ཡིག་སྒམ།x256yang@uwaterloo.caབཅས་ཡིན།

ཡང་ན་ང་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་སའི་ཧྲ་ཐེ་ལྷུའུ་སློབ་ཆེན་གྱི་སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་འབྲེལ་གཏུག་བྱས་ཀྱང་ཆོག །དགེ་རྒན་ཆེན་མོ་Heather Mair(སྣེགས་ཐུའི་ཁ་པར་ཨང་གྲངས་ནི། +1-519-888-4567 ཡན་ལག་ཁ་པར་ཨང་གྲངས་35917དང་།ཡིག་སྒམ།hmair@uwaterloo.caབཅས་ཡིན། ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདི་ཧྲ་ཐེ་ལྷུའུ་སློབ་ཆེན་གྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཀུན་སྤྱོད་ཞུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་གི་ཞིབ་བཤེར་ཚོགས་མཚན་(ཞིབ་བཤེར་ཚོགས་མཚན་ཨང་རྟགས་ORE#41009)བརྒྱུད་ཡོད།གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཞུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་དེའི་སྐོར་གྱི་གནད་དོན་ཡོད་ཚེ།ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཀུན་སྤྱོད་གཞུང་ལས་ཁང་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་གནང་རོགས། །ཁ་པར་ཨང་གྲངས་ནི། +1-519-888-4567བཅས་ཡན་ལག་ཁ་པར་ཨང་གྲངས་36005དང་།ཡིག་སྒམ་།ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca

ངས་ཁྱོད་དང་ཐང་བས་འབྲེལ་འདྲིས་ཟབ་དུ་སྤེལ་བར་རེ་སྨྲ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡིན་ཆབ་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདི་ལ་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་ཤུགས་ཆེན་གནང་བར་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

Appendix B

Participation Consent

By providing your consent, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.
This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#41009). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca. For all other questions contact Xiaotao Yang, at XXXXXXXXX, or Professor Heather Mair, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 35917.
Please tick "√" what you consent to and cross "**X**" what you do not consent to.

About the overall research

I have read the information presented in the Information Letter about a study conducted by Xiaotao Yang under the supervision of Dr. Heather Mair from the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo, Canada.

I have had the opportunity to ask questions related to the study and have received satisfactory answers to my questions and any additional details.

I was informed that participation in the study is voluntary and that I can withdraw this consent by informing the researcher.

About the unstructured, photo elicitation interview

I consent to the audio-recording of my interview. If I am not comfortable about audio-recording, notes will be written instead

I consent to be observed on my reactions in my interview and be recorded in Xiaotao's notes.

In publications and presentations resulting from this study, I agree to the use of (please inform Xiaotao the specific name separately so that the information will be encrypted and kept confidentially):

Pseudonymous quotations (e.g. you will be identified by a false name).

Directly attributed quotations (e.g., you will be identified by your real name). (If you prefer using real name, such identifying information will be de-identified and encrypted during Xiaotao's fieldwork and use your real name after Xiaotao leave her field trip.)

I was suggested to share electronic photos that do not contain images of other people in them.

I still prefer to use photos including images of people, thus, I acknowledge that the people shown in my photos are informed of and consent to be used in this study.

I would like to share my photos, but I did not and cannot get the consents from people presented in the photo, thus I agree to transfer them into:

Sketches like the practices of court trails

Narratives describing the photo

These individuals could be blurred/cropped out of images

I agree to allow my photographs (including those in which I appear) to be used in presentations and publications resulting from this study with the understanding that:

I will not be identified by name.

I will be identified by name and I would like the photographs credited to me/my personal collection.

I do not want my photos to be directly used in any presentations and publications resulting from this study

I acknowledge that in addition to Xiaotao and her supervisor, Dr. Heather Mair, some unknown co-researchers who have signed CONFIDENTIALITY STATEMENT will have access to my data. Participants will be invited into this study as co-researchers (check more details in the third section to see whether yourself is willing to take on this role). This means some participants will be "unknown co-researchers" of this study at this point. They will be trained by Xiaotao on Privacy & Confidentiality before accessing to your photos and interview scripts in order to analyzing findings of this study. The co-researchers will only be allowed to access the data on Xiaotao's computer with her accompany. The file that links between pseudonyms and Identifying information is called the 'key'. The other co-researchers will not have access to the 'key' or my participants' interview audios and consent forms. This means co-researchers will be given access to de-identified data only (de-identified photos and interview scripts).

About reviewing my own stories and the final writing

Transcripts are typing down every word in our interview. I would like to review and approve my interview transcript prior to the use of my data in presentations and publications resulting from this study.

I would like to be informed about the findings from this study, including a dissertation, journal articles and conference presentations. My preferred communication methods of receiving those documents are:____. My preferred text language will be: English Tibetan Chinese

My preferred length of text will be: Full text Bullet points

About collaborating with Xiaotao in conducting this study

I would like to participate in the following research process as co-researcher:

Analyzing, such as reading through different stories, constantly comparison similarities and differences, and categorizing them.

Representing, such as organizing "data" into writing for sharing the findings with wider audiences.

Conclusions, such as highlighting findings, connecting results with literatures, and advising for future studies

If I involve as co-researcher, I agree to learn about Module 5 of TCPS 2 CORE on Privacy & Confidentiality, from this link: https://tcps2core.ca/course/viewContainer/3iaq4iYuqpGd

If I involve as co-researcher, I will sign the CONFIDENTIALITY STATEMENT.

To honor my contribution to this study, I know that my contribution will be acknowledged in Xiaotao's dissertation. At the very beginning of Xiaotao's thesis, she will list my name and what I have done for this research. In such acknowledgement, I prefer to go by:

Pseudonymous name

Real name.

To honor my contribution to this study, I would like to join in Xiaotao as co-authors for:

Journal publications

Other general platforms, such as magazines or newspapers.

In these publications, my name will be listed as co-authors, I agree to the use of:

Pseudonymous name

Real name.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

Participant name:_________________	Student investigator: Xiaotao Yang
Signature: ______________________	Signature:___________________.
Date: __________________________	Data: _______________________.

Appendix:

Participants will be oriented with academic practices with the following examples before signing this consent:

- Share within thesis committee and readers:

  They will see how theses stored from UW Space and how the readers can access to it.

  https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca

  They will watch the video of thesis defense in a university setting and aware of that several committee members and on-spot audiences might see my photos.

  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8vfiV13HOKQ

- Share by means of journal or conference papers with a wider academic readership:

  They will see how academic readers access to a journal paper from the following link:

  https://www.researchgate.net/publication/43496718_Tourism_Research_in_China_Understanding_the_Unique_Cultural_Contexts_and_Complexities

  They will see a video of academic conference presentation from the following link:

  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4wiQqkYMFOI

- Share by other releasing channels:

  Share their voices and photos with wider audiences via other general platforms, such as magazines or newspapers.

ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལ་ཞུགས་པའི་མོས་མཐུན་ཡི་གེ

ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་སྙོར་བབས་པའི་འདེམས་ཚན་ལ་བཀུག་རྟགས་ ✓ འདི་རྒྱག་རྒྱུ་དང་། མི་བབས་པར་བྲིམ་རྟགས་ ☒ འདི་རྒྱག་རོགས།

བརྒྱུད་རིམ་གྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་སྟངས་ནི།

- ☐ ངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་ངོ་སྤྲོད་བཀླགས་ཟིན། འདི་ནི་ཡང་ཞབ་ཟབ་ཀྱི་ཁ་ན་ཏ་ཏག་ཐལ་ལུབ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཆེན་པོ་ན་རོལ་རྩེད་དང་སོས་དལ་སྤྱི་ཁག་འབྲུམ་རམས་པའི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་ཞིག་རེད།
- ☐ ང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདི་ན་ཞུགས་པ་དེ་ང་རང་གིས་རང་མོས་ཡིན་པ་གསལ་པོ་ཤེས་ཡོད། ངས་དུས་དང་གནས་སྐབས་ནམ་ཡིན་རུང་འདྲི་རྩད་བྱེད་རྒྱུར་མཚམས་འཇོག་བྱ་ཆོག ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁྲབ་ཁྲེལ་མ་ཚར་གོང་དུ་རང་དེའི་ནང་དུ་ཕྱིར་ཐད་བྱེད་ནའང་ཆོག དོན་དག་གང་ཡིན་རུང་ལན་རྒྱག་རྒྱུར་རང་གིས་དང་ལེན་མ་བྱེད་ནའང་ཆོག
- ☐ ངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་གནད་དོན་ལ་འདྲི་རྩད་བྱེད་ཡོད། མ་ཚད་གཤམ་གསལ་གྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་ཆ་ལའང་ཞུགས་པའི་མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད༼གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱོད་ལ་ཞུགས་བསམ་པའི་འདེམས་ཁའི་ཆ་ཡོད་ན་དེ་ན་བཀུག་རྟགས་ཤིག་རྒྱག་རོགས།༽ལ།
  - ☐ པར་རིས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དྲི་རྩད་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ལས་གོ་རིམ་དང་བསྒྲིག་འཛུགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་མེད་པ།
  - ☐ རང་གི་གཏམ་བརྒྱུད་དང་མཇུག་ཐའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་ལ་ཀློག་རྒྱུ།
  - ☐ ཞབ་ཟབ་དང་ལྷན་དུ་ཞིབ་བཤེར་ལ་ཞུགས་རྒྱུ།
  - ☐ ཡུལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ཚོད་ལྡན་ཡིག་ཆ་ལ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་རྒྱུ།

པར་རིས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་འདྲི་རྒྱུ་ལས་གོ་རིམ་དང་སྒྲིག་འཛུགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་མེད་ཚུལ་ནི།

- ☐ ང་ལ་དྲིས་པ་རྣམས་སྒྲ་ཕབ་རྒྱུར་ང་ལ་འཐད་པ་ཡོད།
  - ☐ སྒྲ་ཕབ་དུས་སེམས་མི་བདེ་པས་དྲིས་པ་རྣམས་ཞབ་ཟབ་ཀྱིས་ཡི་གེ་རུ་ཕབ་རྒྱུར་འཐད་པ་ཡོད།
- ☐ འདྲི་རྩད་བྱེད་དུས་ཞབ་ཟབ་ཀྱིས་ངའི་བསམ་འཆར་ལ་ལྟ་ཞིབ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་འཐད། ལྟ་ཞིབ་བྱེད་པའི་ནང་དོན་ཡི་གེའི་ཟིན་ཐོ་རུ་ཕབ་ཆོག
- ☐ ཁྲབ་ཁྲེལ་དང་འགོད་སྟོན་བྱེད་དུས་ང་ལ་འདོད་བསམ་པའི་མིང་འདི་ཡིན།
  - ☐ རང་སྙིག་གི་གསང་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་བཏགས་མིང་བཀོད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། ང་ཆེས་དགའ་བའི་བཏགས་མིང་ནི་༼ ༽འདི་རེད།
  - ☐ ཞིབ་འཇུག་འདི་ལ་མཐོང་ཆེན་བྱེད་པའི་རྟགས་སུ་ངས་རང་གི་དངོས་མིང་བཀོད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། ཡིན་ནའང་ངའི་དངོས་མིང་དེས་ལས་ཞུགས་པ་གཞན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གསང་བ་དང་དོན་དག་ལ་གནོད་སྐྱོད་མེད་རྒྱུ་དེ་སྔོན་འགྲོའི་ཆ་རྐྱེན་ཡིན།
- ☐ ངས་གསལ་བཤད་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཞིག་ནི་ངས་སྤྲོད་ཡོད་པའི་པར་རིས་ན་ཡོད་པའི་མི་སོགས་ཀྱིས་པར་རིས་འདི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ནང་ན་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་ཆོག་རྒྱུའི་མོས་མཐུན་ཐོབ་ཡོད།
- ☐ ངའི་པར་རིས་དག་ངས་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་བསམ་ཡང་། ང་ལ་མེད་པའཛམ་པར་རིས་ན་ཡོད་པའི་མི་གཞན་དག་གིས་གནང་བ་ཐོབ་མེད།
  - ☐ དེའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་པར་རིས་དག་གི་ནང་དོན་དེ་ཁྲིམས་ར་ན་བཀོད་པའི་སྒྲ་རིས་ལྟར་རམ།
  - ☐ པར་རིས་ཀྱི་དོན་གོ་བདེ་བར་བསྒྱུར་ནས་བཤད་པ་ལ་མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན།

ང་དང་པར་རིས་ནང་གི་མི་ལྟ་དག་གིས་གཤམ་ན་གསལ་བར་ལྟར་ལྟ་མཁན་ཚོ་དང་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་རྒྱུར་མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད་པ་ནི།

- ☐ ཞབ་ཟབ་རྒྱང་བ་དང་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་བྱ་རྒྱུ།
  - ☐ ཞབ་ཟབ་ཀྱིས་འདི་འགྲེལ་བཤད་བྱེད་ཚོག་པ་ངས་གནང་བ་སྟེར་ཡོད།
  - ☐ ང་ནི་རང་གི་བཤད་བརྗོད་བྱེད་སྟངས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད།
  - ☐ པར་དེ་སྒྲ་རིས་ལ་བསྒྱུར་ན་ཆོག
- ☐ དཔྱད་རྩོམ་གྱི་དཔྱད་བསྒྲོས་ཚོགས་པ་དང་། ཀློག་པ་པོ་རྣམས་དང་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་པ་ནི།
  - ☐ ངས་UW Space དྲ་ཚུགས་ཐོག་ལ་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་ཡར་འཇར་ཞུགས་དང་ཀློགས་པ་པོས་མར་ཏེ་ལྟར་ཕབ་ལུགས་སོགས་མཐོང་གིན་ཡོད།
    https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca
  - ☐ ངས་གཤམ་གྱི་བརྟན་ལམ་ནས་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཆེན་པོའི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་རྩོད་ལན་བྱེད་ཚུལ་སོགས་རྒྱུས་ལོན་བྱེད་ཡོད། དཔྱད་བསྒྲོས་ཚོགས་པ་དང་ལྷད་མོ་བ་ལྟར་དུ་ངས་སྤྲོད་པའི་པར་རིས་རྣམས་མ་མཐོང་གི་བར་དུ།
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8vfiV13HOKQ
- ☐ དུས་དེབ་དང་ཚོགས་འདུ་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་ཀློག་པ་པོ་རྣམས་དང་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་ཚུལ་ནི།

- ངས་སློབ་པ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དུས་དེབ་ཇི་ལྟར་བཀླག་ཐུབ་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་པ་གོ
  https://www.researchgate.net/publication/43496718_Tourism_Research_in_China_Understanding_the_Unique_Cultural_Contexts and Complexities
- ངས་གཞམ་གྱི་བརྙན་ལམ་ཐོག་ནས་རིག་གཞུང་ཚོགས་འདུའི་གནས་ཚུལ་རྒྱུས་ལོན་བྱེད་ཡོད།
  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4wiQqkYMFOI

- ཐབས་ལམ་གཞན་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་མཉམ་སྦྱོད་བྱེད་སྟངས་ནི།
  - ངའི་སྐད་དང་པར་རིས་སོགས་སློབ་པ་པོ་དེ་ལས་མང་བ་ཞིག་དང་མཉམ་སྦྱོད་བྱེད་པའི་འདུན་པ་ཡོད། དཔེར་ན་དུས་དེབ་དང་ཚགས་པར་སོགས་མང་ཚོགས་ཅན་གྱི་སྡེགས་བུ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཁྱབ་སྤེལ་གཏོང་བ།

རང་གི་གདམ་བསྒྱུད་དང་མཇུག་མཐའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་ལ་སློབ་རྒྱུ་ནི།

- ངས་ང་ལ་འདྲི་རྩད་བྱས་པ་རྣམས་ཚོག་ནག་གདམ་ནག་གིས་ཚུལ་དུ་རྟེས་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ནང་དུ་ཡི་གེ་ཏུ་བླུག་པ་དང་། ཡི་གེ་ཏུ་འགྱུར་ངེས་ཡིན་པ་གསལ་པོ་ཤེས་ཡོད། ང་རང་ལ་ཡང་ང་འདི་ཏུ་ཞུགས་ནས་བཤད་པའི་ཟིན་ཐོ་དག་སློག་འདོད་དང་ཉན་འདོད་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད། ངས་ངའི་ཡི་གེ་ཅན་གྱི་ནང་དོན་ནས། ནང་དོན་གང་ཡིན་ཡང་རང་གི་བློ་ལ་བབས་མེད་ཚེ་རང་གིས་སུ་མཐུད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བཅོས་དང་རང་གི་གདམ་བསྒྱུད་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་བཏང་ཆོག་པར་ཤེས་ཡོད།
- ང་རང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་རྩད་རྒྱུ་ལ་དགའ་བ་ཡོད། མ་ཚོད་དེ་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་དང་དུས་དེབ། རིག་གཞུང་གི་རྩོམ་ཆོས་དང་བཅས་པའང་ཕོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པ་ཡིན། ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་དེ་དག་འཁྱེན་ཡིག་གི་ལམ་ནས་ལོན་ཐབས་ནི། ( ) འདི་ཡིན།

ཞབ་ཐབ་དང་ལྷན་དུ་ཞིབ་བཤེར་ལ་ཞུགས་རྒྱུ་ནི།

- ང་མཉམ་སྦྲུབ་བྱེད་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་ཞིག་བྱེད་འདོད་ཡོད། འོག་ན་བསྟན་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ལ་ཞུགས་པ།
  - རྣམ་པར་དབྱེ་བ།
  - རྩོམ་ཡིག་འབྲི་བ།
  - ཕྱོགས་བསྡོམས་བྱེད་པ།
- ང་ནི་རྟོག་ཞིབ་དང་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་རྣམ་པ་ཡོད་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ལ་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད། མ་ཚོད་བསམ་འཆར་འདོན་ཆོག་པ་ལའང་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད།
- ངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལ་བྱས་པ་དེ་མཐོང་ཆེན་བྱེད་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་ངས་ངའི་བྱས་པ་རྣམས་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་ནང་དུ་གསལ་བཤད་བྱེད་ཡོད་པ་གོ་དགོས།
- ངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལ་བྱས་པ་དེ་མཐོང་ཆེན་བྱེད་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་དབང་ཞབ་ཐབ་ཀྱི་མཉམ་སྦྲུབ་རྩོམ་པ་པོའི་གྲས་ན་ཐོན་འདོད་ཡོད། དཔེར་ན།
  - དུས་དེབ་རྩོམ་ཆོས།
  - མང་ཚོགས་ཅན་གྱི་སྡེགས་བུ་དུས་དེབ་དང་ཚགས་པར་སོགས།

ཡུལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ཚད་ལྡན་ཡིག་ཆ་ལ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ནི།

- ངས་ཡུལ་བསྐོར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་ལས་མང་བ་དང་གཞུག་མར་གནས་པའི་མིའི་དཔེ་ཆ་དང་རྩོམ་ཡིག་སོགས་ལ་རྒྱུས་ལོན་བྱེད་རྒྱུར་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད། དེའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་ང་ཞབ་ཐབ་དང་སྐར་ཐུག་འཕྲད་བྱེད་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་དེ་ལས་ལྷག་པ་འཐོབ་པའི་འདུན་པ་ཡོད།

ང་ལ་གོང་གསལ་གྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལ་ཞུགས་རྒྱུ་མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད། ང་ལ་ནམ་ཡིན་ཡང་མོས་མཐུན་ཡི་གེ་འདིར་བསྒྱུར་བཅོས་དང་མེད་པ་བཟོ་ཆོག་རྒྱུའི་དབང་ཆ་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་ཀྱིན་ཡོད།

ཞུགས་མཁན་གྱི་མིང་ ( ) ཞིབ་འཇུག་པའི་སློབ་མའི་མིང་ (ཡང་ཞབ་ཐབ)

མིང་རྟགས་འགོད་པ ( ) མིང་རྟགས་འགོད་པ། ( )

དུས་སྐབས། ( ) དུས་སྐབས། ( )