



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

China

China – CHN37025 – Falun Gong –
Organisational structure – Relationship to
Buddhism
20 July 2010

1. What is known about the organisational hierarchy of Falun Dafa, if there is one? Are there connections to the Buddhist Association in different areas? Do local groups have presidents or chairmen, who meet with Master Li?

Several sources located indicate that Falun Dafa has a fairly loose, informal organisational structure. Moreover, Falun Gong adherents stress that the organisation does not have any organisational hierarchy. Most sources agree, however, that the web of local Falun Dafa organisations in a number of countries and their connections to each other via interpersonal networks and web-based interactions, demonstrate at least some level of informal organisation.

Li Hongzhi, the founder of Falun Dafa, is often referred by Falun Gong practitioners as “Master Li”.¹ No information was located to indicate that Master Li has been directly involved in establishing the various local Falun Dafa Associations in Australia, or that he meets with the associations’ representatives. No representative would use such a title as “Chairmen” or “Presidents” due to the deliberate avoidance of any practitioner hierarchy (as outlined in the information set out below). The Australian Falun Dafa Information Centre’s list of contacts (<http://www.falunau.org/sites&contacts.htm>) for various practice sites throughout the country lists only names and numbers; there are no titles differentiating the contacts.

A number of previous research responses provide information on the organisational structure of Falun Gong within Australia:

- *Research Response CHN33686* of September 2008 includes information supplied to the Tribunal by Ms Sealand Gregory, the Australian Falun Dafa Information Centre’s contact person for general enquiries on practice sites around Sydney. Ms Gregory stated:

As you may already know that there is no leadership in our Falun Gong practice, and all coordinators are volunteers, and there should not be any type of payments involved. With our practice/study sites, there might be other practitioners like to assist, but all voluntary work generated by individuals.²

- *Research Response CHN16165* of September 2003 notes that there are a number of Falun Gong associations in Australia, which appear to work together and may overlap in membership and responsibilities. Local (state-based organisations) appear to be linked to a national association. The response notes that the different organisations mention each other in their communications but do not define their organisational relationships. Information provided by the President of the Fal Lun Fo Xue Association of Australia in 2002 to the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs

¹ Australian Falun Dafa Information Centre 2002, ‘Frequently Asked Questions About Falun Gong’, Australian Falun Dafa Information Centre website <http://falunau.org/fdifaq.htm> – Accessed 20 July 2010 – Attachment 17

² RRT Research & Information 2008, *Research Response CHN33686*, 1 September – Attachment 7

states: “We assist new practitioners to set up regular exercise practice sites and experience sharing teams, and help solve problems practitioners may encounter during their practice...the association mainly focuses on the coordination of Falun Gong practitioners’ truth-clarification activities”.³

- *Research Response CHN13942* of January 2000 includes information provided to the RRT by Qiwen Yao, then-Sydney contact person for the Falun Dafa. Mr Yao stated that “there is no ‘hierarchy’ of any kind in Falun Dafa. All activities are on the voluntary base [sic]. And every practitioner of Falun Dafa are equal”.⁴

The Department of Immigration (DIMIA) reported in June 2005 that “Falun Gong makes no claim to having a formal organisation”.⁵ The DIMIA noted, however, that the standardisation of websites and of the information disseminated, along with its high public visibility, indicate “at the least, informal organisation, if not some controlling group”.⁶

The information accords with other descriptions of there being a number of “representatives” in each area who can assist practitioners with any problems they encounter while learning the Falun Dafa exercises and philosophy.

Organisational Structure of the Falun Dafa in General

An essay by Yunfeng Lu published in the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* in 2005 on Falun Gong’s organisational evolution, notes Li Hongzhi’s *Regulations for Falun Dafa Disciples in Propagating Dafa and Teaching the Exercises*, promulgated in 1994.⁷ The *Regulations* include measures designed to discourage ambitious adherents from challenging Li’s teachings and/or establishing their own groups. They include stipulations that while all Falun Dafa adherents may disseminate information through book-reading sessions, group discussions, or reciting Li’s teachings at practice sites, none are permitted to lecture in an auditorium as Li has done.⁸ Further, practitioners who speak of their own understanding of the practice in group discussions or practice sites are instructed to make it clear that these are their “personal understandings”, not Master Li’s words.⁹ In this way, Li has established himself “as the sole source of doctrinal innovation and interpretation...[thus] largely avoid[ing] potential challenges from ambitious practitioners”. Li has also forbidden practitioners from developing their own personal master-disciple relationships within Falun Gong.¹⁰

In a 2004 article published in *The China Quarterly* Cheris Shun-ching Chan states that while Falun Gong did remove some of its organisational infrastructure in response to Chinese government restrictions from 1997, it is not entirely without any organisation.¹¹ Chan describes the group as having an informal, loose structure, with no staff or district administrative bodies. Practitioners do not pay joining or practice fees, and anyone can

³ RRT Country Research 2003, *Research Response CHN16165*, 16 September – Attachment 6

⁴ RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response CHN13942*, 17 January – Attachment 9

⁵ Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2005, *Falun Dafa/Falun Gong: Issues Brief*, June – Attachment 1

⁶ Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2005, *Falun Dafa/Falun Gong: Issues Brief*, June – Attachment 1

⁷ Lu, Y. 2005, ‘Entrepreneurial Logics and the Evolution of Falun Gong’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp.173-185, Accessed via Wiley Interscience 19 July 2010 – Attachment 3

⁸ Lu, Y. 2005, ‘Entrepreneurial Logics and the Evolution of Falun Gong’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp.173-185, Accessed via Wiley Interscience 19 July 2010 – Attachment 3

⁹ Lu, Y. 2005, ‘Entrepreneurial Logics and the Evolution of Falun Gong’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp.173-185, Accessed via Wiley Interscience 19 July 2010 – Attachment 3

¹⁰ Lu, Y. 2005, ‘Entrepreneurial Logics and the Evolution of Falun Gong’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp.173-185, Accessed via Wiley Interscience 19 July 2010 – Attachment 3

¹¹ Chan, C. S. 2004, ‘The Falun Gong in China: A Sociological Perspective’, *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 179, September, pp.665-683, Accessed via Cambridge Journals Online 19 July 2010 – Attachment 4

attend practice sites to learn meditation and *qigong* exercises. The informal leaders of practice sites, “guidance stations”, “branch stations” and “main stations” are connected horizontally. Leaders of practice sites and guidance stations call themselves counsellors (*fudao yuan*), and leaders of branch or main stations are called the station head (*zhan zhang*). Most counsellors are either self-appointed or asked by local practitioners to volunteer. Individual practitioners also maintain their own horizontal, interpersonal networks. Globally, Falun Gong main stations are horizontally linked to each other through the official *falun dafa* website, which is also used by Master Li to transmit messages and instructions to followers.¹²

In 2003 journal *Nova Religio* published an essay by Craig A. Burgdoff on Falun Gong. The author joined a local Falun Gong practice group in the United States of America and used his experiences to inform his discussion of Falun Gong’s organisational and doctrinal characteristics.¹³ Burgdoff corroborates the information outlined above that Li Hongzhi “insists that practitioners who take on organisational roles should have absolutely no authority over other practitioners”.¹⁴ Further, all activities are run by volunteers and are free of charge. Those who organise and finance events at the local level are generally self-nominated. Burgdoff also notes that Falun Gong does not maintain membership lists; new members are taught the exercise and invited to take part in events as they occur.¹⁵ There is some top-down organisation, however, in terms of the dissemination of information to practitioners:

I am continually amazed at the ability of this loosely-organised voluntary group to circulate information quickly. Local organisers keep me and other interested participants supplied with local, national and international Falun Gong information through email lists. Information from the national and international level is disseminated through local organisers who in turn forward it to local members. The organisational structure is both web-based and web-like. This structure efficiently distributes information but it is ineffective at maintaining hierarchical control over group members.¹⁶

In an essay published in 2002 in the *China Quarterly*, James Tong notes that Falun Gong sources maintain that there are no organisational goals or regulations, that practitioners may join or leave at any time, and that adherents gather to practice meditation and spiritual cultivation at “guidance stations” (*fudaozhan*), which do not have offices, telephones or staff. Guidance counsellors (*fudao yuan*) provide instruction rather than undertaking administrative duties, and assist new practitioners in cultivating the Falun Gong method.¹⁷ The Chinese government, on the other hand, has claimed that the group had a clear hierarchical structure with the movement’s founder, Li Hongzhi, issuing regular directives from the top to local units.¹⁸

¹² Chan, C. S. 2004, ‘The *Falun Gong* in China: A Sociological Perspective’, *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 179, September, pp.665-683, Accessed via Cambridge Journals Online 19 July 2010 – Attachment 4

¹³ Burgdoff, C. A. 2003, ‘How Falun Gong Practice Undermines Li Hongzhi’s Totalistic Rhetoric’, *Nova Religio*, Vol 6, No. 2, pp. 332-345, Accessed via ProQuest Religion 16 July 2010 – Attachment 5

¹⁴ Burgdoff, C. A. 2003, ‘How Falun Gong Practice Undermines Li Hongzhi’s Totalistic Rhetoric’, *Nova Religio*, Vol 6, No. 2, pp. 332-345, Accessed via ProQuest Religion 16 July 2010 – Attachment 5

¹⁵ Burgdoff, C. A. 2003, ‘How Falun Gong Practice Undermines Li Hongzhi’s Totalistic Rhetoric’, *Nova Religio*, Vol 6, No. 2, pp. 332-345, Accessed via ProQuest Religion 16 July 2010 – Attachment 5

¹⁶ Burgdoff, C. A. 2003, ‘How Falun Gong Practice Undermines Li Hongzhi’s Totalistic Rhetoric’, *Nova Religio*, Vol 6, No. 2, pp. 332-345, Accessed via ProQuest Religion 16 July 2010 – Attachment 5

¹⁷ Tong, J. 2002, ‘An Organizational analysis of the *Falun Gong*: Structure, Communications, Financing’, *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 171, September, Accessed via Cambridge Journals online 16 July 2010, pp.636-660 – Attachment 2

¹⁸ Tong, J. 2002, ‘An Organizational analysis of the *Falun Gong*: Structure, Communications, Financing’, *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 171, September, Accessed via Cambridge Journals online 16 July 2010, pp.636-660 – Attachment 2

A 2002 UK Home Office publication, *Revolution of the Wheel – the Falun Gong in China and in Exile*, states that practitioners “stress that Falun Dafa is above organisation... The websites and other publications of practitioners claim practitioners are bound together loosely by common interest but have allegedly no wish to create a formal structure”.¹⁹ The publication notes that while Falun Gong does not have individual leaders, each country organisation has contacts and spokespersons whom the media seek out for comment; whether this is “because other practitioners defer or because media relations have been made is unknown”.²⁰

2. What is the connection of Falun Gong with Buddhism? At the highest level of Falun Gong practice, does the body obtain ‘Buddha nature’?

A number of sources were located that indicate that Li Hongzhi has incorporated a number of Buddhist ideas and terms into the Falun Gong discipline; however, his use and interpretation of the terms generally differs substantially from their Buddhist applications. Further, Falun Gong is described by Li as being superior to Buddhism.

Falun Gong incorporates derivative elements of Buddhism, as well as Taoism.²¹ The Falun Dafa Information Centre’s website states that “Falun Gong is a traditional Chinese spiritual discipline that is Buddhist in nature.”²² Yunfeng Lu’s 2005 essay ‘Entrepreneurial Logics and the Evolution of Falun Gong’ notes that Falun Gong has been established on a theory that stresses Truthfulness (*Zhen*), Benevolence (*Shan*) and Forbearance (*Ren*) as its main objectives and guiding principles.²³ Truthfulness is the ultimate objective of Taoism and Benevolence is the highest purpose of Buddhism (in Li Hongzhi’s interpretation). Falun Gong thus synthesises elements of both religions while distinguishing itself as a unique philosophy.²⁴

The connection between Falun Gong and Buddhism is somewhat confusing and related to Master Li’s interpretation of particular Buddhist ideas and terminology and appropriation for use in the Falun Dafa philosophy. The Falun Dafa Information Centre describes the connection in this way:

Falun Gong is Buddhist insofar as it aspires, ultimately, to the cultivation of Buddhahood and is one of a number of disciplines comprising the larger Buddhist system or school of practices. Some such practices trace back to Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha; Theravada Buddhism is one example. Others, such as the Kagyudpa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, do not. Falun Gong does not. Falun Gong is more properly classified as Buddhist qigong rather than religious Buddhism. While the two ultimately share in the same aspiration – enlightenment, or liberation – Falun Gong’s approach involves, alongside moral self-cultivation, disciplined physical practice of qigong exercises. By contrast religious Buddhism generally features a devotional component, a monastic/lay distinction, a ritual calendar, set doctrine, etc.²⁵

¹⁹ UK Home Office, 2002, *Revolution of the Wheel – the Falun Gong in China and in Exile*, April, para 2.1 http://www.asylumlaw.org/docs/china/ind0902_china_falungong.pdf – Accessed 19 July 2010 – Attachment 8

²⁰ UK Home Office, 2002, *Revolution of the Wheel – the Falun Gong in China and in Exile*, April, para 2.1 http://www.asylumlaw.org/docs/china/ind0902_china_falungong.pdf – Accessed 19 July 2010 – Attachment 8

²¹ Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2005, *Falun Dafa/Falun Gong: Issues Brief*, June – Attachment 1

²² Falun Dafa Information Centre 2008, ‘FAQ about Falun Gong’, Falun Dafa Information Centre website, 19 June <http://www.faluninfo.net/article/689/#b1> – Accessed 16 July 2010 – Attachment 10

²³ Lu, Y. 2005, ‘Entrepreneurial Logics and the Evolution of Falun Gong’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 2, p.177, Accessed via Wiley Interscience 19 July 2010 – Attachment 3

²⁴ Lu, Y. 2005, ‘Entrepreneurial Logics and the Evolution of Falun Gong’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 2, p.177, Accessed via Wiley Interscience 19 July 2010 – Attachment 3

²⁵ Falun Dafa Information Centre 2008, ‘FAQ about Falun Gong’, Falun Dafa Information Centre website, 19 June <http://www.faluninfo.net/article/689/#b1> – Accessed 16 July 2010 – Attachment 10

The central idea that differentiates Falun Gong from Buddhism (while establishing a connection between the two), is that there is a difference between “religious Buddhism” and Buddhist “practices” (or philosophy). Thus while religious Buddhism is characterised by temples and monks and includes a number of different sects, there are many practices from the “Buddha school” that are not considered part of the religion and take place between a teacher and students without religious formalities. They are instead considered to be forms of “cultivation”.²⁶ The Falun Dafa ClearWisdom website states that as a “cultivation practice”, Falun Gong emphasises elevation of the mind and enhancement of physical health:

...in China, it is not considered necessary to be religious in order to achieve the goal of raising one’s spiritual level, but one does need a cultivation practice. Here in the West, since we don’t really have the concept of cultivation, anything spiritual or that has to do with transcending the human world has traditionally fallen under the concept of religion. Falun Gong is no exception.²⁷

In his essay ‘The Falun Gong, Buddhism and “Buddhist qigong”’, Benjamin Penny notes that Master Li maintains that Falun Gong is not a religion but a “cultivation system” or “qigong of the Buddha School” that does not take the form of religion.²⁸ Li claims that Falun Gong belongs to the “Buddha School” but is not itself Buddhism. Penny states that in making this distinction Master Li is referring to the difference between *fojia* and *fojiao* – between, literally, a school of the Buddha (or a Buddhist philosophy) and a religion or teaching of the Buddha.²⁹

In Master Li’s text *Zhuan Falun*, Li writes:

Sakyamuni [the historical Buddha] said that there were 84,000 cultivation ways. Buddhism includes only a few cultivation ways... Our Falun Dafa is also one of 84, 000 cultivation ways in the Buddha’s School, and it is not related to primitive Buddhism or to Buddhism in the Dharma-ending period, nor does it have anything to do with modern religions.³⁰

A number of ideas and key terminology in Falun Gong are derived from Buddhist ideas and terms. Craig A. Burgdoff’s above-mentioned essay states that “Falun Gong’s Buddhist lineage may be most obvious in [its] emphasis upon eliminating worldly desires and personal attachments” and notes that Falun Gong philosophy includes a “Buddhism-inspired cosmology of cyclic destruction and renewal”.³¹ Cheris Sun-ching Chan also notes that Falun Gong includes a modified Buddhist conception of karma, with moral acts and bearing suffering accumulate virtues and eliminate bad karma. Illnesses and hardships work to repay bad karma “debts” and thus have a positive function in aiding forward movement on the path to enlightenment.³² Karma (*yeli*) is always bad in Falun Gong, as opposed to the good and bad karma understood in Buddhism as being acquired through performance of good and bad actions.³³

²⁶ ‘Answers to Commonly Asked Questions about Falun Gong’ 2004, Falun Dafa Clearwisdom website <http://clearwisdom.net/emh/articles/2004/9/1/52070.html> – Accessed 16 July 2010 – Attachment 11

²⁷ ‘Answers to Commonly Asked Questions about Falun Gong’ 2004, Falun Dafa Clearwisdom website <http://clearwisdom.net/emh/articles/2004/9/1/52070.html> – Accessed 16 July 2010 – Attachment 11

²⁸ Penny, B. 2005, ‘the Falun gong, Buddhism and “Buddhist qigong”’, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 38, Accessed via Informaworld 16 July 2010 – Attachment 12

²⁹ Penny, B. 2005, ‘the Falun gong, Buddhism and “Buddhist qigong”’, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 39 & 40, Accessed via Informaworld 16 July 2010 – Attachment 12

³⁰ Li Hongzhi 1998, *Zhuan Falun (English Version)*, 2nd Edition, Falun Fo Fa Publishing Company, Hong Kong, p. 93 – Attachment 13

³¹ Burgdoff, C. A. 2003, ‘How Falun Gong Practice Undermines Li Hongzhi’s Totalistic Rhetoric’, *Nova Religio*, Vol 6, No. 2, p. 342 & 343, Accessed via ProQuest Religion 16 July 2010 – Attachment 5

³² Chan, C. S. 2004, ‘The Falun Gong in China: A Sociological Perspective’, *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 179, September, pp.665-683, Accessed via Cambridge Journals Online 19 July 2010 – Attachment 4

³³ Penny, B. 2005, ‘the Falun gong, Buddhism and “Buddhist qigong”’, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 43, Accessed via Informaworld 16 July 2010 – Attachment 12

Benjamin Penny lists a number of key Buddhist terms that feature in Falun Gong.³⁴ The *Falun* of Falun Gong is a standard translation of *dharmacakra*, the Wheel of the Law. In Buddhism, the *dharmacakra* refers to the Buddhist truth that was set in motion with the first lecture given by the Buddha after his enlightenment. In Falun Gong, the *falun* is a real object or “law wheel”, but it is said to exist and operate in another dimension.³⁵ Master Li describes it as “a miniature of the universe that possesses all of the universe’s capabilities”.³⁶

The *gong* of Falun Gong is a standard Chinese term for the Buddhist idea of merit. It is used by Li to refer to “cultivation energy”. However, *gong* in Falun Gong philosophy must be constructed, and takes on the form of a column that grows out of the top of a practitioner’s head. Those who have achieved enlightenment (and who according to Li will thus acquire supernatural capabilities) will be able to see how advanced a practitioner is in their cultivation by the height and colour of their *gong* column.³⁷

Falun Gong philosophy also refers in a number of different ways to *fa*, which is defined in Li Hongzhi’s work *Zhuan Falun* as “the Law and principles in the Buddha School”.³⁸ *Fa* is also referred to, however, as the moral law that governs the universe, comprised of truth, benevolence, and forbearance. *Fa* is also described as “the most mysterious, profound, and superior science of all the theories in the world”, which must be understood in order to access the truth of the universe.³⁹ Li asserts that traditional Buddhism only revealed a very small part of the Great Law, and that neither Daoism nor Buddhism addresses all three of the universe’s moral principles (truth, benevolence, forbearance).⁴⁰

The “Buddha nature” is a reference to the achievement of higher planes through cultivation practice. Li asserts that he has “obtained the *Fa*”, the highest point of cultivation whereupon worldly attachments and sentiments can be easily given up.⁴¹ As a practitioner ascends to higher planes, they are said to become increasingly integrated into the universe or cosmos, and will develop supernatural abilities. At this point the practitioner’s third or celestial eye is said to open. Li notes that this is also called the Buddha’s eye by some people, and enables the practitioner to see through human bodies and walls and to observe “other time-spaces”.⁴² At the very highest point of cultivation, or “completion” (*yuanman*), the practitioner’s body will reach “the absolute purity of the highest degree”⁴³, and at this point Li states that the practitioner’s body “become[s] a Buddha’s body”. This is referred to as “the state of buddhahood”.⁴⁴

³⁴ Penny, B. 2005, ‘the Falun gong, Buddhism and “Buddhist qigong”’, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 42-44, Accessed via Informaworld 16 July 2010 – Attachment 12

³⁵ Penny, B. 2005, ‘the Falun gong, Buddhism and “Buddhist qigong”’, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 42, Accessed via Informaworld 16 July 2010 – Attachment 12

³⁶ Li Hongzhi quoted in Penny, B. 2005, ‘the Falun gong, Buddhism and “Buddhist qigong”’, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 42, Accessed via Informaworld 16 July 2010 – Attachment 12

³⁷ Penny, B. 2005, ‘the Falun gong, Buddhism and “Buddhist qigong”’, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 43, Accessed via Informaworld 16 July 2010 – Attachment 12

³⁸ Li Hongzhi 1998, ‘*Zhuan Falun (English Version)*’, 2nd Edition, Falun Fo Fa Publishing Company, Hong Kong, Glossary – Attachment 14

³⁹ Chang, M. H. 2004, *Falun Gong: The End of Days*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, pp.72-3 – Attachment 15

⁴⁰ Chang, M. H. 2004, *Falun Gong: The End of Days*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, pp.72-3 – Attachment 15

⁴¹ Chang, M. H. 2004, *Falun Gong: The End of Days*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, p. 82 – Attachment 15

⁴² Chang, M. H. 2004, *Falun Gong: The End of Days*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, pp.83 – Attachment 15

⁴³ Chang, M. H. 2004, *Falun Gong: The End of Days*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, pp.86 – Attachment 15

⁴⁴ Li Hongzhi 1998, ‘*Zhuan Falun (English Version)*’, 2nd Edition, Falun Fo Fa Publishing Company, Hong Kong, p. 273 – Attachment 16; Chang, M. H. 2004, *Falun Gong: The End of Days*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, pp. 88 – Attachment 15

Thus while Falun Gong is not a form of Buddhism or directly linked to Buddhism, it incorporates a number of themes and utilises key terms found in Buddhist philosophy. The way in which Li Hongzhi has chosen to define and interpret Buddhism-derived ideas in the context of the Falun Dafa doctrine, however, generally differs substantially from their use in Buddhist philosophy. Reference to achieving a “Buddha nature” or “state of Buddhahood” at the highest level of Falun Gong practice is an accurate reflection of the way in which referential Buddhist language is found in Falun Dafa beliefs.

Attachments

1. Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2005, *Falun Dafa/Falun Gong: Issues Brief*, June Reference.
2. Tong, J. 2002, ‘An Organizational analysis of the *Falun Gong*: Structure, Communications, Financing’, *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 171, September, Accessed via Cambridge Journals online 16 July 2010, pp.636-660.
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4. Chan, C. S. 2004, ‘The *Falun Gong* in China: A Sociological Perspective’, *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 179, September, pp.665-683, Accessed via Cambridge Journals Online 19 July 2010.
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6. RRT Country Research 2003, *Research Response CHN16165*, 16 September.
7. RRT Research & Information 2008, *Research Response CHN33686*, 1 September.
8. UK Home Office, 2002, *Revolution of the Wheel – the Falun Gong in China and in Exile*, April, para 2.1 http://www.asylumlaw.org/docs/china/ind0902_china_falungong.pdf – Accessed 19 July 2010.
9. RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response CHN13942*, 17 January.
10. Falun Dafa Information Centre 2008, ‘FAQ about Falun Gong’, Falun Dafa Information Centre website, 19 June <http://www.faluninfo.net/article/689/#b1> – Accessed 16 July 2010.
11. ‘Answers to Commonly Asked Questions about Falun Gong’ 2004, Falun Dafa Clearwisdom website <http://clearwisdom.net/emh/articles/2004/9/1/52070.html> – Accessed 16 July 2010.
12. Penny, B. 2005, ‘the Falun gong, Buddhism and “Buddhist qigong”’, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 35-46, Accessed via Informaworld 16 July 2010.
13. Li Hongzhi 1998, *Zhuan Falun (English Version)*, 2nd Edition, Falun Fo Fa Publishing Company, Hong Kong.

14. Li Hongzhi 1998, '*Zhuan Falun (English Version)*', 2nd Edition, Falun Fo Fa Publishing Company, Hong Kong, Glossary.
15. Chang, M. H. 2004, *Falun Gong: The End of Days*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, pp.72-3.
16. Li Hongzhi 1998, '*Zhuan Falun (English Version)*', 2nd Edition, Falun Fo Fa Publishing Company, Hong Kong, p. 273.
17. Australian Falun Dafa Information Centre 2002, 'Frequently Asked Questions About Falun Gong', Australian Falun Dafa Information Centre website <http://falunau.org/fdifaq.htm> – Accessed 20 July 2010.