



**A Strategic Approach to Buddhist Tourism Management at Sarnath
(The Site of the First Sermon) in the Buddhist Pilgrimage Circuit of India:
A Case Study of the Sarnath Veneration Sites, India**

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(Article history) Received: 2025-10-26, Revised: 2025-10-30, Accepted: 2025-11-25

ABSTRACT

This research aims to: 1) study the context and potential of Buddhist tourism management at Sarnath, a significant Buddhist site and one of the four principal veneration sites (Sankavāniyasthānas); 2) analyze the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (SWOT) of Buddhist tourism within the Buddhist Pilgrimage Circuit in India; and 3) propose appropriate and sustainable strategic guidelines for Buddhist tourism management. The study employed a qualitative research methodology, utilizing in-depth interviews with key informants including Buddhist monks, Buddhist scholars, Indian tourism authorities, tour operators, and religious tourists. Field observations at Sarnath, located in Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, India, were also conducted. The findings reveal that Buddhist tourism management at Sarnath should focus on five key strategic areas: (1) Conservation and restoration of ancient monuments alongside environmental management; (2) Establishing international cooperation networks among Buddhist nations and religious organizations; (3) Developing facilities, infrastructure, and safety measures to accommodate tourists; (4) Promoting and branding the site through the soft power of Buddhism; and (5) Local community involvement in economic and social development while preserving spiritual values. These strategies reflect an approach to Buddhist tourism management that aligns with global heritage conservation and the sustainable development of cultural tourism.

Keywords: Buddhist Tourism, Sarnath, Sankavāniyasthānas, Management Strategy

1. INTRODUCTION

Buddhism is a religion with over 500 million followers worldwide and has a profound influence on the way of life, culture, and beliefs of people in many regions (Ghimire, 2019). The four principal veneration sites in India—Lumbini, Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, and Kushinagar—are crucial locations linked to the life of the Buddha, holding immense religious, historical, and cultural value (Worapongpat, 2023d). Sarnath, in particular, located in Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, is the site where the Buddha delivered his first sermon (Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta), making it a significant destination for Buddhist tourism that attracts pilgrims and tourists from all over the world (Hall, 2006).

Despite Sarnath's sacred and historical significance, it still faces challenges in tourism management, such as overcrowding, the impact of commercial tourism on monument conservation, inadequate facilities and infrastructure, a lack of local community participation, and competition from other religious tourism sites in the region (Worapongpat, 2023c). These issues highlight the necessity of developing a Buddhist tourism management strategy that can balance the preservation of spiritual values with the development of a tourism economy (Hemprapai et al., 2023).

Buddhist tourism is not merely about sightseeing; it is also a journey to seek religious and cultural meaning, as well as an experience of learning and spiritual enrichment (Kanchanathaveekul, Buddhapoompitak, Srithongphim, & Tangmungmee, 2024). Therefore, studying appropriate strategic approaches to tourism management at Sarnath is crucial for preserving the Buddhist heritage, developing the local economy, and fostering cooperation among Buddhist countries worldwide (Worapongpat, 2023b). This research focuses on examining strategic guidelines for Buddhist tourism management at Sarnath using qualitative analysis to provide practical policy recommendations and actionable guidelines at the local, national, and international levels.

Objective

- 1 To study the strategic management approach for Buddhist tourism at Sarnath (the site of the first sermon) in the Buddhist pilgrimage site area in India.
- 2 To analyze the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and obstacles of Buddhist tourism management in the Buddhist pilgrimage site area in India.
- 3 To propose appropriate and sustainable Buddhist tourism management strategies for the development of Buddhist pilgrimage sites.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Concept of Buddhist Tourism and Pilgrimage

Buddhist tourism is a significant dimension of spiritual and cultural tourism that connects religious devotion with heritage appreciation (Manop Nakkanrian, Nakkanrian, & Saramas, 2022). It involves travel motivated by faith, cultural curiosity, and spiritual enrichment at sacred sites associated with the life of the Buddha (Worapongpat, 2023a). The Buddhist pilgrimage circuit in India—comprising Lumbini, Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, and Kushinagar—plays a crucial role in transmitting Buddhist values while fostering intercultural understanding and sustainable economic growth (Palmer & Chuamuangphan, 2021). Among these sites, Sarnath stands as the location of the Buddha's first sermon, marking it as an essential site of veneration and religious learning.

2.2. Sarnath and Its Religious Significance

Sarnath represents a nexus of religious, historical, and archaeological value, embodying both tangible and intangible heritage dimensions. Scholars highlight that sustainable management of such pilgrimage sites must balance conservation, visitor experience, and religious authenticity (Worapongpat & Broewongtrakhul, 2024). Effective tourism management at Sarnath, therefore, requires strategies that respect monastic traditions while enhancing the cultural value of the destination (Phra Kru Pariyatti Wachirakhun, 2021).

2.3 Strategic Tourism Management and Sustainability

Sustainable tourism management emphasizes stakeholder collaboration, resource conservation, and community engagement (Phra Supakit Supanyo & Phra Methee Pariyatti Wiboon, 2023; Worapongpat, Nirandon, Issaralam, Khamsai, & Hemchatluechai, 2023). For Buddhist pilgrimage sites, a strategic approach must integrate both spiritual goals—preserving Buddhist teachings and values—and economic objectives—supporting local livelihoods through responsible tourism (Phraathikanchaiya Piyatharo, Muangmai Sirirote, & Namsena, 2023). Butcher, Worapongpat, Wongkumchai, Soprakan, Bhasabutr, and Somchob (2023) argue that value co-creation and community participation enhance visitors' perceived benefits and social value, promoting long-term sustainability (Rai, 2020).

2.4 Community Participation and Cultural Integration

Local participation is a cornerstone of sustainable tourism in sacred spaces (Worapongpat & Sandusit Borivongtrakul, 2022). Studies in Thailand and Nepal demonstrate that involving monastic communities and lay participants in planning enhances cultural authenticity and reinforces faith-based experiences (Worapongpat, 2022d). Moreover, the patterns of ideological and network formation among monks influence the way cultural tourism is framed and perceived (Sanvises & Kaewnuch, 2025). These findings provide insights for Sarnath, where local religious institutions, government authorities, and international pilgrims must collaborate for balanced development (Worapongpat, 2022c).

2.5 Marketing and Visitor Perception

In the digital era, strategic communication and destination branding are vital for promoting Buddhist tourism (Santachitto, 2021; Worapongpat, 2022b). Research on Thai Buddhist tourism suggests that social media platforms and digital storytelling strengthen the image of Buddhist destinations while encouraging responsible travel behavior (Shinde, 2021). Translating these strategies to Sarnath could improve visitor engagement, enhance the site's global image, and support post-COVID tourism recovery (Worapongpat, Choonthong, Piamsuphakpong, Salathong, & Issalam, 2021).

2.6 Research Gaps and Implications for Sarnath

While prior studies have examined Buddhist tourism in Nepal, Thailand, and China (Worapongpat, 2021, 2022a), limited research has addressed strategic management frameworks specific to Sarnath. There is a need to explore integrated approaches that combine religious preservation, community empowerment, and digital innovation (Sotrin Chokkatiwattana, 2022). This study aims to fill that gap by proposing a strategic management model for sustainable Buddhist tourism at Sarnath, aligning spiritual authenticity with economic and cultural sustainability (Worapongpat & Phokanittanon, 2020).

2.7 Research Conceptual Framework

Based on previous studies on Buddhist tourism, pilgrimage management, and sustainable tourism (Tuntipisitkul, Tsusaka, Kim, Shrestha, & Sasaki, 2021; Unhasuta, Sasaki, & Kim, 2021), this framework integrates strategic management theory,

sustainable tourism principles, and faith-based tourism concepts to develop an effective model for managing Buddhist tourism at Sarnath.

In brief, Buddhist tourism blends spiritual devotion with cultural appreciation, attracting travelers seeking enlightenment and cultural insight at sacred sites linked to the Buddha's life. The major pilgrimage circuit—Lumbini, Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, and Kushinagar—serves as both a spiritual route and a cultural bridge promoting global understanding and sustainable growth. Sarnath, where the Buddha delivered his first sermon, holds deep religious and historical importance, symbolizing both tangible and intangible heritage. Sustainable management at such sites requires balancing conservation, visitor satisfaction, and religious authenticity. Strategic tourism management emphasizes collaboration among stakeholders, responsible resource use, and community engagement to ensure both spiritual preservation and economic benefits. Local participation, including involvement from monks and laypeople, strengthens authenticity and fosters shared ownership in tourism development. Cultural networks and monastic influence shape how Buddhist tourism is experienced and understood. In the digital era, destination branding and storytelling through social media can enhance Sarnath's image and attract mindful visitors. Despite rich studies on Buddhist tourism elsewhere, research on Sarnath's strategic management remains limited, highlighting the need for integrated, sustainable models. This study thus proposes a conceptual framework combining strategic management, sustainable tourism, and faith-based principles to guide Sarnath's development as a model of sustainable Buddhist tourism.

The proposed framework highlights that strategic tourism management at sacred Buddhist sites must integrate spiritual, socio-cultural, environmental, and economic dimensions to promote long-term sustainability and preserve cultural authenticity. It identifies key strategic management factors—such as inclusive planning and policy development aligned with Buddhist principles, stakeholder participation involving monks, communities, and government, responsible resource and heritage management, effective marketing and digital communication, and sustainable infrastructure improvement—as essential drivers. These factors influence visitors' perceived spiritual and cultural value, which in turn shape their satisfaction and intention to revisit. The framework posits that these mediating variables—perceived value and visitor experience—bridge the connection between strategic management practices and sustainable tourism outcomes. Ultimately, sustainable Buddhist tourism development is achieved through the preservation of heritage, community well-being, and enriched faith-based experiences, with strong community and monastic involvement reinforcing the overall sustainability of Sarnath's tourism. Thus, the Conceptual Model Diagram shown in figure1



Figure 1 Research conceptual framework “A Strategic Approach to Buddhist Tourism Management at Sarnath (The Site of the First Sermon) in the Buddhist Pilgrimage Circuit of India: A Case Study of the Sarnath Veneration Sites, India”

(Source: Ntapat Worapongpat, 2025)

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Participants

The key informants for this study were experts and stakeholders involved in the development of Buddhist tourism at Sarnath, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, India. They were divided into three main groups:

Group 1: Buddhist monks and scholars specializing in Buddhism.

Group 2: Officials from tourism authorities (Ministry of Tourism India, Archaeological Survey of India, Uttar Pradesh Tourism) and tourism entrepreneurs.

Group 3: Religious tourists and local community members.

Approximately 15-20 individuals were selected using a purposive sampling method. The study employed a qualitative, phenomenological approach combined with ethnographic fieldwork and a triangulation technique to enhance data reliability

3.2 Research Instruments

Three research instruments were developed to collect data aligned with the study's objectives: a semi-structured interview, observation checklist and focus group discussion

The study mainly utilized a semi-structured interview guide, developed based on a review of relevant literature and the context of Buddhist tourism. The researcher

personally conducted the interviews, using digital recorders, a camera, and a notebook for documentation. With the consent of the informants, a probing technique was used to encourage them to freely elaborate on their experiences and perspectives. Ending by the focus group discussion:- A focus group discussion was organized to present and validate the draft strategies. Participants included Buddhist monks, scholars, representatives from Indian government agencies, and tourism operators. The goal was to collectively select and evaluate the most suitable strategies for Buddhist tourism.

3.3 Data Collection Procedures

Data was collected using three methods:

First, the in-depth interviews: Conducting one-on-one interviews with key informants. Second, the observation checklist for both participants and non-participants, this is the note-taking all circumstances like the atmosphere, faith, rituals, and the management of tourist areas. Last, the document and literature reviews for analyzing relevant documents from sources such as UNESCO, the Ministry of Tourism India, the ASI, as well as existing research on Buddhist tourism.

3.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted in three steps:- Verbatim transcription: Transcribing all recorded interviews.

Content analysis: Coding the transcribed data using a three-stage process: Open Coding, Axial Coding, and Selective Coding.

Interpretative synthesis: Synthesizing the coded data to formulate the components and strategic guidelines for Buddhist tourism management.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Following the research objectives aimed at studying and developing strategic guidelines for Buddhist tourism management at Sarnath (the site of the First Sermon) within the Buddhist Pilgrimage Circuit of India, this study collected, analyzed, and synthesized qualitative data from experts, academics, and relevant stakeholders. The findings are presented according to each objective

4.1 Objective 1 Strategic Guidelines for Buddhist Tourism Management at Sarnath

The research found that the management of Buddhist tourism at Sarnath should prioritize five key dimensions: Religious and Spiritual Dimension: Preserving the sacred value of the site and promoting spiritual practices such as meditation, chanting, and listening to Dharma to connect tourists with the Buddha's teachings. Cultural and World Heritage Dimension: Communicating the stories of the Buddha's life and the value of the UNESCO World Heritage Site using multilingual media and digital technology. Visitor Management Dimension: Implementing systems to accommodate pilgrims and tourists in terms of traffic, pedestrian flow, access to monuments, and safety. Local Community Dimension: Enhancing the role of the community in welcoming visitors, providing services, and generating income from tourism in a balanced manner. Sustainability Dimension: Conserving ancient monuments, managing the environment, and utilizing clean energy to maintain the site's value in the long

term. Based on documentary research and qualitative analysis, the study found that tourism management at Sarnath should consider a Buddhist dimension alongside the management of a global religious site. (Awais-E-Yazdan, Popescu, Birau, & Bărbăcioru, 2025; Worapongpat, 2023f). This includes five core components: Spiritual Authenticity: Preserving the religious and spiritual value. Heritage Communication: Communicating the value of Buddhism and its World Heritage status. Pilgrimage & Visitor Management: Managing pilgrims and tourists effectively. Community Engagement: Involving the local community. Sustainability & Preservation: Ensuring environmental and monumental sustainability.

4.2 Objective 2: SWOT Analysis of Buddhist Tourism Management.

The research findings present the following SWOT analysis: Strengths: Sarnath is the site of the First Sermon, the birthplace of Buddhism, recognized as a World Heritage Site, and a focal point of faith for Buddhists worldwide. Pilgrims from many countries visit continuously throughout the year. It is located on the main pilgrimage route: Bodh Gaya - Varanasi - Kushinagar - Lumbini. Weaknesses: Inadequate infrastructure and facilities (accommodation, transportation). Limited Buddhist-specific guides and a lack of systematic crowd management during peak seasons. Signage is primarily in English and Hindi, lacking multilingual options. Opportunities: The global rise of spiritual tourism. The Indian government's strong policy to promote the Buddhist Circuit. Cooperation from (Butcher & Chomvilailuk, 2022; Worapongpat, 2023e). Buddhist countries like Thailand, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Japan, and China, which can lead to joint investment and development.

Digital technology plays a vital role in communicating Buddhist and religious values to global audiences, enhancing awareness and engagement with sacred heritage. However, several threats challenge the sustainability of these sites, including the deterioration of ancient monuments from overuse and poor maintenance, overcrowding, and commercial activities encroaching on sacred zones. Excessive religious commercialism and cultural misunderstandings among diverse visitor groups can also lead to minor conflicts. Additionally, environmental issues such as waste accumulation, water contamination, and air pollution in the Varanasi area further endanger the spiritual atmosphere and ecological integrity of the region.

4.3 Objective 3: Proposed Strategies for Sustainable Buddhist Tourism

The proposed framework outlines five interrelated strategies for sustainable management of Sarnath's Buddhist heritage. **Strategy 1** focuses on preserving Buddhist and spiritual values through the delineation of sacred zones, promotion of meditation and chanting activities, and training of knowledgeable spiritual guides. **Strategy 2** enhances heritage and value communication via multilingual signage, immersive AR/VR storytelling of the Buddha's first sermon, and the establishment of a Buddhist interpretation center. **Strategy 3** addresses pilgrimage and visitor management by introducing a booking system during festivals, creating designated service zones, and improving accessibility for all visitors. **Strategy 4** strengthens local community engagement through employment opportunities, the production of Buddhist-themed souvenirs, and training programs that deepen cultural and religious awareness. Finally, **Strategy 5** promotes sustainability and monument preservation by applying green tourism principles, restoring monuments in line with UNESCO

standards, and creating an international conservation fund to ensure Sarnath's long-term protection and cultural continuity.

Table 1 Synthesizing the coded data to formulate the components and strategic guidelines for Buddhist tourism management

Factor	Details	Core Strategy	Sub-Strategies
Strengths	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High religious and cultural potential - Local community collaboration - Unique historical and religious identity 	Community Empowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organize community-led activities - Create community-based tourism projects - Develop local entrepreneurs
Weaknesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Insufficient promotion - Limited tourism infrastructure - Unsystematic visitor management 	Social Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Develop multilingual promotional media - Use digital platforms and social media - Manage real-time visitor data
Opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased interest in religious tourism - Government and international support - Use of digital technology in tourism 	Incentive Creation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organize educational programs - Create experiential activities - Support tourist benefits and privileges
Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Competition with other sites - Environmental and climate change - Maintaining sacred tranquility 	Identity and Uniqueness Enhancement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create unique selling points for each site - Design cultural and religious activities - Implement environmental protection measures

4.3 Objective 3: Proposed Sustainable Strategies

The proposed sustainable strategies emphasize a holistic approach to preserving Sarnath's spiritual, cultural, and environmental integrity while promoting responsible tourism. Five core strategies are identified: (1) **Preserving Buddhist and Spiritual Values** through sacred zone designation, regular meditation and Dharma events, and trained religious guides; (2) **Communicating Buddhist World Heritage Value** via multilingual interpretive media, immersive digital technologies such as AR/VR, and the creation of a Buddhist learning center; (3) **Pilgrimage and Visitor Management** by implementing booking systems, upgrading infrastructure, and ensuring safety and hygiene; (4) **Local Community Engagement** through job creation, promotion of Buddhist-themed products, and capacity-building programs; and (5) **Sustainability and Monument Conservation** by applying green tourism principles, conducting UNESCO-aligned restorations, and establishing a conservation fund supported by international Buddhist collaborations. Together, these strategies aim to achieve balanced spiritual preservation, community empowerment, and sustainable tourism development at Sarnath.

The management of Buddhist tourism at Sarnath must be developed in a systematic and integrated manner. It requires preserving Buddhist values while simultaneously managing tourism to meet the needs of modern pilgrims and tourists. At the same time, sustainability must be built through monument conservation and community engagement. The SWOT analysis shows that while Sarnath has strong potential in terms of faith and world heritage, failure to address limitations in

infrastructure and management could hinder its international development. The proposed strategies, therefore, provide an academic framework that can serve as a guide for the sustainable management of Buddhist tourism in the future.

4.3.1 Management of Buddhist Tourism at Sarnath

The findings show that the management of Buddhist tourism at Sarnath must be based on an integration of religious, spiritual, and modern tourism management dimensions. The preservation of Buddhist values is paramount, a notion consistent with Sharpley & Sundaram's (2005) concept of Spiritual Tourism, which posits that religious tourism is not merely about visiting sacred sites but about creating a spiritual experience that shapes the pilgrim's identity. The research also aligns with UNESCO's (2015) emphasis on Cultural Heritage Management, which highlights that the conservation of World Heritage sites must be linked to the transmission of cultural and religious values. Therefore, organizing Dharma activities, talks, and developing multilingual learning materials at Sarnath not only meets the spiritual needs of tourists but also acts as a form of Buddhist soft power, disseminating the Buddha's teachings globally.

4.3.2 SWOT Analysis of Buddhist Tourism

The SWOT analysis found that Sarnath's most significant strength is its sanctity and religious value as the site of the First Sermon. Its primary weakness is the limited infrastructure and visitor management. This finding is consistent with Singh's (2017) research on India's "Buddhist Circuit," which identified inadequate public utilities and crowd management as key problems at World Heritage sites. In terms of opportunities, spiritual tourism has become a global trend, as noted by Timothy & Olsen (2006), who described how religious tourism has evolved into a global phenomenon that generates both revenue and cultural exchange. Conversely, the threat of excessive religious commercialism reflects the Commodification of Religion, a concept discussed by Cohen (1998), who warned that if religious tourism becomes overly commercialized, it can undermine the spiritual value and sanctity of a site.

4.3.3 Proposed Sustainable Management Strategies

The five main strategies identified by this research—preserving Buddhist values, communicating heritage, managing pilgrims, engaging the community, and ensuring environmental sustainability—are consistent with the UNWTO's (2018) concept of Sustainable Tourism Development. This framework emphasizes that tourism development must balance economic, social, cultural, and environmental aspects. Furthermore, the focus on community involvement aligns with Murphy's (1985) Community-Based Tourism (CBT) concept, which identifies the local community as a primary stakeholder in creating tourism sustainability. The findings confirm that if the community around Sarnath plays an active role as a service provider, it will help generate income, reduce inequality, and foster a sense of ownership over the religious heritage.

4.3.4 Originality and Body of Knowledge

This study on strategic Buddhist tourism management at Sarnath, the site of the Buddha's First Sermon, contributes new insights by integrating religious, cultural, and community dimensions into a unified sustainable model. It emphasizes that effective

management must balance the preservation of spiritual and cultural heritage with the creation of meaningful visitor experiences and active local participation. The use of SWOT analysis enables a systematic understanding of challenges and opportunities, guiding the development of practical strategies aligned with sustainable development goals. Five core dimensions—community engagement, tourism communication, tourist motivation and experience, cultural identity promotion, and destination differentiation—form the foundation of these strategies. Overall, the study advances a comprehensive framework that supports the long-term sustainability of the Buddhist Pilgrimage Circuit through holistic and participatory management practices.

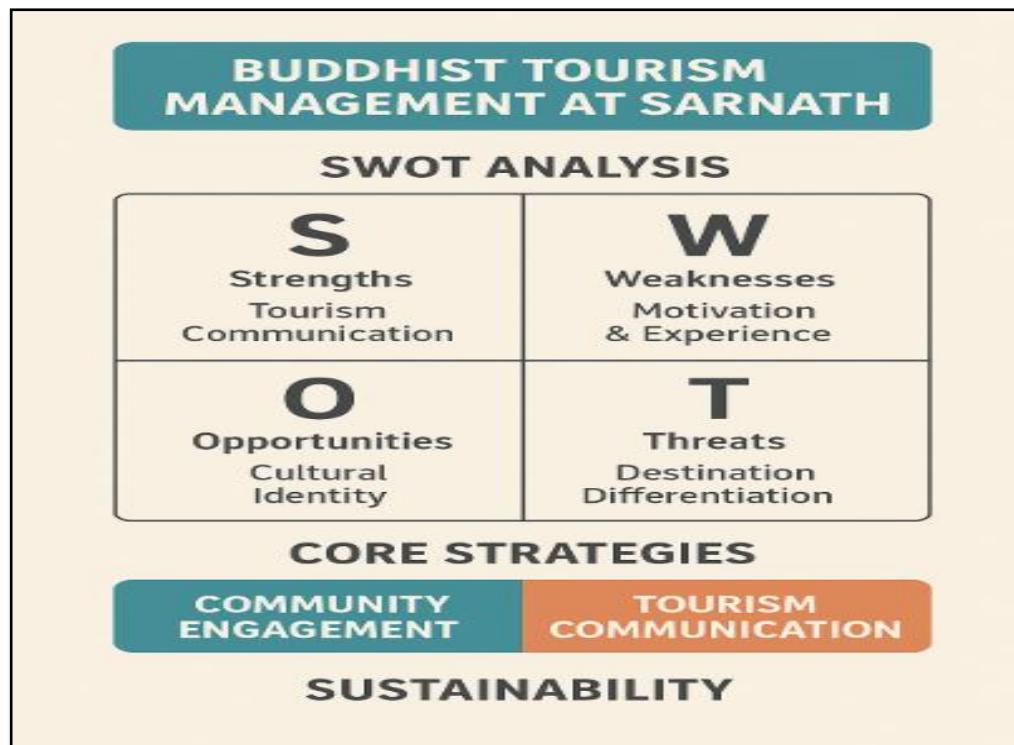


Figure 2: New Knowledge Concepts from Research on the Buddhist Tourism Management Strategies at Sarnath: A Case Study of the Holy Sites of India
 (Source: Napat Worapongpat, 2025)

Figure 2 illustrates that Buddhist tourism management consists of three crucial dimensions: SWOT analysis, core strategy formulation, and sustainability. The SWOT dimension identifies potential and challenges, the core strategies provide concrete actions, and sustainability is the ultimate goal for the development of the Buddhist Pilgrimage Circuit.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of the research objective 1 revealed that the strategic approach to Buddhist tourism management in Sarnath must consider the preservation of religious and cultural values, along with the development of tourism activities appropriate to the context of both Thai and international tourists. Therefore, relevant agencies should: Develop a Buddhist tourism management guidebook that emphasizes religious values

and sustainability; promote local community participation in tourism activities to foster a sense of ownership and responsibility for the conservation of religious heritage sites; and develop infrastructure and facilities consistent with the religious context, such as organizing walking routes, providing tourist information points, and providing an appropriate environment.

The results of the research objective 2 revealed that the strengths of Buddhist tourism management lie in community cooperation and the potential of religion and culture. However, weaknesses and obstacles include inadequate public relations, a lack of government support, and insufficient environmental and tourist safety management. Therefore, relevant agencies should: Develop a multilingual public relations strategy across multiple channels, both digital and print, to reach a wider audience; allocate budgets and resources to improve tourist management, tour guide training, and infrastructure development; and implement environmental and safety measures, such as waste management and visitor numbers control, and measures to maintain peace and order in sacred places.

Results from the research objective 3 found that an appropriate and sustainable Buddhist tourism management strategy should consist of five main strategies: community mobilization, social communication in tourism, motivation, identity promotion, and destination prominence.

Therefore, relevant agencies should use the results of the SWOT analysis to develop sub-strategies to systematically improve tourist management. Promote experiential tourism activities that connect Dharma and culture, such as Dharma practice programs, learning about Buddhist history, and experiencing community life. Establish collaborative networks between government agencies, the private sector, and local communities to ensure sustainability and continuity in tourism development.

Recommendations for Further Research This research findings highlight that effective Buddhist tourism management must integrate religious, cultural, community, and communication dimensions in a balanced manner. This approach can be applied to the development of religious tourism at other pilgrimage sites in India and other countries with religious heritage sites.

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Figure 3. Strategies for Buddhist tourism management at Sarnath:
A case study of the pilgrimage sites in India.
(Source: Ntapat Worapongpat, 2025)



Figure 4. Strategies for Buddhist tourism management at Sarnath:
A case study of the pilgrimage sites in India.
(Source: Ntapat Worapongpat, 2025)