

Introduction

Saturday, 7 June 1997. Gorrick's Run, near Wiseman's Ferry, New South Wales, Australia.

B-o-n-g, b-o-n-g. The gong's deep sound reverberates around the small meditation hall. The timekeeper quietly announces, 'Myth'. The twenty-two women seated around the room do not move. One of the group leaders begins to speak into the silence, explaining that for the next two hours the women are going to enact a section from the Greek myth of Demeter and Persephone. The group leader reads aloud the relevant section of the myth: the scene in which Persephone leaves her mother, Demeter, and ventures down into the underworld. When the leader concludes, the timekeeper claps a pair of wooden sticks together, the signal for the women to stand and leave the room. The women place their hands in prayer position and perform a small bow. Then they slowly unfold their legs from various meditation postures, stretch their tired muscles, shrug off blankets, neatly pile their black cushions on their black mats, and stand. The timekeeper claps once more, the women again place their hands together and bow in unison. One by one they leave the room, stopping as they go out through the doorway to bow towards the altar at the front of the room. Outside, they put on their shoes and disperse as instructed. The re-enactment takes place down near the creek, where it is dark and cool. The women move slowly and quietly. They have been directed to meditate on the myth and consider its relevance to their lives; to find themselves in the myth. Some continue to walk along the creek, others find a

place to sit or lie, or a small waterfall to watch. After an hour the clappers are struck again, signalling the return to the meditation hall and resumption of the periods of seated and walking meditation.

The scene depicted here is a curious one. Meditation hall? Myth? Altar? Bowing? One could be forgiven for thinking this is a group of goddess-worshippers or new age therapists. In fact, these women are attending a women's sesshin, or retreat, organised by the Sydney Zen Centre. But how is it that Japanese Zen Buddhism, with its patriarchal, monastic hierarchy and emphasis on harsh discipline, is now being practised by a group of women in the Australian bush, with a psychotherapeutic slant involving Greek mythology?

Since the arrival of Buddhists in Australia over one hundred years ago, sizeable Buddhist communities have formed. In the 1996 Australian Bureau of Statistics Census almost 200,000 Australians classified themselves as Buddhist; however, the number of people with an interest in Buddhism would far exceed this number. The development of Buddhism in Australia is similar to that of many other Western countries such as America, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland and New Zealand. The adaptation of Buddhist beliefs and practices to these new cultural environments has resulted in changes ranging from the translation of scriptures to the incorporation of elements of Western psychology and democratic principles.

The process by which these adaptations take place is a complicated one. Issues include who can make changes and on what basis, to what extent changes can be made before the efficacy of the religious practice is compromised, and whether the foreignness of the tradition attracts adherents or alienates them. This book examines the models used for studying the adaptation of Buddhism to the West through analysis of the recent development of a Zen Buddhist organisation in Australia, the Diamond Sangha.

The Diamond Sangha has adapted to the Australian context in a number of innovative ways; female teachers have been appointed, new methods of teaching have been explored and new ceremonies have been developed. But the Diamond Sangha has maintained many traditions of Japanese Zen Buddhism such as: the relationship between teacher and student; the means of appointing teachers

and the formal structure of rituals. Because of this, curious anomalies often occur. For example, meals served at retreats now comprise of breakfast cereals, pasta and salad, yet the utensils issued are still chopsticks and a teaspoon; the traditional utensils for Japanese meals based around rice.

Very few studies specifically examine the process involved in Buddhism's adaptation to the West. Existing research does discuss Buddhism's adaptation to various Western countries in other contexts, including ethnographies, conversion studies, analyses of Buddhism's incorporation into mainstream culture, research on the effect of religion on immigrant ethnic identity, and examinations of Buddhism as a new religious movement. While these approaches investigate aspects of adaptation, few studies focus specifically on the process of change in theoretical terms. Scholars in the field of religious change have cited the need for this type of work. Baumann provides one such example: 'The vast field of adapting and making Buddhism indigenous, setting up new topics of interest and concern, creating adapted forms, content and even Western schools, is in need of a comparative and analytical research.'¹

The demand for improved models about social change in religions is not specific to Buddhism. For example, King outlines the need for this type of study in her explication of the necessity of sociological studies on modern Hinduism. She argues that developments in modern Hinduism cannot be explained without sociological analysis of the factors involved in the contact between East and West, and suggests that information on the complex relationship between tradition and the continuing process of change is required. While King is advocating this need with regard to Hinduism, she notes that this process can be studied in all religions and cultures.² In delineating his approach to studying the transplantation of religion, Pye argues the need for studies of adaptation: 'It is essential, in my view, to raise such questions in the study of religions, since transplantation is an everpresent aspect of that which is under study.'³

In addition to a general lack of studies, there are other issues to consider. Studies that focus on convert or ethnic Buddhist groups usually use different approaches; convert Buddhists groups are sometimes examined as New Religious Movements, ethnic Buddhist groups within the context exist of the relationship

between religion and ethnic identity. However, the distinctions between convert and ethnic Buddhist groups can be argued to be breaking down; the slowly emerging second generation of convert Buddhists could now be called ethnic Buddhists, and increasing ethnic intermarriage has caused conversion to so-called ethnic groups. The practice of using different methodologies to examine these two groups has its advantages in some contexts, but can also be argued to be encouraging unnecessary differentiation between the two groups at other levels. The few studies that examine adaptation of Buddhism in the West do not seem to include all of the elements of the process of change that are identified by studies that examine the development of convert Buddhism as New Religious Movements, and ethnic Buddhism within the context of immigration analyse different factors. Consequently, the models of change used for studying both New Religious Movements and immigrant adaptation are also examined here.

Another problem is that almost none of the few studies on the adaptation of Buddhism to the West are based on fieldwork. Waterhouse has criticised studies that claim to examine the diversity of British Buddhism by analysing groups only at the level of public discourse. Her fieldwork-based study of six Buddhist groups from different traditions in Bath, Britain, demonstrated that individual practitioners have views different to those of the organisations,⁴ indicating a need for research that investigates both personal and group experiences.

There is also a need for published information about the Diamond Sangha. The Diamond Sangha is one of the largest Zen lineages in the West and its founding teacher, Robert Aitken, is often cited as a key figure in the history of Western Zen. However, reference to the Diamond Sangha is usually confined to a brief history alongside a list of Aitken's well-known books. There is no work discussing the organisational structure and practices of the Diamond Sangha internationally, and more specifically, no research on the Diamond Sangha's history and current status in Australia.

Studies on Buddhism in Australia are also lacking. Research has tended to focus on history, statistical data, and the relationship between ethnic identity and the migrant experience. There have been no studies of the adaptation process except my own brief examination of general trends in the development of Buddhism in

Australia.⁵ In his work on American Buddhism, Prebish has cited the need for basic data on Buddhist groups such as funding, key figures, administrative framework, long-range planning, publications, rituals and practices, doctrinal and ethical positions, and also the background of individuals.⁶ This information is also needed for Australian Buddhism. Baumann has suggested that to understand Buddhism's development in the West, information is needed on both the growth of specific traditions and lineages, and development in different geographical areas.⁷

This book aims to add to this field by critically examining models for the adaptation of Buddhism to the West through a comparison of adaptation in Diamond Sangha Zen Buddhist groups in Australia since their formation with literature on Buddhism's adaptation to other Western countries. This study focuses on the two largest and most well-established of the Diamond Sangha groups in Australia; the Zen Group of Western Australia and the Sydney Zen Centre. Material was gained through interviews with Diamond Sangha group members, participant-observation and analysis of the groups' literature. Grounded theory provided the method and tools for analysis of this information and the resulting analysis was interpreted within a social constructivist framework. The fieldwork findings are classified into three areas: practical, sociological and ideological expressions.

It should be noted that the terminology used to discuss the adaptation of religion is problematic. Baumann notes the lack of a suitable term to refer to the process of transmitting or transferring a religious tradition from one geographical location to another.⁸ The problem is exacerbated by disagreement regarding the meaning of relevant terms. For example, Barkan's study of ethnicity in American society provides a number of conflicting definitions of assimilation. Barkan concludes that the term 'has not been clearly and consistently articulated as a dynamic, complex process shaped by numerous variables and applicable to the experiences of the past and present members of diverse racial, religious, and nationality groups.'⁹ To avoid problems caused by different definitions, discussion will be focused on the adaptation of religion and factors involved in the process of change in Australian Diamond Sangha groups. Reference is not made to terms such as transplantation, assimilation or acculturation, unless citing an author who uses such terminology.

Part One: Australian Buddhism in Context

To understand contemporary developments in Australian Buddhism it is necessary to place the situation in context. A brief overview of Buddhism's beginnings and the subsequent development of major lineages such as Zen Buddhism demonstrate that change has long been part of Buddhism's history. This process has continued since Buddhism was introduced to the West over a hundred years ago. The evolution of the Diamond Sangha can be traced back through this period to provide an international backdrop to the Australian state of affairs.

The Origins of Buddhism

Buddhism is generally accepted to have originated in the historical figure of the Buddha. Born in approximately 563 BCE in what is now southern Nepal, the Buddha was born a prince in the Sakya tribe. Legend has it that the prince led a secluded and luxurious life before one day encountering sickness, old age and death. Shocked by this, the prince left his household, wife and son, and went on a quest to learn how to end human suffering. He studied under a number of spiritual teachers and became skilful in the practices they taught, but he did not find these to be adequate solutions to the problems posed by human life. Finally he found his own path to enlightenment, becoming the Buddha, or Awakened One. What the Buddha claimed to have realised was insight into the nature of suffering; its cause and the means of ending it. The Buddha then taught his new-found knowledge as the Dharma (the "way" or "law") for the next forty-five years and founded a monastic order for his followers, the Sangha

Three main Buddhist traditions have developed since the Buddha's death. The first to emerge was the Theravada tradition, also known as the School of the Elders, or Hinayana (Lesser Vehicle). Theravada Buddhism is now the main Buddhist tradition in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand. In the first century BCE the Mahayana (or Great Vehicle) tradition emerged, and gradually spread into China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam. The third major tradition, Vajrayana (the Diamond Vehicle) developed later and in the seventh century its spread to Tibet, Nepal and Mongolia. These three major traditions developed differently in different countries, diversifying even further through the development of different groups within and across geographical regions. It is generally accepted that all Buddhists affirm a few core tenets (although they may express or emphasise these differently): the Four Noble Truths, the Noble Eight-Fold Path, the Three Universal Characteristics and the Three Jewels.¹

Japanese Zen Buddhism

Zen Buddhism is a branch of Mahayana Buddhism that originated in India. According to myth, the Buddha established the foundations of Zen Buddhism during a discourse on Vulture Peak in which he did not speak, but simply held up a flower. Only one of the Buddha's students, Kashyapa, understood this message, and had an experience of enlightenment. Taking the honorific, 'Maha', Mahakashyapa thus became the first Indian patriarch in the Zen Buddhist lineage. Legend continues that an Indian monk, Bodhidharma, transmitted these teachings to China around 500 CE. Bodhidharma's teachings mixed with Taoism in China to form a new school of Mahayana Buddhism, called Ch'an. Ch'an is the Chinese pronunciation of the Sanskrit word, dhyana, which means meditation. Bodhidharma is considered the first patriarch of Ch'an, and the twenty-eighth patriarch in the Indian lineage. The two schools of Ch'an that became prominent in Japan, Rinzai and Soto, were introduced into Japan in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respectively. In Japan, Ch'an became known as Zen, which is the Japanese pronunciation of Ch'an.

The aim of Zen Buddhism, as of all Buddhist traditions and lineages, is to achieve enlightenment. However, the means to achieve this can differ greatly. Zen is often defined as follows:

1. A special transmission outside the scriptures;
2. No dependence upon words and letters;
3. Direct pointing at the human heart; and
4. Seeing into one's nature and the realisation of Buddhahood.²

One of the essential features of Zen is its emphasis on seated meditation, called *zazen*. In contrast with his contemporaries, Bodhidharma de-emphasised the existing focus on priestly ritual and chanting. While some other Buddhist schools combine meditation with other religious practices such as intellectual analysis of doctrines or devotional practices, these are not considered useful in Zen practice. *Zazen* is considered the core of Zen practice as this has been found to be a practical way of setting the conditions for enlightenment.³

While the Rinzai and Soto Zen Buddhist schools share the same goal and emphasis on meditation, the meditative techniques used differ. The meditation practices of both schools usually begin with a concentration practice such as counting or watching the breath. Generally, Soto Zen then emphasises the meditative practice of *shikantaza*, which involves 'resting in a state of brightly alert attention that is free of thoughts, directed to no object, and to no particular content.'⁴ In contrast, Rinzai Zen emphasises the meditation technique of koan practice. Koans are paradoxical questions, phrases or stories that cannot be solved using intellectual reasoning. Well-known examples of koans include: 'what is the sound of one hand?', 'what was your face before you were born?' and 'does a dog have Buddha-nature?'

The koan tradition originated in China, where Ch'an teachers used anecdotes or scriptural quotes to provide a focus for meditation, and to test publicly students' insight. The term, 'koan' is made up of two Chinese characters: 'ko' meaning public, and 'an' meaning records or cases. These 'public cases', dialogues, questions and anecdotes began to be cultivated and handed down at approximately the turn of the ninth century, during the Tang dynasty. Koan collections were being compiled by the middle of the tenth century, sometimes including the poems and comments of the compiler. A rich literature grew, much of it drawn from the lives of the teachers of the past. From the tenth century to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, spontaneous dialogues became less important

in teaching and the use of established koans as formalised teaching devices increased.⁵

The Sanbo Kyodan

The Diamond Sangha has its origins in a school of Japanese Zen Buddhism called the Sanbo Kyodan (Fellowship of the Three Treasures).⁶ The Sanbo Kyodan was founded on the teachings of Harada Dai'un Sogaku (1871--1961).⁷ According to Tworkov, Harada was considered revolutionary in his time because he departed from his Soto Zen heritage to utilise both Soto and Rinzai meditation techniques; he treated monastics and lay-practitioners as equals; and he departed from the traditional Soto Zen teaching method of leaving novice monks devoid of verbal instruction with his development of introductory talks.⁸ In 1954 Harada's successor, Yasutani Haku'un Ryoko (1885--1973), separated from the Soto lineage in which he had been ordained and founded a new organisation, the Sanbo Kyodan. Based on Harada's teachings, the Sanbo Kyodan is an independent lay stream of Soto Zen that incorporates aspects of Rinzai Zen.

After establishing the Sanbo Kyodan in Japan, Yasutani initiated its spread internationally. Finney suggests that Yasutani's motives for taking this direction were similar to those of other well-known Japanese Zen teachers who took their teaching to the West, such as Soyen Shaku, Dr Daisetsu Teitaro Suzuki and Nyogen Senzaki. Finney has suggested of these teachers that: 'Their efforts were a very conscious response to the decline of Zen Buddhism in Japan.'⁹ Tworkov supports this, noting that most of the Japanese Zen masters whose teachings were promulgated in America had challenged and changed the Zen system as it is known in Japan.¹⁰ Examination of the major Japanese-based Zen groups in America supports this; a number of scholars comparing Japanese and American Zen note an essential difference to be the American emphasis on daily zazen practice and intensive retreats, in contrast to the Japanese emphasis on priestly ritual such as funerals.¹¹ Similarly, Vasi identifies one of the characteristics of Zen in Australia as the use of orthodox Zen practices, in comparison to the emphasis in Japanese Zen on rituals such as funerals.¹²

Yasutani's successor, Yamada Koun Zenshin (1907–1989),¹³ was appointed as the leader of the Sanbo Kyodan in 1973. According to one of his successors, Yamada continued to differentiate the Sanbo Kyodan from the majority of Japanese Zen organisations by continuing Harada's dissolution of traditional distinctions between monastic and lay-practitioners; emphasising the social dimension of human existence (often discussing political, social and economic issues which were not traditionally considered relevant to Zen practice); and breaking the traditional sectarian barriers that separated Buddhists and Christians.¹⁴ By the end of Yamada's teaching career approximately one quarter of the participants at his sesshins were Christians.¹⁵

Kubota Akira Ji'un-ken (1932–) succeeded Yamada as head of the Sanbo Kyodan in 1989. The Sanbo Kyodan currently has its headquarters in Kamakura, Japan, and at least fifteen centres located in Japan, Philippines, Australia, Canada, America, Germany and Switzerland. At least forty people have been authorized as Zen masters in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage, many of whom are not Japanese, and a number of these have their own successors; however, it is difficult to ascertain how many of these are actively teaching in this lineage.¹⁶ Sanbo Kyodan Zen masters are not necessarily Buddhists, and it is not uncommon that they are ordained in other religion. For example, Sanbo Kyodan Zen masters include Jesuit Priest, Hugo Makibi Enomiya-Lassalle (1898–1991) and Benedictine, Willigis Jäger (1925–).

In 1995 the Sanbo Kyodan had 2,539 registered followers in Japan.¹⁷ Numbers of adherents in other countries total approximately 2,500. According to Sharf, the Sanbo Kyodan has been successful internationally because it reduces the complex doctrinal, devotional and ethical teachings of Buddhism to a relatively simple meditation practice, making it attractive to foreigners who lack the necessary linguistic and intellectual training to study in a traditional Japanese Zen monastery.¹⁸

Buddhism in the West

Good histories of Buddhism's development in America abound, and historical data is slowly being compiled on other countries.¹⁹ Buddhist groups now exist in America, Canada, the United

Kingdom, most countries in continental Europe, Australia and New Zealand. Small numbers of groups also exist in South Africa, South American countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Chile, and in Middle Eastern countries including Israel, however, there is very little information available on these groups.²⁰ Table 1 presents Baumann's estimate of the total number of Buddhists (including how many of these are of Asian ancestry) and Buddhist centres in various countries in the late-1990s, in comparison to each country's total population.

Table 1. Numbers of Buddhists in Various Countries in the Late-1990s²¹

<i>Country</i>	<i>Buddhists (sum)</i>	<i>Buddhists of Asian ancestry</i>	<i>Centres</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>% of Buddhists</i>
USA	~2.5-4 million	~2-3.5 million	~1,300	268 million	0.8-1.5%
Canada	300,000	-	700	30 million	1%
Brazil	~500,000	-	-	164 million	0.3%
South Africa	6,000	3,000	50	42 million	0.01%
Australia	200,000	~170,000	300	18 million	1.1%
New Zealand	28,000	-	60	4 million	0.8%
Europe	~900,000	~650,000	1,500	400 million	0.2%
France	~350,000	~300,000	~250	58 million	0.6%
Britain	180,000	130,000	400	58 million	0.3%
Germany	170,000	120,000	530	82 million	0.2%
Italy	70,000	~25,000	~50	57 million	0.1%
Netherlands	33,000	20,000	~60	15 million	0.2%
Switzerland	25,000	20,000	100	7 million	0.3%
Austria	16,000	5,000	50	8 million	0.2%
Denmark	10,000	7,000	~32	5 million	0.1%
Hungary	7,000	1,000	~12	10 million	0.1%
Poland	~5,000	500	30	39 million	0.02%

Western Buddhism can be defined geographically as the practice of Buddhism in 'Western' countries such as America, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Australia and New Zealand. This relatively simple definition is problematic owing to difficulties in defining which countries are 'Western'. Western Buddhism can be further defined sociologically as the

practice of Buddhism by Westerners. Under this definition, a distinction is made between 'convert' (also called elite or white) Buddhism, and 'ethnic' (or Asian or immigrant) Buddhism.²² Convert Buddhists usually focus on meditation or the study of Buddhist philosophy, and often do not consider themselves to be Buddhists, or Buddhism to be a religion. Ethnic Buddhists are usually raised as Buddhists and their religion is closely linked to their ethnicity. It is often argued that for ethnic groups the social and cultural functions of Buddhist practices are more important than the religious element. For example, Nguyen and Barber note of Vietnamese Buddhists in North America:

Vietnamese Buddhists believe that the temple is where they come to carry out their spiritual activities. Yet the temple also plays an important social role: it is the place where traditional and cultural values are preserved, where Vietnamese children come not just for Dharma but to learn something about the customs and habits of their ancestral homeland.²³

Similarly, Mullins' study of the transmission and institutionalisation of Japanese Buddhism in Canada concludes that the Buddhist Churches of Canada is more concerned with meeting the needs of the migrant ethnic community than with missionary ideals, and is basically an ethnic religion.²⁴

Some scholars further define Western Buddhism to refer to a type of Buddhism that is specific to Western countries. In this context the term does not simply mean Buddhism as it is practised in the West, or by Westerners, but a new type of Buddhism that is recognisably Western. Recent studies have examined the common characteristics of Buddhist groups in North America and Europe with the aim of defining uniquely North American and European forms of Buddhism. Studies in this genre usually focus almost entirely on convert Buddhism, although the majority of Buddhists in Western countries are ethnic Buddhists. For example, Morreale's *The Complete Guide to Buddhist America* (1998) only lists meditation centres in North America (which are mostly convert groups), despite the suggested breadth of its titling.²⁵ Approaches which focus on convert Buddhists ignore the substantial ethnic communities but also exclude 'black' Buddhists.²⁶ However, in the past few

years criticism of this biased approach has seen a rebalancing of the equation. The most recent publications on American Buddhism consider both convert and ethnic examples equally.²⁷

Japanese Zen in the West

In 1893 Japanese Zen Master Shaku Soyen became the first Zen master to visit America when he attended the Chicago World Parliament of Religions.²⁸ In 1930 a Japanese Rinzai priest who had emigrated to America established the first Zen centre in America in New York, the Buddhist Society of America.²⁹ The work of authors such as D. T. Suzuki contributed to the understanding of Zen at an intellectual and philosophical level in America and Europe. However, interest in the practice of Zen meditation began later; the influence of the Beat generation in the 1950s was one reason for this. Interest in meditation increased in the 1960s with the arrival of more Japanese teachers. A generation later the first American teachers emerged. There are now indigenous Zen teachers from a variety of lineages in countries as diverse as America, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, Argentina, Brazil, India and the Philippines.³⁰

The Diamond Sangha

The Diamond Sangha was founded by Robert Aitken (1917--), who later became a Zen master in the Sanbo Kyodan.³¹ Aitken encountered Zen when he was interned in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp in Japan with R. H. Blyth, a scholar of Japanese poetry, particularly haiku. After the war Aitken completed a Master of Arts in Hawaii that included a dissertation entitled, 'Basho's Haiku and Zen.' Aitken began practising Zen Buddhism in California in 1948 with a Japanese teacher, Senzaki Nyogen Sensei. Aitken continued his Zen training in Japan and Hawaii, studying with other Japanese Zen masters including Nakagawa Soen. Soen gave Aitken permission to establish a Zen group in America where Soen could lead annual sesshins for American practitioners, so in 1959, Aitken and his wife, Anne Aitken,³² founded the Diamond Sangha in Hawaii.

Aitken continued his Zen practice and established a close bond with Yasutani, who was then the leader of the Sanbo Kyodan. In

1962 Yasutani began periodic visits to Hawaii to guide the Diamond Sangha members in Zen practice, and his successor, Yamada, visited the Diamond Sangha annually in the 1970s and early 1980s.³³ In 1974 Yamada authorised Aitken as a Zen master in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage. In 1983 Yamada gave Aitken an additional qualification, Shoshike (Correctly Qualified Teacher), which gave Aitken the authority to teach independently of the Sanbo Kyodan lineage if he so chose. Few teachers in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage exercise this right, but Aitken did. The Diamond Sangha formally separated from the Sanbo Kyodan and established itself as an independent lineage with headquarters in Hawaii and Aitken as its leader.³⁴

Since this time the Diamond Sangha has ceased to be a hierarchical organisation with headquarters or a leader (Aitken retired in 1997), and is now an international network of affiliates. Each affiliate must adhere to the 'Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha', to which all Diamond Sangha affiliates agree, but each group is independent beyond the requirements imposed by this document.³⁵ The Diamond Sangha consists of at least eighteen Zen Buddhist affiliated groups located in six countries:

America:

- Denver Zen Centre, Denver, Colorado
- Empty Sky Sangha, Amarillo, Texas
- Garden Island Sangha, Kapaa, Hawaii
- Harbor Sangha, San Francisco, California
- Honolulu Diamond Sangha, Honolulu, Hawaii
- Maui Zendo, Pukalani, Hawaii
- Mountain Cloud Zen Centre, Santa Fe, New Mexico
- Ring of Bone Zendo, North San Juan, California
- Three Treasures Sangha, Seattle, Washington
- Zen Desert Sangha, Tuscon, Arizona

Australia:

- Kuan Yin Meditation Centre, Lismore, New South Wales
- Melbourne Zen Group, Melbourne, Victoria
- Sydney Zen Centre, Sydney, New South Wales
- Zen Group of Western Australia, Perth, Western Australia

Other countries:

- One Ground Sangha, Zug, Switzerland
- Maitai Zendo, Nelson, New Zealand
- Zendo Shobo An, Cordoba, Argentina
- Zen Group Leverkusen, Leverkusen, Germany

Contact details for these groups are provided in Appendix B. There are also a number of groups that are not officially affiliated with the Diamond Sangha but are still closely associated. These include one Australian group, the Adelaide Zen Group. The Canberra Zen Group was also associated with the Diamond Sangha; however, this group disbanded in 2000. The Zen Open Circle group also has some links as the main teacher, Susan Murphy, was taught by both John Tarrant (a former Diamond Sangha teacher) and Ross Bolleter (another Diamond Sangha teacher).

Aitken has authorised at least thirteen teachers in the Diamond Sangha network, who are now also appointing their own successors. In the Diamond Sangha tradition, the title 'Roshi' denotes a teacher who is an authorised Zen Master. 'Sensei' refers to an Assistant Teacher who is not yet a Zen Master.³⁶ The following list identifies the sixteen teachers and assistant teachers active in the Diamond Sangha network, and the country in which they currently do the majority of their teaching.

America:

- Robert Aitken Roshi³⁷
- Joseph Bobrow Roshi
- Jack Duffy Roshi
- Nelson Foster Roshi
- Father Patrick Hawk Roshi
- Danan Henry Sensei
- Daniel Terragno Sensei

Australia:

- Subhana Barzaghi³⁸
- Ross Bolleter Roshi
- Gillian (Gilly) Coote Sensei
- Susan Murphy Sensei

Other countries:

- Augusto Alcalde Roshi, Argentina.³⁹
- Reverend Rolf Drostzen Roshi, Germany
- Mary Jaksch Sensei, New Zealand
- Pia Gyger (Associated Master of Diamond Sangha⁴⁰), Switzerland
- Leonard Marcel Sensei, Saudi Arabia⁴¹

This list does not include authorised Zen masters who are no longer teaching in the Diamond Sangha.⁴² John Tarrant is the most prominent of these; in 1999 a decision was made for his organisation, the California Diamond Sangha, and its affiliated groups, to formally separate from the Diamond Sangha and start a new organisation, the Pacific Zen Institute.

Buddhism in Australia

In comparison to Buddhism's lengthy history in many Asian countries, development in Australia has hardly begun. The major historical account of Buddhism in Australia was completed by Croucher in 1989, and provides an excellent chronology of events.⁴³ Since Buddhism's introduction to Australia by Chinese immigrants in 1848, a number of events heralded new stages in its development. The founding of the first documented Buddhist organisation, the Little Circle of Dharma, in Melbourne in 1925, signalled the beginning of interest by convert Buddhists. With the arrival of the first teachers, beginning with an American-born Buddhist nun, Sister Dhammadinna, in 1952, more groups formed. Resident monastics and monasteries further enriched the scene from 1971 onwards. Refugees from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam changed the demographics substantially in the mid-1970s, as did increasing visits from teachers from widely diverse lineages.

In 1996, 199,812 people, or 1.1 per cent of the Australian population, identified themselves as Buddhist in the Australian Bureau of Statistics census. Ethnic Buddhists comprise the majority of Australian Buddhists; the 1996 census showed that only 19.7 per cent of the Buddhist population had been born in Australia⁴⁴ (and a quarter of these are probably second-generation ethnic Buddhists), while at least 70 per cent were born in Asia.⁴⁵

In 1995 Humphreys and Ward identified 156 Australian Buddhist organisations and in 1996 Adam and Hughes' estimate totalled 167.⁴⁶ In January 1998 I identified 310 Buddhist groups, almost double the 1995 and 1996 figures.⁴⁷ In June 2000 Jones provided a listing on BuddhaNet of 315 Buddhist groups.⁴⁸ The percentages of Buddhist groups represented by the main traditions and lineages that Adam and Hughes, myself and BuddhaNet identify, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Comparison of Traditions/Lineages Represented
by Australian Buddhist Groups in 1996, 1998 and 2000

<i>Tradition/Lineage</i>	<i>Adam and Hughes, 1996</i>	<i>Spuler, 1998</i>	<i>Jones, 2000</i>
Theravada	29%	28%	25%
Mahayana	31%	34%	34%
Vajrayana	22%	25%	27%
Triyana (Western Buddhist) ⁴⁹	2%	2%	30
Non-sectarian	13%	11%	14%
Other	3%	-	-

Despite the continuing increases in the number of Australian Buddhist groups, neither the percentage of groups representing the major traditions and lineages have changed to any great extent.

Japanese Zen in Australia

As in other Western countries, Zen was first introduced to Australians in the 1950s by authors such as D. T. Suzuki and those of the Beat generation. Max Dunn established the first Zen organisation in Australia, the Zen Institute, in Melbourne in the mid-1950s. The first lasting group to form was the Sydney Zen Centre, established in 1975. There are currently at least fifteen Zen Buddhist groups with Japanese origins, representing at least five lineages. Table 3 demonstrates that Diamond Sangha affiliates are the largest organisation in terms of number of groups.

Table 3. Japanese Zen Buddhist Organisations in Australia in 2000

<i>Japanese Zen</i>	<i>ACT</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>NT</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>SA</i>	<i>Tas</i>	<i>Vic</i>	<i>WA</i>	<i>Total</i>
Diamond Sangha	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	5
Open Way	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ordinary Mind Zen School	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Sanbo Kyodan	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
International Zen Assoc.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other Japanese Zen	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	5
State Totals	0	7	0	2	1	1	4	1	16

A detailed listing of these groups is provided in Appendix A. Vasi examines the history and organisation of Zen in Australia, noting that in the 1991 Australian Bureau of Statistics census 1,488 people identified as Zen Buddhists, but she estimates that only a

third of these may be in organised groups.⁵¹ One characteristic of Zen in the West is that those groups that are most prominent are not particularly prominent in Japan. Vasi concludes that Australian Zen is not representative of Japanese Zen as Australian groups represent reformed Zen sects such as the Sanbo Kyodan.⁵² As noted already, Finney argues that many well-known Japanese Zen teachers who teach in the West are not representative of mainstream Japanese Zen lineages.

The Diamond Sangha in Australia

As mentioned above, Australia's first Zen group was the Sydney Zen Centre, formed in 1975. In the 1970s a few Australians had attended Aitken's centre in Hawaii, establishing a connection. When the Sydney Zen Centre invited teachers from a number of different lineages to come and lead sesshins for them, it was Aitken who responded and came in 1979. Aitken continued to lead sesshins in Australia annually for the next ten years. He appointed his first Australian successor, John Tarrant, as an Assistant Teacher in 1984. Tarrant then also led Australian sesshins from 1984 onwards, although he was residing in America. Tarrant was given authorisation as a Zen Master in 1988 and took responsibility for the guidance of the Diamond Sangha groups in Australia in 1988, when Aitken ceased to come on a regular basis.⁵³

Throughout the 1980s a number of Zen groups developed in different Australian cities. While Aitken and Tarrant led sesshins for

some of these, they were not the only teachers providing instruction to these groups, which were not necessarily part of the Diamond Sangha network. Connections between some of the Australian Zen groups and the Diamond Sangha substantially increased in 1991, when two Australians, Subhana Barzaghi and Ross Bolleter, were appointed as Assistant Teachers in the Diamond Sangha.⁵⁴ Another Australian, Geoff Dawson, was appointed as an Assistant Teacher in the Diamond Sangha in the early 1990s, but ceased teaching in the Diamond Sangha soon afterwards. He now teaches in the Ordinary Mind School.

The appointment of assistant teachers who were resident in Australia provided the groups with a dependable teaching resource, a rarity for Australian Zen groups. Consequently, by the time Barzaghi and Bolleter were authorised as Zen Masters in 1996 and 1997 respectively, five Australian Zen groups (located in Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Lismore and Perth) had either affiliated with or were in the process of joining the Diamond Sangha network, and another group located in Canberra had close links. The histories of these six groups are given below. In 1999 two more Australians were appointed as Assistant Teachers in Sydney: Susan Murphy and Gilly Coote.

Sydney Zen Centre

The Sydney Zen Centre (SZC) was founded in 1975. It is not clear when the SZC affiliated with the Diamond Sangha, or even if formal affiliation ever occurred. However, both SZC members and other Diamond Sangha groups consider the SZC to be affiliated. Aitken and Tarrant have been the main teachers at the SZC; however, there have been occasional visits by other Zen masters, including Charlotte Joko Beck.⁵⁵ Barzaghi began teaching at the SZC after her appointment as an Assistant Teacher in 1991, and was appointed as the main teacher in 1997, although she was then living in Lismore. She moved to Sydney in 1999. In 1993 John Tarrant appointed three dharma leaders: Gilly Coote, Maggie Gluek and Tony Coote. Dharma Leader is a position below that of assistant teacher and dharma leaders have only been designated in the SZC. Another Australian teacher, Susan Murphy, was appointed as an Assistant Teacher in 1998, and began teaching in Sydney at the Zen Open

Circle and in California at the Pacific Zen Institute in 1999. Gilly Coote was appointed as another Assistant Teacher in 1999.

The SZC has approximately ninety financial members. There are approximately equal numbers of male and female members, ranging in age from early twenties to over seventy. Members are generally middle-class professionals and Anglo-Saxon in background (except for a few Chinese-Australians and the occasional Japanese).

Zen Group of Western Australia

The Zen Group of Western Australia (ZGWA) was established in 1983 after an advertisement in a local paper brought together a number of Zen practitioners, including Ross Bolleter. Some of the early members had been part of Diamond Sangha groups in America; consequently the style of Zen practice used was that of the Diamond Sangha. Aitken led sesshins in Perth in 1985 and 1987, as did Tarrant after 1984. Bolleter was authorised as an Assistant Teacher in 1991, and as a Zen Master in 1997, and is now the group's main teacher.

The ZGWA has approximately forty members. There are approximately equal numbers of male and female members, ranging in age from seventeen to over seventy. Members are mostly middle-class professionals or young people entering university, and Anglo-Saxon in background.

Melbourne Zen Group

The Melbourne Zen Group (MZG) has had an informal association with the Diamond Sangha since the MZG's inception in 1985. MZG members had been practising Zen with Aitken in Sydney for a number of years before Aitken asked them to form a Melbourne group in 1981. Diamond Sangha teachers have been leading sesshins for the group since 1990: Pat Hawk, 1990-1995; Barzaghi, 1993-present Geoff Dawson, 1993; and Augusto Alcalde, 1994.⁵⁶ The MZG was affiliated with the Diamond Sangha and appointed Barzaghi as their main teacher in 1996.

The MZG has forty-two members, who comprise twenty-three full members and nineteen newsletter subscribers. The percentage of male and female members is approximately equal, almost all

members were Anglo-Saxon in background, many are professionals (although a few practitioners were students), and the predominant age range is twenty-five to fifty.

Canberra Zen Group

The Canberra Zen Group (CZG) was formed in 1988, on the premises of the Sakyamuni Buddhist Centre. Until it disbanded in 2000, the CZG was not formally affiliated with the Diamond Sangha network but had an informal relationship with the SZC. There was some overlap of membership between the SZC and the CZG due to their close geographical proximity. The CZG did not have a formal organisational structure such as an elected committee. No sesshins were held in Canberra, but SZC teachers and Dharma Leaders provided advice and instruction.

CZG membership averaged ten people, approximately 60 per cent of the practitioners were women, 60 per cent were over thirty years in age, and 60 per cent were born outside Australia. However, those members born outside Australia were almost entirely convert Buddhists, not ethnic Buddhists.

Adelaide Zen Group

The Adelaide Zen Group (AZG) began in the 1970s, with visits from Robert Aitken and Father Ama Samy (who was a Zen Master in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage at that time). It was revitalised in 1991 after a period of decline, and since 1995 Bolleter has been leading AZG sesshins on a regular basis. In 1998 the AZG formally affiliated with the Diamond Sangha, but no longer describes itself as a formal affiliate.

The AZG has approximately twenty members and a handful of additional newsletter subscribers. Two-thirds of members are male, and members range in age from twenty-six to fifty-five. All members are Anglo-Saxon in background.

Kuan Yin Meditation Centre

The Kuan Yin Zen Centre was founded in 1993/94 by Subhana Barzaghi and a small group of friends, and affiliated with the

Diamond Sangha in 1994. Barzaghi then resided in Lismore, but since moving to Sydney has remained the group's main teacher. In 2000 the name was changed to Kuan Yin Meditation Centre because the Centre catered for both Zen and vipassana students (the latter is a type of meditation practised in Theravada Buddhism). The Kuan Yin Meditation Centre has approximately twenty members, who are mainly health or welfare professionals, or students, and are Anglo-Saxon in background.

The development of Zen in Australia can be traced historically, but this line of inquiry does not answer questions about the adaptation process. While changes in practice can be listed in historical analysis, this information does not explain why changes were made or on what authority. Thus study focuses on these issues and the larger adaptation process through examination of changes that have occurred in Australian Diamond Sangha groups since their formation in three areas: ritual, community and ideology. The adaptations that have occurred in these areas are presented in the next section.

Part Two: Australian Buddhism in Transition

The fieldwork for this study examined three areas of Australian Diamond Sangha groups: ritual, community and ideology. Each category is defined at the start of the relevant section. However, as will become obvious in the discussion in each section, this classification system is not without problems. Even within these three categories there is vast overlap, demonstrating that it is difficult to separate aspects of a religion and examine them in isolation. The difficulty in designing a classification system to illustrate the different aspects of Buddhism is demonstrated by the range of systems used in other studies. For example, Browning's study of Tarthang Tulku's adaptation of Tibetan Buddhist teachings to the American context recognises the categories of community life, ritual and meditational praxis, and doctrine.¹ In contrast, Waterhouse's study of the relationship between authority structures and the types of adaptations occurring in six Buddhist groups in Bath examines organisation, symbols, doctrines, practices, experience, ethics, gender, adaptation and authority.² King's examination of the development of modern Hinduism identifies three main levels: conceptual and linguistic, doctrinal and scriptural, and institutional and societal.³

Practical Expressions

This section begins the analysis of changes to the practice of Zen Buddhism by Australian Diamond Sangha groups that have occurred since the establishment of these groups, particularly the SZC and the ZGWA. Non-practitioners are often fascinated by what exactly Zen practice entails; this section outlines a number of

practices, ranging from intensive seven-day sesshins to baby-naming ceremonies. The reasons behind many of the practices are explained, debunking a number of myths and providing insights into the relationship between Zen practice and philosophy. After this overview of Zen practice, changes to practical expressions in Australian Diamond Sangha groups over time are examined in detail. Four types of practical expressions are analysed: meditation, ritual elements, sesshins and ceremonies. Although the meditation techniques have not changed dramatically, there have been alterations in terms of the techniques that are emphasised and how they are taught. In contrast, major changes have occurred to ritual elements, sesshins and ceremonies.

As explained in Part Two, Zen Buddhism claims to differ from other Buddhist traditions through its emphasis on zazen, or seated meditation. Diamond Sangha practitioners commonly referred to zazen as 'sitting'. Because of the emphasis on zazen in Zen practice, the majority of Zen activities are designed to provide opportunities for its practice. Australian Diamond Sangha groups provide group zazen periods of different lengths such as two-hour zazen periods in the evening, half-day periods of Zen practice on weekends, week-long sesshins, and residential training programs of two to four weeks duration.

Zazen periods are heavily ritualised. For example, a two-hour evening meditation session at the ZGWA and the SZC takes place as follows:

6:55pm The jiki jitsu (timekeeper) signals that zazen is about to commence by hitting the han (wooden board) at decreasing intervals. Practitioners enter the dojo (Zen hall), stopping at the door to gassho (an action in which the hands are placed together in a prayer-like position and a small bow is performed) towards the Buddha on the altar at one end of the dojo. Before sitting on the zafu and zabuton (specially designed mats and cushions arranged around the perimeter of the room), each practitioner gasshos towards the zafu and zabuton, which represent the Dharma, and then into the centre of the room, representing the Sangha. Practitioners arrange themselves on the cushions in a range of

meditation postures, facing the centre of the room, then gassho again.

7:00pm The ino (chant-leader) rings the inkin (a hand-held bell shaped like a small bowl, mounted on a handle and hit by a metal striker) at decreasing intervals, signalling the beginning of the full bows (prostrations). To perform these, the practitioners rise from their cushions, and at the last ring of the bell, gassho towards the altar, then go down on their hands and knees until the head touches the floor, at which point the palms are turned over to face the ceiling and are raised above the head. The practitioners stand up together, and the process of kneeling and prostrating is repeated twice more. After the three full bows, the ino rings the bell once, and everyone makes a gassho in the direction of the Buddha on the altar. The practitioners then turn to face the centre, the ino rings the inkin one more time, and everyone gasshos inwards to the centre of the room. The jiki jitsu then walks around the room offering sutra (scripture) books to those practitioners who do not know the chants by heart. A certain hand position signals that a sutra book is required. The jiki jitsu stops and hands the book to the practitioner, who gasshos as they take it, the ino then gasshos back (the ino is unable to assume the hand position for a gassho as they are holding other copies of the sutra book). After the jiki jitsu has completed their circuit, the jiki jitsu gasshos, the signal for all other members to gassho, and sit down in their meditation posture. The chanting now begins, led by the ino.

The preceding explanation covers less than ten minutes, yet this amount of description is still not complete. Many more minute details have still been omitted, such as the direction in which practitioners turn when they move to sit down, the precise way in which the hands are held together in gassho, and the way in which the ino holds and hits the inkin.⁴ However, this description illustrates the amount of ritual that occurs in Zen practice, and consequently the difficulty in examining changes in every Zen ritual. To overcome this, only a few are examined here in-depth.

Zen rituals are considered to have a number of functions, the most common role being to provide a structure in which meditation can best take place. Zen practitioners believe that zazen provides ideal conditions for enlightenment as the meditation postures calm the body, leaving the mind free to start examining its own true nature, using Zen meditation techniques as tools. As the MZG Internet site explains: 'The physical immobility of the zazen posture precludes our habitual physical reactions to our desires and anxieties.'⁵ The AZG Internet site says: 'The use of rituals at our meetings is an expression of respect for our practice, our essential nature, and each other. It helps create a conducive environment for zazen, and regulates movements in the room, which otherwise may be irregular and distracting.'⁶ However, the distinction between ritual and meditation that is commonly applied to other religious traditions is difficult to apply in Zen. While ritual provides a structure in which meditation can take place, with practice practitioners experience no differentiation between this structure and the act of meditation; enacting the ritual becomes meditation. Zazen is not a preparation for enlightenment, as there is no difference between practice and the goal in zazen. Ultimately the means is the end; practising zazen is enlightenment.'⁷

This extends to all practical expressions, from zazen to ceremonies. Zen is a process of uniting body and mind in a state of mindfulness or conscious awareness. While it is easier to cultivate this state in zazen, where distractions are lessened, ideally this state is striven for in all aspects of daily life. Ultimately, every action taken with conscious awareness thus becomes a form of Zen practice.'⁸ This is not easy to achieve, and Zen training provides some interim steps. For example, periods of seated zazen are interspersed with kinhin (walking meditation) which assist the practitioner in beginning the process of doing Zen practice in physical motion. Other Buddhist schools view the role of meditation in comparable terms. Needleman writes of Buddhist meditation in general: 'All the ritual forms are means to an end; one might very well call them practical aids toward the awakening of experience.'⁹ Similarly, B. Ananda Maitreya, a Theravada Buddhist teacher, states that rituals should not be seen as an end in themselves, but as a means to focus attention in meditation.'¹⁰

It is therefore difficult to separate meditation and ritual. Preston solves the problem by using the term, 'meditative ritual practices' in his study of how ritual affects conversion in American Zen practitioners. Preston defines meditative ritual as follows:

Meditative ritual refers to an organised set of activities that are done approximately the same way every time, are valued in themselves, and that, when done properly, both require and produce a state of concentration and alertness. For the purposes of this paper they are special activities that occur in a meditation hall during a special occasion called a sesshin (retreat). We extend the concept of meditation, understood as sitting or resting in the scientific studies review above, to something that can be accomplished in action.¹¹

Vryheid takes the issue even further, examining the relationship between the external cultural system (particularly ritual) and internal training (meditation) to demonstrate the difficulty in distinguishing between not only these, but even between sociological and practical expressions of Zen Buddhism. Vryheid studies the daily training of a Zen Buddhist monastery to show that the daily schedule is the teaching in Zen (as opposed to other elements such as philosophy).¹² Consequently, it could be argued that actions like community service, or even group meetings, could also be classified as ritual or meditation.

Meditation

Meditation has been defined by Shapiro as referring to 'a family of techniques which have in common a conscious attempt to focus attention in a non-analytical way, and an attempt not to dwell on discursive, ruminating thought.'¹³ Diamond Sangha practitioners first practise meditation techniques during seated meditation; consequently, they use the term 'zazen' interchangeably with meditation.

Meditation Techniques

The meditation techniques practised in the Diamond Sangha in Australia have undergone minimal changes since the formation of

the Australian groups. As in the Sanbo Kyodan, the vast majority of Diamond Sangha practitioners practise the Rinzaï Zen meditation method of koan practice; however, some practitioners practise the Soto Zen meditation technique of shikantaza. All practitioners are usually first taught the concentration meditation technique of counting their breaths, before progressing to following the breath. Following the breath involves experiencing or becoming one with the breath. After a suitable level of concentration has been gained from these exercises, practitioners practise either koans or shikantaza.¹⁴

Information presented in both the AZG Internet site and the ZGWA "Orientation Notes" explains koan practice as follows: 'In Zen a koan is a formulation, sometimes in a baffling language, pointing to ultimate truth. Koans cannot be solved by recourse to logical reasoning, but only by awakening a deeper level of mind beyond the discursive intellect.'¹⁵ Diamond Sangha practitioners are often advised to read Aitken's chapter, "The Koan Mu" in his *Taking the Path of Zen*, for information on how to do koan practice.¹⁶ Koan practice involves working with hundreds of different koans, usually from established koan collections. The traditional Chinese and Japanese koan collections are still valued highly, having resulted from hundreds of years of use. Some of the koan collections used today in the Diamond Sangha derive primarily from the collections compiled from the tenth to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, such as the Mumonkan (Gateless Gate), *Hekiganroku* (Blue Cliff Record) and the Shoyoroku (Book of Serenity).¹⁷

There is also a growing demand for 'Western' koans that reflect Western cultural heritage. A perceived need for changes to the traditional koan curriculum used in the Diamond Sangha was highlighted as early as 1980. In 1979 two female Diamond Sangha members living in Hawaii began publishing *Kahawai: A Journal of Women and Zen*, a publication which aimed to stimulate discussion and sharing, as well as serve as a catalyst for change.¹⁸ In 1980 Thomas Cleary gave Aitken and the *Kahawai* editors material from original Chinese and Japanese sources in which women were leading characters, as there was a lack of female leading characters in traditional koans. Known as the Kahawai Koans, these were published in subsequent issues of *Kahawai*, and were utilised by several Diamond Sangha students in their formal

Zen practice. Hopkinson and Murcott highlight the need for them: 'Both women and men need and are entitled to women role models in Zen. We need women we can recognise as guides and leaders - women whose attributes, names and personalities we know - women who can teach us.'¹⁹

A need for koans that are more relevant to Western practitioners has been emphasised in a number of Zen traditions, particularly in relation to Christian practitioners. Kadowaki argues that the Chinese Zen masters who came to Japan during the Kamakura period (1185--1333) and adapted the Chinese culture to the differing language and culture of their samurai disciples set a historical precedent for the cultural adaptation of traditional Zen Buddhism. Kadowaki suggests that new koans be developed for Western practitioners and possibly Christian koans for Christian practitioners.²⁰ Others have gone further. Eido T. Shimano, Abbot of the Zen Studies Society in New York City, lists some potential koans from Western sources, including examples from the Bible, Alfred Tennyson, Meister Eckhart, C. S. Lewis, William Blake, T. S. Elliot and Samuel Beckett.²¹ Similarly, Dumoulin's discussion of Christian practice of Zen suggests episodes, sayings and stories from the Christian tradition that he views as corresponding to Zen koans.²² The ZGWA is compiling a "Koala Book of Koans", a collection of Australian literature and practitioner experiences that could be classed as koans. This is currently an informal resource but further development may occur.

Few Diamond Sangha practitioners practise shikantaza, as most teachers emphasise koan training. The AZG Internet site and the ZGWA "Orientation Notes" describe shikantaza as 'a practice in which the mind is intensively involved in just sitting. The attention is not specifically focused on the breath or on a koan. Shikantaza is a heightened state of concentrated awareness wherein one is unceasingly watchful and attentive.'²³

Teaching Methods

Zen practice is taught in a number of ways in the Diamond Sangha. Informal teaching begins with an orientation for new members. This either occurs at special orientation nights that are held irregularly in most groups, or before the beginning of an evening

zazen session. During orientation, information is given on how to undertake Zen practice and the benefits of it. For example, the ZGWA "Orientation Notes" provides information on group history, membership, when and where to practise zazen, breath-counting, following the breath, koans, shikantaza, the benefits of practising zazen, and some of the rituals.²⁴

There are two types of formal teaching: teishos (talks given by a teacher or assistant teacher) and dokusan (a private teacher-student interview). Teishos are talks of approximately thirty to sixty minutes in duration given during sesshin (usually one per day) that follow a certain format. Teishos usually centre on one koan, often discussing the koan in detail, explaining the history of key figures in the koan, comparing the koan with other koans of a similar nature, and examining the koan's application to everyday life.²⁵

Dokusan is a private meeting of the student and the teacher that occurs in the Zen master's room or a special interview room. Dokusan is usually offered to students during zazen periods. For example, dokusan is usually offered during three separate periods each day in a sesshin, and in groups such as the ZGWA and the SZC which have a resident teacher, the teacher may also offer dokusan during two-hour evening sats. Dokusan is considered particularly important as it maintains regular contact with a teacher to check meditation progress. Dokusan meetings are highly ritualised in form and completely confidential in content. The interviews are usually focused on practice, providing an opportunity for the teacher to ascertain how the student is progressing, and for the student to ask pertinent questions. If the student is undertaking koan practice then dokusan usually begins with the student reciting their koan, then attempting to respond to it. The teacher then indicates to the student whether they have 'passed' this koan and can move onto the next koan, or whether they do not yet have a deep enough understanding of the koan and need to spend more time meditating on it. The length of time a student may spend in dokusan varies according to need, but at Australia sesshins teachers such as Tarrant, Barzaghi and Bolleter average ten to fifteen minutes with each student.

The lack of teachers has caused difficulties that have resulted in changes to teaching methods. Prior to the appointment of local teachers resident in Australia, students could not be guaranteed regular access to a teacher. Currently the SZC and the ZGWA are

the only two of the six groups associated with the Diamond Sangha in Australia that have access to a teacher for most of the year; three other groups have teacher contact only one to three times a year, usually for week-long sesshins. The CZG did not organise teacher contact at all; however, CZG members often attended SZC activities. One solution to the lack of teacher contact for most practitioners has been the introduction of dokusan via telephone, and to some extent, email.²⁶

New Zealand's main Diamond Sangha group, the Maitai Zendo, has gone a step further with the Zen Distance Training program. The program provides a long-distance practice program that includes regular personal contact with Mary Jaksch, the Maitai Zendo's resident teacher. Practitioners undertaking Zen Distance Training receive a monthly posting of a Zen article and practice suggestions, together with a variety of reading materials and a reading program. However, it is expected that students will attempt to attend at least one sesshin held by the teacher to allow more personal contact. This requirement helps Jaksch justify this alternative method of teaching as not so far removed from 'traditional' Japanese face-to-face encounters. Other Western Buddhist groups are using technological resources to a much greater extent, particularly through use of the Internet. For example, it is now possible to meditate online, engage in online dialogue with a cybermonk, and participate in the cybersangha; the Buddhist community online.²⁷

Some of the new teaching methods used in Australian Diamond Sangha groups are koan seminars and Dharma talks by practitioners who are not teachers. In the Sanbo Kyodan groups in Japan, koan seminars are held for practitioners who are at very advanced stages of practice, to deepen their understanding of Zen practice. In the Diamond Sangha, these are being held for practitioners who are much less advanced. The other main new teaching method being used in the Diamond Sangha is offering senior students or dharma leaders (levels below that of teacher and assistant teacher) the opportunity to give talks on elements of Zen practice. However, a distinction is still made between these types of talks, and formal instruction given by authorised teachers.

A key area of change in teaching style in both Diamond Sangha and other Western Buddhist groups is a new emphasis on Zen concepts of what meditation is, the benefits of meditation, and

their application. Some Western practitioners believe that only seated zazen is real meditation, and many Zen teachers have tried to change this conception, particularly through emphasis on the application of Zen to all aspects of daily life. For example, Zen Master Bernard Glassman, founder and former administrator and spiritual director of the Zen Centre of New York, required his students to do work-practice in his organisation's bakery, to disabuse them of the idea that Zen training can only occur in certain places at certain times.²⁸ Jack Kornfield, a vipassana teacher, notes that in his lineage there are teachers who emphasise traditional practice and those who emphasise a more practical version that integrates with daily life, arguing that both are needed.²⁹ This trend can be seen in the Diamond Sangha, where teachers encourage students to take their practice outside the Zen centre, often making reference to application of Zen to practice to situations in lay-life.

Synthesis with Other Techniques

The meditation techniques used by Diamond Sangha teachers in Australia have changed minorly since the formation of Diamond Sangha groups in Australia due to the influence of other techniques. In addition to being a Zen Master in the Diamond Sangha tradition, Barzaghi is also a qualified teacher in the Theravada Buddhist lineage headed by Christopher Titmuss, which utilises a vipassana meditation technique. Barzaghi commented on the effect of her vipassana training on her Zen teaching:

There's a cross-pollination that tends to happen. I've been able to introduce some things from the Vipassana tradition into Zen. For example, I occasionally introduce a lovingkindness practice into sesshin in the form of a guided visualisation or guided meditation for a particular period of sitting. Then I invite people to go back to their normal practice. So there are these occasional injections into the Zen tradition.³⁰

Bolleter is only trained in the Zen tradition, but both the ZGWA and the SZC welcome people of other meditation backgrounds. Some members of the ZGWA practise vipassana.

Many Buddhist teachers in other Western traditions have studied in more than one Buddhist tradition and utilise multiple meditation techniques. Elements of other non-Buddhist traditions are also being integrated into Zen practice; for example, Barzagli and Tarrant are also psychotherapists and sometimes incorporate elements of this in both teaching methods and content. Tarrant has recently published a book synthesising Jungian psychology and Zen Buddhism, *The Light Inside the Dark: Zen, Soul, and the Spiritual Life*.³¹ Whilst head of the California Diamond Sangha, Tarrant actively incorporated psychotherapeutic principles into his teaching. However, this emphasis differed from that of other groups affiliated with the Diamond Sangha, and was one of the reasons behind the California Diamond Sangha's 1999 decision to become an independent lineage. Tarrant wrote of the decision:

We are very involved in making Zen native, in reaching out to the artistic, medical and professional communities, in incorporating meditation methods common in other traditions such as mindfulness of the interior states, in making koan work freely available through seminars, and in linking koan work directly to the life of the student. We also emphasise the value of a crucial enlightenment experience. Some of Robert Aitken's teachers find it difficult to work with our students.

These teachers prefer to keep the psychological processes of life out of the koan practice. We think it is crucial to bring them in.³²

Finney notes that some Western Buddhist groups have employed syncretism as a growth strategy, blending Zen practice with aspects of other religious practices to make Zen more familiar and culturally meaningful. His examples include the incorporation of aspects of Judaism by the Zen Centre of New York, and the integration of elements of the Anglican service by Shasta Abbey (associated with the San Francisco Zen Centre).³³ Fronsdal suggests that many vipassana students and teachers in America actively participate in both other Buddhist traditions but also non-Buddhist traditions: 'In their Dharma talks and writings, American *vipassana* teachers are almost as likely to quote a Sufi, Hindu, Tibetan, Taoist or Zen teacher as they are to quote the Buddha or a

Theravada teacher.' Similarly, many Zen and Tibetan Buddhist practitioners utilise vipassana meditation

In recent years, some of the teachers at Spirit Rock and IMS [Insight Meditation Society] have been involved in intensive meditation retreats in the Tibetan *dzogchen* tradition. The nondualistic *dzogchen* teachings about awareness have thus influenced the *vipassana* instructions that they give.³⁴

Incorporation of elements of New Age spirituality is also on the rise. The use of myth in the women's sesshin described at the start of this book could be considered one example. One SZC member writes about integration in other areas of practice:

My conversations with other students have led me to believe that shamanic experiences are not so uncommon in Zen nor incompatible. . . . One experience that seems to be common, but by no means universal is a sensitivity to energies, people, places and things. . . . Many fellow Zen students have expressed to me their concern about being labelled New Age when they talk about these things and that is a label which I am not particularly keen on either. Yet I can't help but think that we are all like blind men discovering an elephant, each finding a different part. Perhaps the contribution of Western enlightenment to Zen is that we feel that we can express our experiences and connect some of these different parts together.³⁵

As another example, Rocha identifies several groups of practices associated with Zen Buddhism in Brazil: practices of healing (Yoga, Shiatsu, Do In, Tai Chi Chuan, Acupuncture), practices of self-understanding (many kinds of psychotherapy, Astrology), martial arts (Ai Ki Do, Karate), eating habits (vegetarianism, macrobiotics) and other religions (Spiritism, African religions, Mahikari, Rajneesh/Osho).³⁶

Ritual Elements

The first type of ritual changes in Australian Diamond Sangha groups are alterations to ritual elements. Diamond Sangha

practitioners used this term to refer to activities that could be termed rituals in themselves, but can also be considered to be aspects of larger rituals. For example, prostrations, gasshos and chanting are all rituals in themselves, but also occur within larger rituals such as sesshins or transmission ceremonies. In this study, ritual elements refers not only to actions, but also includes objects, such as articles on the altar, cushions used for zazen, and clothing; and language, such as chants, and the titles of people, objects and actions. Chanting and the use of the kyosaku are focused on here.

Chanting

Australian Diamond Sangha groups refer to chanting as sutra recitation. In most Buddhist traditions the term, sutra, refers to the discourses of the Buddha. However, in the Diamond Sangha the term is applied to any text that is chanted during ritual. Some of these texts are sutras in the traditional sense of the term; however, others are not.

A 1991 listing of the chants used by the Diamond Sangha contained twenty-five chants, which vary in length from a few lines to a few pages.³⁷ Chanting occurs at different times during formal practice: at the beginning and end of some meditation periods, during periods devoted entirely to chanting, and at various times during ceremonies. Some chants are performed in Sino-Japanese and others in English. Some are used several times a day, others only during certain ceremonies. Chants are recited to the accompaniment of a beat set by the striking of a mokugyo, a small hollow wooden drum that is made in the shape of a stylised fish. Practitioners usually learn the chants off by heart after some time; however, sutra books are available if required.

There have been changes to both the method and content of the chants since Diamond Sangha groups first formed in Australia. A major change to the method has been that while chanting is traditionally done in a monotone, in some Australian Diamond Sangha groups some of the practitioners (usually women) now sing the chant as a melody line above the monotone. Some male and female practitioners interviewed felt that chanting in a deep monotone reflected male dominance, arguing that male voices are

usually louder in chants as the note at which the chanting is pitched is more comfortably within the range of most male voices. However, members of both sexes also disagreed with the chanting of a melody line because they perceived that it conflicts with the role of chanting, as a female member explains:

When you sit all day, I think what happens increasingly is you get down into your belly . . . and that's the focus, and as soon as you start to sing it goes straight to your throat. . . . zazen is very much an embodied practice within the body, and sitting the way you sit helps you focus on the hara and that part of your body, and then in the chanting it comes out of your body. . . . then as soon as it starts getting high pitched it's coming from the higher place. . . . So I have huge objections to it.

Changes have also occurred in the wording of the chants. While most chants have been translated to English, significant content changes have also occurred with the inclusion of new lines. A major issue that has arisen is the need to change chants so as to allow the inclusion of women. Marilyn Harman, a practitioner at Koko An Zendo (a Diamond Sangha group in Hawaii), has written of the alienation she felt because of the use of masculine pronouns used throughout the translated chants. After substituting 'she' for 'he', Harman found the chants to be much more powerful; suddenly her own aspirations were affirmed.³⁸

A major example is an alteration to the *First Sutra Service Dedication*. In 1993 a published version of Diamond Sangha chants, as translated by Aitken, included the following *First Sutra Service Dedication*:

Buddha nature pervades the whole universe, existing right here now.
With our reciting of *Maka Hannya Haramita Shin Gyo-*
(*The Great Prajna Paramita Heart Sutra*) and the *Sho-Sai Myo-Kichijo-Darani*,
let us unite with:
The Ancient Seven Buddhas, Dai Osho-,
Shakyamuni Buddha, Dai Osho-,
Bodhidharma, Dai Osho-,

To-zan Ryo-kai, Dai Osho-,
Do-gen Kigen, Dai Osho-,
Keizan Jo-kin, Dai Osho-,
Dai'un Sogaku, Dai Osho-,
Haku'un Ryo-ko-, Dai Osho-,
Ko-un Zenshin, Dai Osho-;
all founding teachers, past, present, future, Dai Osho-,
let true Dharma continue, Sangha relations become complete:
All Buddhas throughout space and time,
all Bodhisattvas, Mahasattvas,
the great Prajna Paramita.³⁹

All of the teachers mentioned here (revered with the honorific, Dai Osho) are male. Significant change occurred with the inclusion of a line about women to recognise their contributions. The SZC now uses the following version:

Buddha nature pervades the whole universe,
existing right here and now.
With our reciting of *The Great Prajna Paramita Heart Sutra (Maha Hannya Haramita Shin Gyo)*
and the *Shosaimyo Kichijo Darani*,
let us unite with:
The Ancient Seven Buddhas, Dai Osho,
Shakyamuni Buddha, Dai Osho,
Bodhidharma, Dai Osho,
Tozan Ryokai, Dai Osho,
Dogen Kigen, Dai Osho,
Keizan Jokin, Dai Osho,
Dai'un Sogaku, Dai Osho,
Haku'un Ryoko, Dai Osho,
Ko'un Zenshin, Dai Osho,
the untold women, generations of enlightened women, holding zazen in their arms, Dai Osho,
all founding teachers, past, present, future, Dai Osho;
let true Dharma continue, Sangha relations become complete:
All Buddhas throughout space and time;
all Bodhisattvas, Mahasattvas;
the great Prajna Paramita.

The key change is the inclusion of the line, 'the untold women, generations of enlightened women, holding zazen in their arms, Dai Osho'. The ZGWA use a version that varies slightly, instead using the line: 'the unknown women, centuries of enlightened women who hold our zazen in their arms, Dai Osho'.

Practitioners hold divergent views on these changes. One female AZG member said in regard to the changed line:

I suggested that they [the women] were known to some people so I think we've changed it to 'untold women', or 'unnamed women', something like that. And we've left out 'who hold our zazen in their arms', because as one person pointed out why don't the guys do that, why have the women been given that?

In this context some practitioners interviewed clearly viewed the wording and consequently the meaning of the chants to be significant. However, others practitioners argued that the meaning of the chants was irrelevant as the primary purpose of chanting is not to reflect on the content of what is being recited, rather chanting is another vehicle for entering the meditative state. Bolleter explained:

In one way, the words of the chants have a sense, and you can take the chants away and you can study them, and it's very rich study to study the *Maka Hannya Haramita* (the *Heart Sutra*). And many of the other ones are full of incredibly rich material, but when we chant them there is no reflection on the meaning usually as they're chanted. Sometimes they're chanted at a pace at where it would be difficult to reflect on the meaning. And there's something about the nature of chanting that makes it hard to think about other things while you're doing it. And in some ways the chants themselves are the direct expression of the way, like the wind itself is the expression of the way, or the ocean rolling onto the beach is the expression of the way.

Attitudes towards translation of chants vary in other Western Buddhist groups. Some teachers have not translated chants while

others have. Lavine argues for translation in Tibetan Buddhist groups in America: 'As with all religious transmission, it is critical that the texts read, prayers chanted, and teachings heard all be translated into English so that American followers are not made to feel alienated from their own religion.'⁴⁰ In contrast, the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, an international organisation with groups in twenty countries, mostly chant in Pali, partly in recognition of the historical links to the Buddha, and partly to stop linguistic differences between Friends of the Western Buddhist Order members of different linguistic backgrounds.⁴¹ Venerable Henepola Gunaratana a Sri Lankan Theravada monk who teaches in Virginia, America, opts for using Pali chants, arguing that this means the original teaching cannot be lost in the translations.⁴² Similarly in his examination of the rise of Tibetan Buddhism in Europe, Baumann notes:

Followers of the Kagyu tradition highly value the fact that they have become an integral part of a '1000-year-old uninterrupted religious tradition'. To them it does not appear strange to learn the Tibetan language and conduct prayers and ceremonies in Tibetan. Often, Tibetan language is considered as original, powerful and as possessing effective vibrations. It should not be translated.⁴³

These examples demonstrate that the issue of whether to translate is based on the issue of efficacy, and whether maintenance of tradition ensures efficacy more than cultural adaptations such as translation does. Both viewpoints argue that their approach makes the practice more efficacious.

Kyosaku

The kyosaku, commonly referred to in the West as the 'stick', or 'hitting stick', is a flat, narrow piece of wood that is used to hit practitioners on the shoulders during zazen; a practice that grabs the attention of many non-practitioners. According to Adachi, a Sanbo Kyodan Zen master, the kyosaku was used in Japan for a number of purposes: to wake practitioners up; to urge on keen students; and to bring practitioners to kensho (the experience of

enlightenment).⁴⁴ While in Japan the kyosaku was traditionally administered at the leader's discretion, one of the major changes in the West is that it is usually only given at the request of the practitioner. The ZGWA "Orientation Notes" explain the application of the kyosaku as follows: 'On request, it [the kyosaku] is used to strike students on the flat of the shoulder at such an angle and with the precise force to give a sting and no more. It is an important reminder to return to practice.'⁴⁵ Jiyu Kennett, Abbess of Shasta Abbey, says the function of the kyosaku is to release 'mental blocks' in the form of tension around the shoulders.⁴⁶

In the Diamond Sangha in Australia the kyosaku has always only been administered on request; a major departure from the Japanese tradition in which usage of the kyosaku was determined by the person wielding it. However, a major change is occurring in its use, as sometimes massage or acupressure are offered as alternatives, and sometimes the kyosaku is not used at all. The practice of not using the kyosaku seems to have originated in a women's sesshin held by the SZC in 1991. The sesshin began the day after the Gulf War broke out, and it was decided that an olive branch would be carried around the meditation hall in place of the kyosaku. Due to the peaceful symbolic nature of the olive branch it not used to hit people. At a sesshin following this the kyosaku was again not used, which sparked fierce debate. The reasons for and against the use of the kyosaku are complicated. Bolleter explained the issue:

Most groups go through a period where it becomes a hot issue for the group and this has been a hot issue for the group here, as it has been in Sydney. I'm not sure about Melbourne, but certainly in Perth and Sydney it's been a hot issue, and sometimes it joins up with feminist issues. It's seen as being an expression of the patriarchy, to put it in a kind of shorthand. I've heard people say that is punitive, it's aggressive, that at the very least that it's deeply offensive within this culture because of the cultural connotations that it carries. And in most circumstances I've spoken affirmatively for the kyosaku. I've tried to correct what I see are misapprehensions about its nature.

A number of Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners do perceive that the use of the kyosaku has negative connotations, usually viewing it as a patriarchal symbol or an implement of domination. However, others support its use. A male member of the SZC said: 'So things like the kyosaku, that Japanese stuff, that's ok. When your back's sore it's quite nice. It's just a tool. And I think it's really important that we don't get caught up in that stuff, just use it as a tool.' A male ZGWA member agreed: 'If you understand the stick historically, then perhaps it's the most compassionate expression of the thing you're trying to say with the olive branch. Perhaps you don't need to change it at all.' The central issue seems to be whether the kyosaku's use is understood in terms of Japanese or western culture. A male SZC member said: 'It made people question things like the different cultural attitudes to things like that, where in our society hitting someone with a stick is seen as abusive.'

The use of the kyosaku is an issue in other Western Buddhist groups for the same reasons. Kapleau notes that changes to his tradition of Western Zen include lessened use of the stick: 'Some students objected to vigorous use of the encouragement stick in particular as reminiscent of the caning and paddling once prevalent in many countries of the West, but now no longer tolerated in most.'⁴⁷ Friedman cites the example of Zen Master Toni Packer, a successor of Philip Kapleau who now teaches independently at the Springwater Centre (near Rochester, New York):

Toni was also seriously questioning the harsh and often merciless use of the keisaku [kyosaku] (hitting stick), with which meditating students were whacked on the shoulders to arouse their energies. She was deeply concerned about what the hitting was doing to the minds and bodies of the people being hit. Likewise, what was it doing to those who were wielding the stick? The use of the stick was reverentially referred to as an act of compassion. But did stick-wielding really arise from compassion?⁴⁸

The issues around the use of the kyosaku are complex and but largely focus on whether the use of the kyosaku assists or hinders practitioners in their goal of realisation.

Sesshins

A key element of Zen practice is the meditation retreat known as a sesshin. It is usually five to eight days in length, and comprises up to ten hours of seated meditation each day. It is usually held at a retreat centre, which can vary from a suburban house to a rural retreat. Attendees live on site and cannot leave unless an emergency arises. An example of a Diamond Sangha sesshin schedule is as follows:

3:45am Wake-up
4:00am Exercise
4:25am Tea ceremony
4:30am Zazen (cycles of twenty-five minutes of seated meditation and five minutes of kinhin) and dokusan
6:30am Breakfast
7:00am Break (this time is often used for samu, or 'work-practice'. Each practitioner has certain responsibilities during the sesshin, such as cooking or cleaning)
8:30am Chanting
9:00am Zazen and dokusan
10:30am Outside kinhin
11:00am Zazen
11:30am Lunch
12:00pm Break
1:25pm Tea ceremony
1:30pm Zazen and dokusan
3:45pm Exercise
4:30pm Sutra reading
5:00pm Dinner
5:30pm Break
6:30pm Zazen
7:30pm Teisho
9:00pm Day's end.⁴⁹

Sesshins are highly structured; almost every act from exercise to eating is ritualised. Strict guidelines are followed, particularly the three essential rules of sesshin: do not talk or whisper, do not look around, and do not greet people or make gestures.⁵⁰ Rigid

daily structures aim to provide conditions for the attainment of deep meditative states by lessening distractions (as during zazen). As stated in the SZC sesshin notes: The forms and procedures which follow are designed to establish an optimum setting for true Zen training. These guidelines provide a structure which supports each of us in giving full attention to the matter at hand.⁴¹

Sesshin is changing in two main ways: changes to ritual elements such as the kyosaku or the chanting; and changes in the whole concept of sesshin. With regard to the latter, the Diamond Sangha groups in Australia (particularly the SZC) have trialed a number of sesshins with a specific focus: women's, men's, sound and music, art, creativity and wilderness sesshins. The original inspiration for these came partly from American Buddhists such Thich Nhat Hanh, a renowned Vietnamese Buddhist teacher who leads groups world-wide. Thich Nhat Hanh has led sesshins for Vietnam War veterans, psychoanalysts, artists and teachers.

Women's Sesshin

One of the most developed new sesshin forms in the Australian Diamond Sangha is the women's sesshin, which the SZC first ran in 1991. Aitken explains its history:

I think the women's sesshin developed spontaneously in the Bay area of California and in Australia, without any cross-fertilisation. I think they just started independently as it became clear that women needed to find their own identity within the structure of the Zen tradition. And one way for them to do that was to get out and be separate for a while, in the same way that people in the minority of power sociologically in many, many kinds of ways have had to get out and be separate for a while, get a sense of who they are and then come back.

Women's sesshins differ from traditional sesshins in their incorporation of different activities and discussions. For example, the 1997 SZC women's sesshin took place over four days, with the following schedule:

5:00am Wake-up
 5.15am Exercise
 5:30am Zazen
 7:00am Breakfast
 7:30am Break
 9:00am Sutra recitation
 9:30am Zazen
 10:30am Outside kinhin
 11:00am Zazen
 12:00pm Lunch
 12:30pm Break
 2:00pm Zazen
 2:30pm Myth
 4:30pm Zazen
 5:00pm Dinner
 5:30pm Break
 6:30pm Zazen
 7:30pm Singing, sharing, poetry reading
 8:30pm Zazen
 9:00pm Day's end.

There were two periods that differentiated this sesshin from a traditional sesshin: the 'myth' period in the afternoon and the singing, sharing, poetry reading period in the evening. In a traditional sesshin these are zazen periods, incorporating dokusan if a teacher is present. There is also no talking during a traditional sesshin; however, this was allowed in the evening session of the women's sesshin, and on the final day.

The myth period was central to this women's sesshin. On the first night of the sesshin two different versions of the Hellenic myth about Demeter and Persephone were read. As described at the beginning of the Introduction, on the second day, during the myth period, the practitioners acted out Persephone's going down into the underworld, by going down near the creek where it was shady and cool. During that time the women reflected and meditated on what this part of the myth meant to them, where there were parallels in their lives, and what issues this raised for them. On the third day the practitioners went to four sites of the story that Demeter was involved in. After going to each site as a group, they then chose one

site to go back to and work at individually. On the final day the women enacted Persephone's coming up out of the underworld and eating a pomegranate (they ate a sultana). They then sat together in a 'sharing circle' and talked about their experiences during these periods. Because the myth focuses on mother-daughter issues, many of the women discussed these issues in their own life. These types of activities are common in Australian Diamond Sangha women's sesshins. In a previous sesshin women had spent time making two masks which they felt represented two sides of their personalities. On the final day each danced with each of their masks, then swapped masks with others.

A number of the practitioners interviewed commented that women have been responsible for many changes in Australian Zen, and the women's sesshins have been a source of innovation. Barzaghi commented on the new developments in women's sesshins:

From the very beginning we wanted to introduce new elements - for example, a two-hour sharing in the afternoon block during retreats. We started talking about our experiences and introducing speaking as a practice, which is very different from the classical form. Out of that sharing grew the two-hour periods, most of which I was invited to lead. We started introducing other elements into our block of time - working with clay, making art, sometimes bodywork and various other things. As a therapist I enjoy creative processes as a way of expressing the truth and exploring the inner life, so partly they made that extension into the women's retreat.⁵²

The place of the women's sesshin in Zen practice is questionable. Maggie Gluek said of the 1997 SZC women's sesshin:

It's a question, I've been thinking about it ever since - actually whether to even call it a sesshin or not. There have been women's retreats that I have felt I could call sesshin. This one I feel a little bit less inclined to do so, just because somehow the actual amount of sitting we did was not at a critical mass point. . . . I think actually in the one we just did there was an uneasy balance in some ways between traditional meditation

and those forms, and something entirely new, and I think we forsook the zazen a little bit too much.

A few Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners saw the function of the women's sesshins to be therapeutic, in contrast to the traditional sesshin aim of awakening. A female member of the SZC discussed the relationship of psychology to Zen practice, in terms of the women's sesshin:

I don't think it's contrary to, but I wouldn't have called it Zen practice. It's just exploring those things, well my feeling about those things is that those aspects block you, you know when you have a difficulty with one of those aspects you get blocked and you get these great big walls in front of you and you get shut in. And so anything that loosens those out helps your practice. It's like if you can see clearly that this is where I'm bogged, or if you can even see that life itself is sad and then you're not sad, and all the rest of it, it helps your practice. But I'm not sure that the actual way of looking at them is anything to do directly with Zen practice at all. Unless you see everything as Zen, I suppose!

Women's-only sesshins and other activities that support women in their practice exist elsewhere. Boucher's *Turning the Wheel* documents a number of women-led centres and retreats.⁵³ Other activities include conferences; in 1981 the first conference on women and Buddhism was held in Boulder, Colorado.⁵⁴ However, while some women teachers have experimented with feminist forms such as female sesshins, others continue to utilise the traditional structure.

Wilderness Sesshin

The first Diamond Sangha wilderness sesshin was conducted by an American Diamond Sangha group, the Ring of Bone Zendo. The ZGWA then organised a sesshin based on this. Wilderness, or hiking sesshins, usually consist of several hours a day of hiking from camping spot to camping spot, with walking substituted for some of the time usually allocated for seated meditation. Bolleter explained the purpose of this type of sesshin:

Zen practice concentrates fiercely on sitting meditation, that's the absolute centre. But there is also, there is the old teaching saying that if you think that Buddha is only seated Buddha then you murder Buddha. But you know, there has to be lying down Buddha, walking Buddha, eating Buddha, sitting Buddha, you know, so in a way I guess it's in the spirit of getting the practice up. The simple truth is that many people go better in a walking meditation mode, or find it easier, find it more comfortable.

A need to integrate Zen practice into daily life is one element emphasised in Australian Diamond Sangha wilderness sesshins. According to Bolleter, environmental awareness is another:

I think it [the wilderness sesshin] comes out of involved Buddhism, that it shouldn't be a practice that's separate, when we go to sit sesshin in a room, shut the doors. We are involved lay-people; hiking is something that we do. Let's take the ritual of the sesshin into this other environment and show how that can be useful for a sesshin form.

Diamond Sangha practitioners have a variety of attitudes to alternative sesshins. A male ZGWA member said: 'I think they're all fine and they're all fantastic and should be encouraged if they don't take the place of your traditional sesshin. In addition to that, it's fantastic and I love the idea.' However, as was the case for women's sesshins, some practitioners questioned the role of these sesshins in Zen practice, and were concerned that the number of alternative types of sesshins offered would mean less traditional sesshins were organised by the groups.

New types of sesshins are being offered by other Zen groups in the West. The Zen Peacemaker Order organises 'bearing witness retreats' at Auschwitz that are led by Glassman. These retreats are attended by people of a variety of religious traditions. The traditional sesshin structure are mostly maintained, but like Diamond Sangha sesshins new elements have been incorporated; for example, in the evenings the practitioners came together to share their personal experiences, similar to the sharing circles that occur in SZC women's sesshins.⁵⁵

Ceremonies

There are a number of ceremonies that are performed in the Diamond Sangha. Ceremonies that have been in use since the formation of the Diamond Sangha groups in Australia include Jukai, Shoken and the Full Moon Precepts ceremony. Practitioners wishing to become Buddhists take the Jukai ceremony, which involves accepting the Buddha as one's teacher and the Five Buddhist Precepts as guides. It is usually offered annually. Shoken is a private ceremony that takes place between teacher and student, and formalises the student-teacher relationship. It can take place at any time, and is performed in dokusan. The Full Moon Precepts ceremony involves a recitation of the Five Buddhist Precepts and reaffirmation of commitment to them. It is performed monthly by the SZC. Some changes to these ceremonies have occurred through changes to ritual elements used in these ceremonies, such as translation of chants.

Alongside changes to existing rituals, new ceremonies have also been developed in Australian Diamond Sangha groups: baby-namings, weddings, memorial services, coming-of-age (for teenagers), dojo opening and closings, and teacher installations.⁵⁶ Aitken has also developed a ceremony to commemorate the death of an unborn child although it has not yet been performed in Australia.⁵⁷ The baby-naming ceremony is examined here as an example of developments in this type of ritual.

Baby-Naming Ceremony

The first baby-naming ceremony was held by the SZC in 1991. Like most other ceremonies, the baby-naming begins with recitation of *Ti Sarana (The Three Refuges)*, followed by three prostrations. A dharma leader or teacher then welcomes everyone and talks about the baby. Casuarina branches are dipped in water and flicked over the baby as the baby is named. The community are invited to come forward, offer incense and pour water on figure of Jizo (a bodhisattva who helps deceased children) which is located in a bowl of water, and to offer a flower to the new baby. The children go first, to the accompaniment of group recitation of *Enmei Jikku Kannon Gyo (Ten Verse Kannon Sutra of Timeless*

Life). When everyone has had a turn, parents, grandparents and community members are invited to speak. People may choose to sing, say a poem, play an instrument or offer a gift. The ceremony concludes like any other, with the recitation of another chant, *Great Vows for All*. A potluck dinner usually follows.

A number of Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners mentioned the importance of this ceremony as a rite of passage, and the need to incorporate rituals commemorating life events into Zen practice. For example, a male member of the SZC said: 'Well, I mean I see baby-namings as just like baptism, it's welcoming someone into that community.' Similarly, Tony Coote (SZC) concluded: 'I think definitely the baby-naming is in response to the fact that we had members of the Sangha having babies and wanting to mark that in some way, rather than having a christening. So we made up this ceremony.'

New ceremonies such as baby-namings tend to be based to some extent on existing outlines for ceremonies, thus maintaining a link with tradition. In the SZC the ceremonies have a certain basic structure that the new ceremonies also incorporate. Tony Coote explained: 'Things that seem to be basic to any service that we might have here, are chanting the *Heart Sutra* and offering incense. And then picking out a few other things to do, maybe having a sharing.' Bolleter argued that all these rituals are still Zen because the elements of Zen practice are not changing, it is still Zen, it is just the context in which these elements are used that changes:

The point I've just made would be one kind of point, the fact that it uses Zen sutras, the fact that people sit for half an hour and it's set within a Zen framework, you know, within a Zen Buddhist framework. Usually originality, if you like, resides in the words that are said not in the sutras that are chanted, if you see what I mean. It's not so much that we devise a whole set of new sutras for a baby-naming ceremony, we've used a selection of the sutras but put within that some words. ¶ "ceremonies"

Changes to meditation in the Diamond Sangha in Australia reflect a number of issues: the need to adapt Zen practice to western culture, particularly in regard to achieving equality of the sexes;

the merger of Zen with psychology and psychotherapy; emphasis on the application and integration of Zen practice into elements of daily life; the effect of lay-practice; and the differing emphases on traditional and modern forms. Issues in chanting and the use of the *kyosaku* also highlight the debate between the importance of maintenance of traditional forms versus the need to adapt to suit the host culture, in this case, particularly the values of feminism and non-violence. New *sesshin* styles again reflect issues relating to the application of practice to daily life; integration with psychology and psychotherapy; feminism; and the question of whether to maintain traditional forms or adapt the practice to western culture. The introduction of baby-naming ceremonies reflects the growing need in Western Buddhism for a sense of community and rites of passage and is an example of adaptation of the practice to western culture.

Sociological Expressions

The practical expressions of Zen practice outlined in the previous section can only take place in an appropriate sociocultural context. This section examines the sociological expressions of Zen Buddhism by Australian Diamond Sangha groups and Western Buddhist groups in general. Sociological elements examined include: community composition, organisation, group activities, membership and funding, and relations with the wider community.

Community Composition

The core of any Buddhist organisation is the Sangha, the Buddhist community. In its narrowest sense this term refers to the monastic community; in its broadest sense, to all Buddhists. In the Diamond Sangha the term, *sangha*, is used even more widely, extending to include to all members of the Diamond Sangha, many of whom would not necessarily classify themselves as Buddhist. Some practitioners have performed the *Jukai* ceremony to officially become Buddhists, others have not. The Sanbo Kyodan allowed members of other religious faiths to practise Zen without giving up their existing faiths, and consequently the Diamond Sangha does not view Zen practice as completely incompatible with adherence

to a non-Buddhist faith, although teachers cannot receive full transmission unless they are also Buddhists. While there are no Buddhist monastics in the Diamond Sangha, some practitioners are priests or nuns in other religious traditions. Four of the Diamond Sangha teachers are ordained in other traditions: Father Pat Hawk is a priest in the Redemptorist Order; the Reverend Rolf Drosten is a Protestant cleric; James Ford is a minister in the Unitarian Universalist Church, and Pia Gyger is a Catholic nun.

All members of the Diamond Sangha are lay-practitioners. This change from the traditional Japanese emphasis on monasticism can be traced to the Sanbo Kyodan, the lineage in which Aitken received authorisation as a Zen Master. The shift towards lay-practice occurred in the Sanbo Kyodan at its inception, to the extent that there is no longer a monastic tradition in this lineage. This trend is widespread; monasticism is less prominent in Western Buddhist groups than in their Asian predecessors. Suggested reasons for this are: lack of contact with other monastics due to geographical distance; lack of support and respect for monastics from the wider community; lack of clear adaptation of monastic discipline to the western context; reluctance of Westerners to become monastics, particularly to keep precepts requiring celibacy; the financial difficulty of running a monastic community; the emphasis on lay-practice and the development of structures that support lay-practitioners over monastics; lack of full ordination for women; western attitudes that monasticism confines enlightenment to an elite and does not apply enlightenment to everyday life; and the need for relevant monastic training. Tenzin Palmo, an English nun who trained in both the Theravada and the Tibetan traditions, discussed problems faced by Buddhist monastics in the West at a conference of Western Buddhist teachers held in Dharamsala, India, in 1993:

In Dharma circles in the West, the Sangha lives in a kind of limbo. They are neither supported by the lay community, nor even by the lamas themselves. Even when there is some support forthcoming from centres where they work, they are nonetheless second-class citizens in many ways. They are given poor places to stay, and are treated inferior to paying guests who have lots of money and can support the centres.

The Sangha is always shoved into the background. This is really true. They are given very little personal attention. They receive very little respect or even appreciation for having in fact devoted their whole lives to the Dharma. Centres are mainly geared towards lay-people, while the Sangha are shunted to one side and considered unimportant. Quite often they are overworked, running centres with very little training or experience. People have very high expectations, and the stress of maintaining high standards is very difficult with very little training.⁵⁸

Arguments for the maintenance of monastic communities include: the right of monastics to have a peaceful place for their practice; the need for a solid core group to provide a sense of identity and demonstration of the enlightened life; and to preserve a way of life that embodies the Dharma. In Western Buddhism both monastic and lay organisations exist, in addition to organisations that have created alternative systems of ordination. For example, the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order has dealt with this issue by having only one level of ordination. Practitioners are ordained as full practising members of the sangha, not as members of a socio-religious class such as monastic or lay-person.⁵⁹ Other organisations have altered the rules under which monastics live to make monasticism less distinct from lay-practice in an endeavour to increase the popularity of monasticism. For example, Glassman attempted to increase interest in monasticism by relieving novices at the Zen Centre of New York from the traditional bans on marriage, sex and intoxicants. However, in 1986 Glassman announced that his teacher, Maezumi, wanted celibacy to be part of the monastic path, and lost all three of the intending novices at that time.⁶⁰

It is often claimed that lay-practice in the West differs from Buddhist practice in Asia. For example, Gross argues that while traditionally lay Buddhists in Asia seek merit and monastics seek enlightenment, American Buddhists are aspiring to experience what traditional monks and nuns experience without adopting the lifestyle of monastics. Being a lay-practitioner in America commonly means short but disciplined periods of daily practice, interspersed with sesshins.⁶¹ Like other western groups, the

Diamond Sangha attempts to implement the intensity of monastic practice within secular lifestyles. Barzaghi explains the importance of sesshin in the context of the emphasis on lay-practice:

So what we see in the West in the last thirty years is a growing lay-practice contingent rather than the monastic tradition. So what we have when we do retreats, is that we actually step into a monastic schedule, so to speak, and in many ways we put on the [monastic] robes for that short time, for that intensive retreat, in silence. Then we're able to step out of the robes and go back to one's family and work and daily life. So in some ways we have the remnants of the monastic here, and that is very dearly loved and appreciated in its classical form. It's that very form that we adopt as our discipline and our practice, and that format is the same as was practised in early China in the thirteenth century, the same schedule.⁶²

The Diamond Sangha groups in Australia are fairly uniform in composition, constituted of primarily Anglo-Saxon, middle-class professionals, aged twenty-five to seventy, and have approximately equal numbers of male and female practitioners. The number of women practitioners has changed dramatically since the formation of the Diamond Sangha.⁶³ Other Western Zen groups have similar demographics. Ford characterises Zen practitioners in the West as overwhelmingly of European descent, aged in their late thirties and forties (or older), and mostly coming from the more affluent classes. A substantial majority have received university training, a good number have professional degrees; also there is a trend toward underemployment among active Zen students.⁶⁴

One of the effects of having a community comprised of lay-practitioners and equal numbers of women and men has been an increase in the perceived need for inclusion of families. Australian Diamond Sangha members sometimes also make reference to a 'wider sangha' that includes individuals with more tenuous links to the groups, such as practitioners' families. The desire to include practitioners' families is expressed through rituals and informal social activities that children and family members can be involved in. SZC practitioners began bringing children to sesshins in the early 1980s, and this practice has gradually increased. In a 1990

edition of the SZC newsletter, Barzaghi and one of the SZC practitioners, Diana Levy, discussed the perceived need to incorporate children into Zen practice, particularly sesshins: 'We need as a lay community to integrate our children into this spiritual arena that is such a dear and essential part of our lives. Putting Everyday life into Zen. [The capitalisation is that of the authors.]'⁶⁵

The inclusion of children is becoming widespread in the Diamond Sangha. A 1991 draft of the California Diamond Sangha's vision statement included: 'Ensuring that children are welcome and have a place in our sangha by providing childcare, developing children's programs, and practice opportunities that include children.'⁶⁶ The desire to include children has been reflected in social events and rituals in a number of groups. The SZC, the ZGWA and the Harbor Sangha in San Francisco have held baby-naming ceremonies, the SZC and the ZGWA have held rites of passage for the teenaged children of sangha members, and the SZC have arranged child-care at sesshins to enable practitioners to bring their children with them.

Some Western Buddhist groups are developing residential communities, places where practitioners and their families can live in close proximity to other practitioners. None of the Australian Diamond Sangha groups incorporate residential communities and there is no evidence of movement in this direction in the near future. The Honolulu Diamond Sangha in Hawaii does provide residential facilities at their Palolo Zen Centre for up to nine practitioners wishing to engage in intensive practice, and a number of Australian practitioners have spent time there. Some groups (including the ZGWA) run intensive residential training periods of two to four weeks in length that are similar to the Palolo schedule. While residential communities may not be on the agenda, the question of how to extend lay-practice into community life exists in the Australian Diamond Sangha. According to Ford, an Assistant Teacher in the Diamond Sangha:

The raging question for many western Zen students, however, has been how to raise their children. And from that question, how to move beyond a narrow focus on individual realisation and toward something that can

genuinely be called community. Indeed, the questions of community seem to be the strongest concern for many western Zen practitioners at the end of the twentieth century. . . . At this point no centres seem to have been completely successful in addressing the question of community. Indeed, this may be the great 'koan' of institutional western Zen as we look toward the twenty-first century. How do we move beyond establishments focused exclusively on individual realisation or depth to institutions that allow the fullest expression of human personality and life?⁶⁷

Ford also notes that many Zen practitioners do not want this integration to occur. While some Western Buddhists in other traditions view residential communities as an excellent opportunity for integrating their practice into every aspect of their lives and an opportunity for a lifestyle more closely approximating monasticism, others disagree. For example, Zen Master Maurine Stuart, president of the Cambridge Buddhist Association in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been described as convinced that 'residential centres generate dependencies that inhibit the self-reliance required for Zen training, and perpetuate an infantile relationship to society.'⁶⁸

Community Organisation

Five of the Australian Diamond Sangha groups receive guidance from two areas: the spiritual hierarchy and an elected board (the CZG was slightly different). The roles and responsibilities of these two bodies can roughly be divided into spiritual guidance and administration; however, it is difficult to distinguish between these two categories.

Spiritual Leadership

The spiritual hierarchy in Australian Diamond Sangha groups is virtually identical to that in other Diamond Sangha groups. Each Diamond Sangha group has a formal connection with a Diamond Sangha teacher, in accordance with the requirements of affiliation with the Diamond Sangha network.⁶⁹ The teacher heads a spiritual

hierarchy that has a number of levels which recognise different degrees of spiritual attainment.

Senior Students

Teachers usually begin their training as students in a Diamond Sangha group. When they have reached a suitable stage in their practice these students become senior students. This is not a formal position and usage of the term is ambiguous. When used by a teacher or senior members of a group, 'senior student' usually refers to a practitioner who has been identified by a teacher as such, because they have reached a certain level of understanding in their Zen practice (usually after having completed several hundred koans). This identification can be explicit (for example, verbal reference to the practitioner as a senior student), or implicit (assigning the practitioner certain leadership roles in sesshins, or inviting them to give talks). Senior students are also often involved in the administration of their group, for example, occupying positions on the elected board. However, the term, 'senior student', is also used to refer to people who have simply been practitioners for many years and who are involved in the spiritual and/or administrative organisation of the group. This usage of the term seems more common in less experienced practitioners. Less experienced practitioners may not be able to differentiate between practitioners who are senior in their length of time in the group but not necessarily their understanding of Zen practice, and thus apply the term incorrectly.

Dharma Leaders

The position above senior student is usually that of assistant teacher. However, in the SZC, another level has been added to the spiritual hierarchy, that of dharma leader, a qualification below assistant teacher. John Tarrant created this position in 1993, when three dharma leaders were appointed in the SZC: Gilly Coote, Maggie Gluek and Tony Coote. Due to a lack of formal definition of the responsibilities of the dharma leaders, Barzaghi circulated a discussion document on the roles and appointment of dharma leaders after her appointment as the main teacher of the SZC in 1997. While the appointment of dharma leaders in Australia is the

responsibility of teachers, Barzaghi encouraged input on their role from SZC practitioners. The discussion document listed the duties of dharma leaders as follows: orientate first time visitors to the zendo (Zen centre) on a weekly basis; attend weekly zazen meetings and facilitate question-and-answer sessions; offer Dharma talks at zazenkais (full day meditation sessions); provide one-to-one interviews on the basics of Zen practice; run orientations; travel to rural areas to lead zazenkais; liaise with the teacher; give talks at universities, schools and community groups; create and conduct ceremonies; offer and encourage others in dojo leadership; do radio and television interviews; facilitate or support Dharma discussion groups or Buddhist studies classes; offer mediation and conflict resolution skills; provide support and guidance for newcomers; and be open and responsive to whatever arises in the practice community. According to Barzaghi, dharma leaders do not have an administrative role, so have no power in regard to Board decisions. They can participate as equals, but they have no executive power. Dharma leaders remain responsible to the teacher and the SZC Board.⁷⁰

Dharma Leaders have not been appointed in any other Diamond Sangha groups, however, in 1998 Bolleter appointed Mary Jaksch as a Practice Leader at the Maitai Zendo in New Zealand (prior to her appointment as an Assistant Teacher). Bolleter describes this position:

To be a Practice Leader means that you are available to answer questions on matters of practice, to train leaders, to give regular talks and to bring love, energy and creativity to inspire others in their practice. . . . A Practice Leader is not a Teacher but a leader in Sangha who is deeply experienced in matters of Dharma and who is caring and enthusiastic, as well as possessing fine leadership qualities. . . . In this Mary remains responsible to me, and I, in turn, am ultimately responsible for the forms of Sesshin, leadership, and the directions of development of the Diamond Sangha in New Zealand.⁷¹

Assistant Teacher (Sensei)

The first formal appointment in Diamond Sangha groups is usually that of assistant (or apprentice) teacher, or sensei. In the Diamond

Sangha this term has a different meaning to that traditionally offered in Japan. According to Aitken, the assistant teacher works under the supervision of a teacher, and cannot assume an independent role without a teacher's agreement.⁷² In practice, assistant teachers have virtually the same responsibilities of teachers. Assistant teachers do not automatically progress to the position of teacher; they must prove their worth before this appointment is considered. As is the case for senior students and dharma leaders, there is no formal training.

Teacher (Roshi)

The highest position in the Diamond Sangha spiritual hierarchy is that of Zen master, or roshi. All appointments within the spiritual hierarchy are made by teachers; official appointment of new teachers by an existing teacher legitimises the new teacher's spiritual authority. Aitken explains that it is important in the selection of new teachers that there is also 'sangha transmission', that new teachers are accepted and supported by a viable sangha.⁷³

Teachers in the Diamond Sangha have full autonomy. In contrast, in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage teachers are first appointed Junshike, a level at which they can teach within the lineage and receive the title of roshi. However, only some teachers receive the higher appointment of Denpo (Succession of the Dharma). Denpo involves two steps: 1) Presentation of a certificate of Shoshike, which qualifies the teacher to conduct Jukai (the Zen ceremony to become a Buddhist) and funeral ceremonies, and to teach independently; and 2) Sanmotsu (The Three Matters), which is a private ceremony marking the formal succession in which documents showing the Three Matters are given: Blood Lines showing succession through ordination, Dharma lines showing succession through teachers, and the Great Matter, a diagram symbolising enlightenment.⁷⁴ However, in the Diamond Sangha the Denpo qualifications are given at the same time as the teacher transmission ceremony. The new teacher is therefore independent in every way, with the exception that Diamond Sangha teachers are not allowed to authorise their own successors until ten years after their own appointment as a teacher.⁷⁵

Despite the spiritual hierarchy, there is still an attempt to achieve consensus on changes to spiritual practice, particularly ritual. The

changes were often discussed at a group meeting before implementation, giving practitioners the opportunity to have some input. However, in practice, most changes to spiritual practice are still made by the teacher. While both SZC and ZGWA practitioners said their groups were committed to consensus decision-making procedures at these meetings, they acknowledged that this is very difficult to achieve. Tony Coote (SZC) explained the problems inherent in changing ritual

Changing an existing ritual is difficult. And the only way it really happens is when a teacher comes along and sort of does unilaterally. This is an interesting area, I think, the fine line you walk between having democratic institution where decisions are made consensually by the group, and having a Dharma teacher who has a specific style, and has some specific ideas about how they'd like things to happen. And what sort of authority you give that teacher to make those decisions. It's just so tricky.

Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners can also gain input as teachers sometimes delegate responsibility for spiritual matters to group members. For example, in the ZGWA there are a couple of practitioners who are responsible for the creation of new ceremonies. In practice, the process of change is often more haphazard, and other members who not necessarily chosen by the teacher also become involved. There have also been some cases of students initiating changes; however, it was generally agreed that when this occurred the changes should still be sanctioned by teachers. Tony Coote gave one example of informal changes to the weeknight meditation sessions held by the SZC:

The way those things happen sometimes is not so structured. It doesn't really come out of any discussion. On the Monday nights, apparently - I haven't sat on a Monday night for ages - they just decided they'd have a reading. That was about six or seven years ago. . . . But it's now part of the ritual that there is a reading on Monday nights. I don't even know what they read. . . . They just sort of did it. I think that's great, I think there's a fine line between setting up some incredibly rigid

bureaucratic system that wants to vet everything and letting everyone do what they like. You've got to allow for people having initiatives and encourage people to have initiatives and come up with new things, and to be willing to trial it, and be open to that possibility.

This kind of ambiguity can be seen in other groups. Sogen Hori's study of ritual change in the ABC Zen Centre in America yielded responses from the roshi that monks sometimes created new traditions, while the monks said it was the roshi who held this authority.⁷⁶

The spiritual hierarchy varies greatly in other Zen and Buddhist traditions. While many Zen groups still maintain a strict process for the appointment of teachers, others are more relaxed. Thirteen of the sixteen Australian Zen Buddhist groups are affiliated with teachers from established Zen lineages. Well-known international Zen teachers who have gained large followings in the West but were never given formal authorisation by their Japanese teachers include Philip Kapleau, who founded the Rochester Zen Centre and has authorised at least seven successors.⁷⁷ Kapleau was authorised as an Assistant Teacher in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage, but left before receiving full transmission. Two of Kapleau's successors (Toni Packer and Richard Clarke) repeated this process, leaving Kapleau's lineage to begin teaching independently before receiving full authorisation from Kapleau to do so.

Some Zen Buddhist teachers no longer maintain the system of transmission. The Princeton Area Zen Group (PAZG) in New Jersey, USA, provides one example. The PAZG was founded in 1991 and has two teachers, Manfred Steger and Perle Besserman. Steger trained with Aitken in Hawaii, and was authorised as an Assistant Teacher in the Diamond Sangha lineage. However, in 1991, he resigned from the Diamond Sangha and founded the PAZG with his wife, Besserman, who also trained in the Diamond Sangha.⁷⁸ The PAZG has no formal links to the Diamond Sangha, but still teaches in this style. The PAZG have altered their transmission system as follows:

Upon completion of this curriculum, the teacher will present the student with a 'Certificate of Completion' which will list

the works completed, the date of completion, and both the student's and teacher's names. This is not a document of 'transmission'. Rather, it enables the Zen practitioner to provide the necessary credentials for a prospective teaching position. We believe that renouncing any form of 'religious transmission' protects Zen students from arbitrary appointments and helps prevent Zen teachers from indulging in yet another illusion of permanence.⁷⁹

Lachs provides a historical analysis that demonstrates that Dharma transmission has not always had the same connotations in Japan as in the West:

It can be awarded for any one of a number of reasons, presumed to be legitimate at a particular time or in certain conditions. According to some scholars, Dharma transmission has actually been used as a means for bestowing membership in a teaching lineage. It has been used to establish political contacts vital to the well-being of the monastery, to maintain the continuity of the lineage though the recipient has not opened his/her Dharma eye, to cement a personal connection with a student, to enhance the authority of missionaries spreading the Dharma in foreign countries, or to provide salvation (posthumously, in medieval Japan) by allowing the deceased recipient to join the 'blood line' of the Buddha. In the later Sung Dynasty (CE 960--1280), Dharma transmission was routinely given to senior monastic officers, presumably so that their way to an abbacy would not be blocked. *Clearly, enlightenment was not always regarded as the essential criteria for Dharma transmission.* For a contemporary example of the functional role of Dharma transmission within the Zen institution, as well as a lesson in institutional history, let us look at the present-day Soto sect in Japan. This sect strives to match the institutional structures of Dogen's time when every Soto temple had to have an abbot and every abbot had to have Dharma transmission. . . . Since every abbot has to be a priest, it follows that almost every Soto priest (95 per cent) has Dharma transmission. It should be noted that a majority of

these priests would spend less than three years in a monastery. Many will have as little as one year or even six months of training. Significantly, while there is much written in Soto texts on the ritual of Dharma transmission, there is almost nothing on the qualifications for it. The vast majority of today's Japanese Soto Zen priests are themselves the sons, typically the eldest sons, of temple priests who take over their father's temple more or less as a 'family business.' [The italics are those of the author.]

In contrast, other Buddhist traditions such as Thai Theravada Buddhism have never upheld such rigid hierarchies in regard to teaching. All Thai monastics are able to teach upon ordination.

These problems in outlining teachers' roles and responsibilities in the spiritual hierarchy are mostly due to the nature of the student-teacher relationship, but are also related to the difficulties in defining teachers' roles in the administrative side of the organisation. The role of the teacher has important implications due to the intimate nature of the relationship between students and teachers in many Zen lineages, including the Diamond Sangha. Because of the Zen non-reliance on scriptures, the teacher plays a crucial role in the education of students. Formal teacher contact occurs during teishos and dokusan. Students also seek guidance from teachers outside of this formal teaching arrangement.

In the West, practitioners often believe that a sign of spiritual attainment is perfection in everyday life. Consequently, Diamond Sangha teachers have duties as role models. All of the teachers in the Diamond Sangha are lay-practitioners, struggling to juggle family, career and the additional responsibility of Zen teaching. Students often expect teachers to be models in their own family and work relationships. Barzaghi is also important as a role model for women. When asked whether her position as a female teacher leads the way for women in the lineage, Barzaghi said:

Certainly it does, and I know that many women have come up to me and said, 'I'm so glad that you're doing what you're doing, you're a great inspiration for me.' That's always encouraged me along the way. In fact, at times when I've thought 'I cannot do this' or felt doubtful or hesitant, it's

women's voices and women's encouragement that have kept me walking through this journey. And I know that it's true when I do lead retreats and teach, that largely my retreats are a greater percentage of females on those retreats than say, the per norm. That female voice does offer encouragement. It means that women can see; 'Oh yes, I too can do that.'⁸⁰

The concept of teacher as role-model has caused some problems in the Diamond Sangha. In 1998 Victoria published *Zen at War*, a book which argued that some members of the Japanese Zen clergy had interpreted Buddhism in such a way that it allowed them to support the Imperial Forces.⁸¹ This book caused some commotion, as some of the clergy mentioned were forefathers of contemporary Zen traditions in the West. In 1999 Victoria's continuing research uncovered evidence that Yasutani supported nationalism, obedience to the emperor, and anti-Semitism.⁸² Many Western Zen lineages, including the Diamond Sangha, trace their lineages back to Yasutani. Victoria's work has caused many practitioners to question their belief in a lineage based on the teachings of someone who held these attitudes. In response to Victoria's work, Aitken wrote 'I think it is salutary for my practice and that of my students to drop off innocent adulation of living Buddhas and realise that our teachers are human after all, vulnerable to the social and political compulsions of their times.'⁸³

The concept that teachers are role models is widespread in Western Buddhism. For example, Tworkov notes that Westerners have begun to judge Buddhist teachers by their ethics and psychological attributes.⁸⁴ However, there are few precedents for teachers on how to manage being a role model, and there is confusion on whether it should be an issue. Some academics and Buddhist practitioners argue that while the conferral of teaching status implies a high level of enlightenment, it does not imply perfection. Tworkov writes: 'The most pervasive American myth about enlightenment is that it eradicates any trace of personality.'⁸⁵ Zen Master Richard Baker argues that in Japan a practitioner is interested in the teacher's role as a teacher, not the teacher's personality or behaviour in other roles; however, Western practitioners do not make this distinction and look for perfection in both.⁸⁶ Zen Master Jakushko Kwong argues that learning to be a

teacher is part of Zen practice, teachers are not instantly perfect: 'Every good teacher is going to take a fall.'⁸⁷

The transition to teacher can be difficult. Following Bolleter's appointment as an Assistant Teacher in the ZGWA in 1991, Tarrant suggested that a six member Dharma Group (including Bolleter) be formed 'to deal with Dharma related issues, as well as offering support and assistance to Bolleter in his new role.'⁸⁸ Teachers can still err, particularly in new environments where guidelines are not clear-cut and pressures are high. The financial and sexual improprieties of various Western teachers in a variety of Buddhist traditions have already been well documented.⁸⁹ In 1985 Kornfield conducted a study surveying the sexual attitudes of teachers, and discovered that thirty-four of the fifty-four teachers (some of whom were supposed to be celibate) had had sexual relationships with students, and had many different attitudes to sexual relations with students.⁹⁰ It is argued that both teachers and students should play a role in establishing a proper student-teacher relationship, but that students often place excessive trust in their teachers.

The student-teacher relationship requires effort on both sides. Baker argues that the real teacher is the relationship that is established between teacher and student.⁹¹ In the Diamond Sangha, formalisation of a relationship with a teacher occurs at a ceremony called Shoken. This ceremony signifies that the student is now committed to working with the teacher, and equally, that the teacher is committed to the student's welfare. Diamond Sangha teachers in Australia usually allow almost anyone to take Shoken; screening measures are few. In contrast, American Zen Master Baker says he initially accepted anyone willing to be a student. However, now he is choosier, avoiding people who he believes have too high expectations of him.⁹² Gross's analysis of the models of spiritual authority in the West leads her to suggest a similar middle line: 'This middle path of revering the spiritual teacher as an authority on mind-to-mind transmission but not necessarily an all-wise or all-perfect role model guards against excessive attention to a teacher's everyday actions at the same time as it protects the heart of the teacher-student bond.'⁹³

Lachs argues that Zen Buddhism is constructed in such a manner that the Zen teacher is elevated to a position that is 'paradoxically human, but simultaneously beyond human.' He writes:

The Zen sects' self definition and institutional structures are essentially based on idealism, falsehood, and deception that serve certain institutional interests and the interests of those holding roles legitimated by the Zen institutions. But one may ask, 'At what price?' The Masters themselves pay a high price. Being elevated by the rhetoric of Zen and by the internalisation of the Zen rhetoric by the students to a position far beyond anything that matches their own attainment, they are forced to play a role rather than function as normal humans in teaching positions. This places the teacher in the unenviable position of living a lie or into denying, or at best hedging the rhetoric of the very institution that legitimates his/her role. . . . The students too pay a price. At the very least, any sort of critical thinking being strongly discouraged . . . This has, to one degree or another, allowed for all sorts of excess and craziness to pass either unnoticed, or understood in ways that preserve the institution, its idealizations, and its hierarchy at all costs.⁹⁴

The student-teacher relationship is also significant in other traditions. Harding argues that the nature of the student-teacher relationship in Vajrayana requires unquestioning obedience to the teacher: 'Both teacher and student take on the responsibility of this commitment, but the onus is on the student to regard every aspect of the guru as flawless and buddha-like. This relationship *is* the path of Vajrayana.'⁹⁵ Bell provides evidence that the role of the teacher is just as problematic in this tradition, examining how the problems caused by Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche's sexual misconducts resulted from problems with charismatic authority and Western practitioners' understanding of the teacher-student relationship.⁹⁶

While there is debate on the nature of authority in the student-teacher relationship, there is also debate on the nature of the relationship in other areas. Diamond Sangha teachers tend to adopt the traditional role of guide, but often also take on the additional role of personal counsellor, particularly as a number of the teachers are qualified psychotherapists (such as Tarrant and Barzagli). As this is a relatively new development there is a lack of clear guidelines on how this additional role should be managed. Zen Master Richard Baker provided a clear example of the problems

that this can cause. Baker's movement away from the traditional role of a Zen master who was not interested in personal history to one involved in personal decisions, was a factor contributing to the problems that later removed him from his position as Abbot of the San Francisco Zen Centre.⁹⁷ Tworkov notes that very few American Zen masters have solved the problem of how to draw the line between Zen teacher and life counsellor. Some teachers do provide counselling advice and become open to criticism, others do not and thus lose students who do not understand the difference.⁹⁸ Ken McLeod, a Vajrayana teacher with a private practice teaching Vajrayana Buddhism in Los Angeles, offers a different solution. McLeod argues that his approach gives more feedback to students, provides spiritual instruction without requiring that students join a group, and provides a viable mode of life for a spiritual teacher in modern America (particularly in financial terms).⁹⁹

Sogen Hori presents evidence that the Japanese system has not been properly imported to the West, hence the problems that have arisen: 'Zen monastics practices does not encourage a monk to become dependent on the roshi as a single authority figure. As I have described, the monastery is a system of mutual polishing where most of the training in work and ritual is done not with the roshi but with the other monks; all senior monks become one's teacher and all junior monks become one's student. Thus the vertical effect of the roshi's authority is offset by the lateral effects of mutual polishing.'¹⁰⁰ He continues: 'The point is that in Japan the relation of Zen master and student is embedded in a system of social constraints and compensating checks so that developing dependency is very difficult. . . . But in America, the relation of Zen master to student comes with no accompanying system of social constraints and is assumed to be similar to the relationship of psychotherapist and client, with all the accompanying dangers of dependence, transference and projection.'¹⁰¹

With very few precedents available for lay teachers, there are numerous problems faced by them, and Diamond Sangha teachers are no exception. Problems include: lack of contact with peers as teachers are often geographically isolated, meeting only annually to discuss organisational and teaching issues; lack of support from the wider community who do not understand the responsibilities of a teacher; lack of appropriate financial compensation for teaching

responsibilities, particularly in the longer term; lack of clear guidelines on the role of the teacher in regard to the nature of the relationship between students and teacher; the role of the teacher as role model; and the role of the teacher as group-leader. There has been some discussion of the development of a teacher-training program in the Diamond Sangha to assist in solving some of these problems; however, no definite plans exist yet. Some Western Buddhists have responded to these difficulties by establishing set codes of ethics for lay teachers. Based on the five basic Buddhist precepts, they cover relevant issues such as rules regarding teacher-student sexual relations.¹⁰² More formal training exists in some other traditions, for example, a Western vipassana teacher training course for Kornfield's lineage has been developed with sections on Dharma study, teaching techniques, teacher role studies and personal work.¹⁰³

Teacher Demographics

Only five of the sixteen Diamond Sangha teachers are female, although women in the Diamond Sangha are theoretically equal to their male counterparts in their ability to reach teaching positions. The first female teacher, Barzagli, was appointed in 1996. Although Western Buddhist lineages from a variety of traditions now include female teachers, the number of female teachers are not yet equal with their male counterparts. Recent publications have highlighted this by focussing on the new generation of female teachers. For example, Boucher's 1985 work, *Turning the Wheel: American Women Creating the New Buddhism*, discusses a range of issues with over forty well-known Buddhist women, most of them teachers,¹⁰⁴ and Friedman's 1987 publication, *Meetings with Remarkable Women: Buddhist Teachers in America*, provides biographies of seventeen female American Buddhist teachers.¹⁰⁵ There are now Western Zen lineages that have been established by women, such as the Ordinary Mind Zen School, established by Charlotte Joko Beck, a Zen Master since 1978.

The Jukai ceremony, in which Zen Buddhist practitioners take the Buddhist precepts and formally become Buddhist, is commonly practised in the Diamond Sangha. While Diamond Sangha practitioners are not necessarily Buddhists in this formal sense, teachers usually are as the Jukai ceremony is included in the

transmission ceremony to become a teacher. All Diamond Sangha teachers are, therefore, Buddhists, with the exception of one: Pia Gyger, a Catholic nun, was not permitted by her order to become a Buddhist, so Aitken devised a ceremony to give her transmission without Jukai. She was not given full transmission as a Roshi, but was authorised as an Associated Master of the Diamond Sangha. This is a good example of the flexibility that occurs in the Diamond Sangha with regard to organisational guidelines.

Administrative Organisation

It is traditional in the Zen lineage of which the Diamond Sangha is a part that there is a spiritual hierarchy in which authority is based on depth of Zen practice; thus Zen masters have the highest authority, then assistant teachers, then senior students and so on. However, the degree to which this authority affects administration is difficult to determine. Each Australian Diamond Sangha group (with the exception of the CZG) has a democratically elected board in charge of administrative matters, and a relationship with a teacher who has responsibility for spiritual practice. However, the difference between administration and practice is difficult to define, and there are other complicating factors: in some groups the teacher is also a member of the Board; the two groups with non-resident teachers understand the role of the teachers differently to those with resident teachers; and there is overlap between the two lines of authority because practitioners elected to the Board are often more senior students who also have an influence on practice matters.

The SZC has an elected board with a maximum of nine members. Their teacher is not a formal member although they often attend the meetings. The SZC "Guidelines for Meeting and Decision-Making Processes" provides some information on roles:

The Board itself is a strange intersection of legal entity (representing a company with articles of association) and Sangha of the Buddhadharmā. Similarly, we enshrine the notion of democracy in our consensus model of decision-making, implying a (difficult) goal of shared understanding, while also recognising the spiritual authority of the teacher. Recognition of a teacher's spiritual authority or of clear

group wishes at times may over-ride our culturally instinctive desire to persuasively have our say or way; and the ideal of consensus at times may be consciously relinquished.¹⁰⁶

In contrast, the ZGWA has a Council comprising six elected members and the resident teacher, Bolleter. The Council has legal and financial authority for the group. A female ZGWA member explained:

There's a very close relationship there between the Council, with voted people on it, and Ross, who's a sole voice. During Ross's development as teacher it's an area of ground that's been thoroughly worked over. Quite tricky, actually, that sort of working of a dictator and a voted-in Council. I think they've got it fairly good at the moment . . . Ross is responsible for practice and teaching, the committee is responsible for everything like the house, the organisation, the finances, and visiting teachers. If Ross would like to invite another teacher into the sangha then it has to be okayed by the Council.

The difficulties in distinguishing between administration and practice are demonstrated in the following comment from a female ZGWA practitioner about the Dharma Group:

When Ross first became a teacher I think the senior students formed into a separate committee to help him establish his teaching practice in the sangha. Some of those senior members were on the Council as well. . . . Then there was a bit of tension that arose between those two groups, because one group was doing all the organisation and the other group was doing all the teaching. It got to be a bit like those of the spiritual people up there and these are the mundane people down here. I think that some division arose, and Ross, when he was confident as a teacher, dissolved the Dharma Group . . . and then the Dharma Group members became reabsorbed by the Council. That's how it worked out.

The relationships between the boards and teachers of the SZC and the ZGWA reflect the personalities of teachers and key members to some degree. A male SZC member explained:

That's another interesting development with Subhana coming on the scene. Because for instance, John [Tarrant] is very much of the old school. He's said to me, in fact, 'in the good old days no one would have questioned the roshi's word about anything.' And that's very much the role he's always been in, he's made decisions and you don't question his decisions. . . . And Subhana, because of her whole background in counselling and her being involved in communities . . . she'd never, in fact, make any decision without consulting the Board at least.

The "Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha", to which all Diamond Sangha affiliates adhere, states: 'It is the responsibility of each affiliate to engage or discharge its own teachers.'¹⁰⁷ While this may seem to provide guidelines on the ultimate authority of teachers and boards, there are exceptions. A male SZC member described a situation in the California Diamond Sangha where the teacher, John Tarrant, took a different approach:

There's been some fracas happening over in Santa Rosa, and some of the longest-term members have suddenly resigned and walked away from Zen, and John turned around and sacked the board. And as far as Sydney's concerned, the board is who invites the teacher, it's the board who would sack the teacher, and not the other way around. So a lot of jaws dropped when John said: 'Oh, I had to sack the board.'

Just as the amount of influence an Australian Diamond Sangha teacher has with a board differs widely, so too does the amount of input that students can have on formal practice matters, as described above. A few SZC practitioners interviewed commented that the lack of a resident teacher had allowed more suggestions to come from group members. In response to a question asking whether the teachers, the board or the students make changes, a female SZC practitioner replied:

A combination I guess. Because I suppose I'm mainly practising in a sangha that doesn't really have a teacher

around most of the time, I'd have to say the sangha. I don't know what it's like in a group where there's a teacher always there. I think the sangha makes the change. And even if you have a teacher, if the teacher wants to incorporate something different like that and the sangha really doesn't want to do it then it's not going to work.

There is an emphasis in Australian Diamond Sangha groups on achieving consensus when possible, and this is reflected in meeting procedures. A female ZGWA member explained the situation in the ZGWA:

Most difficulties come before the Council. Actually interestingly enough, when we meet for whole group meetings, group meetings of the whole sangha, it runs not by voting but by everyone agreeing, consensus. And we have sat there and worked through something until we've got consensus. Sometimes they give up if they absolutely can't reach agreement, then they will vote, but it's way down the line, and there's a lot of people who don't like the vote. And the committee, I think, always runs by consensus.

Aitken has long emphasised consensual decision-making processes at various organisational levels. Aitken has replaced the Japanese model of submission to authority with a model that relies on consensus for governing the groups he has led in Hawaii. He has tried to shift decisions from a democratic voting system to a non-voting method of group consensus, although with limited success.¹⁰⁸ At the organisation level, he changed the Diamond Sangha from a hierarchical organisation, with himself at the head, to a 'network' in which there is no hierarchy of groups or teachers.

In Western Buddhism generally the roles of administrative and spiritual authorities is a major issue. Some scandals have resulted in some Western groups seeking to constrain the authority of their teacher or to criticise them. Tworokov notes that the decision by Baker's students to remove their teacher represented the first time in the history of Zen practice in America that the judgement of a student body took precedence over the authority

of the teacher.¹⁰⁹ These kinds of events have caused some groups faced to design their own guidelines to which teachers must adhere.

However, in some groups the teacher has retained total control. Browning notes that Tarthang Tulku, a Tibetan Buddhist now teaching in the West, has consciously created a guru role for himself rather than the role of advisor and friend that is utilised by many other Tibetan teachers. Tarthang's roles include teacher, administrator, psychologist, employer and public relations director.¹¹⁰ Zen Master Bernard Glassman provides an even stronger example. When his groups initiated reforms that would allow greater student control over community operations, Glassman became more autocratic, maintaining his authority. He argues that if a community based on the Buddhist principles of the Three Treasures (Buddha, Dharma and Sangha) does not rely on the teacher, then what is left is a secular community.¹¹¹

Group Activities

The majority of the activities of the SZC and the ZGWA revolve around formal teaching and meditation. The SZC holds two-hour meditation sessions three nights a week, half-day sittings once a month (during which a talk is given by a dharma leader), a Full Moon Precepts ceremony one evening each month, and seven-day sesshins twice annually. There are occasionally other sesshins with special focuses that have so far included women's sesshins, men's sesshins, work sesshins (to improve the facilities at the sesshin centre), creativity sesshins, and sound and music sesshins. The ZGWA holds two-hour meditation sessions two nights a week, and two seven-day sesshins annually. Some shorter sesshins occasionally occur, such as wilderness sesshins. Formal teaching is usually provided at seven-day sesshins, where a teacher gives dokusan and teishos, and the ZGWA also offers teishos and dokusan one night a week.

Informal social events are also important in Australian Diamond Sangha groups. The SZC has coffee and biscuits at the conclusion of meditation sessions, and regularly holds potluck dinners that family members are welcome to attend. The SZC also has a men's group, and a women's group that provides support for women Zen

practitioners and conducts women-only sesshins. Gilly Coote explained the role of the women's group:

It's got a lot of functions. It's got a function of people becoming more known to each other and some of the veils coming off. So that's an intimate space, or it has been. And it's a form of practice because of course we sit always, well except for once last time. We sit first, then speak out of the silence, practise listening and holding other people's pain or joy, whatever comes out. Often what's happening for one woman is happening for this woman, it's amazing. It breaks down that isolation, creates that more strong sense of sisterhood, and going through this life together, and practising together, and getting connected, and all those sort of things.

Bolleter said of the women's group in Sydney:

I think one of the incredibly important functions of women's groups, or men's groups, for that matter, is that they are another way that people can forge closer relationships. Certainly in Sydney terms it was incredibly important. The group didn't form specifically to work through political issues. . . . It meant that women connected very deeply through telling their own stories and getting to know each other, a lot of resolving of interpersonal stuff as well, took place within that group.

The ZGWA also have social gatherings after meditation sessions and at other times. The ZGWA Internet site says of social events: 'Apart from the busy calendar of meditation events, the group also operates as a circle of friends. We have social evenings and breakfasts. We welcome babies into the world at special ceremonies and support each other through life's crises.'¹¹²

A ZGWA women's group has been meeting since 1990. In 1998 the ZGWA was holding a zazenkai (a single day of meditation) for women every three months, timed to coincide with the solstices and the equinoxes. Senior students of the ZGWA lead these. The zazenkais usually adhere to the traditional sesshin format, but

sometimes incorporate workshops or other events. Other women's group events have been held in the past.

Membership and Funding

Each Australian Diamond Sangha group obtains most of its finances from membership fees. For example, in annual ZGWA membership costs AUD\$150 for a full member; AUD\$90 for unwaged, out-of-town members contribute AUD\$120 and family membership is AUD\$180. It is also suggested that members give an additional AUD\$300 per year in the form of a pledge. The benefits of membership include access to the group's library, a guaranteed place at sesshins and some discount on sesshin costs, the right to vote at general meetings, and the receipt of a monthly newsletter, calendar of events, and a half-yearly magazine. SZC memberships costs AUD\$150 per year for Sydney members and AUD\$80 for unemployed and out-of-town members, although costs will increase if the group decides to pay their main teacher a stipend. SZC membership offers similar benefits: priority and discounts at sesshins, use of the sesshin facilities, a bimonthly newsletter and calendar, and the receipt of *Mind Moon Circle* (a quarterly magazine which contains stories, teacher articles, poetry and art). Attendance at sesshins costs extra in both groups (a seven-day sesshin costs approximately AUD\$300, with food, accommodation and teachers' fees included), but regular events such as evening meditation and half-day sits are free. There are no requirements for membership.

New members are gained by word of mouth, listing in the telephone white pages, Internet sites, pamphlets, and occasional press coverage. New members are given an orientation that includes an explanation of the group's history and practices, and guidelines on how to meditate and participate in the rituals. In the SZC the dharma leaders conducts the orientations, whereas in the ZGWA these are usually run by senior students. Some fund-raising also occurs to gain funds. For example, the ZGWA regularly holds garage sales to raise funds to improve their library, and the SZC held fund-raising ventures in 1996 and 1997 to raise funds for their new zendo that included an art exhibition and sale of home-made greeting cards.

Funds are spent on the rental of premises for a zendo, associated expenses such as electricity and telephone, food and facilities for

sesshins, zendo accessories such as mats and cushions (to sit on during zazen), publications and teachers' fees. Both the ZGWA and the SZC rent residential premises for their zendos and fund this partly through renting part of the premises out to tenants, who are often members of the group. In 1983 the SZC purchased land for a sesshin facility, Gorrick's Run, located near Wiseman's Ferry, a couple of hours drive from Sydney. The facilities at Gorrick's Run now include a new zendo, and a building comprising a kitchen and the old two-level zendo, a teacher's hut (which provides teachers with accommodation and a place to conduct dokusan), compost toilets and showers. Funding for teachers is an ongoing concern, as some practitioners perceive a lack of appropriate financial compensation for teaching responsibilities, particularly in the long term. There has been discussion about the establishment of a retirement fund for Australian Diamond Sangha teachers in the future, although at this stage the groups are too small to make this viable.¹¹³

Most Western groups have a similar financial set-up to the Diamond Sangha although some groups manage to survive on donations only, and others have dealt with financial problems by establishing businesses. For example, the Zen Mountain Centre, or Tassajara (part of the San Francisco Zen Centre), is a monastery and residential lay community that also functions as a summer resort for tourists for part of each year. Another example is the Greyston Bakery, run by the Zen Centre of New York. According to Zen Master Glassman, working in the bakery is Zen training and is just as important as zazen. Glassman maintains that he is trying to remove his students' attachment to the specialness of Zen training and to prove to them that any activity in any place can be Zen practice. While many students think social action to be a more appropriate type of work for Zen students, Glassman sees no contradiction in running a competitive enterprise that involves the Zen Centre of New York in the corporate structure of capitalist America. Glassman argues that working together provides a sense of community.¹¹⁴

Relationships Between Groups

Australian Zen groups in the Diamond Sangha maintain relationships with other Diamond Sangha affiliates at both organisational

and personal levels. The relationship among groups in the Diamond Sangha is that of a network, not a hierarchy. The Diamond Sangha has a charter of common ground to which all member groups must agree,¹¹⁵ which allows each group and teacher some flexibility in how they organise both their administration and spiritual practice. However, Aitken wrote on the subject of teacher transmission in 1991: I would hope the new teacher would participate in the society of Diamond Sangha teachers and in the overall Diamond Sangha community, keeping the essence of our way, while possibly experimenting carefully with innovations that seem appropriate.¹¹⁶

Formal discussion about organisational issues occurs between teachers at the annual teachers' meeting, the Teachers' Circle, and via correspondence between the teachers and boards of various groups at other times. This process can be cumbersome. For example, when a group applies for affiliation with the Diamond Sangha, it is necessary for the group to send a copy of their affiliation application to all affiliated groups in the network for their consideration. However, there have been recent discussions on the Diamond Sangha email list regarding the efficiency of the network in matters such as this, and requests from some sanghas for a clarification of the role of the Diamond Sangha network and re-examination of its processes.

Most communication about the Diamond Sangha network occurs at the higher levels of the spiritual and administrative authorities, usually teachers and boards. However, in 1997 a 'Mahasangha' meeting was held in Perth that involved practitioners from all levels of the spiritual and administrative hierarchies. A large number of practitioners from a variety of Australian Zen sanghas were in Perth to attend Bolleter's transmission ceremony to become a teacher. In the events following the ceremony, a Mahasangha meeting was held, attended by fifty people representing six different Diamond Sangha affiliates: AZG, the California Diamond Sangha (Santa Rosa), Maitai Zendo, MZG, SZC ZGWA, and two non-Diamond Sangha Zen groups. The fifty practitioners attending the meeting included teachers, assistant teachers, senior students and students. This was the first meeting of representatives from a number of Diamond Sangha groups (previously only teachers had met together), and identified a number of issues for further discussion by Australian and New Zealand groups:

- organisation of a triennial Mahasangha sesshin;
- establishment of an Australian training program hosted by different sanghas in turn;
- establishment of a Mahasangha Internet site and email list;
- co-ordination and better advertising of Australian sesshins;
- formation of a Mahasangha journal issue combining other Diamond Sangha journals
- provision of concessions to Diamond Sangha members when attending sesshins held by other Diamond Sangha groups;
- formation of a Mahasangha Council;
- development of a retirement plan for Diamond Sangha teachers;
- mentoring of smaller sanghas by larger ones if desired; and
- organisation of an Australian-produced edition of *Blind Donkey* [a Diamond Sangha journal].¹¹⁷ .

The Mahasangha email list is one of the suggestions arising from this conference that has been actioned. In 1997 an email list was started for members of Australian and New Zealand Diamond Sangha groups. Within a few months this was widened to members of all Diamond Sangha affiliates. The scope of the list gradually widened to allow anyone with an interest in Diamond Sangha to join. The list has over one hundred subscribers from at least six countries (mostly America and Australia). The list has allowed more networking between sanghas at a personal level, and provided better information flow on topics such as who the Diamond Sangha teachers are and where the various groups are located. Major organisational issues are not discussed on the list, although the existence of major issues is sometimes stated on the list for further discussion off-list, such as the need for improved communication between groups and clarification of issues such as the role of the network.

Links between some Australian Diamond Sangha groups are fairly strong at a personal level, as some members travel to attend sesshins and talks given by teachers organised by other groups, or have attended other Diamond Sangha groups when in residence in other cities. A number of Australian Diamond Sangha members have also lived at or visited some of the American Diamond Sangha groups, and visits by international teachers such as Aitken, Alcalde,

Hawk and Tarrant, have enhanced relationships between Australian and international Diamond Sangha groups. However, while personal links are strong, they are informal. There is not much co-ordination in terms of organisation, as evidenced by the request at the Mahasangha meeting for co-ordination of the sesshin schedules of the Australian groups.

The Diamond Sangha does not maintain formal relations with the Sanbo Kyodan although informal relations still exist. For example, the current head of the Sanbo Kyodan, Kubota, attended Aitken's retirement ceremony in Hawaii in 1997. Relations between other Asian sanghas and their Western Buddhist off-shoots vary. Often there is a maintenance of spiritual ties but not administrative ones. Zen Master Jakusho Kwong notes that while American centres in the Soto school are technically part of the Japanese Soto organisation, which has its own tribunal court to decide ethical and organisational matters, distance makes it virtually inoperative in America.¹¹⁸ An English Zen teacher who heads groups in England, Canada and America maintains spiritual links with the Japanese lineage in which she trained but argues that being organisationally independent from them enables avoidance of bureaucracy and politics (such as having to get monks registered in Japan).¹¹⁹ Relations with parent groups vary in Buddhist organisations: in contrast, the British Forest Sangha (part of the Theravada tradition) has close relations with centres with the Thai monasteries in the Thai Forest Tradition from which it originated.

Relations with the Wider Community

Groups in the Diamond Sangha maintain some relations with Zen groups from other traditions located in reasonable geographical proximity. There are also minimal relations with some Buddhist groups from different traditions. For example, the SZC has a 'sister-sangha' relationship with the Lotus Buds, a Sydney branch of an international organisation led by Thich Nhat Hanh. Interactions between the two groups have included joining together twice annually to perform a Full Moon Precepts Ceremony, and inviting Lotus Bud teachers to speak at the SZC. This is no longer possible due to a change in the geographical location of the Lotus Buds' dharma teacher.

There is a general lack of inter-religious dialogue in Australia between Buddhist groups of different traditions. As Seager notes of the American situation, 'There are few pressures on Buddhists to foster unity. In my travels and many conversations, I have often been struck by the degree to which many communities are more or less out of communication with each other.'¹²⁰ Seager's analysis suggests that this may be a strength, but others disagree.¹²¹ Colcutt notes the lack of communication between groups of different traditions and lineages as a factor contributing to problems within communities such as financial or sexual scandals.¹²² Links between groups could be useful for the avoidance or management of such issues.

Relationships between Diamond Sangha groups and the wider Australian community are still not very developed. Some groups undertake minor fund-raising for charities and are involved with ethically similar organisations such as the Buddhist Peace Fellowship (BPF). ZGWA members are involved in groups such as Community Aid Abroad, and Amnesty International, and in recent years members have visited prisons, drug rehabilitation centres, and hospices, and have helped with relief work for refugee communities. One ZGWA member, Mary Heath, runs a noticeboard on the Internet that provides a question and answer format on Zen and addiction.¹²³

The SZC sends money to Thich Nhat Hanh and Sister Phuong's project for children in Vietnam, and have supported worthy causes over the years by giving some of their income to different organisations. The SZC also has links with the Buddhist Peace Fellowship. Robert and Anne Aitken, Nelson Foster and several Zen friends created the Buddhist Peace Fellowship at the Maui Zendo, part of the Diamond Sangha, in 1979. Teachers from other Buddhist traditions, Gary Snyder, Joanna Macy, Jack Kornfield and others, soon joined them.¹²⁴ The BPF's statement of purpose is:

1. To make clear public witness to Buddhist practice and interdependence as a way of peace and protection for all beings;
2. to raise peace, environmental, feminist, and social justice concerns among North American Buddhists;
3. to bring a Buddhist perspective of non-duality to contemporary social action and environmental movements;

4. to encourage the practice of nonviolence based on the rich resources of traditional Buddhist and Western spiritual teachings; and
5. to offer avenues for dialogue and exchange among the diverse North American and world Sanghas.¹²⁵

The BPF is not affiliated with the Diamond Sangha, but ties are strong. The BPF branch in Australia has very strong long links with the SZC. Gilly Coote (SZC) explained the nature of the relationship:

There had been quite a big discussion in 1982 within the SZC about whether BPF was going to have some sort of more close relationship with the SZC. There was quite a strong feeling from some people that they didn't want to have to think about social action or politics or anything. They only came to the SZC to do zazen, and so they didn't want anything to do with it, so they just ended up being quite separate.

Social activism is perceived as important in many Diamond Sangha groups. A 1991 draft California Diamond Sangha vision statement included as two of its aims:

Being socially active in the community at large in the forms of social activism and social service to those in need, and through service to the Earth.

Making a contribution to the development of Buddhism in the Western world by encouraging ongoing dialogue within our sangha and with other Buddhists about the forms and relevancy of our practice, social activism and other dimensions of the Buddha Way.¹²⁶

The Diamond Sangha has among its points of common ground, to which new groups wishing to affiliate with the Diamond Sangha must adhere, a clause that states: 'The Diamond Sangha is egalitarian, avoids exploitation in all forms, and encourages engagement in constructive environmental and social actions.'¹²⁷ This emphasis on social action is a feature of many Western Buddhist groups, and extends to peace movements, human rights-oriented

organisations, and groups working with health, educations, prisons and commerce.

This section has identified a number of issues relevant to the adaptation of the sociological expressions of Diamond Sangha groups in Australia since their formation. These include the importance of community-building through both formal and informal events, lack of formal relations with other groups, importance of social ethics, emphasis on lay-practice, equality of the sexes, importance of lineage in conferring legitimacy of teachers, conflicts between spiritual authority and democratic ideals, the incorporation of psychotherapy, and the need to adapt a patriarchal, monastic, Japanese practice to Australian culture. These are all issues being identified in other Buddhist traditions in the West, although different groups take varying approaches in addressing them.

Ideological Expressions

This section examines changes to the ideological expressions of the Diamond Sangha in Australia and compares these with the situation in other Australian and Western Buddhist groups. Because of the Zen non-reliance on scriptures, changes to the ideological expressions in Australian Diamond Sangha groups are best viewed through analysis of alterations to the philosophical base. Changes can be seen in the way in which teachings are emphasised and explained. However, the issue of doctrinal reinterpretation is a complex one. Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners interviewed did not demonstrate conscious awareness of philosophical changes, just as some had also not been consciously aware of changes to ritual. Most practitioners did not agree that the changes identified here were doctrinal reinterpretation, they instead viewed such changes as merely a presentation of the teachings in a new way.

In the previous two sections a number of issues were identified as factors causing changes in the Diamond Sangha in Australia; these issues reflect changes to the ideological base because they represent different explanations or emphases of the teachings. Modern publications on how to practise Buddhism, for and by Western practitioners, also provide examples of adaptation. Prebish's review of the integration of Buddhism to America lists major books on

American Buddhism, arguing that the change in the literature on American Buddhism reflects how much the movement itself has changed.¹²⁸ The issues identified in previous sections include emphasis on lay-practice, emphasis on ethics, equality of the sexes, application of democratic principles, secularisation, and the integration of Western psychology and psychotherapy into Buddhism.

Queen's recent study of American Buddhism identifies three emerging features of American Buddhism that can be used to classify the issues identified in this study; democratisation, pragmatism and engagement.¹²⁹ In contrast to Queen's work, Tanaka's analysis of American Buddhism identifies five general areas of concern: ethnicity, democratisation, practice, engagement and adaptation.¹³⁰ Prebish also uses these categories, but adds two contextualising factors; Buddhist identity and ecumenicity.¹³¹ Changes to the ideological expression of Zen practice in Australian Diamond Sangha groups are examined here using the categories of democratisation, practice and engagement; ethnicity has not arisen due to the fact that the group being studied is comprised of convert Buddhists and adaptation will be discussed in the next section.

Democratisation

Democratisation refers to changing patterns of authority and associated structures, principally due to increasing emphasis on lay-practice, and the incorporation of egalitarian ideals, particularly in relation to gender issues.

Lay-practice

A major issue that has been identified as causing changes in the practical and sociological expressions of the Diamond Sangha in Australia is the stress on lay-practice. Traditionally it is only monastics who are in a position to seriously seek enlightenment, and the role of lay-practitioners is to support them. However, few Westerners are willing to give up family and work in exchange for enlightenment, and consequently, this traditional dichotomy is breaking down. This emphasis on lay-practice is obvious in the Diamond Sangha as the demographic reality is that all Diamond Sangha practitioners are lay-people.

As in other Western countries, there are a number of Australian Buddhism groups that emphasise lay-practice. These includes lineages that are no longer monastic, such as the Sanbo Kyodan, Diamond Sangha and Soka Gakkai International (a Japanese Buddhist lay-organisation based on the teachings of Nichiren Daishonin). However, monasticism still also exists; there are many organisations that support large monastic communities in Theravada, Mahayana and Vajrayana traditions. Nguyen and Barber cite one of the most serious problems for the development of Vietnamese Buddhism in America as the lack of monastic training facilities.¹³² For example, Numrich discusses the importance of cultivating an indigenous Theravada Buddhist sangha in America.¹³³

The ability and right of lay-practitioners to practice equally with monastics is legitimised in a number of ways. First, scriptural justification is given in the form of examples of lay-practitioners who have attained enlightenment in the past. Second, it is argued that the confinement of enlightenment to the reach of a monastic elite is a reflection of the cultural values in which Buddhism has traditionally been practised, rather than of the Buddha's actual teaching.

This emphasis has changed authority structures. As discussed in the previous section, emphasis on consensus in decision-making is present to some degree in Diamond Sangha groups in Australia. Consensus has certainly been emphasised by Aitken. However, this has sometimes been difficult to implement in practice. Tworok notes that Aitken himself was 'never able to shed the vestiges of authority entirely'.¹³⁴ As discussed in Part Two, other Western Buddhist groups differ in their application of this principle. But for some groups democratisation is not much of a change. Nguyen and Barber suggest that Vietnamese temples such as the Vanh Hanh Temple in Centreville, Virginia, which has a number of administrative boards due to its non-profit status, have not experienced much change as Vietnamese temples in Vietnam were mostly self-governed anyway. However, they note that the situation differs for Cambodian temples, that have traditionally been supervised by the government.¹³⁵ Sogen Hori argues that there is no set form for the Buddhist sangha; rather this evolves according to local culture throughout the world. Its occurrence North America has resulted in structures that often resemble those of Christianity and Judaism. He notes that Zen master's powers are receding, and administrative

boards composed of lay-practitioners now have an important role.¹³⁶

Feminisation

Equality of the sexes is a major issue in the Diamond Sangha in Australia, and more generally in Buddhism in the West. This has been a trend in the Diamond Sangha since the beginning of *Kahawai: A Journal of Women and Zen* in 1979. Numerous changes in the Diamond Sangha reflect this: increase in the numbers of female practitioners to reach approximately equal numbers of male and female practitioners; appointment of female teachers; alterations to chants to include women; and the development of activities that support women in their practice.

An emphasis on equality for women is not yet apparent in the majority of Australian Buddhist groups. Adam traces the history of Buddhist women in Australia, noting that the 1990s have brought women to the fore. For example, Fo Kuang Shan's AUD\$30 million Nan Tien Temple in Woollongong is run by Taiwanese nuns; the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition's Chenrezig Institute at Eudlo includes a Nun's community; Subhana Barzaghi became the first female teacher in the Diamond Sangha lineage in 1996 (and two more Australian women have since been appointed as assistant teachers); and the Buddhist Society of Western Australia started the first Theravada nuns' sangha in Australia with the establishment of the Dhammasara Monastery in 1998.¹³⁷

Equality of the sexes is prominent in many other Western Buddhist groups. A number of authors have recently published books dealing with feminist issues facing Buddhism. These include: Sidor's *A Gathering of Spirit: Women Teaching in American Buddhism* (1987) which publishes seminars presented at the 1983-1985 Feminine in Buddhism conferences; in Dresser's *Buddhist Women on the Edge: Contemporary Perspectives from the Western Frontier* (1996) thirty women discuss a variety of gender and sexuality issues relevant to women in Buddhism; and Findly's *Women's Buddhism, Buddhism's Women: Tradition, Revision, Renewal* (2000) explores how contemporary women practitioners are revamping modern Buddhism in both the East and the West.¹³⁸

Equality of the sexes can be found in ethnic Buddhist groups, but is less prevalent. For example, McLellan notes more increase in the participation and influence of women in ethnic Mahayana Buddhist communities in Toronto than in ethnic Theravada communities.¹³⁹

The inclusion of women in Zen practice has resulted in a feminisation of the practice. Friedman argues that Buddhism and feminism reflect similar values and perceptions, as both are experiential and intuitive and emphasise interconnectedness. Friedman also argues that women emphasise the importance of embodying daily life in practice.¹⁴⁰ The interrelationship of feminism and the emphasis on the integration of Buddhism into everyday life is a common theme in many of the books about women and Buddhism. For example, Lekshe Tsomo's *Buddhism Through American Women's Eyes* (1995) contains articles by a number of female Buddhist teachers writing on their experience of Buddhism in relation to issues such as abortion, Alcoholics Anonymous, mothering, relationships, stress and some work situations.¹⁴¹

Equality of women is sometimes justified through reference to scriptures that mention women, as demonstrated in the example given in Part Two of the identification of koans that featured women. Other examples can be found in the books listed above. Legitimation is also given through Buddhist philosophy; some practitioners argue that Zen must embrace the feminine and the masculine to be able to transcend them. A member of one of the Hawaiian Diamond Sangha groups wrote in 1976: 'Our ultimate goal is to help each other in our practice without regard for privilege for either sex. In this way, the sangha itself becomes more complete an expression of Buddha-nature.'¹⁴² Similarly, Jan Chozen Soule, an American Zen teacher, writes: 'I can't become enlightened until I have been born as a man, as a woman, as neither and as both. Men cannot become enlightened until they know their masculine nature, their feminine nature, the nature that is neither and both.'¹⁴³

It was noted in previous sections that women have been responsible for some changes in the Diamond Sangha in Australia. Some of these changes reflect the need to change seemingly patriarchal structures, such as the lack of female teachers but other changes reflect more subtle examples of sexism, reflecting a belief that the patriarchal nature of Zen is deeply embedded. Other

Buddhists and academics share this idea. For example, Kornfield argues:

Buddhism has been a practice of the mind, of *logos*, of understanding through striving and attainment, of gaining enlightenment through conquering oneself. All of these elements - the mind, logic, striving, the patriarchal structures that did not allow for a full participation of women and that discounted the feminine values - are now being confronted by the powerful force of feminine consciousness that is growing in Western culture. This consciousness is already bringing about a softening and an opening of the Buddhist spirit and practice that will allow for strength of mind and the masculine element, but also for the tenderness and earthiness of the feminine. Not only is there a clear movement to abandon the superficial structures, sexism and patriarchy, but there is a more profound movement to develop the Dharma as a practice of relationship to the body, the community, and the earth, and to stress interdependence and healing rather than conquering or abandoning.¹⁴⁴

Gross's ground-breaking *Buddhism After Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism* (1993) reconstructs Buddhism from a feminist perspective. Gross argues that Buddhism is not inherently sexist and sets about rebuilding a Buddhism that is free from gender discrimination.¹⁴⁵

The issue of gender extends to inclusion of alternative gender orientations. Corless provides a good analysis of issues relating to the "queer" Buddhist community; providing some attempt to analyse the Buddhist scripture's stance on the issue, some examples of notable gay Buddhists, and some information on gay Buddhist groups.¹⁴⁶

Practice

Queen defines practice (which he terms pragmatism) as 'An emphasis on *ritual practice or observance* (particularly meditation, chanting, devotional and ethical activities) and its benefit to the practitioner, with a concomitant de-emphasis of beliefs, attitudes,

or states of mind.¹⁴⁷ This can be seen in the Diamond Sangha's emphasis on meditation, its integration with psychology and psychotherapy, and secular and inter-religious applications.

Emphasis on Lay-Practice

Zazen is central in most Zen lineages, and the Diamond Sangha is no exception. However, practice is no longer confined to sitting meditation. There has been a change in the emphasis on when and where Zen practice can occur. Diamond Sangha publications reflect this; Aitken has written books on the relationship between Zen practice and daily life including *The Mind of Clover: Essays in Zen Buddhist Ethics* (1984) and *Encouraging Words: Zen Buddhist Teachings for Western Students* (1993).¹⁴⁸ The AZG Internet site states: 'The Diamond Sangha, especially through the teaching of Aitken and his successors, places a strong emphasis on Zen practice in everyday life and highlights the important roles that relationships, work, families and all the ordinary conditions of life have to play in the practice (and vice versa).'¹⁴⁹ Teishos by Australian Diamond Sangha teachers often include examples from their daily life.

In many Buddhist traditions and lineages in the West it is believed that lay-practitioners can equally attain enlightenment, and that the trials of lay-life provide good opportunities for practice. There are many examples of the emphasis on lay-practice in Buddhism in the West. Insight Meditation West is a centre founded by Jack Kornfield in California, which aims to meet the needs of Americans who want to balance practice with work, home life and childcare. The centre has traditional meditation retreats but also teachings on right livelihood and service, right speech and communication, and the development of compassion in all aspects of life.¹⁵⁰ Publications by Buddhists from a variety of traditions also provide particularly good examples of the emphasis on lay-practice. Tarthang Tulku's *Skilful Means* (1978) offers a philosophy of business work for Americans that provides a working synthesis of Tibetan Buddhist thought and practice with American values,¹⁵¹ and many Buddhist teachers have published books that explain Buddhist practice for lay-people. These include Jack Kornfield's latest offering, *After the Ecstasy, the Laundry: How the Heart Grows Wise on the Spiritual Path* (2000).¹⁵²

The emphasis on lay-practice is not limited to Western Buddhism. As early as 1936 Shacklock examined the Japanese attempts to overcome so-called 'funeral Buddhism', concluding that while the revival has been exaggerated by journalists, there has been an attempt to reach the common people and to make Zen practice less formal and more relevant to life.¹⁵³ Bell notes that in Sri Lanka sections of the middle class have adopted the belief that 'one could work for salvation "here and now" even while pursuing an ordinary family life. According to the new thinking one need not renounce the world to fully practice the Buddha's teachings.'¹⁵⁴

Integration with Psychology and Psychotherapy

While changes are occurring in perceptions of how and where Zen practice can take place in the West, new understandings are also emerging about its benefits. Buddhism in the West is combining with many new ideas, including Western psychology and psychotherapy. While it may be argued that initially the relationship between Buddhism and psychotherapy was primarily one of comparison, to legitimise Buddhism,¹⁵⁵ it can now be argued that Buddhism and psychology are affecting each other's development.¹⁵⁶ This is prevalent in the Diamond Sangha, as a number of Diamond Sangha teachers are also qualified psychologists or psychotherapists.

As discussed in Part Two, psychological and psychotherapeutic techniques are being utilised in Zen practice, and the interrelationship of self-knowledge generated by Zen practice and psychology is emphasised. For example, Susan Murphy, an Assistant Teacher and member of the SZC, commented about the use of the Demeter-Persephone myth at the 1997 SZC women's sesshin: "Psychotherapeutic" was not quite the whole story of this retreat, was it? . . . I believe we faced into psyche and into the Dharma with this story, sometimes at the same moment. And that's what makes the whole event not a funny little aberration in the history of Zen but an integral kind of moment for Zen coming West.¹⁵⁷ The MZG Internet site includes the following in its description of the benefits of Zen: 'In more psychological terms, the practice of zazen helps us to accept that we are fundamentally OK [sic] and complete just as we are in this moment as is everyone and everything around us.'¹⁵⁸

Different people advocate different levels of use of psychology in Buddhism; some object to the merger of Buddhist practice with psychology and psychotherapy. Rieck, a Zen Master in the Sanbo Kyodan tradition writes:

[Psychology] can give us a psychological explanation of what is happening in our practice, but not a 'spiritual' interpretation. I think it's helpful for a spiritual teacher to have some background in psychology, but I don't believe he or she needs to be a therapist or should be expected to do therapy. Psychology is not Zen . . . Zen deals with a level of our being which psychological constructs cannot reach. . . . Psychology can comment on the psychological aspects of practising Zen but only from its own limited level of knowing.¹⁵⁹

Sanbo Kyodan Zen Master, Ama Samy, made the following comment on Zen and therapy:

Zen talks about intimacy. In the zazen of being-with, you become intimate with yourself, with your own heart and mind, emotions and imagination, particularly with your inner heart-mind. You are in touch with your own feelings and realise your authentic heart. In this sense, it is therapeutic and healing. However, therapy is not the main goal of zazen, only a by-product.¹⁶⁰

There are many examples of publications dealing with the interrelationship of Buddhism and psychology in the West, Rubin's such as *Psychotherapy and Buddhism: Toward an Integration* (1996) and Epstein's *Thoughts Without a Thinker: Psychotherapy from a Buddhist Perspective* (1995).¹⁶¹

Secularisation

In the West, Buddhism is sometimes seen as a philosophy or psychology that is rational and compatible with modern science, rather than as a religion. For example, Hei Myong writes:

In its flexibility and appeal to personal experience, Buddhism was also much more able to adapt its own presentation to the conclusion of scientific research without have to sacrifice the basic focus of its ideology: it could easily jettison or at least deemphasise its more mythological and popular elements which were the products of ancient superstition and imagination, without compromising its fundamental stress on mental development.¹⁶²

Batchelor argues that secularisation is particularly prevalent in some sects of Zen, as Zen tends to promote meditation as its central practice, removable from other religious accoutrements.¹⁶³ For example, Yamada, former head of the Sanbo Kyodan argued that people of differing religious backgrounds could have the same experience through zazen:

The theories and philosophies of all the sects are but the clothing covering the core. . . . And the core, this experience, is not adorned with any thought or philosophy. It is merely a fact, an experienced fact, in the same way that the taste of tea is a fact. A cup of tea has no thought, no idea, no philosophy. It tastes the same to Buddhists as it does to Christians. There is no difference at all.¹⁶⁴

According to Aitken, another Sanbo Kyodan teacher and Benedictine, Father Willigis Jäger, 'insists that Zen itself is beyond any religion.'¹⁶⁵ Aitken notes that differences of opinion on the issue of inter-religious dialogue has caused controversy in the Sanbo Kyodan:

The range of opinion seems to reflect the emphasis some teachers will place upon kensho as an experience that leads one back to deeper Christianity, and the importance others will place upon lifetime Zen practice—preparing the way for kensho, and clarifying and integrating it thereafter. Teachers at this latter end of the spectrum will affirm the unique nature of kensho in the fields of organized religion, and the place of Zen as a Buddhist tradition. Thus in a relatively small network, in a fairly recent tradition, there is complex diversity.¹⁶⁶

The Sanbo Kyodan's explanation of Zen as an experience that can be shared by people of all religious backgrounds reflects both the de-emphasis on Buddhism as a religion and the interest in increasing inter-religious dialogue, particularly with Christians. However, this doctrine is also a result of the way in which Zen developed in Japan. As Sharf notes, the Sanbo Kyodan's concept of zazen as a technique beyond culture was present in Japanese Zen Buddhism as early as the 1870s, after modern Japan's exposure to the West :

In the case of Zen, such reforms were legitimised by a rhetoric that sharply distinguished between the 'goal' or 'essence' of Buddhism - the experience of kensho or satori - and various 'skilful means' leading the way to the goal. Following a logic borrowed in part from the West, this 'essence' was presented as a transcultural and transhistorical 'religious experience' logically distinct from the 'institutional trappings' and 'cultural accretions' that veil that essence. This logic allowed groups such as the Sanbokyodan [sic] to reject the 'trappings' of Buddhist devotionalism and monastic ordination in order to focus on transformative personal experience alone.¹⁶⁷

According to Batchelor this concept's origins are even earlier; in both the Sung Dynasty in China (tenth to thirteenth century) and the Kamakura period in Japan (1185--1333), there was a tendency to isolate Zen as an autonomous experience. In these periods Zen was simplified to the single practice of zazen and detached from Buddhist philosophy and doctrine.¹⁶⁸ Bernard Faure notes that after the Meiji restoration (1868--1912) Buddhism was represented as rational and demythologised.¹⁶⁹ Batchelor writes: 'The consequence of detaching Zen from its Buddhist matrix is to highlight a technique of meditation that can be appropriated and interpreted by different traditions and used to their own ends.'¹⁷⁰ In commenting on the existence of a Buddhist essence, Batchelor adds: 'Accordingly, Buddhism cannot be said to be any of the following: a system of ethics, philosophy or psychology; a religion, a faith or a mystical experience; a devotional practice, a discipline of meditation or a psychotherapy. Yet it can involve all these things.'¹⁷¹

It is difficult to ascertain whether secularisation is occurring in the Diamond Sangha in Australia. On the one hand, many practitioners do not classify themselves as Buddhists; on the other hand, practices and rituals are placed within Zen Buddhist frameworks and historical links to the Zen tradition are emphasised. Sanbo Kyodan Zen Master Ama Samy supports the placing of Zen within these frameworks:

There has been a tendency to isolate and detach Zazen from Zen Buddhism - its tradition, doctrine, praxis, history, symbols, faith-and focus on some objectless awareness of the so-called unity- or, non dual-consciousness, calling this 'pure Zen', and relegate all else as so much useless baggage. It is a complete distortion and travesty of Zen. Zen is not some isolated experience or some particular state of consciousness, nor an a-historical or uprooted mysticism. . . . Zazen is to Zen what the Eucharist is to the Christian Church. It is sacrament and symbol, of expression, authentication and articulation. Of course, it is by practising that one learns the way, but I would like to give a frame for understanding and guidance. For, not only do we need guidance and frameworks for Zazen; Zazen itself gets its meaning and validity only in the context of the whole of Buddhism and Zen tradition.¹⁷²

Some Buddhist groups in the West tread a fine line between being Buddhist and being secularised. For example, Toni Packer ceased using rituals and symbols that she felt were strongly associated with Buddhism. For example, practitioners in Kapleau's tradition who have formally taken the Buddhist precepts are presented with a rakusu, a rectangular piece of cloth which is worn on a cord around the neck. Packer felt that the rakusu was a symbol that created a hierarchy and divisions that between Buddhists and non-Buddhists could result in ego and pride, and consequently stopped wearing hers. She similarly questioned the use of rituals such as gasshoing, prostrating and lighting incense, and concluded that her practice of these acts, as a roshi, influenced other people to do them. Finally, she removed Zen from the name of her centre.¹⁷³

In some cases Buddhist techniques and beliefs are actively applied in secular contexts. For example, Fronsdal writes:

Vipassana-derived mindfulness practices are taught in hospitals, clinics, prisons and schools without any hint of their Buddhist source. Here the practice is primarily offered as an effective method of stress reduction, pain management, and self-understanding. The biggest influence *vipassana* practice will have on American society may eventually be in such non-Buddhist applications.¹⁷⁴

The revisioning of Buddhism as more philosophy than religion has also assisted its integration with other religions such as Christianity. As already mentioned, many Sanbo Kyodan teachers and students maintain Christian links; however, this is much rarer in the Diamond Sangha. Examples of inter-religious dialogue with Christians in the Diamond Sangha include Aitken's book, *The Ground We Share: Everyday Practice, Buddhist and Christian*, co-authored with Benedictine monk, David Steindl-Rast, and another Diamond Sangha Zen Master, Nelson Foster.¹⁷⁵

There are different explanations of how Christianity and Zen can be combined. One Sanbo Kyodan teacher and Jesuit priest, Father Hugo Enomiya-Lasalle, sees Zen as a tool to be used by Christians. He describes enlightenment as the highest goal achievable by humanity, but argues that a higher experience remains dependent on God's grace and thus beyond the reach of either Buddhism or Zen.¹⁷⁶ Sharf argues that the Sanbo Kyodan approach to Christianity is inclusivist (not ecumenical or syncretic), as Christianity is ultimately explained in terms of Zen.¹⁷⁷ In contrast, Father Patrick Hawk, a priest in the Redemptorist Order and Zen Master in the Sanbo Kyodan, argues that while Zen practices may help Christians, the teachings in Christian contemplation are Christian, and Zen should be taught from a Zen point of view.¹⁷⁸

There is also some integration of other religious traditions with Zen practice. Clasquin asks whether a 'Ubuntu Dharma' is possible by examining similarities between Buddhism and African thought.¹⁷⁹ Numrich and Cush both note the incorporation of New Age concepts in American Buddhist groups, particularly convert groups, and that many American converts demonstrate a conscious eclecticism in religious practice.¹⁸⁰

Identity Construction and Maintenance

Other ritual activities, particularly ceremonies, are also gaining importance in the Diamond Sangha. Tanaka's definition of pragmatism is more limited to Queen's, referring to the centrality of the practice of meditation, particularly in convert groups. Tanaka writes: 'Practice in the form of meditation or chanting is, undoubtedly, the primary attraction for a large number of American converts who finds these disciplines accessible, therapeutic, and empowering.'¹⁸¹ However, the Diamond Sangha's growing emphasis on transition ceremonies demonstrates that the emphasis on meditation that often characterises convert Buddhist groups is lessening. Practice is being broadened to other elements of life; this is expanded in the category of engagement..

Engagement

Engagement refers to the broadening of spiritual practice to include both family and community; and the social and environment concerns of the broader world. Australian Diamond Sangha groups consciously try to both apply Zen practice to their everyday life, but also to allow their families and friends entry into the Zen community. As discussed, a number of ceremonies and social events encourage the inclusion of family members; however interaction with the wider community mostly takes place in the context of ethical work.

Social Ethics

The argument that Buddhism should apply to all aspects of life often leads to an emphasis on social ethics. 'Socially engaged Buddhism' promotes the application of the Dharma to a wide variety of social problems. A variety of tools are used to alleviate social ills, ranging from Buddhist-inspired psychotherapy to political means. While this emphasis is often noted as a key feature of Aitken's biography,¹⁸² it is also fairly strong in Diamond Sangha groups in Australia, as noted in Part Two. Members of the SZC and ZGWA are involved in organisations such as the Buddhist Peace Fellowship, and both groups are involved in community work.

Social engagement is evident in some Australian Buddhist groups, but as Bucknell writes: 'Engaged Buddhism in Australia is barely ten years old. It is correspondingly inconspicuous and little noticed, but is nonetheless deserving of attention and recognition.'¹⁸³ According to Bucknell, most socially engaged activities exist in ethnic Buddhist communities and are focused on assisting the associated ethnic community. However, there are also a number of organisations that focus on provision of community services for the wider community, particularly through the provision of hospice care services and promotion of development projects in overseas countries. Examples include the Karuna Hospice Service, a Tibetan Buddhist-based, palliative care and support service; Australian branches of the Buddhist Compassion Relief Foundation (or Tzu Chi); an Australian branch of the Buddhist Peace Fellowship; and the Tara Project, an independent, nonprofit, nonsectarian Mahayana Buddhist organisation whose projects include training Tibetan nuns in India as health care workers, and working with Australian companies to promote responsible business ethics.

There are many other examples of Engaged Buddhism in the West; Queen's edited volume on the topic includes chapters on peace movements such as Thich Nhat Hanh's Order of Interbeing, the Buddhist Peace Fellowship, and Glassman's Zen Peacemaker Order; human rights-oriented organisations including the Soka Gakkai International and the Free Tibet Movement; groups supporting different gender and sexual orientations such as the Gay Buddhist Fellowship; and organisations working in health, education, prisons and commerce. This last category includes the Naropa Institute and the Angulimala Lineage.¹⁸⁴ An emphasis on social ethics is not limited to Buddhism in the Western world; there are also Asian examples. Queen and King's 1994 work, *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, includes chapters on Dr Ambedkar's work with the Untouchables in India; the Trailoka Bauddha Mahasangha Sahayaka Gana Buddhist liberation movement in India; A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka; Buddhadasa's Dhammic socialism in Thailand; and Sulak Sivaraksa's societal vision for Thailand.¹⁸⁵

Many publications explain how to put engaged Buddhism into action in everyday life; for example, Glassman and Field's

Instructions to the Cook (1996) is a Zen practice manual that describes how Zen Centre of New York projects such as Greyston Bakery and apartments for the homeless provide opportunities for Zen practice; and Glassman's *Bearing Witness: A Zen Master's Lessons in Making Peace* (1999), illustrates how to put peacemaking into practice.¹⁸⁶

Bell notes that the British Forest Sangha justify social ethics by arguing that these fit the Buddhist philosophy of inter-connectedness, impermanence, and the concept that personal positive action has an effect.¹⁸⁷ Other groups use scriptural justifications; Schiller examines scriptural justifications such as reference to a sutra in the Pali *Digha-Nikaya* to the creation of social conditions favourable to the cultivation of Buddhist values.¹⁸⁸

Characteristics of Western Buddhism

A number of changes have been identified in the ideological expressions of the Diamond Sangha in Australia within the areas of democratisation, pragmatism, engagement and adaptation. This analysis of the changes to ideological expressions is supported by analysis of Diamond Sangha teachers by other scholars in the field. Rawlinson describes Aitken as radical in his emphasis on ethics, equality of the sexes, and the promotion of decision-making by consensus;¹⁸⁹ Tworikov notes Aitken's emphasis on political stands and consensus;¹⁹⁰ and Barzaghi's emphasis on the need for Zen to deal with modern psychology, egalitarianism, women's movement and lay-practice has been used in publicity about her.¹⁹¹ Ford says Tarrant's teaching style 'reflects the lay tradition of the Diamond Sangha. This emphasis includes the use of English in ritual, full equality of women, and constant re-evaluation of authority patterns.'¹⁹² Similarly, Ciolek writes of the Diamond Sangha in general: 'It puts emphasis on the use of English in ritual, full equality of women, and constant re-evaluation of authority patterns.'¹⁹³

As noted above, scholars such as Queen, Prebish and Tanaka have identified each of these issues as characteristics of Buddhism in the West. They have been noted in other Zen groups too; in 1988 Kenneth Kraft identified the current issues in North American Zen to be the effect of indigenous teachers, restructuring

of communities for lay-people, clarification of Zen masters' authority, more open communication with other religions, diversity of schools, lay-movement, the effects of women participants and inclusion of families, expectation of more egalitarian relationships, and socio-political involvement.¹⁹⁴ This demonstrates that Diamond Sangha groups in Australia are developing in similar ways to those of other Western Buddhist groups. However, this is not to say that the emergence of these common characteristics represents the completion of the evolution of a Western Buddhism. As Seager concludes:

In the larger frame of things, it is probably best not to confuse the maturing of a first generation of convert Buddhists with the maturing of an American Buddhism. . . . The rapid turning of the wheel of *dharma* in the last three decades churned up great clouds of New World dust, much of which still remains suspended in air. It is too early to make a call on what American Buddhism is. And historical precedents in Asia suggests that there is a great deal more yet to come.¹⁹⁵

Part Three: Models of Change

While the preceding section examined how changes in Australian Diamond Sangha groups compare to those in other Western Buddhism groups, this section analyses these changes as a means to understanding the process of adaptation that is occurring. Both Tanaka and Prebish identify adaptation as another emerging characteristic of American Buddhism,¹ the question of how to adapt Buddhism to American culture is a difficult one that has provoked much discussion and debate. Key factors affecting the adaptation process in the Diamond Sangha are identified through analysis of the changes discussed in Part Two; these are then compared with theoretical models of this change process.

Issues in Adaptation

The preceding sections identified a range of issues that have arisen in the development of Australian Diamond Sangha groups including: the need for ensuring efficacy or practices, the importance of tradition; the role of lineage; the need to adapt to the Western context; differing emphases on traditional and modern forms; the need to legitimise change; the role of lineage in providing legitimacy; the need for an increased sense of community; attitudes to change; and relations with the external community. These issues provide answers to key questions about adaptation: should changes be made (and if so, what) and who can make changes? This section discusses how each of these issues affects the process of change, identifies these issues in other Buddhist traditions in the West, and examines models that focus specifically on these aspects of adaptation. Work needs to be done in this area, as Baumann illustrates:

Modes of culture contact and the encounter of religions have become a topic of increasing interest within social science. Little attention, however, has been paid to the variables that influence the forms of contact and the degree of adaptability of a transplanted religion.²

Why Change?

Two main types of reasons for change were identified in the development of Australian Diamond Sangha groups: need for indigenisation, and maintenance of tradition.

Indigenisation

The first major issue affecting adaptation in Australian Diamond Sangha groups is the perceived need to indigenise. As seen in previous sections, some Diamond Sangha practitioners argue that Zen must recognise its new cultural environment and adapt appropriately. Aitken writes: Time passes, conditions change, and as Western Buddhists we are faced with the need to evoke in another language, to add whole segments, and to drop others.³ The “Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha” also acknowledges this: ‘Our ritual forms and procedures are a basis for continuity and common ground among the sanghas in the network. It is not intended or expected that they be performed uniformly, and we acknowledge that they will evolve in each local sangha as appropriate to its cultural milieu.’⁴ Barzaghi similarly views adaptation to Western culture favourably:

I also think the classical Japanese cultural overtones that are still in the Zen tradition will slowly drop away. For example, we use the clappers when we walk around in a kinhin, right? Here, instead of using the Japanese clappers, we use aboriginal click sticks, which are very similar. . . . Including these clearly aboriginal click sticks is coming out of the ground of our culture here. So the form is there, but it has this variation. Down at Gorricks Run we have lyrebirds, which mimic sounds. When they start mimicking the *Kanzeon* and the dokusan bell, it's as if Zen were being integrated into this

soil. When the lyrebird, which is symbolic of Australia, starts taking on those forms and mixing them in with all the other sounds, that's a beautiful image for me.⁵

Examples can be found of other Western Buddhist groups whose members believe that adaptation of Buddhism to Western culture is required. Jampa Tsedroen, a German Tibetan Buddhist writes: 'Westerners cannot and do not want to become Asians. But many of them want to become Buddhists.'⁶ Similarly, Thich Nhat Hanh argues: 'If Zen one day becomes a reality in the West, it will acquire a Western form, considerably different from Oriental Zen.'⁷

Accessibility

It is understood that this type of adaptation enhances the accessibility, and thus the efficacy, of the Buddhist teachings. Accessibility is the first of two main reasons for indigenisation of Diamond Sangha Zen practice in Australia that were identified in this study. A female SZC member explained the issue:

I think you get a lot of alienation if you just transpose Japanese Zen onto the West. Some people will really like it and take it, but you alienate a whole lot of other people, who will be in it but they won't get totally fulfilled. We're not Japanese; we don't have that culture. We're totally different.

Maggie Gluck (SZC) concurred: 'It's like making it more homely by incorporating elements of the particular landscape or the particular culture that Zen has landed in. So it becomes more inviting to people who don't know about it.' Similarly, a female ZGWA practitioner said:

I think we have, certainly in our group, some wariness of creating too much ritual. I saw recently a film on John Daidai Looi and his sangha, called *Oryoki*, and everything is absolutely spot on, the whole film is perfect. They have a whole ritual for folding each napkin in the right order and I think they fold the stuff up on cue on "Heart Sutra." It's very refined, and the whole of that ritual there is very developed.

I think there is some wariness in our sangha, we don't want to get that far along. Let's not have it so that it's so difficult and dangerous that people can't come in and feel somewhat at home here. So it's from the heart rather than making it too rigid.

This attitude that accessibility is important is found in other Diamond Sangha groups internationally. Murphy writes about a meeting of the California Diamond Sangha that discussed this issue:

We also discussed about how accessible our community is to those who might be interested in meditation. We discussed whether the forms and format of our Monday night sittings are too alien. John [Tarrant] is concerned that for many people the barriers are too high or there is not enough assistance in surmounting them.⁸

Accessibility is associated with the issue of practicality. Some Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners argued that Zen practice must be practical; Zen should change when it is obvious that existing practices are impractical in the new cultural environment. For example, a male ZGWA member explained how some changes have occurred to sesshin for this reason:

There'd be suggestions made that at the last sesshin it was suggested that having oryoki for the three meals was too much, and so people would talk about doing an experiment in the next sesshin. And I think that came more, maybe from the tenzo [cook], or from the people who were involved in doing the serving . . . just to make it simpler, a bit simpler. And it works well.

Mary Jaksch (Maitai Zendo) discusses how Zen rituals should be practical in the sense of supporting human needs:

I started my Zen training in a lineage which has very strong emphasis on ritual and I am a senior blackbelt in Seido Karate, where ritual is a strong component of the training. Over time though, my stance on ritual has softened. I view

ritual as secondary to human needs. For example, if someone is sick during sesshin, I send them to bed.⁹

Practicality has been a reason for change in other groups too. Numrich notes that in the Theravada tradition in America adaptation occurs when Vinaya-pitaka rules are impractical.¹⁰ Numrich also identifies practicality to be one of three hermeneutical principles responsible for Vinaya adaptation in American Theravada temples.¹¹

Other Western Buddhist groups also argue the need for accessibility. Humphreys argues that the West should develop its own type of Buddhism, as other countries have: 'The Dharma as such is immortal, but its forms must ever change to serve the ever-changing human need.'¹² Norbu maintains that a teaching should be presented to individuals within the context of their own culture, as this assists in understanding. However, no culture is better than another, so it is useless to transport existing rules and customs to another culture where they make no sense.¹³ Similarly, Kornfield states:

Many of us who have helped bring Vipassana practice to America have initially simplified the practices we've learned and attempted to bring the clearest, most straightforward version of Buddhist practice to the West. We left much of the ritual, Eastern culture, and ceremony behind in Asia. This is not because we don't value it . . . but we felt it was unnecessary. It seemed to us that for our time and culture the simplicity and straightforwardness of mindfulness practice itself would speak best to the heart of North Americans.¹⁴

It is generally agreed that Buddhism can be altered to suit new cultural environments, just as has occurred during its transition to countries such as Japan, Sri Lanka and Tibet. This is based on a belief that Buddhism is comprised of essential or core teachings that are expressed differently in different cultures; as long as the core teachings remain it is perfectly acceptable, even expected, that some of the cultural expressions of Buddhism will alter to suit different sociocultural contexts. For example, Baumann has written on the development of a European form of Buddhism:

'As will become apparent, a "European Path to Nirvana" would consist of new organisational institutions and a reinterpretation of 'culturally bound' as opposed to 'essential' elements of Buddhist teachings and forms.'¹⁵ Thich Nhat Hanh says: 'The forms of Buddhism must change so that the essence of Buddhism remains unchanged. This essence consists of living principles that cannot bear any specific formulation.'¹⁶ Similarly, Subhuti writes:

Buddhism must express itself through the culture in the midst of which it finds itself - neither compromising with it or ignoring it. At the same time it must remain Buddhism, faithful to the spirit of their tradition. . . . What is essential to Buddhism is beyond specific times and circumstances.¹⁷

However, Buddhists cannot agree on what elements should be removed, and what cannot be changed. Kornfield writes of his own teaching experiences: 'It is not always an easy process, and it has been a struggle for many of us - Buddhist teachers and students alike - to sort out what is valuable and ought to be preserved from what is merely a "container," a structure that could be more suitably reshaped or cast off.'¹⁸ Some Buddhist lineages are considered by some to be more easily shorn of their cultural accretions. For example, Fronsdal writes of vipassana in America:

With its primary focus on a particular meditation practice, it has been relatively unencumbered by the issues of cultural preservation and accommodation that confront those Asian Buddhist traditions, transplanted to America in a more intact form. It has been much easier, almost inevitable, for *vipassana* teachers and students to organise themselves according to Western values, worldviews, and institutional preferences. The *vipassana* movement has tended to incorporate such values as democracy, equality, feminism, and individualism to a much greater degree and faster than most other Buddhist groups in the United States.¹⁹

Attitudes to both cultural accretions and accessibility are affected by practitioners' attitudes to the donor culture. For example, the fact that most Diamond Sangha practitioners argue for indigenisation

reflects a feeling shared by many Diamond Sangha practitioners that the original Japanese context is alienating. Even more extreme attitudes exist. A male Diamond Sangha practitioner from an overseas group commented on the use of Japanese practices:

I was a bit embarrassed by it [Zen Buddhism]; it seemed cargo cultish. . . . I had this feeling about these Zen people, and then I had a more subtle one that I'm a little bit embarrassed to talk about because it goes into this horrible miasma of race. I had to confront my own feelings of racial superiority. But I'm comfortable enough with it to recognise that this is a real socially conditioned thing for me, I'm not unique. That for us to imitate the rituals and behaviours of a non-white race is a little bit - it's supposed to be the other way round.

In contrast, a few Diamond Sangha practitioners liked the aesthetic element of the Japanese ritual, and saw this as a quality that would attract some practitioners. As examples of the effect of attitudes to the donor culture in other Western Buddhist groups, Sangharakshita, an English monk who founded and heads the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, has criticised the English Sangha Trust²⁰ (a group who wanted to establish a Sangha in England and chose to import the monastic tradition from Thailand) for clinging to 'tropical customs.'²¹ In *Buddhism For Today: A Portrait of a New Buddhist Movement*, Dharmachari Subhuti, one of the foremost disciples of Sangharakshita, denigrates the existing attempts to bring Buddhism to the West. He argues that many Western Buddhist groups have failed to find the essence of Buddhism and to convert this into a Western expression.²²

Baumann argues that the attitude of the host culture to the donor culture is vital; if the host culture views itself as superior to the donor culture then adaptation is hard, but if the two cultures are viewed as equal then adaptation is easier.²³ Baumann provides a case study of Buddhism in Germany, arguing that Germans viewed themselves as superior to the Asian cultures from which Buddhism was imported. In contrast, Sierksma, in his study of acculturation in the context of the cultural effects of the integration of Buddhism into Tibet, notes that one of the Tibetans' motives for adopting Buddhism was to raise their cultural status, as the Buddhist culture

was seen as superior. He argues that if members of the host culture feel inferior to those of the donor culture, they will consciously or unconsciously try to incorporate elements of the superior culture so as to maintain self-respect and identity.²⁴

Identity Construction and Maintenance

The need to provide identity construction and maintenance, at individual and community levels is obviously another reason for indigenisation identified in Australian Diamond Sangha groups. For example, when asked about the new ceremonies that the SZC and the ZGWA were using (such as baby-naming and coming-of-age ceremonies), a number of practitioners responded that these arose because practitioners wanted to incorporate transition rituals into their Zen practice. Gilly Coote said of the SZC's new ceremonies:

One of the things we looked at was how does the sangha respond to the life transitions, people's life transitions? Let's look at other religious groups and how they have ceremonies in place. Can we have ceremonies in place for these transitions? Can we honour these transitions? We haven't done a menopause ceremony. I don't see why we wouldn't, that's another transition. We haven't yet done the ceremony for the unborn child as I mentioned in my talk, but I'm really keen to do that - another transition . . . But it really is - what is the feeling, what is happening in the sangha, what is happening for people in their lives?

While the development of ceremonies reflects the desire for individuals to situate all elements of their life within a Zen framework, it also demonstrates the need for construction of a community within which individuals identify themselves. To enable this community-building, the wider community is considered when making changes, particularly in the creation of rituals. For example, when creating the coming-of-age ritual, the children involved are asked what they would like to happen during the ritual. Similarly, the structure of baby-naming ceremonies takes into consideration the fact that non-Zen practitioners may be attending, such as

relatives. It is perceived that the ceremony must be meaningful for everyone attending, not just for Zen practitioners. These new ceremonies reflect practitioners' identification of all elements of life within their Zen practice, and the sense of community that exists in Zen groups.

Other Buddhist groups have developed similar ceremonies to respond to sangha needs of this type. Kapleau discusses the development of ceremonies at his Zen centre, including: funerals, weddings, ordinations, the Buddha's birthday, death day, and day of enlightenment, New Year's, Bodhidharma's death day, a confession-repentance ceremony, a ceremony dedicated to assisting starving people throughout the world, and Thanksgiving.²⁵ Preston notes the role of ritual in community building and examines how ritual alters reality-building processes in Zen Buddhism in the West. He demonstrates how sesshin contributes to the attenuation of old habits and practices of reality construction and the development of alternative reality-construction practices at a group level.²⁶

Maintenance of Tradition

While accessibility and identity are important issues in adaptation, these are balanced with a perceived need to ensure that Zen practice still provides the correct conditions for an experience of enlightenment. Discussions about Buddhism's adaptation to America often question whether the quest to Americanise Buddhism, particularly to the extent of claiming the creation of a recognisably American form of Buddhism, has gone too far. This concern also exists in the Diamond Sangha. One of the major ways to ensure efficacy is maintained, and thus the second major issue affecting Australian Diamond Sangha groups is the maintenance of traditional Zen practice.

Under this argument, accessibility can be taken too far. Some practitioners were wary of too much change. A male member of the ZGWA said:

I remember a talk about ritual in Sydney, and somebody was saying, 'I can't do sesshin, it's too hard, why don't we do this, and why can't we do that, there's just not enough room in this

practice to do all these sort of things.' And people were saying, 'perhaps we could consider this or perhaps we could consider this.' And this one guy just said, 'perhaps this isn't your practice.'

Similarly, Aitken responded to an interview question about elitism in Zen practice by saying: 'It's really all right to be elite; it's all right to be a minority. Our task is to take our practice as available to everyone who's interested as we can, but not to water it down so that it's available to the guy who has the book in one hand and a drink in the other and his feet on the andirons getting warm.'²⁷

An important reason given for not making changes by Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners was that existing practices were known to be effective. Aitken writes on this issue:

The formal behaviour in the Zen temple is training for satori. It is the acting out of samadhi, the deepest state of mind; and this acting out is a means for inducing samadhi. . . . Some customs of the Zen temple are probably anachronistic and may not survive the transition of Zen to the West. But the Western Zen student must accept them all until his judgement and discrimination are developed, otherwise the baby could be lost with the bathwater.²⁸

Other Western Buddhist groups demonstrate this attitude. For example, as noted in Part Two, some Western Buddhist groups have not translated chants on the basis that the chants may only be effective if the original language is used. Sogen Hori also identifies this issue in Japan. He demonstrates the dangers in abandoning tradition for reasons of practicality, particularly if the true meaning of the ritual is not understood. He gives the example of oriyoki, explaining that the lengthy ritual is part of the practice as it teaches practitioners to eat in a Zen frame of mind; oriyoki is another form of zazen. However, some Japanese Zen centres in America have altered the ritual for washing the bowls, to the extent of using an automatic dishwasher. Sogen Hori writes: 'Without awareness of the point of meal ritual practices, ritual quickly degenerates into pro forma regimentation. When this happens, the enforcing of strict discipline is in danger of becoming an in end in itself rather

than a means to encourage the nondiscriminative *samadhi* of the participants.²⁹ He also gives examples about how other Zen practices, such as work-practice, are no longer practised in traditional terms; consequently, these practices do not set the conditions for enlightenment in the same way.³⁰

How Can Changes Be Made?

Both changes and lack thereof need to be legitimised in a manner that demonstrates that the efficacy of the tradition is being maintained. While arguments for indigenisation or maintenance of tradition provide subtle arguments in this regard, more formal justification also often takes place. Legitimation of both changes and maintenance of existing traditions are achieved in two main ways in Australian Diamond Sangha groups: through recourse to tradition and through recourse to lineage. These two concepts can be further defined; in his work on Buddhism in England, Mellor provides a two-fold classification system for methods for the interpretation of tradition to give legitimisation: through continuity and through return to origins.³¹

As discussed above, recourse to tradition is commonly used as justification for lack of change. However, changes can also be justified as a return to tradition, particularly as a reformist action. For example, Chandler writes: 'When asked about the advantages of coming to America to spread the Dharma, several nuns at Hsi Lai temple cited the very lack of a Buddhist legacy in this country as a seminal opportunity to pass on the teaching in its pristine form, shorn of the myriad customs that have appended themselves to it over the centuries in China.'³²

Both maintenance of tradition and changes to tradition can be legitimised through recourse to an unbroken and authentic lineage. Diamond Sangha teachers gain their authority using this method, because of their appointment by authorised teachers in an established lineage. Teachers make most of the changes to Diamond Sangha practices (although in the SZC these also came from Dharma Leaders). When asked why teachers should have the authority to alter Zen practice, most practitioners answered that it was because the teachers had the appropriate experience, as demonstrated by their appointment to that position. As Aitken

explained: 'The teacher is in touch with her teacher or his teacher, who is in touch with his teacher and so on back. You see, there is a lineage.'

Legitimation through lineage is also important in other Western groups. Vasi notes that one of the characteristics of Zen in Australia is that groups are based on authentic teacher lineages.³³ Baumann argues that lineage is important on the basis that Asian teachers have apparently acquired credit as trustworthy, authentic guides, and consequently the arrival of indigenous Asian teachers was a factor making for increased interest in Buddhism in Europe.³⁴ Finney notes that new American Zen centres draw legitimacy from their connection with established parent centres in Japan.³⁵ However, as Buddhism now has a longer history in Western countries, it can be argued that groups such as Australian Diamond Sangha centres gain legitimacy from parent centres in America (rather than the original Japanese parent centre in Kamakura), and from established Western teachers such as Aitken.

Tarhang Tulku is an example of a Western Buddhist teacher who uses lineage to legitimise indigenisation. When Tarhang Tulku began teaching Tibetan Buddhism in America he had two goals: to preserve his Tibetan Buddhism heritage and to adapt Buddhism to America. He believes that if Buddhism is to succeed in the West then a proper transmission through an unbroken lineage is vital, therefore connections with Tibetan origins are important.³⁶ Similarly, the English Sangha Trust claims continuity through association with the long-established Thai tradition, another example of traditional authority.³⁷

However, the authority of teachers can vary. While Diamond Sangha practitioners hold teachers' authority in high esteem, examples have been given where Diamond Sangha individuals or groups chose to make changes. Carter examines the different ways in which authenticity is legitimised, noting that the method used differs between individuals, groups or larger institutionalised organisations.³⁸ Waterhouse identifies different categories of authority sources: authority of texts, lineage, teachers, and personal experience. She notes that individuals in groups reach compromise positions about which authorities they accept as primary.³⁹ Most hold personal experience and traditional authority in creative tension, as has been seen in the Diamond Sangha.⁴⁰ Waterhouse

examines the notion of authority in religion alongside a discussion of the nature of authority in the modern or post-modern Western world. She argues that from a post-modern perspective 'all external authorities have been undermined' and any authority 'is authoritative only in so far as the individual chooses that it should be so at any given time.'⁴¹ This feature of contemporary social life in the West lies behind an important tension identified by Waterhouse within the practice of Buddhism in Britain, namely a tension 'between faith in the teacher and the individual capacity to come independently to knowledge.'⁴²

Prebish notes that lineage creates a reminder of the efficacy of the tradition, but more importantly, maintains a link to Buddhist orthodoxy through the generations. In this way, Buddhism can change while still maintaining bonds with an increasingly authoritative historical tradition.⁴³ Other scholars have also noted that change and tradition are not mutually exclusive, that while changes keep a tradition alive, tradition is needed to give legitimacy to the changes. Kornfield notes that in all religions there is always the basic tension between tradition and adaptation or orthodoxy and modernisation. He notes that since the death of the Buddha, some teachers have sought to preserve the original teachings without change, while others have seen a need to adapt:

The ability to adapt Buddhism without losing its essence is dependent on the depth of the tradition that has been preserved. Yet awakening new followers and gaining support for the preservation and depth of practice must come through the translation and creativity of those who have made practice truly alive in new cultures and new times. Each part depends on the other. The very diversity of views, schools, and teachings is the health of Buddhism, keeping it vital and true.⁴⁴

Mellor's study examining the adoption of the Buddhist religion in England includes analysis of the conflict between traditionalist and modernist approaches to religion. He notes that regardless of the degree of adaptation employed by Buddhist traditions in the West, all traditions still claim legitimacy as authentic expressions of the Dharma. His study of two English Buddhist organisations reveals

that tradition can be both conservative and creative, used to either promote or restrict adaptation. He writes: 'Tradition is a way of ordering things so that the emphasis on origins and the link between continuity and authority is able to structure development or change.'⁴⁵ McLellan's analysis of changes to Asian Buddhist communities in Toronto similarly concludes: "Traditions are invented to maintain a structural and functional equilibrium, helping the group to cope with the constant changes and innovations of the modern world."⁴⁶

Further examples of this understanding of tradition can be found in other areas of religious studies. Hill's study of the Church of England in the nineteenth century observes the same phenomenon, terming this creative use of tradition in the process of religious change, 'revolution by tradition'.⁴⁷ Williams, Cox and Jaffee's work on innovation in a variety of religious notes that tradition and innovation are often seen as distinct, with innovation viewed as a break with tradition. They suggest that religious innovation is actually a modality of religious tradition.⁴⁸ And finally, Giddens writes: 'Tradition is not wholly static, because it has to be reinvented by each new generation as it takes over its cultural inheritance from those preceding it.'⁴⁹

Mellor's second type of legitimisation is a return to origins. A claim of return to origins can occur either through an individual having an experience of an enlightened being and gaining direct transmission from them, or through a return to a pristine model (often based in the texts) as a reforming action.⁵⁰ For example, when Yasutani cited a direct connection with Dogen Zenji to legitimise himself and the newly founded Sanbo Kyodan, he was arguing for a return to origins.⁵¹ However, Mellor notes that in practice his two-fold classification system is usually more complicated. Often one group may use both types of legitimisation; and similarly different groups can use the same legitimising object in different ways, for example, two groups can find a basis in the same scripture to support different meditation practices.

Some Western Buddhists legitimise change through scriptural justification, although this is uncommon amongst Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners. Scriptures can provide legitimisation of change through reference to precedents, such as the Diamond Sangha's justification of the inclusion of women by citing

enlightened women mentioned in the koan tradition. Recourse to the Vinaya also allows for some adaptations in the Theravada tradition; however, the guidelines given are so vague that many Buddhists are reluctant to attempt reinterpretation.⁵²

Some scriptural justification for change can be gained through recourse to the Buddhist concept of upaya, usually translated as skilful or expedient means.⁵³ Pye's examination of relevant Buddhist texts produces evidence that all possible expressions of the Buddhist Dharma can be seen as skilful means, from peripheral concepts to core tenets such as the Four Noble Truths. Skilful means allows for the existence of many concepts and practices that convey the meaning of Buddhism, though in the final analysis no concept or practice is a complete representation. This leads Pye to suggest that Buddhism has probably never been a single set of concepts and practices (although historical perspectives may provide this illusion), but rather that there have simply been differing examples of skilful means.⁵⁴ According to Pye, skilful means provides a coherent rationale for diverse cultural and social proliferations of Buddhism, and for both intellectual and experiential aspects.⁵⁵

However, very few scholars or Buddhists mention upaya when discussing change in Buddhism, or consider its application. Pye's study provides evidence that this concept is not well understood by contemporary Buddhists. During his examination of skilful means in modern sectarian Japanese Buddhism, Pye notes that in principle it can be seen that any formation of Buddhism can be interpreted as 'hoben' (the Japanese term for skilful means), however, many sects do not seem to understand their central symbols as such. Pye concludes that there is evidence that some Japanese think hoben are devices for the ignorant that have little to do with the true Buddhist doctrine and practice which they themselves cultivate.⁵⁶

Who Can Make Changes?

The answer to who can make changes is affected by both the types of supporters and the organisational structure. 'Supporters' refers mainly to practitioners; however, other supporters such as family members of practitioners or non-practitioners who provide additional funds, are also important. The types of supporters

affect adaptation in two main ways: attitudes to and motivations for change, and practitioner demographics.

Types of supporters are important in the adaptation process for a variety of reasons, particularly as regards their attitudes to and motivations for change. An influential factor here is the reason for conversion. There has not been any research examining why Australians have converted to Zen Buddhism; however, research from other Western countries is illuminating.⁵⁷ In 1976 McCloy Layman suggested that the main reason Americans of non-Oriental backgrounds converted to Buddhism was an overriding need for relief from suffering, while the majority of American Buddhists of Oriental ancestry converted due to familiar-cultural affinity. Other possible reasons for conversion given were: intellectual, scientific appeal; appeal of a rational cure for a sick society; appeal of pageantry, symbolism and the esoteric; do-it-yourself appeal; wish to transcend the ordinary; need for a wise and benevolent authority figure; need to rebel against the establishment; need for relief from suffering; need for a richer, fuller, more effective life; seeking for truth.⁵⁸ In 1981 Vryheid attributed the growth of eastern religions in America to: loss of confidence in American institutions; secularisation; desire for inner self-improvement; and a quest for a more emotionally satisfying external lifestyle.⁵⁹

The reasons behind conversion affect attitudes to change. For example, some Diamond Sangha practitioners interviewed stated that they found the Japanese cultural elements of Zen practice appealing. In contrast, other practitioners were in favour of adaptations that contributed to indigenisation. However, attitudes to change are often unconscious, making the effects of this factor difficult to isolate. Most Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners were found to have limited conscious awareness of the change occurring in their groups, and even less knowledge of the factors causing these adaptations. For example, in analysing changes to ritual in Australian Diamond Sangha groups it became obvious that practitioners had different viewpoints on what constituted change. Many practitioners responded to questions by saying there had been virtually no changes to the ritual, aside from some rewording of chants. New ceremonies were acknowledged as additions, but not seen as alterations to ritual. A male member of the SZC illustrated this viewpoint: 'I see baby-namings as just like baptism,

it's welcoming someone into that community. And I don't actually see much ritual apart from Maggie and Gilly getting up and doing a bit of a spiel. There's no kind of new ritual there.'

Williams, Cox and Jaffee note that an outsider may see an innovation where the insider sees continuity, and vice versa, making it difficult to define innovation.⁶⁰ Saito notes that there many transformations of understanding of meaning that occur during the adaptive process are usually small and hardly noticeable when examined separately. Saito notes that Bartlett's studies have revealed that individuals are usually unaware of the changes they have made; people often believe they have carefully reproduced a tradition when an outsider would observe that changes have occurred.⁶¹ Similarly, Shils notes that the changes associated with the transmission of are often so small they are not perceived as significant by practitioners, or not considered changes at all.⁶² Bell's study of Theravada Buddhism in Britain shows how change can be portrayed as tradition, and age-old practices presented as innovation.⁶³ Sogen Hori's analysis of changes to Zen ritual at the ABC Zen Centre in America concludes that 'Americanisation occurs under the guise of a sincere belief that one is following Japanese Zen tradition.'⁶⁴

In addition to having little perception of change, most Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners interviewed were wary of change. Bolleter exemplifies this perspective: 'What I tend to do by way of change is to introduce new things, or to try things rather than to get rid of things. . . . I'm very careful about what I change. Once something is changed it's very difficult to get it back.' Similarly, Aitken writes: 'We should not hurry to acculturate. It took eight generations - from Bodhidharma to Ma-tsu and Yueh-shan - for Dhyana Buddhism to become truly Chinese. Like our ancestors, however, we should be alert to those possibilities of change which are in the spirit of the teaching.'⁶⁵

The attitudes of some practitioners play a more important role than others. Senior group members, particularly teachers, were noted as being responsible for many changes. Gilly Coote noted that the teacher's attitude to change was important in influencing the group's attitudes to change in ritual:

There's more tolerance for change because of John Tarrant being totally fascinated with the idea of change. [Aitken]

wasn't, but John comes on the scene and he's interested in, 'how can we jive this up, how can we get this going?' . . . He's been a huge force of change. He's a factor in Sydney that is an undeniable factor, he hasn't been in Melbourne, he's been in Perth. He's been a really important factor cause he's such a charismatic and dynamic person, and he gave permission, if you like.

Practitioner demographics also affect change. As described in Part Two, the majority of Australian Diamond Sangha practitioners are Anglo-Saxon, middle-class professionals, aged twenty-five to seventy, and there are approximately equal numbers of male and female practitioners. These demographics are similar to those of mainstream Australian culture (as opposed to ethnic Buddhist groups), and it is likely that this homogeneity would have assisted acceptance of the Diamond Sangha by the wider Australian community. Other aspects of group demographics affecting adaptation include the socio-economic status of supporters. Diamond Sangha groups have been able to gain most of their funding from members thanks to the middle-class composition of the groups, rather than having to resort to fund-raising.

The coherence of the imported religion's internal organisational structure with that of the host culture also affects adaptation. For example, Australian Diamond Sangha groups aspire to be democratic in regard to group administration, a value that coheres with that of mainstream Australian culture. However, the spiritual organisation of Australian Diamond Sangha groups is more autocratic; this lack of cohesion with the values of many group members has resulted in changes to spiritual authority (particularly the role of teachers) in these groups.

Situation in the Host Culture

It is obvious that the extent to which change is prevalent is also affected by a major factor that is external to the group: the situation in the host culture. To understand other factors affecting the Diamond Sangha in Australia not mentioned by Diamond Sangha practitioners, a brief survey of the position of religion in Australia in terms of demographics and political

factors will now be undertaken. Multiculturalism is the key to this understanding.⁶⁶

Religious diversity is acceptable in Australia thanks to Australia's multicultural political policies. The Whitlam Labour Government embraced the concept of multiculturalism in 1972, ostensibly ending the previous policy of assimilationism. Multiculturalism became more prominent in the late 1970s;⁶⁷ a 1980 Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs publication contains the assertion that multiculturalism in Australia is 'a social and demographic fact'.⁶⁸ According to Bouma, government emphasis on multiculturalism has continued in a positive manner: 'Australia's federal Labour Government from 1982 to 1996 pursued a deliberate and intentional policy of promoting a view of Australia as a multicultural society. It promoted diversity as desirable, healthy and as essential to the future success of the nation.'⁶⁹ The 1996 election of the federal coalition Government resulted in some reduction in immigration, but the commitment to multiculturalism has remained.

Multiculturalism promotes acceptance of religious diversity. The 1989 National Agenda on Multiculturalism identifies three fundamental dimensions of multicultural policy: cultural identity, social justice and economic efficiency. Cultural identity was defined as 'the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion'; and social justice as 'the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth'.⁷⁰ Bouma writes of the Australian situation:

A multicultural society is one characterised by religious plurality, a willingness to live and let live among religious organisations, a spirit of respect for religion, and of willing co-operation from governments and their agencies at all levels with religions. Australian state and federal governments and agencies are committed to multicultural policies and to reducing discrimination on the basis of religion. While there is no constitutionally enshrined 'Bill of Rights,' laws against harassment and discrimination on various bases have been enacted. While much progress has been made there is plenty

of room for more. There are cases of harassment, of intimidation, of name-calling, denial of employment, denial of approval to build mosques and temples, and problems with housing or access to services on the bases of religious difference in Australia. However, there is no communally grounded, religiously approved, and openly expressed antipathy toward other groups.⁷¹

Bouma identifies three demographic and three social structural factors as the main reasons why multiculturalism has succeeded in Australia: the lack of overlap between ethnic and religious difference; the lack of ghettoisation of religious and ethnic communities; the depoliticisation of religious difference; a long history of non-violent religious/ethnic conflict, which has been resolved largely through legislation and the courts; the existence of effective organisations promoting positive inter-group relations; and the relatively small size of religious minority groups.⁷² Additional factors include the fact that the majority of Australian ethnic groups each total near or significantly less than one percent of the population, and are ethnically diverse. This makes it difficult for new religions to mount a significant challenge to the dominant religious groups, or for significant politicisation of minority religion.⁷³

So while religious diversity is accepted, the values of the dominant Anglo-Celtic tradition are strong. To succeed, multiculturalism requires overarching values that are acceptable to all. In 1989 the National Agenda on Multiculturalism described the core principles of multiculturalism: 'Multicultural policies require all Australians to accept the basic structures and principles of Australian society - the Constitution and the rule of law, tolerance and equality, Parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and equality of the sexes.'⁷⁴ While these principles ostensibly embrace all religions and cultures, values such as democracy and equality of the sexes are not universal. Discrimination can also be more subtle. As Davidson notes: 'It has been difficult for Australia to hand over the power and influence of Anglo-Celtic tradition to minorities. A multicultural Australia incorporated ethnic and cultural experience, but not the legal, political and ethical voices of immigrants.'⁷⁵

As discussed above, practitioner demographics and the degree of compatibility between the internal structure of the imported religion and the host culture affects adaptation. New religious groups, such as the Diamond Sangha, that uphold Anglo-Celtic values do not face any adverse discrimination. However, ethnic Buddhists do face some difficulties. The literature reveals that ethnic Buddhists face prejudices that convert Buddhists do not, particularly when dealing with local government.⁷⁶

The attitude of the host culture also affects other Western Buddhist groups. For example, McLellan's study of Asian ethnic Buddhists in Toronto includes discussion on the Canadian government's stand on multiculturalism and its effects on religious pluralism.⁷⁷ Waterhouse's study of the dispute within the Karma Kagyu school of Tibetan Buddhism concerning the current identity of the seventeenth Karmapa⁷⁸ concludes that modern British Buddhists and traditional Tibetan Buddhists rely on different structures for the resolution of problems of authority. She argues that spiritual practices cannot be separated entirely from the political and economic processes within which those practices are embedded. She concludes that spiritual, political and economic factors are linked with the question of authority.⁷⁹ In the broader context, Hinnells examines South Asian diasporas in Australia, England, Canada and America to demonstrate how different national characteristics affect the development of South Asian religions in these countries.⁸⁰

To a large extent the attitudes and values of the host culture are absorbed by new religious groups, particularly ones like the Diamond Sangha that are composed of converts who already hold these values. Indeed, Fitzgerald argues that religious studies are the analysis of institutionalised values, and the relation between values and the legitimisation of power in a specific society.⁸¹ It can be argued that the values of the host culture have affected Buddhism's adaptation to the West. For example, Almond examines the broad sociocultural context in which British Buddhism was created, demonstrating that the idea of Buddhism that emerged reflected Victorian ideas.⁸²

A number of scholars have examined Buddhism in the West and concluded that there is a 'Protestant Buddhism'; that some Buddhist groups have a liberal Protestant outlook and their

Buddhism affirms these values.⁸³ Mellor argues that the entire approach of identifying how Buddhism is being Westernised is incorrect. He argues that it can be seen that early English Buddhism had correlates with the social, religious and intellectual conditions of the time and that current English Buddhism is still affected by these origins.⁸⁴ He concludes that in his study on English Buddhism he has not studied the translation of Buddhism, but the creation of English forms of Buddhism, based on English cultural and social traditions, including Protestant elements.⁸⁵

Theories of Change

Factors affecting change in Diamond Sangha groups in Australia can be divided into two major categories, internal and external factors. Internal factors affecting change depend on reasons for change, reflecting both individual and group attitudes to indigenisation and maintenance of tradition, and also include the group structure. External issues are elements of the host culture that affect the religion's development, such as social, political and legal factors. This section compares these factors with factors affecting change identified by other researchers and represented in their models for the process of change in Buddhism. Comparison is first made with research on the process of change in Buddhism in the West. There are very few of these studies, so research dealing with the general issue of religious change is also examined. Studies examining the development of convert Buddhism in the West often categorise these groups as New Religious Movements. Consequently, models of change in New Religious Movements are also examined. Comparison is also made with approaches to understanding change in ethnic Buddhism, to ascertain whether the use of separate methods when studying adaptation in convert and ethnic Buddhism in the West is justified.

Factors Affecting the Process of Change

Baumann provides the most comprehensive model for Buddhism's adaptation to the West. Unlike most theorists, Baumann utilises concrete examples from Buddhism's transplantation to Germany to explain and validate his model of adaptation. Baumann deals

specifically with examples of transplantation where practitioners actively try to win converts, as opposed to transplantation where the groups are without missionary aims and are reluctant to adapt. Consequently, Baumann's model mostly applies to convert Buddhism. Baumann's model has three main elements: factors causing change, stages of change, and strategies of change.

Two major factors causing change are identified: willingness of the tradition to change and the disposition of the host culture:

1. Willingness of the tradition to change: Transplanted religions vary from flexible to inflexible in their openness and receptiveness to change and the forms and structures of the host society. Issues such as maintenance of tradition, legitimacy, orthodoxy and attitudes to change arise. Willingness to change is affected by the reasons for the transplantation and types of supporters. For example, the religion may be transplanted by missionaries from the imported culture, by members of the host culture who have studied the religion abroad or accessed scriptures in the host country, or the transplantation may be a result of migration by an ethnic group.
2. Disposition of the host culture: The degree and type of adaptation of the imported religion depends on political, economic, social and legal factors. The socio-political conditions cause certain forms of tension and possibilities for growth. For example, the attitude of the host culture to the donor culture is important. If the host culture views itself as superior to the donor culture then adaptation is hard, and if the host culture views the culture of the imported religion as equal, adaptation is easier.⁸⁶

Baumann's model identifies factors similar to those identified in this study, as outlined in the preceding section. Both Baumann and this study identify the internal factors of willingness to change (incorporating attitudes to indigenisation and maintenance of tradition), and types of supporters, and external factors. However, this study's identification of factors affecting change in Australian Diamond Sangha groups also identified organisational structure as important; a factor not identified by Baumann.

Pye's approach to the transplantation of religions is also instructive. Pye maintains that the transplantation of a religion

involves a complex relationship between tradition and interpretation, or interplay between the content of the religion and the situation it is being transplanted to. Factors affecting the situation include:

1. The religious situation in the new environment, in addition to the political and economic situation and other non-religious factors.
2. Awareness of the transplantation process and motivations behind it. People may have differing degrees of awareness of the process. Conscious furtherance of change may be variously motivated e.g. politically, economically or religiously.⁸⁷

Pye identifies as relevant the internal factors of types of supporters and reasons for change, but like Baumann, does not go into as much detail regarding these factors as this study has. Pye also identifies external factors as important to the adaptation. Given that both Baumann and Pye do not identify some of the internal factors identified in this study, such as accessibility, maintenance of identity, and organisational structure, it is worthwhile examining other aspects of their models to see if some of these factors are contained in them, albeit implicitly rather than explicitly.

Stages of Change

Baumann's model of religious change also outlines stages and strategies of change. While this study on the development of Diamond Sangha groups in Australia has focused on identifying factors affecting change, rather than modes (or stages) and strategies of the process of change, examination of these two elements of the process of change may shed further light on the factors affecting change. Baumann outlines 7 five modes or stages of transplantation. He notes that these modes do not necessarily occur in a chronologically linear order, nor will they all necessarily occur:

1. Contact: Arrival of the foreign religious tradition in the host culture. Activities that occur during this stage include the appearance of the first converts and the translation of scriptures.
2. Confrontation and conflict: The supporters of the imported religion are keen to present those aspects of their religion that

3. contrast with existing religions, particularly to point out deficits in the host culture's religions so as to make their religion seem more appealing and relevant. The extent to which the host society allows this depends on political, economic, social and legal factors.
4. Ambiguity and adaptation: Ambiguities arise as members of the host culture misinterpret new symbols, rituals and ideas, on the basis of their own conceptions, and bearers of the foreign religion similarly misinterpret the host culture. Both the imported religion and the host culture may adopt elements of the other without necessarily adopting the associated meaning and content. Ambiguity also assists in the reduction of conflicts. There is both unintentional and intentional ambiguity, the latter serving as a necessary precondition for a successful spread because it emphasises similarities and links with concepts of the hosting culture. Forms developed by both unavoidable and intentional ambiguity are noticeably different from the imported tradition, and this can lead members to either restrain or encourage new developments. Linkage to existing structures (such as legal frameworks) can help reduce conflict.
5. Recoupment (re-orientation): During this stage there is often a critical examination of the ambiguities that have arisen with the aim of reducing these, while also retaining identity with that tradition which is viewed as legitimate. There is an emphasis on the maintenance of an identity within the process of change.
6. Innovative self-development: Creation of new forms and innovative interpretations occurs. The new creations maintain a critical tension with the tradition from which they evolved. Traditional members of the imported religion may condemn the new developments as heretical, while those behind the innovation protest against the maintenance of outdated tradition.⁸⁸

Pye's approach recognises three principal stages that are similar to Baumann's:

1. Contact: Establishment or presentation of means of communication and styles of activity. For example, writings are translated.

2. **Ambiguity:** A degree of acceptance by the imported religion of indigenous features of the host culture, causing questions of orthodoxy, identity and the danger of dissipation of the tradition to be raised. Ambiguity of meaning can occur as one symbol can have two sets of associations, from both the imported and host culture.

3. **Recoupment:** Reassertion or reclarification of what is being transplanted occurs. While the new expression of the imported religion will have a reasonable claim to identity with the original tradition, it will not be identical with older forms. Issues of heresy and orthodoxy arise and there is some attempt to elucidate the essential characteristics or content of the religion. There is a reassertion and reclarification of the transplanted elements that both affirms the identity of the element with the tradition and also expresses it in terms of the new situation.⁸⁹

Studies of adaptation in other religions identify similar stages. For example, Berry's examination of the features generated by the impact of dominant colonial and contemporary societies in North America upon indigenous peoples and ethnic groups identifies three phases of acculturation: contact, conflict and adaptation. Berry notes that acculturation occurs at two levels, individual and group, with the three phases occurring at both levels.⁹⁰ The stages identified by both Baumann and Pye are also similar to those identified in general models of cross-cultural adaptation at both individual and cultural levels.⁹¹ All indicate that as an ideology moves into a new culture, it abandons old cultural forms and adapts to the new culture through use of indigenous cultural forms. For example, Lifton's 1969 model of individual transformation outlines three stages: confrontation, re-ordering and renewal;⁹² and Yoshikawa's model of cross-cultural development identifies categories of contact, disintegration, reintegration, autonomy and double-swing.⁹³

Examples of Baumann's modes and Pye's stages can be distinguished in the development of Diamond Sangha groups in Australia. For example, the discussion in Part Two regarding different approaches to the use of the *kyosaku* reflects Baumann's stage three and Pye's stage two, ambiguity. Interpretation of the *kyosaku*'s use is ambiguous in Australian Diamond Sangha groups; some practitioners interpret the *kyosaku* in Western terms and view

it as an implement of patriarchal domination, others understand its function from the Japanese viewpoint, as a tool that assists in gaining enlightenment. The development of new types of sesshins and ceremonies in the Diamond Sangha are examples of Baumann's and Pye's final stages of innovative development and recouplement, respectively; some practitioners argue that women's sesshins are unorthodox, others argue they are a vital part of the indigenising process.

Examination of typical stages in the process of religious change has allowed identification of factors affecting the change process for comparison with those identified in this study. For example, external factors affect development during Baumann's stage two; the extent of ambiguity required during Baumann's phase three is affected by attitudes towards the donor culture by the host culture; maintenance of identity (presumably at both individual and community levels), is important in Baumann's stage four; and issues of orthodoxy (such as maintenance of tradition) are relevant during Pye's stages two and three. It can be seen that the various factors affecting change are more important at different stages of the change process

Analysis has revealed that maintenance of identity is recognised by Baumann as a relevant factor although it is not explicitly mentioned in Baumann's list of factors affecting change. The identification of this factor in the stages of adaptation provides additional information towards understanding factors affecting the change process, and provides information on the interrelationship between different elements of the adaptation process.

Strategies of Change

Baumann outlines seven strategies of adaptation that can occur in his five 'processive' modes:

1. Translation: Refers to both philological work and a wide range of conceptual expressions. There are obvious problems in translation, in making new concepts coherent to a new host culture. Translation requires the use of both a new language and new methods of communication, aiming to assist comprehension of the Buddhist worldview by potential converts.

2. Reduction: It is common to reduce the ideas of the religion to make it easier to understand. Complicated or unacceptable ideas are de-emphasised and those that cohere with the host culture are stressed. In this process much selection takes place, and often there is a strengthening and stressing of certain elements as the religion's central concepts.
3. Reinterpretation: Reinterpretation will occur. Certain reinterpretations might be chosen over others.
4. Toleration: The imported religion must tolerate customs of the host culture that oppose aspects of the imported religion. At the same time, the imported religion's teachings aim to change and abolish these customs.
5. Assimilation: In this case the imported religion incorporates elements of the host culture into its own rituals or meaning system. Incorporation is intended to enhance the presentation of the imported religion, while also avoiding conflicts and misinterpretations. Assimilated elements are viewed as having less value.
6. Absorption: A feature foreign to the imported religion is incorporated into the religion, and is interpreted in terms of the imported religion. This is a strategy of annexation.
7. Acculturation: This involves the adoption of material or intellectual goods that are regarded as helpful and valuable.⁹⁴ The incorporation of these elements is not an unavoidable compromise or a strategy of annexation, but is willingly and positively accepted.

While there is a general consensus on the stages of adaptation, there is much less agreement on strategies, making comparison difficult. For example, Kaplan's work on the Africanisation of Missionary Christianity (upon which Baumann's work is heavily based) identifies six different modes of adaptation: toleration, translation, assimilation, Christianisation, acculturation and incorporation.⁹⁵ Pye's examination of the role of syncretism in the process of acculturation includes definitions for assimilation, dissolution, syncretism and synthesis.⁹⁶ Berry identifies many types of acculturation: assimilation, integration, rejection, deculturation, multiculturalism, pluralism, melting pot, pressure cooker, withdrawal, segregation, marginality and ethnocide.⁹⁷

This lack of consensus is partly due to adoption of different definitions for many of the terms used when discussing strategies of religious change. For example, Pye's comparison of syncretism and synthesis demonstrates that there is little agreement on the definition and usage of the term, 'syncretism'.⁹⁸ As mentioned in the Introduction, Barkan's study of ethnicity in American society provides a number of conflicting definitions of assimilation. Barkan then adopts a definition of assimilation quite different from that which Baumann gives above in his fifth strategy of change. Barkan writes:

Assimilation most accurately represents the point at which individual members of ethnic groups have shed the cultural, linguistic, behavioural, and identificational characteristics of their original group as well as disengaged from the associational, or structural, activities that have set them apart from others. Such persons may have lost most, or all, of their personal knowledge of their ethnic roots, or those roots had become diffused, merged with what has been absorbed from their new, principal societal context . . . Barriers of conflict and negativity no longer obstruct their relations with members of that larger nonethnic and/or core society. As a result, these individuals' political and cultural norms, cultural and social activities, language usage, residential locations, friends, associates, spouses, identities, and loyalties have by and large become indistinguishable - or insignificantly different from - those aspects of that general society and core culture.⁹⁹

The problem of lack of agreed definitions is compounded when some scholars use terms without definition. For example, Baumann does not define 'transplantation' in presenting his model of the transplantation of religions. It was only after discussion by Neumaier-Dargyay regarding his use of the term,¹⁰⁰ that Baumann provided his definition of transplantation: 'the processes of transmitting or transferring a symbolic system - in this case a specific religious tradition - from one geographical location to another.'¹⁰¹ Browning provides an example of the ambiguity that can result when terms are not defined. He writes:

This study is then an examination of the attempts of one particular Buddhist leader, Tarthang Tulku, to further the process of *adaptation* by integrating Buddhism with American life and culture. The thesis of this examination is that within his *mission efforts* lie the potential for the emergence of a truly American style of Buddhism. . . . One of the strengths of Buddhism has been its ability to adapt creatively to new situations and cultures by a *process of syncretism*, thus producing emergent forms of the religion that are *assimilated* to their environment.¹⁰² [Italics added.]

None of these terms are defined in his work, making it difficult to ascertain whether Browning is using them to denote different strategies, or as synonyms.

While there are disagreements regarding terminology, it can be seen that Diamond Sangha groups in Australia have used many of the strategies as defined by Baumann. For example, the incorporation of Western psychological concepts into Zen practice is arguably acculturation; the ongoing issue regarding the role of the *kyosaku* reflects reinterpretation; and attitudes to the donor culture would affect the need to use the strategy of toleration. Factors identified in this study as affecting change in Diamond Sangha groups in Australia can also be identified in Baumann's strategies; for example, many of the strategies are dependent on attitudes to the donor culture. This again demonstrates that additional information on factors affecting change could be ascertained by examination of strategies of change.

Comparison with existing models for the adaptation of Buddhism in the West, and of religions generally, has demonstrated broad agreement with the findings of the present study. Other researchers in other contexts have also identified the majority of the factors identified in this study as relevant to adaptation. Both Baumann and Pye identify the same external factors as are revealed in this study, and the same major internal factors, although in less detail. Baumann does consider maintenance of identity to be an important factor in the change process, although he does not explicitly include it in his list of factors. This concurs with this study's finding that community building is a factor, and demonstrates that study of

the interrelationship between different elements of the adaptation process can reveal further factors affecting change.

New Religious Movements Theory

The literature review undertaken as background for this research indicated that models of the adaptation of Buddhism in the West may not include all of the elements of the process of change that are identified by studies on Buddhism in the West in other contexts. Research on New Religious Movements (NRMs) has generated other models of religious change. As Williams, Cox and Jaffee suggest: 'The closest thing to comparative studies on religious innovation, rather than simply studies on innovations in this or that single religious tradition, is to be found in the social science literature on new religious movements.'¹⁰³ Studies of Buddhism in the West that focus on convert Buddhism often treat these groups as NRMs or cults.¹⁰⁴ Nattier suggests that it may be useful to apply Stark and Bainbridge's three subtypes of new religions (audience cult, client cult and cult movement) to Buddhism in North America; however her interest in doing so lies in enhancing categorisations of Buddhists rather than understanding the adaptation process.¹⁰⁵ She argues that this allows some new distinctions to be drawn in defining American Buddhists, but also points out limitations in Stark and Bainbridge's model, such as the lack of differentiation between genuine NRMs, and those that have been transplanted, such as Buddhism.¹⁰⁶

The fact that studies of Buddhism in the West as a NRM has mainly been applied to convert groups has been detrimental. Prebish argues that it was important to contextualise Buddhism in the West as a NRM in the early days of Buddhism's importation. He writes: 'it was an early tactical manoeuvre designed to accentuate the legitimacy and enhance the visibility of the American Buddhist movement.'¹⁰⁷ However, he supports Numrich's conclusions that this categorisation was partially responsible for the later emphasis on convert Buddhism, which has disadvantaged the recognition of ethnic Buddhism.¹⁰⁸

Finney provides the most comprehensive model of adaptation in NRMs. He uses an American Zen Buddhist case to argue that although Zen Buddhism could be classified as a NRM from the viewpoint of American culture, this is not the case when Zen is viewed in terms of its historical context. Finney criticises scholars

researching NRMs for ignoring historical developments (such as the structural and cultural origins of NRMs) and focusing only on motivation for participation.

Finney extends Stark and Bainbridge's subcultural evolution model of cult development to produce a new cultural diffusion model that identifies six key factors:

1. predisposition of the source culture to export elements of its own culture;
2. pressure on the institutional agencies involved in the export;
3. preparatory cultural contacts for later diffusion;
4. the selective receptivity of American culture;
5. the proclivity of certain people in the new culture to the new culture pattern; and
6. the strategies used in implanting the new cultural form.¹⁰⁹

The first two of these factors have not been identified in this study or by Baumann or Pye. However, Neumaier-Dargyay implicitly identifies these factors as relevant in her comments on Baumann's identification of five stages of change. She argues that there is a stage before contact (Baumann's first stage), that the impulse to transplant a religion is a step in itself.¹¹⁰ However, these two factors could be subsumed in the category of types of supporters, as supporters include not only people in the host country, but also to those in the original culture from which the religion has been imported.

Most studies of adaptation in NRMs examine reasons for the formation of NRMs or factors affecting their growth, rather than examining the factors affecting the process of change as this study has.¹¹¹ For example, Robbins, Anthony and Richardson attribute the popularity and increase of NRMs to factors including: secularisation, crisis of community, normative breakdown and value dissensus, and the need for holistic self-definition in a differentiated society.¹¹² They identify these factors as relevant in the growth of NRMs; in the context of the process of change these factors can also be seen as external factors. However, it is feasible that these factors would also affect change within the movement; the last three factors can be seen to reflect the types of supporters and their motivations for participation in the group in the process

of change. The inclusion of crisis of community and the need for holistic self-definition as factors in the growth of NRMs is in keeping with this study's identification of the need for identity construction and maintenance as factors affecting change in Australian Diamond Sangha groups.

Other research focuses on the ways in which cultural factors affect the emergence of NRMs. Chalfant, Beckley and Palmer identify societal factors contributing to the creation and maintenance of NRMs, including: complexity of culture, degree of secularisation, nature of the economy, amount of political freedom, immigration quotas, regional variations and occupation subcultures, and population shifts.¹¹³ This provides more detail on external factors affecting change than research on adaptation in Buddhism has previously, and could be used to expand existing models. Other types of NRM studies focus on different aspects of the change process, and can be used to elaborate the relationship between factors affecting change and the stages and strategies of adaptation. For example, Robbins and Bromley's exploration of innovation in NRMs could be used to elaborate the strategies of change identified by Baumann. Robbins and Bromley examine four areas in which NRMs often innovate: gender definitions, economic organisation, conversion techniques, and symbolic healing.¹¹⁴

Comparison of models on adaptation in Buddhism in the West could benefit from synthesis with approaches to studying NRMs, particularly for elaboration of external factors affecting change. Studying ethnic Buddhist groups as NRMs may also yield interesting results. There are few studies that examine the development of ethnic Buddhist groups in the West in the specific context of religious adaptation, even less as a NRM. However, examining Buddhist groups in the West solely in the context of NRMs overlooks many of the factors identified in this study.

Religion and Migration Theory

Scholars have tended to examine adaptation of convert and ethnic Buddhist groups using different methodologies for each. However, with scholars such as Finney arguing that the structural and cultural origins of NRMs should be included in research on their development,¹¹⁵ and in light of criticisms against the separation of

convert and ethnic Buddhism in the West, it is worthwhile examining whether the differing approaches to studying adaptation in convert and ethnic Buddhism could also benefit from a similar comparison.

Studies of ethnic Buddhism in the West more commonly focus the role of religion in cross-cultural adjustment, or its effect on immigrant ethnic identity. For example, McLellan's study of five Asian Buddhist groups in Toronto "demonstrates the role Buddhism plays in reaffirming, maintaining and recreating ethocultural identity."¹¹⁶ Numrich highlights the importance of religions providing cultural centres for ethnic groups, noting that twenty-five percent of Thai and Sinhalese immigrants in America stated that the most important function of their immigrant temple in America was as a cultural centre, compared with twelve percent who saw this as the most important function of the temple in their country of origin.¹¹⁷ This emphasis on the role of religion in meeting the needs of the community, particularly in identity maintenance and community-building, is important as it supports this study's identification of community need as an internal factor affecting change in Australian Diamond Sangha groups, and Baumann's implicit identification of this factor in predominantly convert Buddhist groups in Germany.

Relevant factors affecting adaptation can also be identified in studies about religion and migration generally. Baumann's analysis of diaspora, based on Hindu communities outside India, concludes that diasporas are affected by contextual parameters based on the country of origin, immigrant group and host country. The main contextualising factors are the nature of the migration process; the nature of the migrant group (such as size and demographics); the cultural situation, social structure and political power in the host country; and the situation and subsequent developments in the emigrant's home country. Then diaspora is affected by what immigrants do in their new country, particularly in terms of institutionalisation and community formation; how the religious tradition is perpetuated, if there is much adaptation or not, and whether fusion or fission occurs in the reinterpretation of elements of the religion.¹¹⁸ These factors are similar to those presented by Baumann in his analysis of Buddhist groups in Germany, except for the explicit inclusion of community formation as a factor in this

model, in comparison to the former implicit identification of this factor. In another example, Bouma conceptualises the role of religion in the migration process through an examination of religious settlement (how religion becomes part of society and culture). Bouma's concept of religious settlement has four subprocesses: getting there, forming an identity, building a religious community and establishing new religious inter-group relations;¹¹⁹ the role of community building is again highlighted.

Breaking Down the Boundaries

Through examination of the development of Zen Buddhism in Diamond Sangha groups in Australia, this study has identified a number of factors affecting change. Reasons for change is the first major factor, reflecting issues relating to indigenisation (accessibility and identity construction and maintenance) and maintenance of tradition. A second major factor is group structure. The third major factor recognises that social, political, economic and legal factors of the host culture affect the religion's development as well as attitudes to the imported religion. Consequently, three levels merit examination: individual, group and community. These factors are consistent with those models of adaptation developed for other Western Buddhist groups.

It has been demonstrated that while different models of adaptation are commonly used to study convert and ethnic Buddhism in the West, this causes biases in the field. Studies of convert Buddhism have developed their own models of adaptation (as Baumann has) or have been situated in the study of NRMs; and ethnic Buddhism is usually studied in the context of the migrant experience. This separation is commonly supported. For example, Numrich argues that ethnic Buddhism and convert Buddhism should be studied separately. Having studied Americanisation in a Thai and a Sinhalese ethnic temple, Numrich discovers 'parallel congregations' (both convert and ethnic) existent in both. He concludes that different theories are needed to explain these: immigrant Theravada Buddhism should be studied in the context of American immigrant religion generally; and convert Buddhism should be studied in the context of NRMs.¹ Similarly, Rutledge notes in his study of the role of religion (primarily Buddhist and

Catholic) in the resettlement of Vietnamese refugees in America that there is a tendency to understand ethnic Buddhism within the context of ethnic or migrant experience: 'From this examination a model of ethnicity has emerged among the dynamics of cultural contact as the best manner in which to understand the adaptive process.'²

Studying convert and ethnic Buddhism under different methodologies continues to emphasise the differences between them, not the similarities. This study demonstrates that studies of convert Buddhist groups in the West would benefit from comparison with studies on religion and migration, such as diaspora studies, as the process of adaptation in convert and ethnic Buddhism is more similar than previously thought. Studies on the relationship between religion and migration point to identity construction and maintenance as a key factor in the development of NRMs and ethnic Buddhism; however, this factor has been overlooked in convert Buddhism. The identification of identity construction and maintenance as a factor affecting change in the adaptation of Diamond Sangha groups in Australia demonstrates that this factor should be considered.

The validity of the distinction between convert and ethnic Buddhism is being questioned in other contexts. Studies investigating the relationship between ethnic identity and religion are revealing that many existing assumptions are questionable. For example, Barth argues that ethnic identity does not equal culture; the maintenance of ethnic identity does not mean that acculturation cannot take place.³ Gerd Baumann's examination of the interrelationship between community, culture and ethnicity in the lives of Southall residents demonstrates that community is not necessarily related to ethnicity and culture. Gerd Baumann writes: 'In this dominant discourse "community" can function as the conceptual bridge that connects culture with ethnos' but goes on to note that this is not necessarily the case.'⁴

Alternative classifications have been suggested. In 1995 Nattier suggested distinguishing between Elite Buddhism (transmission via import), Evangelical Buddhism (transmission via export) and Ethnic Buddhism (transmission via baggage).⁵ But this too has been critiqued,⁶ and the end result has been some highly amusing satires of the definitional issues. For example, Chandler provides six

possible ways of classifying Chinese Buddhists in America: Buddhist Chinese Americans, American Chinese Buddhists, Buddhist Chinese Americans, Buddhist American Chinese, Chinese Buddhist Americans and American Buddhist Chinese; demonstrating just how subtle the issues involved with establishing religious identity are.⁷ Tweed suggests tongue-in-cheek a whole raft of new categories: not-just-Buddhists (those with dual or multiple religious identities), horse-shed Buddhists (adherents who practice more vigorously at certain times of the year), dharma-hoppers (who move from group to group), and night-stand Buddhists (whose interest may be limited to some meditation before bed).⁸ However, ultimately the majority of this work encourages further distinctions, rather than breaking them down and encouraging recognition of similarities.

The lack of awareness of the importance of community in convert Western Buddhist groups may reflect the compatibility of Buddhism with Western culture. The arguments examined earlier in this section regarding the Protestantisation of Western Buddhism indicate that while Western Buddhists may be removing some cultural accretions, they are adding others. Buddhism in the West is in the process of becoming embedded in the culture of its host country, as occurred during Buddhism's transition to East Asia. This is contrary to the belief of many convert Western Buddhists that Western Buddhism has rediscovered Buddhism in its undefiled purity by removing unnecessary cultural accretions. However, due to convert practitioners' immersion in Western culture this bias is difficult to recognise. Consequently the important role of community and identity is more difficult to recognise as it is similar to the role of community and identity of the rest of the culture. Alternatively, perhaps community is not seen as an important part of convert Buddhist groups in Western countries as it is generally assumed that because convert Buddhists have been living in their community for many years and consequently have other social and cultural activities that provide the community elements they require.

Pye argues that a theory of transplantation of religion 'is valuable if it illuminates some similarities between some religions which are dissimilar in other respects, or if it sets up a framework in terms of which varying degrees of some characteristics may be considered in

the case of a series of religions.⁹ Comparison of the Diamond Sangha in Australia and Buddhism in the West generally has provided information on adaptation that will be useful for research on Buddhism, and should encourage other scholars to test the importance of these factors in other case studies. It is hoped that scholars will not only provide more detail on the factors identified here, but also utilise these factors in examining adaptation, thus providing a basis for comparison.

In this increasingly globalised world, the concept of Buddhism in the West as opposed to Buddhism in Asia also merits criticism. Studies of the adaptation of Buddhism in Asia would also merit comparison with these findings, to examine whether the issues identified in this study are also affecting the adaptation of Buddhism in Asian countries. For example, Angurorhita has studied the emergence, worldview, recruitment process, and growth of the Japanese Buddhist sect, Soka Gakkai International in Thailand.¹⁰ Ling has examined how Buddhism has changed and adapted in Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia and Singapore.¹¹ Ames has studied the effects of Westernisation and modernisation (examining the distinction between the two) on Buddhism in Sri Lanka.¹²

It would also be valuable to draw comparison with the characteristics of contemporary Buddhist practice in Asia. There are indications that at least some of the factors identified in Australian Diamond Sangha groups are also emerging in Asian Buddhism, and studies to this effect would be beneficial for comparison with Western Buddhism. Evidence that Asian and Western Buddhism are proceeding along similar lines would also alter the existing perception that Western Buddhism is vastly different from, and possibly superior to, Asian Buddhism. As Queen argues, if one interpretative category could be said to pervade recent studies on American Buddhism, it is that of 'multi-layered religious identities in transition.'¹³ Black and white classification systems are no longer correct, particularly not politically.

This study has provided insights into both the intricacies of Zen practice in Australian Diamond Sangha groups, and the position of the Diamond Sangha in the broader context of Buddhism in the West and the process of religious change. However, it should be remembered that the process of change never ends. In January 1999, Gilly Coote wrote of the changes that had occurred to the

SZC women's sesshin since the sesshin described at the beginning of the Introduction:

The SZC women's group, in a subsequent retreat last year . . . returned to basics – zazen, samu and sutra chanting – with no directed archetypal psychological exploration. There was some sense of having strayed from these spare and classic practices. No doubt, further down the track, the group may again look to adding new ingredients to this classic mix – so it goes. Trial and error.¹⁴

Appendix A: Japanese Zen Buddhist Groups in Australia

Adelaide Zen Group

70 Thomas Street
Unley, 5061
Adelaide, South Australia
Email: anton@earthling.net
Internet site: welcome.to/azg
Lineage: Diamond Sangha
Teacher: Ross Bolleter

Bellingen Zen Group

'Chrysalis'
377 Kalang Road via Bellingen
New South Wales, 2454
Contact: Sexton Bourke
Telephone: (02) 6655 2092
Email: sabell@midcoast.com.au

Clifton Hill Zendo

c/- Paul Boston
17 Clive Street
Alphington, 3078
Melbourne, Victoria
Telephone: (03) 9499 2671

Everyday Zen Group

P.O. Box 1626
Milton, 4064
Brisbane, Queensland
Telephone: (07) 3870 1274

Email: ezg@powerup.com.au

Internet site: www.powerup.com.au/~ezg/

Lineage: Ordinary Mind Zen School

Jikishoan Zen Buddhist Community

PO Box 234

2/23 Raleigh Street

Essendon, 3040

Melbourne, Victoria

Telephone: (03) 9370 5847

Email: tokuzen@aol.com or jikishoan@aol.com

Tradition: Soto Zen

Teacher: Ekai Korematsu Osho

Kuan Yin Meditation Centre

183 Ballina Road

Lismore Heights, 2480

Lismore, New South Wales

Telephone: (02) 6624 3355

Fax: (02) 6624 3360

Lineage: Diamond Sangha

Teacher: Subhana Barzaghi

Melbourne Zen Group

48 Glen Park Road

Eltham North, 3095

Melbourne, Victoria

Contact: David Hicks

Telephone: (03) 9439 1845

Internet site: home.vicnet.net.au/~zenmzg/

Lineage: Diamond Sangha

Teacher: Subhana Barzaghi

Mountain Moon Sangha

4 Geelong Street

East Brisbane 4169

Brisbane, Queensland

Contact: Jan Millwood

Telephone: (07) 3895 8080

E-mail: jan@thehub.com.au

Internet site: smople.thehub.com.au/~jan/mms/

Lineage: Sanbo Kyodan

Teacher: Roselyn Stone

Mountains and Rivers Zen Group

Room 1, 2nd Floor

71 Liverpool Street

Hobart, 7000

Tasmania

Contact: Ross Coward

Telephone: (03) 6234 9080

Lineage: Ordinary Mind Zen School

Open Way Zen Centre

P.O. Box 993

Byron Bay, 2481

New South Wales

Contact: Helen Burns

Telephone: (02) 6680 8782

Fax: (02) 6680 8782

Email: openway@lis.net.au

Lineage: Open Way

Teacher: Hogen Daido Yamahata

Satsuma Dojo (Zen Centre)

14 Orient Avenue,

Mitcham, 3132

Melbourne, Victoria

Telephone: (03) 9874 3537

Teacher: Andre Sollier

Sydney Zen Centre

251 Young Street

Annandale, 2034

Sydney, New South Wales

Telephone: (02) 9660 2993

Internet site: www.buddhanet.net/ba27.htm

Lineage: Diamond Sangha

Teacher: Subhana Barzaghi

The Way of Zen

GPO Box 3399
Sydney, 2001
New South Wales
Contact: Dawn Hughes
Telephone: (02) 9440 8408
Lineage: Sanbo Kyodan
Teacher: Ama Samy

Zen Group A. Z. I.

11 Linkmead Avenue
Clontarf, 2093
Sydney, New South Wales
Contact: Carole Bourgeois
Lineage: Taisen Deshimaru

Zen Group of Western Australia

PO Box 8441
Stirling Street
Perth, 6849
Western Australia
Telephone: (08) 9430 9255
Email: mferrier@space.net.au or mary@viacorp.com
Internet site: www.space.net.au/~zen/
Lineage: Diamond Sangha
Teacher: Ross Bolleter

Zen Open Circle

C/ Christopher Cormack
The Mind The Eye Publishing Group
PO Box 1065
Darlinghurst, 1300
Sydney, New South Wales
Telephone: (02) 9331 661
Fax: (02) 9331 6149
Email: chris@tnte.com.au
Lineage: Pacific Zen Institute and Diamond Sangha (through John Tarrant and Ross Bolleter)
Teacher: Susan Murphy

Appendix B: Diamond Sangha Affiliates World-wide

Empty Sky

c/- Judith Evans
313 Sunset Terrace
Amarillo, TX 79106
America
Telephone: (806) 373 6740
Fax: (806) 381 7814
Email: jbevans@amaonline

Garden Island Sangha

c/- Lloyd Miyashiro
6585 Waipouli Road
Kapaa, HI 96746
America
Telephone: (808) 822 4794.

Harbor Sangha

1032 Irving Street
San Francisco, CA 94121
America
Telephone: (415) 241-8807
Email: dkdan@slip.net
Internet site: www.zendo.com/cds.html

Honolulu Diamond Sangha

2747 Waiomao Road
Honolulu, HI 96816
America

Telephone: (808) 7351347

Fax: (808) 739 9461

Email: hsangha@ALOHA.NET

Kuan-Yin Meditation Centre

183 Ballina Road

Lismore Heights, 2480

Lismore, New South Wales

Australia

Telephone: (02) 6624 3355

Fax: (02) 6624 3360

Maitai Zendo

4A Mayroyd Terrace

Nelson

New Zealand

Telephone/Fax: (613) 548 2602

Email: MaitaiZen@xtra.co.nz

Internet site: www.zendo.org.nz

Maui Zendo

PO Box 1947

Wailuku, HI 96793

America

Melbourne Zen Group

48 Glen Park Road

Eltham North, 3095

Melbourne, Victoria

Australia

Contact: David Hicks

Telephone: (03) 9439 1845

Internet site: home.vicnet.net.au/~zenmzg/

Mountain Cloud Zen Centre

7241 Old Santa Fe Trail

Santa Fe, NM 87505

America

Telephone: (505) 988 4396

Email: mczenctr@hotmail.com

Internet site: members.Tripod.com/~mczc/Home.html

One Ground Sangha

Lasalle-Haus

Bad Schoenbrunn

CH-6313 Edillbach/Zug

Switzerland

Telephone: (41) 757 1414

Fax (41) 757 1413

Ring of Bone Zendo

PO Box 510

North San Juan, CA 95960

America

Sydney Zen Centre

251 Young Street

Annandale, 2034

Sydney, New South Wales

Australia

Telephone: (02) 9660 2993

Internet site: www.buddhanet.net/ba27.htm

Three Treasures Sangha

PO Box 12542

Seattle, WA 98111

America

Telephone: (206) 324 5373

Zen Centre of Denver

3101 West 31st Avenue

Denver, CO 80211

America

Telephone: (303) 455 1500

Fax: (303) 455 1062

Email: DZCenter@aol.com

Internet site: members.aol.com/DZCenter/index.html

Zen Desert Sangha

PO Box 44122

Tucson, AZ 85733-4122

America

Telephone: (520) 327 8460

Email: zds@azstarnet.com

Internet site: www.delegation.org/lame/zds/

Zendo Shobo An

Av. San Martin y Antardida

5111 La Quebrada

Rio Ceballos

PCIA de Cordoba

Argentina

Fax: (303) 455 1062

Zen Group Leverkusen

Rolf Drosten Roshi

Wilhelm Busch Strasse 4

D 51373 Leverkusen

Germany

Zen Group of Western Australia

PO Box 8441

Stirling Street

Perth, 6849

Western Australia

Australia

Telephone: (08) 9385 6024

Email: mferrier@space.net.au or mary@viacorp.com

Internet site: www.space.net.au/~zen/

Appendix C: Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha

I. COMMON GROUND

A. The Diamond Sangha descends from both Soto and Rinzaï traditions, through the Harada-Yasutani line, and is especially faithful to the teachings of Robert Aitken, Roshi.

B. We affirm the Diamond Sangha as a lay Zen Buddhist organisation with traditional teacher-to-student transmission of the Dharma. The emphasis on lay-practice does not exclude extended residential training programs or participation by ordained members of other traditions. We seek to apply the Dharma to lay life, and strive to make our program accessible. The Diamond Sangha is egalitarian, avoids exploitation in all its forms, and encourages engagement in constructive environmental and social actions.

C. Teachers are Sangha members who have received formal permission to teach and thereafter make teaching an aspect of their practice. Teachers develop spiritual authority over time through their faithful embodiment of the precepts, the depth of their insight, and their manifest capacity to teach. Transmission is recognised as an essential step in this process.

D. Our ritual forms and procedures are a basis for continuity and common ground among the sanghas in the network. It is not intended or expected that they be performed uniformly, and we acknowledge that they will evolve in

each local sangha as appropriate to its cultural milieu. The forms and procedures referred to include (but are not limited to): zazen, interviews or dokusan, sesshin, sutras and chanting, talks or teisho, and physical settings.

II. SELECTION OF TEACHERS

- A. It is the responsibility of each affiliate to engage or discharge its own teachers.
- B. To be eligible as a candidate for selection to teacher status in an affiliate, one must be a Diamond Sangha Teacher, a Diamond Sangha Apprentice Teacher, or a teacher duly authorised in the larger line descended from Harada Sogaku Roshi.
- C. The selection process should include definite means of ascertaining whether a teacher is acceptable to the membership of the affiliate before she/he is invited to become its teacher. There should also be a definite process of termination of a relationship with a teacher.
- D. These provisions do not pertain to visiting teachers, who may be from other lines of succession.

III. ORGANISATION

- A. Each local sangha shall be autonomous.
- B. The term 'Diamond Sangha' designates the network of affiliated sanghas. The Honolulu group will now be known as the 'Honolulu Diamond Sangha.'
- C. A Communications Office will foster communication among the affiliate sanghas. Its functions will include, but not be limited to, facilitating network decisions regarding affiliation, disaffiliation, the choice of time and place of general Diamond Sangha meetings, and communication to handle problem solving. Communication can be facilitated by the Communications Office through a variety of means including Faxing, a newsletter, co-ordinating an annual retreat or conference, letters, and Telephone calls.

D. The work of the Communications office will be assumed by an affiliate sangha on a voluntary basis and shared and/or shifted as needed. Costs of this office are expected to be minimal. The local sangha hosting the office may ask for financial help from the other sanghas.

IV. AFFILIATION

A. To be considered an affiliate of the Diamond Sangha, a local sangha must:

1. be formally connected with a Diamond Sangha teacher. (It is not necessary that the teacher be in residence.)
2. subscribe to all the points of common ground, listed in item I above.
3. have established a regular schedule for group practice of zazen.
4. participate in the Diamond Sangha network.

B. Individuals wishing to be members of the Diamond Sangha as a whole would need to join an affiliate.

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² Ursula King, "Some Reflections on Sociological Approaches to the Study of Modern Hinduism," *Numen* 36 (1989): 73.

³ Michael Pye, "The Transplantation of Religions," *Numen* 16 (1969): 239.

⁴ Helen Waterhouse, *Buddhism in Bath: Adaptation and Authority*. Monograph Series, Community Religions Project (Leeds: Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Leeds, 1997), 239.

⁵ Michelle Spuler, "Characteristics of Buddhism in the Australia," *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 15, no. 1 (2000): 29--44.

⁶ Charles Prebish, "Ethics and Integration in American Buddhism," *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 2 (1995), jbe.la.psu.edu/2/pre3abs.html: 132.

⁷ Baumann, "The Dharma Has Come West": 204--6.

⁸ Martin Baumann, "Methodological Smugness and the Transplantation of Symbolic Systems: A Reply to Eva K. Neumaier-Dargyay," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 8, no. 4 (1996): 368.

⁹ Elliot R. Barkan, "Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society: A Model of Ethnicity - From Contact to Assimilation," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14, no. 2 (1995): 39.

¹ These are explained in the Glossary of Terms.

² This description is often cited but not referenced. For example, it is contained in: Stephen Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West: The Encounter of Buddhism and Western Culture: 543 BCE--1992* (London: Aquarian, 1994), 212; Stephan Schuhmacher and Gert Werner, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Eastern Philosophy and*

Religion (Boston: Shambhala, 1994), 442; and Nancy Wilson Ross, ed., *The World of Zen: An East-West Anthology* (New York: Random House, 1960), 5.

³ Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (London: University Press of America, 1982), 92.

⁴ Schuhmacher and Werner, *The Encyclopaedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion*, 321.

⁵ Susan Murcott and Deborah Hopkinson, "The Kahawai Koans," in *Not Mixing up Buddhism: Essays on Women and Buddhist Practice*, eds. Deborah Hopkinson, Michelle Hill and Eileen Kiera (n. p.: White Pine Press, 1986), 31. For further information on koans refer to T. Matthew Ciolek, ed., *Zen Buddhism Koan Study Pages*, www.ciolek.com/WWWVLPages/ZenPages/KoanStudy.html, 14 June 2000.

⁶ Factual information for this section has been obtained from: Andrew Rawlinson, *The Book of Enlightened Masters: Western Teachers in Asian Traditions* (Chicago: Open Court, 1997); Robert H. Sharf "Sanbokyodan: Zen and the Way of the New Religions," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 22, nos. 3--4 (1995): 417--58; Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West*, 205--20; Ruben L. F. Habito, "No Longer Buddhist Nor Christian," *Buddhist Christian Studies* no. 10 (1990): 231--37; and Yamada Koun, "The Stature of Yasutani Hakuun Roshi," trans. Yamada Koun and Robert Aitken, *Eastern Buddhist* 7, no. 2 (1974): 120.

⁷ Roshi is the honorific used to denote an authorised teacher or Zen master.

⁸ Helen Tworkov, *Zen in America: Profiles of Five Teachers* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1989), 13.

⁹ Henry C. Finney, "American Zen's 'Japan Connection': A Critical Case Study of Zen Buddhism's Diffusion to the West," *Sociological Analysis* 52, no. 4 (1991): 387.

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¹² Shiva Vasi, "The Religious Settlement of Zen Buddhism in Australia: A Test Case for Stark and Bainbridge's Theory of Religious Conversion," seminar presented at the New Zealand Religious Studies and the Australian Association for the Study of Religions joint conference, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1996.

¹³ Brief biographies of Harada, Yasutani and Yamada are contained in Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West*, 207--11. Information on Yasutani is also available in Yamada, "The Stature of Yasutani Hakuun Roshi."

¹⁴ Habito, "No Longer Buddhist nor Christian": 234--35.

¹⁵ Sharf, "Sanbokyodan" : 439.

¹⁶ Ciolek, ed., *Harada-Yasutani School of Zen Buddhism*, www.ciolek.com/WWWVLPages/ZenPages/HaradaYasutani.html, 9 October 2000. It is likely that the total number is higher than twenty-eight, as very few Japanese successors are included in this listing.

¹⁷ Jiho Sargent, "COMMENTS>Sambo Kyodan Statistics - Correction," email to zenBuddhism mailing list <zenBuddhism@viva.com>, 30 May 1998.

¹⁸ Sharf, "Sanbokyodan": 437.

¹⁹ A good overview of Buddhism's history in America is provided in Charles S. Prebish, *Luminous Passage: The Practice and Study of Buddhism in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 1--50. Information on other Western countries include: Martin Baumann, *Buddhism in Europe: An Annotated Bibliography on its Historical Development and Contemporary State of Affairs*, www.rewi.uni-

hannover.de/for4.htm, January 1998; and Paul Croucher, *Buddhism in Australia 1848-1988* (Kensington, New South Wales: New South Wales University Press, 1989).

²⁰ Some information on Japanese Buddhism in South America is available in: Cristina Moreira da Rocha, "Zen Buddhism in Brazil: Japanese or Brazilian?" *Journal of Global Buddhism* 1 (2000), 31--60, <http://jgb.la.psu.edu/1/derocha001.html>; Cristina Rocha, "The Appropriation of Zen Buddhism in Brazil," *Japan Studies Review* 4 (2000), 33--52; and Peter B. Clarke, "The Cultural Impact of New Religions in Latin and Central America and the Caribbean with Special Reference to Japanese New Religions," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (June 1995): 117--26. Information on South American groups is available from *BuddhaNet's Buddhist Americas South American Buddhist Directory*, www.buddhanet.net/budc_sa.htm, 2000; and Cristina Rocha, *Buddhism in Brazil: A Bibliography*, sites.uol.com.br/cmrocha, n.d. The best source of information on Buddhism in Africa is M. Clasquin and J. S. Kruger, eds., *Buddhism and Africa* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 1999).

²¹ Martin Baumann, "Global Buddhism: Developmental Periods, Regional Histories and a New Analytical Perspective," *Journal of Global Buddhism*, forthcoming.

²² The use of these terms is widespread. Prebish provides a good overview of the usage of these terms and their implications in *Luminous Passage*, 57-63.

²³ Cuong Tu Nguyen and A. W. Barber, "Vietnamese Buddhism in North America: Tradition and Acculturation," in *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, eds. Charles S. Prebish and Kenneth K. Tanaka (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 100-15.

²⁴ Mark R. Mullins, "The Transplantation of Religion in Comparative Sociological Perspective," *Japanese Religions* 16 (1990): 55.

²⁵ Donald Morreale, ed., *The Complete Guide to Buddhist America* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1998).

²⁶ Little work has been done on this community. Smith examines the lack of conversion by people of African, Caribbean or Asian descent (which she terms "black people") in Sharon Smith, "Widening the Circle: Black Communities and Western Buddhist Convert Sanghas," *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* On-line Conference on "Socially Engaged Buddhism," April 7-14, 2000, <http://jbe.la.psu.edu/7/smith001.html>.; and Hooks discusses the racism she encounters by other Buddhists as a black Buddhist (Bell Hooks, "Waking up to Racism," *Tricycle: The Buddhist Review* Fall 1994: 42--5). See also Jan Willis, "Buddhism and Race: An African American Baptist-Buddhist Perspective," in *Buddhist Women on the Edge: Contemporary Perspectives from the Western Frontier*, ed. Marianne Dresser (Berkeley, California: North Atlantic Books, 1996), 81--91.

²⁷ Recent studies that identify key characteristics of American Buddhism include: Prebish, *Luminous Passage*; Prebish and Tanaka, *The Faces of Buddhism in America*; and Duncan Ryuken Williams and Christopher S. Queen, *American Buddhism: Methods and Findings in Recent Scholarship*, *American Buddhism: Methods and Findings in Recent Scholarship* (Richmond, UK: Curzon Press, 1991). For European Buddhism refer to Martin Baumann, "Creating a European Path to Nirvana: Historical and Contemporary Developments of Buddhism in Europe," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 10, no. 1 (1995): 55--70; and Detlef Kantowsky, "Buddhist Modernism in the West/Germany," in *Buddhism and Christianity: Interactions Between East and West*, ed. Ulrich Everding (Colombo: Goethe-Institut, 1995), 101--15.

²⁸ Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 3. This chapter contains a good history of Zen's growth in America. Brief information about Zen's development in Europe is provided in Baumann, "Creating a European Path to Nirvana."

²⁹ Robert Edward Vryheid, "An American Buddhist Monastery: Sociocultural Aspects of Soto Zen Training" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1981).

³⁰ Ford provides a good overview of the major Zen traditions in the West (James Ishmael Ford, "Holding the Lotus to the Rock: Reflections on the Future of Zen in the West," www.zendo.org.nz/pages/holdingthelotustotherock.html, 1998).

³¹ Historical information has been obtained from: Rawlinson, *The Book of Enlightened Masters*, 156; Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 23--64; Robert Aitken, "The Lay Zen Buddhist Sangha in the West," *Mind Moon Circle* March 1984: 4; *Diamond Sangha*, <ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/Buddhism-zen/zen-groups/about-diamond-sangha.txt>, 24 January 1992; and Robert Aitken, "Changes: Implications of the Shoshike Status," manuscript, 6 February 1983.

³² Further biographical information is available from: Anne Aitken, "In Spite of Myself," *Zen Group of Western Australia* Winter 1994: 4--10; and T. Matthew Ciolek, *Anne Aitken (1911--1994) of the Diamond Sangha, Hawaii*, email to zenBuddhism mailing list <zenBuddhism-l@coombs.anu.edu.au> and zendo mailing list <zendo@lysator.liu.se>, 16 June 1994, <ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/Buddhism-zen/zen-people/about-a-aitken.txt>, 5 September 1995.

³³ *Diamond Sangha*, <ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/Buddhism-zen/zen-groups/about-diamond-sangha.txt>, 24 January 1992.

³⁴ More detailed information on Robert Aitken's biography is provided by: Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 23--64; and Rawlinson, *The Book of Enlightened Masters*, 156--58.

³⁵ "Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha," n.d. This document is contained in Appendix C.

³⁶ Note that the application of these titles varies in other lineages.

³⁷ Aitken officially retired from teaching in 1997 but still has an active role in the organisation.

³⁸ In 1998 Barzaghi ceased using the title, roshi.

³⁹ Alcalde also works with groups in Mexico and Chile, and indirectly in Uruguay.

⁴⁰ This term is explained in Part Two.

⁴¹ Regularly updated information on the Diamond Sangha lineage is available from Ciolek, *Harada-Yasutani School of Zen Buddhism*.

⁴² A detailed list is of all teachers who have been authorised to teach in the Diamond Sangha network, including those who have chosen not to, is provided by Ciolek, *Harada-Yasutani School of Zen Buddhism*.

⁴³ Croucher, *Buddhism in Australia 1848--1988*. There are also good sections in Terrance McDonnell and Rod Bucknell, "Buddhists," in *Many Faiths, One Nation: A Guide to the Major Faiths and Denominations in Australia*, ed. Ian Gillman (Sydney: Collins, 1988), 318--31; Roderick S. Bucknell, "The Buddhist Experience in Australia," in *Religion and Multiculturalism in Australia: Essays in Honour of Victor Hayes*, ed. Norman Habel. Special Studies in Religion Series, no. 7. (Adelaide: Australian Association for the Study of Religions), 214--24; Enid Adam, *Buddhism in Western Australia* (Perth: The Author, 1995); Robert Humphreys and Rowland Ward, "Buddhism," in *Religious Bodies in Australia*, eds. Robert Humphreys and Rowland Ward, 3rd ed. (Melbourne: The Authors, 1995), 203--12; and Adam and Hughes, *The*

Buddhists in Australia. Other sources include: Chas [Charles] F. Knight, "Buddhism Gets a Hold in Australia," *World Buddhism* 1961: 23--4; M. Pearce, "The Beginnings of Buddhism in Australia," *Karuna* February 1981; P. Masefield, "Buddhism in Australia," *UNIBUDS Annual Magazine* 1981/82: 18--21; Klaas de Jong, *A Short Account of the Spread of Southern Buddhism in Australia and Queensland in Particular* (Brisbane: Dhammadinna House, 1982); and Graeme Lyall, "Ethnic Buddhists in New South Wales," in *Religion and Ethnic Identity: An Australian Study*, ed. Abe I. Wade Ata, vol. 3 (Richmond, Victoria: Spectrum, 1989), 6--30. Also available at www.zip.com.au/~lyallg/ethnic.htm.

⁴⁴ Adam and Hughes, *The Buddhists in Australia*: 43.

⁴⁵ Vietnam 31 per cent, Malaysia 7.5 per cent, Cambodia 6.8 per cent, Thailand 6.2 per cent, Sri Lanka 5.2 per cent, China 4.6 per cent, Laos 3.4 per cent, Taiwan 2.5 per cent, and Indonesia 2.2 per cent (Hughes, *Religion in Australia*, 17).

⁴⁶ Humphreys and Ward, *Buddhism*, 411--13; Adam and Hughes, *The Buddhists in Australia*, 60.

⁴⁷ Spuler, "Characteristics of Buddhism in Australia," 31.

⁴⁸ Dean Jones, "Statistics on Australian Buddhist Organisations," www.buddhanet.net/badstats.htm, 2000.

⁴⁹ This term is commonly used to refer to the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, but Batchelor also includes Arya Maitreya Mandala in this category (Stephen Batchelor, "Buddhism and European Culture in Europe," in *Religion in Europe: Contemporary Perspectives*, eds. Sean Gill, Gavin D'Costa, and Ursula King (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1994), 97.)

⁵⁰ BuddhaNet does not use this classification.

⁵¹ Vasi, "Religious Settlement of Zen Buddhism in Australia."

⁵² Vasi, "Religious Settlement of Zen Buddhism in Australia."

⁵³ More biographical information on John Tarrant is available from Pacific Zen Institute, *Our Teachers*, www.pacificzen.org/teachers.html, n.d.

⁵⁴ A brief biography of Barzaghi is included in Bonnie Allen, "An Interview with Subhana Barzaghi," *Blind Donkey: Journal of the Diamond Sangha* 16, no. 1 (1996): 4--7, 10--14. Bolleter's biographical information is provided in the Zen Group of Western Australia, "Orientation Notes," n.d.

⁵⁵ Charlotte Joko Beck's lineage, the Ordinary Mind Zen School, is closely related to the Diamond Sangha. A lineage chart illustrating this connection is contained in Ciolek, *Harada-Yasutani School of Zen Buddhism*; and Rawlinson, *The Book of Enlightened Masters*, 315--17.

⁵⁶ Melbourne Zen Group, "1996 Annual General Meeting: Summary Report," *Vast and Ordinary News (Melbourne Zen Group)* August 1996: 8. Alcalde has also led a retreat in Melbourne for the Clifton Hill Zendo, but not in his capacity as a Diamond Sangha teacher. The Clifton Hill Zendo is not associated with the Diamond Sangha.

¹¹ James Clyde Browning, "Tarthang Tulku and the Quest for an American Buddhism" (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1986).

² Waterhouse, *Buddhism in Bath: Adaptation and Authority*.

³ Ursula King, "Some Reflections on Sociological Approaches to the Study of Modern Hinduism," *Numen* 36 (1989): 75.

⁴ Some descriptions of dojo percussion instruments used in Diamond Sangha rituals are provided in: Robert Aitken, *Encouraging Words: Zen Buddhist Teachings for Western Students* (New York and San Francisco: Pantheon Books, 1993), 202--04.

⁵ Melbourne Zen Group, "What is Zazen?" home.vicnet.net.au/~zenmzg/zazen.htm, n.d.

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- ⁶ Adelaide Zen Group, *Adelaide Zen Group*, welcome.to/azg, n.d.
- ⁷ Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (London: University Press of America, 1982), 92.
- ⁸ Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 92.
- ⁹ Jacob Needleman, *The New Religions* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1970), 43.
- ¹⁰ Cited in Paul David Numrich, *Old Wisdom in the New World: Americanisation in Two Immigrant Theravada Buddhist Temples* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 122--23.
- ¹¹ David L. Preston, "Meditative Ritual Practice and Spiritual Conversion-Commitment: Theoretical Implications Based on the Case of Zen," *Sociological Analysis* 43, no. 3 (1982): 260--61.
- ¹² Vryheid, "An American Buddhist Monastery," 8.
- ¹³ Quoted in David L. Preston, *The Social Organisation of Zen Practice: Constructing Transcultural Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 70.
- ¹⁴ Further detail can be found at: Adelaide Zen Group, *Adelaide Zen Group*, and Melbourne Zen Group, "What is Zazen?"
- ¹⁵ Adelaide Zen Group, *Adelaide Zen Group*; Melbourne Zen Group, "What is Zazen?"; and Zen Group of Western Australia, "Orientation Notes."
- ¹⁶ Robert Aitken, *Taking the Path of Zen* (San Francisco: Northpoint Press, 1982), chapter 9. See also Robert Aitken, "A Matter to be Made Clear: Koans and Teacher Training," *Blind Donkey: Journal of the Diamond Sangha* 15, no. 2 (1995): 16--22; and John Tarrant, *Working With Koans*, sunsite.unc.edu/pub/academic/religiousstudies/Buddhism/DEFA/Zen/koanwork.zip, 5 October 1993.

¹⁷ For further information on koans refer to T. Matthew Ciolek, ed., *Zen Buddhism Koan Study Pages*.

¹⁸ Deborah Hopkinson, preface to Hopkinson, Hill and Kiera, *Not Mixing up Buddhism*, 2--5.

¹⁹ Murcott and Hopkinson, "The Kahawai Koans," 32.

²⁰ Kadowaki Kakichi, "Review of *Zen and the Ways* by Trevor Leggett," *Eastern Buddhist* 13, no. 2 (1980): 137--41.

²¹ Eido T. Shimano, "Zen Koans," in *Zen: Tradition and Transition*, ed. Kenneth Kraft (New York: Grove Press, 1988), 83--7.

²² Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Joseph S. O'Leary (New York: Weatherhill, 1992), 127--30.

²³ Adelaide Zen Group, *Adelaide Zen Group*; and Zen Group of Western Australia, "Orientation Notes."

²⁴ Zen Group of Western Australia, n.d. Much of this information is also available from the AZG's Internet site: Adelaide Zen Group, *Adelaide Zen Group*; and that of the Melbourne Zen Group, "What is Zazen?"

²⁵ Teishos by Diamond Sangha teachers are located at: T. Matthew Ciolek, ed., *20--21st Century Zen People and Their Teachings*, www.ciolek.com/WWWVLPages/ZenPages/ZenPeople.html, 20 March 2000.

²⁶ For further information, refer to: Maitai Zendo, *Zen Distance Training*, www.zendo.org.nz/training.htm, n.d.

²⁷ A good discussion of this is contained in Prebish, *Luminous Passage*, 203--32.

²⁸ Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 119.

²⁹ Kornfield, "Is Buddhism Changing in North America?" xxiv.

³⁰ Quoted in Allen, "An Interview with Subhana Barzaghi": 12.

³¹ John Tarrant, *The Light Inside the Dark: Zen, Soul, and the Spiritual Life* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998).

³² John Tarrant, "Notes From the Teachers: Making the Road," *California Diamond Sangha Newsletter*, December 1999/January 2000, www.pacificzen.org/Nws0001/NwsLtrFrameSet.htm.

³³ Finney, "American Zen's 'Japan Connection'": 395.

³⁴ Gil Fronsdal, "Insight Meditation in the United States: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness," in Prebish and Tanaka, 176.

³⁵ David Bubna-Litic, "Zen and the Dreamworld of the Shaman," *Mind Moon Circle* Spring 1996: 28.

³⁶ Rocha, "Zen Buddhism in Brazil: Japanese or Brazilian?"

³⁷ Copies of all of the Diamond Sangha sutras are contained in: Aitken, *Encouraging Words*, 168--95; and Robert Aitken, *Diamond Sangha Daily Zen Sutras [December 1991 version]*, www.ciolek.com/WWWVLPages/ZenPages/Daily-Zen-Sutras.html, 28 March 2000.

³⁸ Marilyn Harman, "Women and Zen Ritual," *Diamond Sangha* (new series) 1 no.4 (1976): 8.

³⁹ Aitken, *Encouraging Words*, 181; and Aitken, *Diamond Sangha Daily Zen Sutras*.

⁴⁰ Amy Lavine, "Tibetan Buddhism in America: The Development of an American Vajrayana," in Prebish and Tanaka, *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, 114.

⁴¹ Dharmachari Subhuti [Alex Kennedy], *Buddhism For Today: A Portrait of a New Buddhist Movement*, 2nd ed. (Glasgow: Windhorse Publications, 1988), 67.

⁴² Helen Tworkov, "Going Upstream: An Interview with Bhante Henepola Gunaratana," *Tricycle: The Buddhist Review*, Spring 1995: 40.

⁴³ Baumann, "Creating a European Path to Nirvana": 61.

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- ⁴⁴ Adachi Zui-Un, "Thoughts Concerning the Kyosaku," manuscript, n.d.
- ⁴⁵ Zen Group of Western Australia, "Orientation Notes."
- ⁴⁶ Jiyu Kennett, "Concerning the Correct Use of the Kyosaku," *Zen Meditation: A Special Issue of the Journal of Shasta Abbey* 7, nos. 9--10 (1976): 24.
- ⁴⁷ Philip Kapleau, *Zen: Merging of East and West* (New York: Anchor Books, 1989), xxvi.
- ⁴⁸ Lenore Friedman, *Meetings with Remarkable Women: Buddhist Teachers in America* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1987), 48.
- ⁴⁹ This schedule was used at the ZGWA's Transmission Sesshin in February 1997.
- ⁵⁰ More details on sesshin format and structure is available in: Robert Aitken, *Some Words About Sesshin For Newcomers to Zen Practice*, <ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/Buddhism-zen/teachings/aitken-robert/aitken-on-sesshin-conduct.txt>, n.d.
- ⁵¹ Aitken, Robert. *Sesshin Cautions*, <ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/Buddhism-zen/ritual/diamond-sangha/current-texts/sesshin-cautions-a.txt>, 15 October 1995.
- ⁵² Quoted in Allen, "An Interview with Subhana Barzaghi": 13.
- ⁵³ Sandy Boucher, *Turning the Wheel: American Women Creating the New Buddhism* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988).
- ⁵⁴ Friedman, *Meetings with Remarkable Women*, 20.
- ⁵⁵ Arnold Meyer, "The Gift of Darkness," *New Age* 16, no. 6 (1999): 52--4.
- ⁵⁶ The teacher installation ceremony is a ceremony in which a group adopts a teacher, not to be confused with the traditional transmission ceremony in which a teacher is authorised to teach.

⁵⁷ Aitken's version of the ceremony is available from: Robert Aitken, *The Mind of Clover: Essays in Zen Buddhist Ethics* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1984), 175-76; and James Hughes, "Buddhism and Abortion: A Western Approach," in *Buddhism and Abortion*, ed. Damien Keown (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 193-94.

⁵⁸ Tenzin Palmo, "Buddhist Monasticism in the West," *Sakyadhita* 5, no. 2 (1994), www2.hawaii.edu/~tsomo/NewsLetters/5-2.htm#Palmo.

⁵⁹ Elizabeth Harris, "A Personal Report on the Third International Conference of Buddhist Women," *Sakyadhita* 5, no. 2 (1994), www2.hawaii.edu/~tsomo/NewsLetters/5-2.htm#Personal.

⁶⁰ Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 144-45.

⁶¹ Cited in Lauren Marie Schiller, "Buddhism in Contemporary America" (M. Science diss., Southern Connecticut University, 1994), 76.

⁶² Subhana Barzaghi, *The Spirit of Things*, Radio National interview, 15 June 1997.

⁶³ Subhana Barzaghi, *The Spirit of Things*.

⁶⁴ Ford, "Holding the Lotus to the Rock."

⁶⁵ Subhana Barzaghi and Diana Levy, "Babes in the Wood," *Mind Moon Circle* Winter 1990: 18.

⁶⁶ California Diamond Sangha and Matthew Stevens, "California Diamond Sangha Vision Statement," *California Diamond Sangha Newsletter* January 1991: 3.

⁶⁷ Ford, "Holding the Lotus to the Rock."

⁶⁸ Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 165.

⁶⁹ These requirements are outlined in "Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha."

⁷⁰ Subhana Barzaghi, "Discussion Document," manuscript, 26 June 1997.

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- ⁷² Robert Aitken, "On Zen Teaching," *Diamond Sangha Newsletter* July 1991: 1--2, [ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/Buddhism-zen/teachings/aitken-robert/aitken-koan-syllabus.txt](http://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/Buddhism-zen/teachings/aitken-robert/aitken-koan-syllabus.txt), 19 May 1993.
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- ⁷⁶ G. Victor Sogen Hori, "Japanese Zen in America: Americanising the Face in the Mirror," in Prebish and Tanaka, *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, 55.
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- ⁸³ Robert Aitken, "Robert Aitken Responds," *Tricycle: The Buddhist Review* Fall 1999: 67--8.
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- ⁸⁹ For example, Schiller outlines major scandals in Buddhism in America in the 1980s: Schiller, "Buddhism in Contemporary America," 52--9.
- ⁹⁰ Cited in Schiller, "Buddhism in Contemporary America," 60.
- ⁹¹ Sugata Schneider, "The Long Learning Curve: An Interview with Richard Baker Roshi," *Tricycle: The Buddhist Review* Winter 1994: 36.
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- ⁹³ Rita M. Gross, "Helping the Iron Bird Fly: Western Buddhist Women and Issues of Authority in the Late 1990s," in Prebish and Tanaka, *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, 242.
- ⁹⁴ Stuart Lachs, "Means of Authorization: Establishing Hierarchy in Ch'an/Zen Buddhism in America," revised version of a seminar presented at the 1999 (Boston) Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, www.human.toyogakuen-u.ac.jp/~acmuller/aar-bs/1999/lachs.htm, n.d.
- ⁹⁵ Sarah Harding, "The Baby and the Bathwater: The Challenges of Tibetan Teacher Training in the West," *Blind Donkey: Journal of the Diamond Sangha* 15, no. 2 (Winter 1995): 26.
- ⁹⁶ Sandra Bell, "'Crazy Wisdom,' Charisma, and the Transmission of Buddhism in the United States," *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 2, no. 1 (October 1998): 55--75.

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- ⁹⁹ Noelle Oxenhandler, "A Private Practice in Buddhism," *Blind Donkey: Journal of the Diamond Sangha*, 15 no. 2 (Winter 1995): 30--1.
- ¹⁰⁰ Sogen Hori, "Japanese Zen in America," 71.
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- ¹⁰² Jack Kornfield, "Insight Meditation Teachers Code of Ethics," *Gassho (Electronic Journal of DharmaNet International and the Global Online Sangha)* 1, no. 4 (1994), <http://www.dharmanet.org/News/gass0104.nws>.
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- ¹⁰⁶ Sydney Zen Centre, "Guidelines for Meeting and Decision-Making Processes," April 1995.
- ¹⁰⁷ "Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha."
- ¹⁰⁸ Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 55.
- ¹⁰⁹ Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 203.
- ¹¹⁰ Browning, "Tarthang Tulku and the Quest for an American Buddhism," 204.
- ¹¹¹ Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 148.
- ¹¹² Zen Group of Western Australia, *Social Events and Publications*, www.space.net.au/~zen/, n.d.

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¹¹⁵ “Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha.”

¹¹⁶ Aitken, *On Zen Teaching*.

¹¹⁷ Susan Murphy, “Mahasangha Gathering,” *Mind Moon Circle* Autumn 1997: 24--5.

¹¹⁸ Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 100.

¹¹⁹ Vryheid, "An American Buddhist Monastery," 408.

¹²⁰ Richard Hughes Seager, *Buddhism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 232.

¹²¹ Seager, *Buddhism in America*, 233.

¹²² Martin Collcutt, “Epilogue: Problems of Authority in Western Zen,” in Kraft, *Zen: Tradition and Transition*, 205.

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¹²⁷ “Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha.”

¹²⁸ Prebish, “Ethics and Integration in American Buddhism,” 126.

¹²⁹ Christopher S. Queen, "Introduction," in Williams and Queen, *American Buddhism*: xix.

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- ¹³¹ Prebish, *Luminous Passage*, 53
- ¹³² Nguyen and Barber, "Vietnamese Buddhism in North America," 143.
- ¹³³ Paul David Numrich, "Local Inter-Buddhist Associations in North America," in Williams and Queen, *American Buddhism*, 117--42.
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- ¹³⁶ Sogen Hori, "Japanese Zen in America," 65.
- ¹³⁷ Enid Adam, "Buddhist Women in Australia," *Journal of Global Buddhism* 1 (2000): 138--153.
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- ¹⁴⁰ Friedman, *Meetings with Remarkable Women*, 25--6.
- ¹⁴¹ Karma Lekshe Tsomo, ed., *Buddhism Through American Women's Eyes* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1995).
- ¹⁴² Harman, "Women and Zen Ritual," 30.
- ¹⁴³ Jan Chozen Soule, "Taking Realisation Into Everyday Life," in Sidor, *A Gathering of Spirit*, 38.
- ¹⁴⁴ Kornfield, "American Buddhism," xiv--xv.
- ¹⁴⁵ Rita M. Gross, *Buddhism After Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

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- ¹⁴⁷ Queen, "Introduction," in Williams and Queen, *American Buddhism*, xix.
- ¹⁴⁸ Aitken, *The Mind of Clover*; Aitken, *Encouraging Words*.
- ¹⁴⁹ Adelaide Zen Group, *Adelaide Zen Group*.
- ¹⁵⁰ Schiller, "Buddhism in Contemporary America," 81--2.
- ¹⁵¹ Tarthang Tulku, *Skilful Means* (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1978). This book is discussed in Browning, "Tarthang Tulku and the Quest for an American Buddhism," 215--25.
- ¹⁵² Jack Kornfield, *After the Ecstasy, the Laundry: How the Heart Grows Wise on the Spiritual Path* (New York: Bantam Books, 2000).
- ¹⁵³ Floyd Shacklock, *Is There A Revival in Japanese Buddhism Today?* Offprint from the Japanese Christian Quarterly, April 1936: 117--8.
- ¹⁵⁴ Sandra Bell, "Buddhism in Britain: Development and Adaptation" (Ph.D. diss., Durham University, 1991), 190.
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¹⁵⁸ Melbourne Zen Group, "What is Zazen?"

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- ¹⁷⁰ Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West*, 213.
- ¹⁷¹ Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West*, 274.
- ¹⁷² Ama Samy, *Why Did Bodhidharma Come From the West*.
- ¹⁷³ Friedman, *Meetings with Remarkable Women*, 50--2, 62.
- ¹⁷⁴ Fronsdal, "Insight Meditation in the United States," 163--4.
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- ¹⁹⁰ Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 26--7 and 55.
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- ⁸ Kathleen Murphy, “Board Report,” *California Diamond Sangha Newsletter* 1995: 5.
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- ³³ Shiva Vasi, "The Religious Settlement of Zen Buddhism in Australia."
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- ³⁵ Finney, "American Zen's 'Japan Connection'": 395. This article provides an example of how lineage gives legitimacy, documenting an American Zen master's pilgrimage to Japan.
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- ⁴⁶ McLellan, *Many Petals of the Lotus*, 8--9.
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⁵⁵ Pye, *Skilful Means*, 164.

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⁵⁷ Vasi utilises data from fieldwork with Australian Zen groups to examine the process of conversion in Zen, but she does not analyse reasons for conversion (Vasi, "The Religious Settlement of Zen Buddhism in Australia.")

⁵⁸ Emma McCloy Layman, *Buddhism in America* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1976), 264--70.

⁵⁹ Vryheid, "An American Buddhist Monastery," 417--23.

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⁶³ Sandra Bell, "Being Creative With Tradition: Rooting Theravaada Buddhism in Britain," *Journal of Global Buddhism* 1, no. 1 (2000): 1-30.

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⁶⁶ For a more detailed analysis of the relationship between religion and multiculturalism in Australia, refer to: Michelle Spuler, "Multiculturalism in Australia and Its Impact for Religious Traditions," *DISKUS: The On-Disk Journal of International Religious Studies*, 5 (1999), <http://www.uni-marburg.de/fb03/religionswissenschaft/journal/diskus/spuler.html>.

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⁶⁹ Gary D. Bouma, ed., *Many Religions, All Australian: Religious Settlement, Identity and Cultural Diversity* (Kew, Victoria: The Christian Research Association, 1996), 103.

⁷⁰ Quoted in National Multicultural Advisory Council. *Multicultural Australia: The Next Steps Towards and Beyond 2000*, vol. 1 (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995), 2.

⁷¹ Gary D. Bouma, "The Emergence of Religious Plurality in Australia: A Multicultural Society," *Sociology of Religion* 56, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 296.

⁷² Bouma, "The Emergence of Religious Plurality in Australia," 297.

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⁸⁴ Mellor, "The Cultural Translation of Buddhism," 140. See also Mellor, "Protestant Buddhism?" 73--92; Dharmachari Kulananda, "Correspondence: Protestant Buddhism," *Religion* 22 (1992): 101--3; Philip A. Mellor, "The FWBO and Tradition: A Reply to Dharmachari Kulananda," *Religion* 22 (1992): 104--6.

⁸⁵ Mellor, "The Cultural Translation of Buddhism," 371.

⁸⁶ This model is primarily outlined in Baumann, "The Transplantation of Buddhism to Germany." Additional information is also contained in Baumann, "Culture Contact and Valuation."

⁸⁷ Pye, "The Transplantation of Religions": 237--9.

⁸⁸ Baumann, "The Transplantation of Buddhism to Germany": 38--50.

⁸⁹ Pye, "The Transplantation of Religions": 237--8.

⁹⁰ John W. Berry, "Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation," in *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings*, ed. Amado M. Padilla (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980), 11.

⁹¹ Kim and Gudykunst have edited a volume that presents theoretical and research studies that focus primarily on individuals in examining the cross-cultural adaptation process: Young Yun Kim and William B. Gudykunst, eds., *Cross-Cultural Adaptations: Current Approaches* (London: Sage, 1988).

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⁹⁴ Baumann, "The Transplantation of Religions": 50--5.

⁹⁵ Steven Kaplan, "The Africanisation of Missionary Christianity: History and Typology," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 16 (1986): 166--86.

⁹⁶ Michael Pye, "Syncretism Versus Synthesis," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 6, no. 3 (1994): 217--29.

⁹⁷ Berry, "Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation": 12--16.

⁹⁸ Pye, "Syncretism Versus Synthesis": 217--8.

⁹⁹ Barkan, "Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society": 47--8.

¹⁰⁰ Eva K. Neumaier-Dargyay, "Is Buddhism Like a Tomato? Thoughts About the Transplantation of Buddhism to Germany: A Response to Martin Baumann," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 7, no. 2 (1995): 186--7.

¹⁰¹ Baumann, "Methodological Smugness and the Transplantation of Symbolic Systems": 367.

¹⁰² Browning, "Tarthang Tulku and the Quest for an American Buddhism," 2.

¹⁰³ Williams, Cox and Jaffee., *Innovation in Religious Traditions*, 2.

¹⁰⁴ For example, refer to Prebish, *American Buddhism*, 176--93; Numrich, *Old Wisdom in the New World*, 78; and Finney, "American Zen's 'Japan Connection'": 382. To some extent this can also be seen in Daniel A. Metraux, *The Lotus and the Maple Leaf: The Soka Gakkai Buddhist Movement in Canada* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1996): and Bryan Wilson and Karel Dobbelaere, *A Time To Chant: The Soka Gakkai Buddhists in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

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- ¹⁰⁵ Jan Nattier, "Who is a Buddhist: Charting the Landscape of Buddhist America," in Prebish and Tanaka, *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, 184--8.
- ¹⁰⁶ Nattier, "Who is a Buddhist," 186--7.
- ¹⁰⁷ Prebish, *Luminous Passage*, 242.
- ¹⁰⁸ Prebish, *Luminous Passage*, 243.
- ¹⁰⁹ Finney, "American Zen's 'Japan Connection'": 393--5.
- ¹¹⁰ Neumaier-Dargyay, "Is Buddhism Like a Tomato?" 187--8. Goldberg further extends Baumann's model by adding in Said's structures of Orientalism, as she argues that these have affected the transplantation process: Ellen Goldberg, "The Re-Orientation of Buddhism in North America," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 11, no. 4 (1999): 340--56.
- ¹¹¹ An excellent overview of approaches to studying NRMs is provided by H. Paul Chalfant, Robert E. Beckley and C. Eddie Palmer, *Religion in Contemporary Society* (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock, 1994), 249--59.
- ¹¹² Thomas Robbins, Dick Anthony and James Richardson, "Theory and Research on Today's New Religions," *Sociological Analysis* 39, no. 2 (1978): 95--9.
- ¹¹³ Chalfant, Beckley and Palmer, *Religion in Contemporary Society*, 258--9.
- ¹¹⁴ Thomas Robbins and David G. Bromley, "What Have We Learned About New Religions?: New Religious Movements as Experiments," *Religious Studies*, 10, no. 3 (1993): 210--4.
- ¹¹⁵ Finney, "American Zen's 'Japan Connection'": 379--82.
- ¹¹⁶ Janet McLellan, *Many Petals of the Lotus: Five Asian Buddhist Communities in Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 3.
- ¹¹⁷ Numrich, *Old Wisdom in the New World*, 141.

¹¹⁸ Martin Baumann, "Conceptualising Diaspora: The Preservation of Religious Identity in Foreign Parts, Exemplified by Hindu Communities Outside India," *Temenos* 31 (1995): 23--4.

¹¹⁹ Bouma, *Many Religions, All Australian*, 57.

¹ Numrich, *Old Wisdom in the New World*.

² Paul James Rutledge, *The Role of Religion in Ethnic Self-Identity: A Vietnamese Community*. (New York and London: University Press of America, 1985).

³ Frederik Barth, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, ed. Frederik Barth (Oslo: Scandinavian University Books, 1969), 9--38. Other chapters in this book argue similar cases.

⁴ Gerd Baumann, *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-Ethnic London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 16.

⁵ Jan Nattier, "Visible and Invisible: The Politics of Representation in Buddhist America," *Tricycle: The Buddhist Review* 5, no. 1 (1995): 42--9.

⁶ Prebish, *Luminous Passage*, 53--63.

⁷ Stuart Chandler, "Chinese Buddhism in America: Identity and Practice," in Prebish and Tanaka, *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, 13--30.

⁸ Thomas A. Tweed, "Night-Stand Buddhists and Other Creatures: Sympathizers, Adherents and the Study of Religion," in Williams and Queen, *American Buddhism*, 71--90.

⁹ Pye, "The Transplantation of Religions": 235.

¹⁰ Pratom Prasertsak Angurarohita, "Soka Gakkai in Thailand: A Sociological Study of its Emergence, World View, Recruitment Process, and Growth" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993).

¹¹ Trevor Ling, ed., *Buddhist Trends in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993).

¹² Michael M. Ames, "Westernisation or Modernisation: The Case of the Sinhalese Buddhism," *Social Compass* 20 (1973): 139--70.

¹³ Queen, "Introduction."

¹⁴ Gillian Coote, letter to the author, 20 January 1999.