



Flowers on Global and Local Buddhism
the Rock in Canada

Edited by John S. Harding, Victor Sōgen Hori, and Alexander Soucy

Contents

Conventions vii

Acknowledgments xi

Illustrations xiii

Introduction 3

JOHN S. HARDING, VICTOR SÖGEN HORI, AND ALEXANDER
SOUCY

- 1 Buddhist Globalism and the Search for Canadian Buddhism 25
ALEXANDER SOUCY

PART ONE TAKING ROOT

- 2 Flying Sparks: Dissension among the Early Shin Buddhists in Canada 55
MICHIHIRO AMA
- 3 For the Benefit of Many: S.N. Goenka's Vipassana Meditation Movement
in Canada 79
KORY GOLDBERG
- 4 Sitavana: The Theravada Forest Tradition in British Columbia 101
JAMES PLACZEK
- 5 Making a Traditional Buddhist Monastery on Richmond's Highway to
Heaven 129
JACKIE LARM

- 6 Dharma on the Move: Vancouver Buddhist Communities and
Multiculturalism 150
PAUL CROWE

- 7 Buddhist Monasticism in Canada: Sex and Celibacy 173
VICTOR SÖGEN HORI

PART TWO COMMUNICATING THE BUDDHADHARMA

- 8 Teaching Buddhism to Children: The Evolving Sri Lankan Buddhist
Tradition in Multicultural Toronto 201
D. MITRA BARUA

- 9 Reflections on a Canadian Buddhist Death Ritual 225
ANGELA SUMEGI

- 10 Buddhist Prison Outreach in Canada: Legitimizing a Minority Faith 245
PAUL McIVOR

- 11 Correspondence School: Canada, Fluxus, and Zen 267
MELISSA ANNE-MARIE CURLEY

- 12 Shaping Images of Tibet: Negotiating the Diaspora through Ritual, Art,
and Film 287
SARAH F. HAYNES

PART THREE BUDDHIST LIVES

- 13 Dhammadinna and Jayantā: Daughters of the Buddha in Canada 313
MAVIS L. FENN

- 14 Thầy Phổ Tịnh: A Vietnamese Nun's Struggles in Canada 333
ALEXANDER SOUCY

- 15 Leslie Kawamura: Nothing to Add, Nothing to Take Away 355
JOHN S. HARDING

Bibliography 385

Contributors 421

Index 427

Introduction

JOHN S. HARDING, VICTOR SŌGEN HORI, AND
ALEXANDER SOUCY

The title of this book, *Flowers on the Rock*, is inspired by a story about the Japanese Zen monk Sasaki Sōkei-an, one of the first teachers of Zen to come to the West. Sasaki founded the First Zen Institute of America in New York City in 1930. When asked how long it would take before Zen Buddhism became established in the West, he replied that bringing Zen to America was like holding a lotus against a rock and waiting for it to set down roots (Fields 1992, 272).¹ Sasaki uttered those words in the first half of the twentieth century, before Buddhism had started to gain popularity. Since then, various forms of Buddhism from around the world have come to the West, and although many are still struggling to survive, flowers are indubitably starting to take hold on the rock. As in many other countries outside Asia, Buddhism is taking root in Canada.

The study of Buddhism in Canada is still in its infancy. Thus far, aside from a handful of master and doctoral theses, there have been only two full-length books devoted to the study of Buddhism in Canada as a whole: Bruce Matthews' *Buddhism in Canada* (2006) and our first book, *Wild Geese: Buddhism in Canada* (Harding, Hori, and Soucy 2010).² In addition, there have been a few studies dealing with specific groups, including Daniel Métraux's *The Lotus and the Maple Leaf: The Soka Gakkai Buddhist Movement in Canada* (1996) and Terry Watada's *Bukkyo Tozen: A History of Jodo Shinshu Buddhism in Canada 1905–1995* (1996). Finally, there have been three studies of different groups in Toronto: Janet McLellan's *Many Petals of the Lotus* (1999), Patricia Campbell's *Knowing Body, Moving Mind: Ritualizing and Learning at Two Buddhist Centers* (2011), and Suwanda Sugunasiri's *Thus Spake the Sangha: Early Buddhist Leadership in Toronto:*

Kwang Ok Sunim, Bhante Punnaaji, Samu Sunim, Tsunoda Sensei, Zasep Tulku Rimpoche (2008). Our earlier book, *Wild Geese*, attempted to set in place the foundation stones upon which to base the study of Buddhism in Canada as a new field of academic enquiry. Thus, there were chapters devoted to the history of Buddhism in Canada, statistical analyses of the Buddhist groups in Canada, methodological examination of the concepts used for organizing the field, ethnographic studies of temples and meditation centres, and two biographies of Buddhist personalities. Inevitably, there were gaps in coverage. *Flowers on the Rock* addresses some of these gaps and continues laying foundation stones. The chapters in this book contribute several more historical studies, ethnographic field reports, and biographies of Buddhist leaders. In particular, more attention is paid to Theravada groups and to women in Buddhism. There are also field reports of West Coast Buddhist groups and greater attention to Vietnamese Buddhism in Canada. Although the study of Buddhism in Canada is only beginning, the two volumes, *Wild Geese* and *Flowers on the Rock*, are now a more complete and systematic foundation for the field.

THE PARADIGM

The theoretical stance of this book is expressed in the subtitle, *Global and Local Buddhisms in Canada*. *Flowers on the Rock* offers a critical reflection on the silent paradigm that underlies much writing in the field of Buddhism in the West. This paradigm assumes that the modernization of Buddhism is equivalent to the Westernization of Buddhism, that Asian culture is a relatively static repository of tradition incapable of innovation or renewal, and that the West will correct the long history of Asian cultural distortion of Buddhism and finally allow the truth of Buddhism to come forth. In the literature on Buddhism in the West, this paradigm is never set forth as an explicit theory, where it can be discussed, examined, and debated. Instead, it is implicitly contained in three sets of binary distinctions which Western writers impose on their subject matter: (1) Asian/ethnic and Western/convert; (2) traditional and modern; (3) inauthentic and authentic Buddhism. The first and second sets of distinctions are frequently treated as equivalent to each other, while the third is often implied as well. Without being aware, one is led to talking about Asian/ethnic Buddhism as “traditional” and inauthentic Buddhism, while Western convert Buddhism is

implicitly associated with modern and authentic Buddhism. This counter-intuitive association between the traditional and the inauthentic is particularly prevalent in popular discourse about Buddhism in the West, but these assumptions shape certain scholarly accounts as well. We need to critically examine the consequences of equating these three sets of binaries.

ASIAN/ETHNIC AND WESTERN/CONVERT

Most authors who write on Buddhism in the West use the terminology of the “Two Buddhisms,” Asian/ethnic and Western/convert Buddhism, or some equivalent. As we argued in *Wild Geese*, this distinction is fraught with problems. First, the fact that there are no clear definitional criteria for “Asian” and “Western” leads to much ambiguity about who is an Asian/ethnic and who is a Western/convert. The generational issue brings this problem into clear focus. Second-generation Canadians are usually more Western than Asian, so if they attend an ethnic-Asian temple, classification becomes difficult: their hybrid identities are neither Asian nor Western, nor just a combination of the two. The children of converts who follow their parents in being Buddhist are not converts, but they are not Asian. The children of both Asian and Western converts will be Western-born Buddhists who are neither fully Asian/ethnic nor fully Western/convert. In the coming generations, not only will their numbers increase, they will likely constitute the single largest demographic of Buddhists in Canada. To recognize this intermediate group, Richard Seager has offered a three-part typology of (1) convert Buddhists (i.e., native-born Americans); (2) immigrant and refugee Buddhists, born and raised in an Asian Buddhist country; and (3) “Asian Americans, primarily from Chinese and Japanese backgrounds, who have practised Buddhism in this country for four and five generations” (Seager 1999, 9–10). Jan Nattier also has proposed three categories: (1) Elite Buddhists, who are wealthy enough to “import” their Buddhism; (2) Evangelical Buddhists, like Soka Gakkai, who “export” Buddhism through their proselytization practices, and (3) Ethnic Buddhists, who as immigrants bring Buddhism as part of their “cultural baggage” (Nattier 1998, 188–90).

Due to the definitional problems in trying to identify who is Asian and who is Western, Martin Baumann has argued that we should not try to identify groups of people but rather styles of Buddhist practice, which he

labels “traditionalist” and “modernist.” In “traditionalist” temples located in ethnic communities, ordained monks perform devotional rituals, promote practices to create karmic merit, and may even engage in selling protective amulets (Baumann 2002, 56–7). Meanwhile at “modernist” meditation centres, lay teachers eschew ritual and karma and focus instead on meditation, mindfulness, and rational understanding (Baumann 2002, 57–8). With this move, Baumann has avoided the nest of confusions associated with the binary Asian/ethnic and Western/convert, but as we shall soon see, the binary of “traditionalist” and “modernist” itself comes with its own difficulties.

In addition to such problems of definition, the terminology of Asian/ethnic and Western/convert also contains undesirable political nuances. Appearances to the contrary, the word “ethnic” is not a neutral, objective term taken from social science. François Thibeault points out that the idea of ethnicity presupposes a self/other distinction, with “ethnics” cast as the others. Specifically in regard to the way that scholars in the West have approached Buddhism, he writes, “convert Buddhists are non-ethnic, because ethnicity is usually conceived as a specific feature of those minority groups of individuals who have migrated to Western societies” (Thibeault 2006, 3). There is, therefore, a lack of recognition that Western/American culture is equally an ethnicity, rather than ethnic-neutral. As Shannon Hickey has pointed out, the term “ethnic” is applied only to groups that are not white. Yet, white groups also have ethnocentric cultural characteristics, although these are invisible from the position of white privilege (Hickey 2010, 14). Buddhism has been the cultural heritage of Asian countries for thousands of years, whereas Americans have discovered it only in recent generations. Nevertheless, many American practitioners think of themselves as the agents and principal actors in American Buddhism, while Asians are the “ethnics” and the “others.” Helen Tworokov, the editor of *Tricycle* magazine, bluntly wrote in a 1991 editorial, “The spokespeople for Buddhism in America have been, almost exclusively, educated members of the white middle class. Meanwhile, even with varying statistics, Asian-American Buddhists number at least one million, but so far have not figured prominently in the development of something called American Buddhism” (Tworokov 1991, 4).

American Buddhism here is implicitly distinguished from ethnic Buddhism, which is usually depicted as community-focused, ritualistic, and

heavily laden with “inauthentic” cultural form. If it is seen as an automatic and unreflective part of their culture, the Buddhism of ethnic Asians seems to lack the personal commitment and inner search which “converts” regard as constitutive of their own “practice” – one of the terms often used in favourable contrast to “religion.” The silent implication is that the Buddhism of ethnic Asians is somehow less authentic.

TRADITIONAL AND MODERN

In addition to the standard trope of Asian/ethnic and Western/convert, much of the literature about Buddhism in the West imposes the typology of “traditional” and “modern” on the field. Quite aside from the question Soucy brings to these terms in chapter 1 – that they have a very specific cultural reference, constructed in opposition to one another in a way that is masked by assumptions of neutrality presumed in common speech – they carry unstated and erroneous meaning. As we saw in Baumann’s distinction above, “traditionalist” Buddhism is the Buddhism of devotional ritual and irrational “superstition” – worshipping ancestors, praying for luck, and creating karmic merit – while “modernist” Buddhism often focuses on meditation, self-knowledge, and rational understanding. Baumann’s typology is useful and more nuanced, but for less reflective observers the traditional vs modern binary is automatically mapped onto the Asian/ethnic vs Western/convert binary. That is, it is simply assumed that an Asian temple practises traditional Buddhism and a Western meditation centre practises modernist Buddhism. This conflation, however, does not bear out under close scrutiny.

Behind the ornate red and gold facades of the Chinese Fo Guang Shan temples in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal, the ordained nuns (usually the leader is a nun) teach Humanistic Buddhism. In the vision of Master Hsing Yun, the founder of Fo Guang Shan (FGS), Humanistic Buddhism deals with how people ought to act in this world, not with some future rebirth or other existence. Humanistic Buddhism is compatible with science and modern education; indeed, in Taiwan FGS operates its own schools and colleges, and in Los Angeles it operates an accredited school, The University of the West. FGS has a well-organized program to teach Buddhism through its temples to both children and adults; trained teachers use standardized textbooks (manga for children) and regularly

administer tests. FGS knows that people today are juggling career, family, and the complexities of contemporary urban life, so it creates retreats and activities to fit in with their busy schedules, such as temporary ordination retreats, factory-based activities, and summer camps for children. Knowing that in times of disaster ordinary people want to pitch in and help, FGS organizes teams that put volunteers on site doing relief work within hours after earthquakes, typhoons, floods, and other natural disasters. FGS's own television station and media publications carry news of this work, not just locally but globally through its worldwide network of temples. FGS was one of the first organizations in Asia to use digital methods in compiling a Buddhist encyclopedia in 1988. It is currently involved in compiling a massive, completely online encyclopedia of Chinese Buddhism, to be available in both Chinese and English.³ FGS is an Asian Buddhist organization but little about it fits the Asian "traditionalist" stereotype.

FGS is not alone in applying technology to modernist ideas of Buddhist activity in this world. The Buddhist Relief and Compassion Tzu Chi Foundation, based in Taiwan, is another Asian/ethnic organization, but as André Laliberté and Manuel Litalien illustrate in *Wild Geese* (2010), it is also thoroughly modern, very sophisticated, and global in its reach. Under the leadership of its founder, the charismatic Buddhist nun Cheng Yen, Tzu Chi has developed a worldwide network in more than thirty countries, including branches in Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal. These are examples of well-known modernist, global Buddhist organizations with origins and headquarters in Asia.

The characterizations of traditional vs modern are also called into question by looking closely at groups that would normally be seen as representing "ethnic" Buddhism in the West. For instance, Vietnamese temples in North America, Europe, and Australia appear homogeneous, with ethnic Vietnamese members performing the devotional rituals that they have always practised in their homeland. However, many of the Buddhist monastic and lay leaders who established temples in the diaspora had been part of the Buddhist activist movements that produced people like Thích Nhất Hạnh. Consequently, while many of the practices were not significantly altered, the organization of the temples and many of the activities performed in them are significantly different. When Soucy visited Viên Giác Temple in Hanover, Germany in 2012, the abbot, Thích Như Điển, introduced him to the temple. The abbot showed him the office where the temple publishes its

magazine, *Viên Giác*, available in both print and online editions.⁴ A lay volunteer was using the main sanctuary at that time to introduce a university class to Buddhism. The temple's prayer book was written in Vietnamese and German, rather than in Sino-Vietnamese – a change similar to switching the Catholic mass from Latin to the vernacular. In a smaller sanctuary upstairs, the walls were lined with *thankas*, hung by a Tibetan Buddhist group that also uses the temple. While serving a Vietnamese community, and offering mostly Pure Land devotional services, this temple challenges the category of traditional. Most Vietnamese temples in Canada are similar in the complexity in which modernist reformist ideas have permeated their activities. *Thiền Viện Linh Sơn* on Hochelaga Street in East End Montreal performs the usual Pure Land rituals, but also holds meditation sessions and instruction in Vietnamese and French. *Tu Viện Huyền Không*, also in Montreal, is “traditional” in the sense that it performs Pure Land style rituals, but it is also working on building a retirement home to serve the older members of the Vietnamese community in Montreal. This sort of activism and community engagement is not something that would have existed in Vietnam a hundred years ago, despite the fact that all three of the examples just mentioned are temples that fall squarely within what is usually classified as “traditional” and “ethnic.”

It is not merely that “Asian Buddhisms” are just as engaged in modernist discourses as “Western Buddhisms,” but Buddhisms in Asia started modernizing long before there was such a thing as Western Buddhism. In Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in the 1880s, Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907) and Anagarika Dharmapala (1864–1933) reorganized Ceylonese Buddhism to protect it from Christian missionaries. The new Buddhism they created removed much “superstition” and ritual, rationalized Buddhist teaching so it could be easily taught (Olcott created a Buddhist catechism), and opened up Buddhism to a lay audience. Since their reorganization of Buddhism imitated many aspects of Christianity, some scholars have labelled their new product “Protestant Buddhism” (Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988; Blackburn 2010; Obeyesekere 1972; Prothero 1996). The Japanese Zen monk Shaku Sōen (1860–1919) was in Ceylon during those turbulent times. Once back in Japan, he helped foster a movement calling for a “New Buddhism” (*Shin Bukkyō*) that was consistent with rationality and science, appealed to lay people, and permitted women to practice (Harding 2008; Snodgrass 2003; 2009b).

A generation later in China, the Chinese reformist monk Taixu (1890–1947) coined the term Humanistic Buddhism (*Renjian Fojiao*), and during the early years of the twentieth century called for a wholesale creation of a new Chinese Buddhism; the new Buddhism was to be less elitist, consistent with science, based on an educated monkhood, socially engaged, and so on (Pittman 2001). His vision influenced the reform movement in Vietnam starting in the 1920s (DeVido 2007; 2009) and triggered a chain of events which resulted in Thích Nhất Hạnh’s “socially engaged Buddhism.” By the time that the Beatniks in America became interested in Buddhism in the late 1950s, eight decades of modernist reform of Buddhism had already taken place in Asia. Many Western commentators have been so focused on modernization in the Western convert community that they have failed to recognize that Asian Buddhism coming into North America experienced modernization decades earlier. An important exception is David McMahan who, in *The Making of Buddhist Modernism*, is clear that “The modernization of Buddhism ... has in no way been an exclusively western project or simply a representation of the eastern Other; many figures essential to this process have been Asian reformers educated in both western and Buddhist thought” (McMahan 2008, 6; see also Lopez 2002 and Rocha 2012, 295). This book shares this view of the role of Asian reformers in the development of contemporary global Buddhism.

AUTHENTIC AND INAUTHENTIC BUDDHISM

Some writers on Buddhism in the West want to have it both ways, claiming that Buddhism in the West is simultaneously modernized by Western influence and yet is also truer to the intentions of the Buddha than most Buddhism that is practised in Asia. James William Coleman may be especially exuberant in his declarations, but his sentiment is representative of much writing about Buddhism in the West: “After fading out in the land of its birth centuries ago and teetering on the edge of twentieth-century extinction in Tibet and China, a new Buddhism is now emerging in the industrialized nations of the West. This Buddhism is fundamentally different from anything that has gone before, yet, in the best tradition of Buddhist logic, it remains at its core completely unchanged from the moment of Siddhartha Gautama’s great realization under the bodhi tree” (Coleman 2001, 3). While forthrightly calling it “New Buddhism,” Coleman

also makes the bold claim that this new Buddhism that is being created in the West is “completely unchanged” from the original Buddha’s great enlightenment. In Coleman’s eyes, the other forms of Buddhism that arose in Asia have been distorted by Asian culture. They absorbed “the Asian tradition of obedience and reverence for authority” (Coleman 2001, 85), the Asian religious rituals for “supernatural benefit” and similar “magical notions” (2001, 97), the “extreme sexism” of Asians (2001, 15), the “almost unquestioned authority, power and prestige the Asian teachers enjoy in their own traditions” (2001, 17), and so on.

Many writers on Buddhism in the West are not as extreme as Coleman. These more moderate writers take the position that Buddhism has the marvellous ability to adapt to quite different cultural environments without losing the true Dharma. In this view, Asian Buddhism and Western Buddhism are equally authentic forms of Buddhism. But the presence of this more moderate position highlights how extreme Coleman’s views are. When Western writers claim that Western-inspired modernizations are going to correct the distortions to Buddhism rendered by Asian culture, we echo the errors of colonial, Orientalist scholarship.

This is the unspoken paradigm that underlies much writing in the new field of Buddhism in the West. The three binary distinctions of Asian/ethnic vs Western/convert, traditional vs modern, and inauthentic vs authentic are used in popular writing and some scholarship as if they were equivalent to each other. Judith Snodgrass insightfully points out, “The image of the Buddha seated in meditation beneath a tree provides the model for modern Buddhism’s disproportionate emphasis on meditation ... and the basis for a certain arrogance among some western Buddhists who feel that the Buddhism of their practice is closer to Sakyamuni’s teachings than that of traditional Asian practitioners” (Snodgrass 2009, 21). Without conscious assent, one smoothly moves into the assumption that the Asian/ethnic is traditional but somehow inauthentic, while the Western/convert is modern as well as authentic. *Flowers on the Rock* challenges this flawed paradigm.

We propose another paradigm that does not necessarily interact with the binaries of ethnic/convert, traditional/modern, or authentic/inauthentic. We believe that it is more helpful to organize and understand material on Buddhism in the West by using the interplay of global and local forces to better explore Buddhist transformations in, and beyond, Canada. These categories address central issues in understanding Buddhism in the

contemporary situation: the way Buddhism has moved and is transformed in the modern period, with a strong emphasis on communication as a central theoretical concept. We turn now, therefore, to a discussion of the continuing impact of globalization on Buddhism.

GLOBALIZATION

In this volume, we characterize the development of modern Buddhism in terms of globalization because globalization cuts across the Asian/ethnic vs Western/convert dichotomy. Instead of getting caught in the misleading stereotype that positions Asia and the West in opposition to each other, we focus on globalization, which allows us to recognize that modernization movements first got started in Asia, and that modernization movements in Asia and modernization movements in the West are rooted in a similar modernist understanding of the world, the individual, and religion. Although modernization is clearly important for an understanding of how Buddhism has developed worldwide, at the heart of these changes are global interactions that often – but not always – put forward modernist ideas, not modernity. For this reason, we focus on the global processes that have brought about the significant, but not homogeneous, changes we are seeing in Buddhism at an international level. We, furthermore, contend that any understanding of Buddhism as it is developing in Canada must take into account the forces of globalization and the transnational linkages that not only inform but also propel these changes.

First, what do we mean by globalization? In the 1980s, the concept of globalization was introduced in an economic sense to describe and explain the worldwide spread of capitalism; it later broadened in scope to include the worldwide spread of peoples, technologies, and information. Because of its early economic use, for many people the term “globalization” has a negative nuance, connoting the spread of capitalism, the exploitation of underdeveloped countries by the advanced capitalist economies (the tragic Bangladesh garment factory collapse on 24 April 2013 comes to mind), and the imposition of the culture of McDonalds and Coca Cola onto local indigenous culture. In this view, economic globalization threatens to homogenize the world as a materialistic consumerism chokes out all native and indigenous traditions. Because of this earlier connection, some people consider “globalization” a new word for what used to be called colonialism.

Now scholars recognize that globalization is not merely economic but social as well. Giddens, for example, sees globalization in social terms as “the interlacing of social events and social relations ‘at a distance’ with local contextualities” (1991, 21). He continues, “globalisation has to be understood as a dialectical phenomenon, in which events at one pole of a distanced relation often produce divergent or even contrary occurrences at another” (1991, 22). Elsewhere, he describes globalization as the “intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (1991, 64). Globalization is as much social as it is economic (as if economics were not an intensely social activity in any case). When more and more local social events need to be understood against a global context, at some point a qualitative change occurs; from then on we need to speak not merely of local causes but also of “world systems,” both economic and social. Globalization is not really a new process: it has been going on since humans started to wander. But beginning from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the network of international social and economic linkages has so intensified that today it deserves to be recognized as a qualitatively different “modern world system” (Vasquez and Marquardt 2003, 36).

Arjun Appadurai has isolated five of the flows, or “scapes” as he calls them, by which globalization exerts itself: (1) ethnoscaples, where people move; (2) finanscaples, where capital moves; (3) technoscaples, where technology and communication move; (4) mediascaples, where information moves; and (5) ideoscaples, where discourses move (Appadurai 1996, 33–6). Importantly, Appadurai also shows that there are multiple centres and flows. Rather than going from west to east, north to south, urban to hinterland, these flows are multidirectional and unpredictable (Appadurai 1996, 29).

Globalization can have a liberating effect, allowing exploited peoples to resist their exploitation. Indeed, the many different groups opposed to economic globalization have skilfully used the internet to organize large-scale and well-orchestrated demonstrations against the World Trade Organization and other agents of economic globalization, thus showing that the anti-globalism movement is itself a globalizing phenomenon. Globalization is no longer just another name for colonialism; in the age of the instant, worldwide sharing of information, globalization denotes a new

process of dialogue and encounter between cultures and civilizations that frees the local from parochialism (R. Robertson 2009).

It is difficult to ascertain all the ways in which globalization is reshaping religion. Religion is not simply reprising the role it played under colonialism. During the colonial period, as the Western powers extended their economic control of countries in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, Christian missionaries – with Bibles in hand – often preceded the soldiers holding guns and the capitalists looking for economic gain. The missionaries looked upon native peoples as savages who needed to be saved. The Christian church thus provided a religious and moral justification for the Western dominance of undeveloped countries. But probably because of that historical connection with colonial power, the Christian church today is much more wary of its current connection to globalization. In 2005, for example, Pope John Paul II cautioned against globalization: “New realities which are forcefully affecting the productive process – such as globalization of finance, of the economy, of commerce and of work – should never be allowed to violate the dignity and centrality of the human person or the democracy of peoples” (*The Globalist* 2005).

Nor is globalization fulfilling the predictions of social scientists following Max Weber – that as society became more modern, it would become more rational, and non-rational, pre-modern phenomena such as superstition and religion would of themselves die out. This is the well-known “secularization” hypothesis (C. Taylor 2007). In fact, not only has religion not died out, but with globalization religion is flourishing. Through processes that are not yet well understood, globalization seems to be simultaneously encouraging diverse religious developments from Pentecostalism to fundamentalist forms of Islam and Christianity as well as a more liberal and secular form of Buddhism. Buddhism is not merely a “world religion”; it is a “global religion” growing not in spite of, but because of the fact that it brings into interface different cultures and opposing ideas. Applying Appadurai to our understanding of Buddhism in Canada, we can say that the transformations taking place are not so much the result of Western influence as of the discourses emerging from multiple Asian meetings with diverse Western ideas. The transformations that we see are the results of multiple conversations that have arisen from particular historical encounters. As such, it is as important to understand the local as the global. Neither can be understood in isolation; both are part of the same process.

GLOBAL AND LOCAL BUDDHISMS

We use the term “Global Buddhism” to emphasize that Buddhism at the local level needs to be understood against its global background (as opposed to the term “Buddhist Globalism” that Soucy uses to identify the discourse that shapes “Global Buddhism”). A local Buddhist site is a creative bricolage of both local and global elements – ideas, persons, statues, incense, funding, rituals, texts, practices, robes, experiences, and more. Decisions made at any local Buddhist temple or meditation centre may be influenced by quite local issues (weather, neighbours, national holidays, municipal zoning laws, and so on) and by issues originating far away: Will the monk we are sponsoring get a visa? Is there funding from the head temple in Taiwan? When will the next initiation in the UK or the summer retreat in Korea or the ordination in Australia take place? In turn, the Taiwan head temple, the UK initiation, and the summer retreat in Korea are waiting to hear from the local Canadian branch. All forms of Buddhism are imbedded in global networks of shared information, persons, culture, and resources. Scholars seeking to understand these forms of Buddhism must pay attention to both these larger networks and each local constituent.

The drive to reform Buddhism first arose in Ceylon at the end of the 1800s, and in the ensuing century it developed in other countries, wherever traditional Buddhism underwent reform in its confrontation with the colonial Western powers. The modernizing Buddhisms often had similar features: they claimed to be consistent with science and rationality, they were open to lay people, women could participate, the basic practice was meditation, and so on. Aside from these features, the new Buddhism that was coming into being had a global spirit, a spirit that transcended the parochial urge to identify true Buddhism with one place. In 1891, Olcott offered a fourteen-point “Common Platform Upon Which All Buddhists Can Agree” to a meeting of Buddhist representatives from Ceylon, Myanmar, Japan, and Chittagong at Adyar, India (Prothero 1996, 116–33). In similar fashion, Christmas Humphries, a distinguished British lawyer and judge in the UK, drafted the document “Twelve Principles of Buddhism” in 1945 and presented it to a meeting of representatives of Buddhist groups from Ceylon, Thailand, Myanmar, China, Japan, and Tibet (Oliver 1979, 54). Many modernizing and transnational reform efforts were made by Asian Buddhists as well, such as Dharmapala and Taixu, whose efforts to

form international Buddhist organizations were combined with attempts to bridge the gaps between religion and science on the one hand, and religion and social action on the other. These various early efforts did not bear much fruit, but the intention and vision were clearly global.

Thus, in our usage, Global Buddhism is not necessarily the same as “modern Buddhism.” Global Buddhism understands itself as situated in a larger network and attempts to transcend the parochialism of local place and ethnic identity. Writers on modern Buddhism or Buddhism in the West frequently create a checklist of its characteristics: it is open to lay people and de-emphasizes monasticism, which is criticized as elitist and withdrawn from the world; it is open to women and eschews the sexism of patriarchal society; it is rational and consistent with science; its basic practice is meditation and it does not engage in hollow ritual; it is socially engaged; and so on. As we have noted, a Buddhism that can be so characterized developed in Ceylon in the 1880s, and spread throughout Asia before coming to the West. In spreading from country to country, in transcending the parochialism of local place, this Buddhism was global in spirit. But Buddhism with modern characteristics can also be used parochially. Coleman’s concept of “New Buddhism,” which claims that the characteristics of the New Buddhism are a product of specifically Western, not Asian, cultural influence on Buddhism, is one example. The ethnocentric privileging of Western Buddhism or New Buddhism over the Buddhism of Asia is clearly insular in thrust and does not exemplify the intercultural spirit often found in Global Buddhism. Hence, in chapter 1 Soucy moves away from attempts to create types with characteristics in favour of understanding Buddhist globalism as a complex and evolving discourse rather than a type, which, like the other types, risks reification of essentialist caricatures.

On the other hand, there are forms of Buddhism that are traditional and conservative in their characteristics yet global in intention. The Thai Forest Tradition consciously thinks of itself as returning to the traditional form of practice as set out by Śākyamuni Buddha. It forsakes the city and its materialistic culture for practice in the forest; it teaches that Buddhism is learned through personal experience in meditation, not through studying textual commentary; and it emphasizes strict adherence to the *vinaya* (rules of discipline). For example, its monks and nuns are celibate, are prohibited from handling money, and eat only one meal a day. Although this very conservative form of Buddhism is not meant for everyone, the Thai Forest

Tradition is increasingly making itself available around the globe. The network of the Forest Sangha now spreads far beyond Thailand and reaches the US, the UK, Switzerland, Italy, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. In its intention to create Buddhism across the cultural divide between Asia and the West, it is clearly Global Buddhism. As James Placzek describes in chapter 4, the Thai Forest Tradition is not isolated in the forest, but navigating global issues as a result of its global spread.

Tibetan Buddhism has many different forms, but some forms are quite unmodern. The sophisticated philosophy of Mahayana emptiness is merged together with a pantheon of local gods and spirits; meditation is paired with long and elaborate ritual whose meaning is not obvious. Key aspects of Tibetan Buddhism have definitely not gone through the modernization process, yet Tibetan Buddhism may be the most global form of Buddhism today. Although it struggles to survive in Tibet, it thrives wherever the Tibetan diaspora has settled. In its intention to reach out beyond parochial ethnic boundaries, it is a form of Global Buddhism. This example also accentuates the fact that there is no single agent creating or constructing Global Buddhism. As Sarah Haynes points out in her chapter, both Tibetans within the diaspora and non-Tibetans outside the diaspora contribute to the construction of Tibetan Buddhism. Their visions may not be consistent but they contribute equally.

All forms of Buddhism are modernizing; that is, they are constantly in dialogue with the forces of modernist discourses and local pressures. Different forms of Buddhism interact with these discourses differently and are altered by local conditions. Some of the Taiwanese Buddhist movements have created successful new ways of practice for the busy urbanite. Many Western forms of Buddhism have provided meditation and other forms of Buddhist practice for lay men and women, but have struggled with sexual scandals. Modernist forms of Buddhism may exhibit a range of features that indicate the degree to which they are shaped by this discourse. In actuality, though, one form of Buddhism will possess some of these features and another form of Buddhism will possess others. They may be quite different, but because they share a “family resemblance” they can all be identified as modernist.

Global Buddhism grew out of these early reform movements and was influenced by modernist ideas of rationalism (but also, as McMahan points out, by romanticism; democracy and egalitarianism; stress on the

individual and on experience; and other factors that emerged out of Western discourses [2008]), catalyzed by the colonial encounter, and perpetuated by global flows of people and information through technology. Rather than being identified with specific groups or movements who are “Global Buddhists” to the exclusion of other groups who are “traditional” or “local,” most Buddhists, in our understanding, have been shaped to a lesser or greater degree by the discourses of Global Buddhism. Moreover, the forms of Buddhism which are most closely aligned with Global Buddhism also become localized as they accommodate local contexts, in a process that Roland Robertson has called “glocalization.” This process of the local going global and then made local again is, in fact, “the constitutive feature of contemporary globalization” (R. Robertson 1995, 41).

THIS BOOK

Flowers on the Rock takes an overall local-global perspective and views local Buddhist developments on Canadian ground as connected to global developments of Buddhism in the world at large. Indeed, in a conference we held with Jessica Main at the University of British Columbia in 2010, we spliced the Buddhist concept of causes and conditions with globalization theory to produce the conference title “Buddhism in Canada: Global Causes, Local Conditions.” In studying Buddhism in Canada, we are emphasizing that one cannot fully understand the establishment of a Thai Forest Tradition monastery in British Columbia, the career of a Vietnamese nun in Montreal, or a sex scandal at a Buddhist training centre in Halifax unless these cases are seen against the larger movements of Buddhism at the global level. And vice versa: one cannot understand the worldwide spread of Buddhism without studying the fascinating and ingenious changes, inflections, and adaptations Buddhism has made in every local culture in which it has set down roots, including Canada. Appropriately, the stance of *Flowers on the Rock* is non-dual, in that we consider every development of Buddhism in Canada to be part of the local religious landscape and at the same time an instantiation of trends in global Buddhism. Alexander Soucy, in his chapter “Buddhist Globalism and the Search for Canadian Buddhism,” investigates these issues directly. In response to the question “What is Canadian about Canadian Buddhism?” he shows that, on the one hand, there are no criteria for a unique Canadian identity, and on the

other hand, that the Buddhism developing in Canada looks very similar to the modern forms of Buddhism developing around the globe. In doing so, he introduces another approach, one that focuses on the forces that are exerted to varying degrees and in different ways on all forms of Buddhism today.

Part One of this book, “Taking Root,” continues to fulfill one of our main missions: to provide a historical record of selected Buddhist groups, which have established themselves in Canada. In “Flying Sparks: Dissension among the Early Shin Buddhists in Canada,” Michihiro Ama documents the internal strife which marked the Japanese Pure Land mission at the beginning of the twentieth century. In a tradition noted for peace and in an ethnic group noted for social harmony, there was surprisingly bitter disagreement at every level of organization, between ordained and lay people, between branch and headquarters, between the Higashi (East) Honganji and the Nishi (West) Honganji sects.

In “For the Benefit of Many: S.N. Goenka’s Vipassana Meditation Movement in Canada,” Kory Goldberg explains that S.N. Goenka created a secular, non-religious meditation method in order to appeal to as many people as possible. Although based originally in Burma (Myanmar), when Goenka took his meditation method international, he came first to Canada and France. Canada thus has a special place in the history of Goenka meditation, but the organization must be recognized primarily as international. James Placzek’s chapter, “Sitavana: The Theravada Forest Tradition in British Columbia,” documents the establishment of the first Thai Forest Tradition monastery in Canada and explores this tradition’s stance on female ordination. In the history of Thai Buddhism, the Thai Forest movement, which got started at the beginning of the twentieth century, represents a return to early Buddhism. Thai Forest monks emphasize strict obedience to the precepts, monastic practice in the forest, and attainment of insight through meditation. It is important to realize, however, that despite its claim to return to Thai Buddhism’s roots, the Thai Forest movement is another form of modernized Buddhism.

In “Making a Traditional Buddhist Monastery on Richmond’s Highway to Heaven,” Jackie Larm reflects on the Thrangu Tibetan Buddhist Monastery’s claim to be “traditional.” Among expected innovations, such as the use of English and new technology, the Tibetan monastery willingly organizes events to cater to its significant Chinese membership – a development

that challenges the category of “ethnic” Buddhism. Paul Crowe’s study, “Dharma on the Move: Vancouver Buddhist Communities and Multiculturalism,” contributes an in-depth investigation of several Chinese Buddhist temples. It is noteworthy that they are surrounded by the large Chinese immigrant community in Vancouver and therefore do not feel a strong need to integrate and adapt to mainstream Canadian culture. He reflects on what this means for Canada’s policy of multiculturalism. In his chapter, “Buddhist Monasticism in Canada: Sex and Celibacy,” Victor Sōgen Hori recounts that Buddhist meditation centres in the West have a long history of sexual misconduct scandals that continue to the present. He contrasts the lay-oriented Buddhist meditation centre prone to sex scandals with the monastic-oriented Buddhist monastery where monks and nuns obey the precept to remain celibate. He asks what it is about Buddhist monasteries that prevents sexual misconduct and what it is about Buddhist meditation centres that permits it.

Peter Beyer, in his book on religion and globalization, reminds us that religion is not a private phenomenon enclosed within the consciousness of an individual; it is a social phenomenon built on meanings sent and received between people, meanings shared among people. That is, from a sociological perspective, religion is a kind of communication (Beyer 2006, 10). The chapters in Part Two, “Communicating the Buddhadharma,” explore the many ways in which the Dharma is transmitted, missionized, and appropriated. Perhaps the most obvious example is teaching the Dharma to the younger generation. D. Mitra Barua, in his chapter, “Teaching Buddhism to Children: The Evolving Sri Lankan Buddhist Tradition in Multicultural Toronto,” studies a new educational manual created by the Sri Lankan Buddhist temples in Toronto to teach *dhamma* to their young people. He shows that even as the new teaching guide strives to preserve the traditional Buddhist regime of spiritual development, it does so in the context of multicultural Toronto, recognizing the secular world view and religious pluralism of multicultural Canadian society. Communicating the Dharma can also mean adapting it to a different cultural context.

Angela Sumegi, who is both an academic scholar and a practising Buddhist teacher, recounts the decisions she made and the thought processes she went through in creating a Buddhist funeral in her chapter, “Reflections on a Canadian Buddhist Death Ritual.” She wanted to invoke the meanings embedded in the 2,500-year-old Buddhist tradition and join them to the

meanings that individuals of modern-day Ottawa bring to the mystery of death. Along the way, she explores the nature of ritual, which is at once so gripping to some and meaningless to others. Buddhism is also being communicated to those incarcerated in Canada's prisons. Paul McIvor, in "Buddhist Prison Outreach in Canada: Legitimizing a Minority Faith," sets out the parameters of study for this new area of research. He begins by focusing attention on the Buddhist practitioners who visit the penitentiaries to give counsel to prisoners.

Elements of Buddhism can become separated from the Buddhist institution and take on a life of their own – think of vegetarianism, meditation, the shaved head, and the term "Zen" – yet these elements communicate Buddhism in a powerful way. In "Correspondence School: Canada, Fluxus, and Zen," Melissa Curley recounts the history of the Fluxus art movement, which was active in Canada during the 1960s and 70s. The Fluxus artists were not diligent practitioners of Buddhism but they were inspired by Zen examples of eccentricity, the Avatamsaka vision of an interconnected universe, and the Buddhist idea of a decentred self. Their art was goofy (it was called "vaudeville Zen") and perfectly in tune with the counterculture of the time. Finally, Sarah Haynes, in "Shaping Images of Tibet: Negotiating the Diaspora through Ritual, Art, and Film," describes how people in the Tibetan diaspora use art to construct their vision of their homeland. She analyses stage performances of Tibetan Buddhist dance, mandala construction, monks' debates, art exhibits, and film to identify the romanticized image of Tibet which they collectively help create.

The third and last section, "Buddhist Lives," includes biographies of four prominent Canadian Buddhist personalities who were charismatic in quite different ways. Mavis Fenn in "Dhammadina and Jayantā: Daughters of the Buddha in Canada" first gives us a valuable overview of the role of women in Buddhism and an introduction to the contemporary movement to restart the *bhikkhuni* (nun's) ordination lineage. She also tells us about Anna Burian, who took novice ordination in 1964 in Sri Lanka, and as Anagarika Dhammadinna returned to Canada in 1965 to begin teaching Buddhism. Dhammadinna, who was actively teaching before Buddhism started to become popular in the West, was not well known but she did start a lineage in Canada. Shirley Johannesen (Jayantā), the Canadian president of *Sākyadhītā*, the international organization of Buddhist women, carries on Dhammadinna's legacy.

Alexander Soucy's chapter, "Thầy Phổ Tịnh: A Vietnamese Nun's Struggles in Canada," paints a portrait of Thích Nữ Phổ Tịnh, for many years the dynamic leader of the Tam Bảo Temple in Montreal. Although well known for her enthusiasm, her education in a Canadian university, and her willingness to reach out beyond the Vietnamese community, her authority has been constantly challenged by the Vietnamese monastic institution and wider Vietnamese Buddhist lay community on the basis of her gender.

John Harding's chapter, "Leslie Kawamura: Nothing to Add, Nothing to Take Away," sketches Kawamura's contributions in two distinct forms of Buddhist dissemination. Buddhist studies within the Canadian academy have grown in the last forty years and Leslie Kawamura has carefully nurtured this field, both locally and globally, while also fostering new developments in Canada's oldest Buddhist school – Jōdo Shinshū.

Chapters from all three sections address gender and Buddhism. There are a number of important reasons for increased material about Buddhist women in Canada, not least to redress the lack of attention in *Wild Geese*. While many (though not all) leaders in reform movements and migrations of Buddhism to the West have been lay men (like D.T. Suzuki and Anagarika Dharmapala) and monks (like Thích Nhất Hạnh and Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche), women have quite often supported them. Dharmapala, for instance, would not have been successful without the financial support of Mrs Mary E. Foster of Honolulu, who provided funds for the efforts to reclaim Bodhgaya as a Buddhist pilgrimage site (Sangharakshita 2008). Women have been crucial to the globalization of Buddhism in these support roles and as notable leaders. Cheng Yen, the founder of the Tzu Chi Merit Society, and Chan Kong of the Order of Interbeing are two prominent international leaders. Women have also been influential in the development of Buddhism in Canada. Pema Chödrön is a prominent leader in Shambhala Buddhism and the abbess of Gampo Abbey in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.

We decided not to have a separate section on women in Buddhism, but instead to integrate the material on women throughout the book. There are two chapters that highlight female Buddhist leaders. Mavis Fenn writes about Anagarika Dhammadinna, her successor, Jayantā, and female monastic ordination. Alexander Soucy discusses the role that Thích Nữ Phổ Tịnh has played in creating space for female leadership in Vietnamese Buddhism in Canada. James Placzek also discusses female ordination in the

Theravada tradition and the positions that male Buddhist leaders in Canada have taken. D. Mitra Barua discusses curriculum developed to teach Buddhism to children in Toronto, and while this fact is not elaborated, it is notable that a woman, Swarna Chandrasekera, developed the curriculum. As an “inventor” of Buddhism in Canada, the author of one chapter, Angela Sumegi, is an innovative Buddhist leader in Ottawa and she writes about her efforts to create Buddhist death rituals appropriate for Canadian mourners. These chapters illustrate some of the many ways that women are important participants in the localization of Buddhism to Canada.

Our first volume, *Wild Geese*, dealt inadequately with the Theravada tradition and with Vietnamese Buddhism, despite their importance in the Canadian Buddhist landscape. Regionally, British Columbia was under-represented. The important current issue of women and Buddhism, as mentioned above, did not receive enough attention. These omissions provided the incentive and starting point for *Flowers on the Rock*. In preparation for this volume, the three editors participated in the organization of two conferences to uncover ongoing research and to encourage scholars to do research in needed areas. As a result, *Flowers on the Rock* has four essays which focus on Theravada Buddhism, three chapters which focus on women and gender issues, and seven chapters dealing with Buddhism on the west coast of Canada. This volume contributes to our understanding of global and local Buddhisms in its own right and complements *Wild Geese*. These two volumes together provide a solid collection of papers for the study of Buddhism in Canada, but nonetheless do not represent an exhaustive treatment of this dynamic topic.

NOTES

- 1 His biography is appropriately called *Holding the Lotus to the Rock: The Autobiography of Sokei-an, America's First Zen Master* (Hotz 2003). Sasaki is making a literary allusion to the following verse:

石上栽花後 *Sekijō hana o uete nochi,*
生涯共是春 *Shōgai tomo ni kore haru.*

After you have planted the flower on the rock,
The days of your life will always be spring. (V. Hori 2003, verse 10.282)

Planting a flower on a rock requires long and patient effort. In the original verse, it symbolizes the great effort necessary to attain Zen awakening, but Sasaki uses it to mean the great effort to transplant Buddhism in the West.

- 2 We also have provided a chapter-length overview of Buddhism in Canada (Harding, Hori, and Soucy 2012).
- 3 <http://chinabuddhismencyclopedia.com/>.
- 4 Available at the temple's website, <http://www.viengiac.de>.