UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

This is a repository copy of *Building Buddhism in England: The Flourishing of a Minority Faith Heritage*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/103739/

Version: Accepted Version

Article:
Starkey, C orcid.org/0000-0002-7807-6617 and Tomalin, E orcid.org/0000-0001-7722-1192 (2016) Building Buddhism in England: The Flourishing of a Minority Faith Heritage. Contemporary Buddhism, 17 (2). pp. 326-356. ISSN 1463-9947

https://doi.org/10.1080/14639947.2016.1228330

© 2016 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group. This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in Contemporary Buddhism on 26th September 2016, available online:
http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/14639947.2016.1228330

Reuse
Unless indicated otherwise, fulltext items are protected by copyright with all rights reserved. The copyright exception in section 29 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 allows the making of a single copy solely for the purpose of non-commercial research or private study within the limits of fair dealing. The publisher or other rights-holder may allow further reproduction and re-use of this version - refer to the White Rose Research Online record for this item. Where records identify the publisher as the copyright holder, users can verify any specific terms of use on the publisher's website.

Takedown
If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.

White Rose university consortium
Universities of Leeds, Sheffield & York

eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/

BUILDING BUDDHISM IN ENGLAND: THE FLOURISHING OF A MINORITY FAITH HERITAGE

Caroline Starkey and Emma Tomalin

Abstract

From the earliest days of Buddhism in Britain, individuals and communities have sought out buildings to provide locations where they might practice and teach Buddhism. In this paper, we focus on this neglected area of the study of minority faith traditions in Britain. Our research, which was commissioned by Historic England, examines how Buddhist communities have used buildings and what this tells us about how a minority tradition is initially established and how it subsequently changes and develops. In this context, we suggest that buildings are more than bricks and mortar and provide a richly rewarding analytical lens to tell stories about migration, socio-economic status, religious diversity and integration, and the complexity of processes around secularisation and religious change, as well shifting policy agendas in the UK that have begun to take faith seriously. This contributes to deepening the picture of the migration and adaptation of Buddhism and Buddhist practice across the globe.

Introduction

From the earliest days of Buddhism in Britain, individuals and communities have sought out buildings to provide locations where they might practice and teach Buddhism. In this paper, we focus on this neglected area of the study of minority faith traditions in Britain. We will examine how Buddhist communities in England[1] have used buildings and what this tells us about how a minority tradition is initially established and how it changes and develops in the ensuing years. In this context, we suggest that buildings are more than bricks and mortar and provide a richly rewarding analytical lens to tell stories about migration, socio-economic status, religious diversity and integration, and the complexity of processes around secularisation and religious change, as well shifting policy agendas in the UK that have begun to take faith seriously. We will begin by discussing the rationale for this research and the methods we

adopted in developing the first national survey of Buddhist buildings in England. We will then provide descriptive detail of the locations and buildings themselves, before critically examining what the buildings are used for, why certain buildings are chosen, adapted, or developed, and the value of these buildings to specific communities and individuals. Ultimately, we are concerned to provide an overview of what the built and material environment tells us about the complexities and specificities of Buddhism in the English cultural and geographical context. This paper therefore makes a timely and important contribution to a much-neglected field within the study of contemporary religions in the UK and beyond, and deepens our assessment of the migration and adaptation of Buddhism and Buddhist practice across the globe.

The journey of Buddhist practices and traditions to the British Isles in the 19th century is principally a product of the British colonial presence in Asia. At this time, Western 'orientalist' scholars began to collect and translate Buddhist texts which then became accessible to British and wider European publics (Bluck 2006, 5-6; Humphreys 1968, 72; Oliver 1979, 21; Waterhouse, 2004, 53). While initial interest in Buddhism was primarily intellectual, focusing on the Theravāda tradition and was driven by the translation of Pāḷi texts, this began to shift to personal practice and the period up until the First World War sowed the seeds for the emergence of both Asian and Western teachers of Buddhism in Britain (Bluck 2006, 7). In the post-war period, particularly after the Second World War, interest in styles of Buddhism other than Theravāda evolved and a variety of traditions began to appear in Britain, including Zen, Pure Land, and Tibetan.

The growth of Buddhism in Britain is part of the rise of religious pluralism across the UK, following immigration from ex-colonies in the 1960s and 1970s from parts of Asia and Africa. In particular, the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950 led to thousands of Tibetans fleeing with the Dalai Lama in 1959, bringing a number of Lamas to the West (Lopez 1998). These groups of Buddhists soon began to develop what Batchelor has called their own 'intentional spiritual communities' comprising of Western converts and also Buddhists from Asian backgrounds living in Britain (Batchelor 1994, xii; Baumann 2002, 92; Bell 2000, 399; Bluck 2006, 7-11; Cantwell and

Kawanami 2002, 64; Kay 2004, 5; Waterhouse 1997). Thus, the numbers of Buddhists in Britain has steadily grown since the 1960s, partly due to Western 'converts' but also to the arrival of immigrants and refugees from across Asia, or what might be called 'ethnic', 'heritage' or 'diaspora' Buddhists. Whilst recognising difficulties with terminology in relation to the study of Buddhism in the West, we adopt the terms 'convert Buddhists' and 'diaspora Buddhists' in this study. Bluck (2006, 16) highlights, for example, that, whilst 'convert' might be appropriate for the first generation of Buddhists in Britain who were not brought up with Buddhism as the religion practiced within their family home, it is an inadequate term to use to refer to their children. Equally, the term 'diaspora Buddhist' doesn't adequately reflect the complexity of identity amongst those who are in the second, or third or fourth generation of families who migrated to the UK. Despite these limitations, for analytical reasons 'diaspora' will refer to those Buddhists who, either themselves or their families, brought their religion to Britain from elsewhere and 'convert' will be used to refer to those Buddhists who, either themselves or their parents, having been brought up with another religion or none, made the decision to affiliate with Buddhism, typically in adulthood.

Bluck tells us that in Britain 'by 1966 there were at least 22 lay Buddhist groups, including 4 in London' (2006, 12) and that by 2001 (according to the 2003 edition of the Buddhist Directory) this had grown to 982 (2006, 14). These include the numerous groups that meet in hired premises or people's houses for weekly meetings, as well as the smaller proportion that have purpose-built temples or which operate from adapted premises, including listed buildings, such as former churches and stately homes. According to the 2011 census, there were 238,626 Buddhists living in England and Wales, compared to 144,453 recorded in the 2001 census (2006, 16). As the census data indicates, Buddhism is a growing faith tradition in the British context and therefore, the desire for communities to use, adapt, and develop the built environment to meet this need has correspondingly increased. Today, the largest Buddhist demographic in Britain comprises 'diaspora Buddhists', but in contrast to other minority faiths such as Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism, Buddhism has attracted a greater proportion of converts (Table 1). However, much of the research on Buddhism in the British Isles has tended to

concentrate on ‘white converts’ rather than the numerically larger Buddhist immigrant communities from Thailand, Burma, Sri Lanka or Vietnam (Bluck 2006: 16). Alongside its wider aims, this study also makes a contribution towards addressing this imbalance.

Table 1 to be located here: The relationship between religion and ethnicity (from 2011 census data)

Heritage, buildings and Buddhism: the rationale for the research

Our attention to buildings as a way of thinking about minority faith traditions in Britain was roused by a series of consultations held by then English Heritage, henceforth referred to as Historic England (HE). These consultations were held in 2012 and focused on ‘under-represented heritages’ (English Heritage 2012) including minority faith heritages, in order to develop a more inclusive approach to the new National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP; English Heritage no date – and now superseded by the Historic England Action Plan). We were invited to attend one of the consultations to talk about buildings that Buddhists use in England and it was made clear that HE had limited knowledge about the heritage of the buildings used by faith groups in England other than those belonging to Christianity, Judaism and Islam and were keen to change this. Moreover, as the HE Listing Selection Guide, Places of Worship indicates: ‘to date, no purpose-built mandir, gurdwara, Buddhist or Jain temple has been listed, although buildings of all faiths occupy various recycled listed buildings’ (Historic England 2011, 18). This is despite the fact there are now numerous places of worship in England linked to Asian-origin religions that were purpose-built over 30 years ago and which are old enough to be considered for listed status. Listing depends on an understanding of the significance of an asset and further research, such as that undertaken in this study, is therefore crucial to provide HE with much needed evidence. In addition, details of minority faith traditions in England that occupy recycled listed buildings are not adequately captured in the National Heritage List for England, a database of all nationally designated heritage assets. This is in part because the List was originally devised to enable a building simply to be

‘identified’ and change of ownership has not been historically recorded for any building type. For this reason either the current use of listed buildings by faith groups is not always mentioned, or they are described in a way that fails to do justice to the significance of Asian-origin religions in England. However, a new process agreed with Historic England’s funding body, the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport, now enables minor amendments to be made to the List to enhance these descriptions, but this requires that up-to-date information is made available.

These gaps in England’s heritage record are revealing, not least because they offer an example of the ways in which minority faith groups have been marginalised within British social and public life. This is becoming increasingly significant, for, as the Listing Selection Guide, Places of Worship also stresses:

> As different faith groups establish themselves ever more firmly in England, the claims to the status of special interest of their places of worship become ever more valid. Early sites of a faith’s worship may warrant special consideration, as well as examples manifesting high design values. This is an area in which our heritage of places of worship is set to expand (Historic England 2011, 21).

We soon discovered, however, that there is a gap in general scholarship as well as within policy knowledge. While there has been some recent research from geographers examining faith buildings in non-Abrahamic traditions (Dwyer et al. 2013; Gilbert et al. 2012), scholarship from religious studies or sociology has focused far less in this area. Although there is a developed body of academic literature on Asian diasporas in the UK (Ballard 1994; Bhachu 1985; Ali et al. 2006; Shaw 1988) the literature overall has tended to focus on South Asian diasporas from India and Pakistan, with the establishment of religious communities of other (albeit smaller) Asian groups being less well known. Furthermore, although buildings that are occupied by minority faith communities are mentioned in this literature, the discussion of buildings has neither been systematic nor carried out with respect to issues of heritage protection or architectural styles.

Scholarship on Buddhism in Britain also tells us very little about the buildings that Buddhists use and the focus of this literature has tended to be on convert-dominant groups rather than diaspora-dominant style of Buddhism (Bluck 2006: 16). Regarding Buddhism, the literature has tended to focus on the history of Buddhism in Britain, including reasons for its appeal as well as how the British setting has shaped Buddhism (e.g. Almond 1998; Baumann, 2002a; Bell 1991; 1998; 2000; Bluck 2006; Kay 2004; Mellor 1991, Oliver 1979, Waterhouse 1997). Other research has focused on case studies of particular Buddhist traditions as they have developed in Britain and the 'intentional spiritual communities' that have emerged (e.g. Bell 1998; 2000; Bluck 2008; Kay 2004). While certainly earning a mention in many of these texts, an analysis of the role of buildings that have been squatted in, rented, bought, adapted and built by minority faith communities, however, has played a back-seat to other considerations.

Outside of disciplines that traditionally study religion but which have buildings as their focus – including heritage studies, architecture and planning – there has been some progress towards understanding minority faith buildings in Britain (particularly Islam and Judaism) although the extant literature is far from comprehensive. There have been some studies on synagogues (Kadish 1996, 2006, 2011; Krinsky 1996) and a growing literature on mosques (Saleem 2010, 2012, 2015), some of which has been commissioned by Historic England. There is a small, but instructive, literature on minority faith traditions and planning (Peach and Gale 2003; Gale 2004, 2008; Gale and Naylor 2002; Naylor and Ryan 2010), which we will return to below.

The historic lack of focus on minority faith buildings is due to a combination of factors that has begun to shift in configuration over the past two decades. The recent emergence of an interest within the heritage industry in minority faith heritages (evidenced for instance in our commission by HE to undertake a survey of Buddhist buildings in England, or HE's interested in mosques and synagogues), can be seen as part of a wider move in contemporary post-secular Britain where publically funded agencies are taking religious affiliation more seriously. Predictions about secularisation and assumptions about the inevitable decline in relevance of religion in modern

society have been revised and, particularly following the election of ‘New Labour’ in 1997, there was an increased emphasis in discourses about British public life on issues of race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality alongside religious affiliation as relevant for social, cultural and political representation. Attention to the roles that religious groups might play in British public life, particularly in an era characterised by economic austerity, is also a feature of the current Conservative administration (and its Coaltion predecessor) and indeed, some public sector organisations certainly consider religion as relevant in terms of its contribution to social cohesion or the delivery of social services (Chapman 2008; Jawad 2012; Dinham and Jackson 2012; Woodhead and Catto 2012; Lambie-Mumford and Jarvis 2012 and Green, Barton and Johns 2012), whereas other organisations with a remit to promote culture, the arts or heritage are today more likely to also bring issues of religious identities into their work, alongside a move to be more inclusive of minority communities and diverse styles of social, cultural and material production (Singh 2014). It is into this context that our research into Buddhist buildings in England was born.

Research questions and methods

The research underpinning this paper was directly commissioned by Historic England in order to address a number of questions relevant to its remit:

- What do Buddhist communities use buildings for?
- What kind of buildings do they choose and why?
- Where are Buddhist buildings in England located and how many are there?
- What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals?

In order to address these questions, we employed three complementary research methods: desk-based national mapping and information gathering about Buddhist groups in England using the Internet and the production of a

database of Buddhist buildings, which included information about the type of Buddhism, the type of building, its location and whether or not it is a 'listed' building; site visits to undertake interviews at 15 'Buddhist buildings'; and an online survey, to which we received 24 responses. These were drawn from a range of Buddhist traditions and groups, but with 11 of these from individuals affiliated to Triratna (formerly known as Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, or FWBO), reflecting the fact that this organisation has a large number of centres and groups in England.

We took a broad approach to defining what a 'Buddhist building' is, whilst taking into consideration the priorities and drivers for HE in terms of the type of buildings that it is concerned with, particularly regarding listing and protection. Therefore, we have not focused on Buddhist groups meeting in private residential houses, or the buildings that are occasionally rented by groups for retreats that generally operate as retreat spaces for many different communities. However, the desk-based mapping did include private residential houses where these are rented or bought by Buddhist communities, rather than periodically used for meditation classes or courses.

For the follow up interviews we visited 15 Buddhist buildings, in 11 different geographical locations, including some of the 'iconic' examples of building reuse and new building from a range of different traditions, rather than the more numerous and straight forward reuse/adaptation of houses and other buildings. The site visits we undertook were:

1. London Buddhist Society (non-affiliated)
2. Amaravati Buddhist Monastery (Thai Forest Sangha, Theravāda)
3. Wat Phra Dhammakaya, Woking (Thai, Theravāda)
4. Wat Buddhapadipa, Wimbledon (Thai, Theravāda)
5. Birmingham Buddhist vihara (Burmese, Theravāda)
6. Jamyang London (Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT), Tibetan)
7. Madhayamaka Centre, York (New Kadampa Tradition (NKT), Tibetan)
8. Harewood House Buddhist Stupa (Tibetan)
9. Diamond Way London (Tibetan)
10. London Fo Guang Shan (East Asian)

11. Throssel Hole Buddhist Abbey (Order of Buddhist Contemplatives (OBC), Sōtō Zen, East Asian)
12. Taplow Court (Soka Gakkai, East Asian)
13. London Buddhist Centre (Triratna, non-sectarian)
14. Manchester Buddhist Centre (Triratna, non-sectarian)
15. West London Buddhist Centre (Triratna, non-sectarian)

We have kept a blog during the project – 'buildingbuddhism' - which is still being updated.[2] This has so far attracted nearly 4,000 visitors and over 10,000 page views, and has generated debate and engagement from individual Buddhists, heritage professionals, and other interested parties regarding the project.

Findings and discussion

Where are Buddhist buildings in England located and how many are there?

Over the course of our research, we identified 190 'Buddhist buildings' in England. To the best of our knowledge, this is the total amount of buildings that are owned or rented long-term by Buddhist communities. We have not counted all the 'Buddhist groups' in England since many of these meet in people's houses or rent rooms in buildings for meetings and practice rather than having a permanent base in any particular building. Out of the 190 buildings, 59 are from the Theravāda tradition; 69 are from Tibetan traditions, with 39 of those from the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT); 29 are from different East Asian traditions; and 33 are what we are calling non-sectarian, with 25 of these from Triratna. Tables 2-5 give a summary of the buildings by tradition according to three factors: 1) whether they are urban, suburban or rural; 2) the numbers of listed buildings they have; and 3) whether they are in the North, South, or Midlands.

In the following sections we will give an overview of the locations and numbers of buildings according to tradition, and will identify and seek to

explain key trends before providing an analysis of the qualitative data through the framework of our principle research questions.

Theravāda (59 buildings in total)

Table 2 to be located here: Theravāda: Location of building by tradition and how many are listed

Table 2 gives a break down of the 59 Theravāda buildings we located: 34 of these centres are in the South; 15 are in the North; and 10 are in the Midlands. Of these, 3 are Grade II listed buildings - the International Meditation Centre United Kingdom, Splatts House, Wiltshire (Burmese); the Dhammakaya Meditation Centre, Newcastle; and the London Buddhist Vihara, in Chiswick, London (Sri Lankan). The London Buddhist Vihara was founded in 1926 by a Sri Lankan monk called Anagarika Dharmapala and was the first Buddhist monastery to be established outside of Asia. It moved to a location on Heathfield Gardens in Chiswick in 1964 and then to its current property on The Avenue in Chiswick in 1994 (Harvey 1990, 442).

The majority of these buildings (48) are located in suburban residential areas, typically in semi-detached houses. Some of these are smaller, relatively inexpensive ex-local authority housing stock, and other properties are larger, sometimes with two semi-detached houses being knocked into one property or with additional building having taken place. Thus, as communities become more financially secure and established they are able to move or to improve and extend their properties (Peach and Gale 2003). This pattern of building use was found most strongly amongst ‘diaspora Buddhists’ of Sri Lankan, Burmese and Thai heritage. The location of these Buddhist buildings in cheaper suburban areas is a reflection of the socio-economic status of many diaspora groups in the UK. However, it is also related to the fact that unlike some of the Buddhist movements that attract greater numbers of convert Buddhists such as Triratna and the NKT, the primary aim of most of these Buddhist temples and centres is to cater to the religious and cultural needs of diaspora communities. This helps explain the greater emphasis in these centres upon cultural events and festivals, and also their higher

prevalence in suburban residential settings, in locations convenient for the specific communities to access. There are exceptions to this, however, which will be discussed at the end of this section.

Both the Thai and the Burmese communities in England have purpose built temples in traditional styles although this is rare amongst Buddhist communities in England. The Birmingham Burmese Buddhist Vihara is in a suburban location and caters for a relatively small and dispersed Burmese Buddhist community, members of which travel from different parts of the country for festivals and ceremonies. The site houses a large Burmese style pagoda, completed in 1998, and also two houses – the vihara (the monks' quarters) and the dhamma hall (where Buddhist teachings are given and there are rooms that can be hired by other groups). The complex was founded by Bhante Rewata Dhamma, a popular Burmese spiritual leader and teacher who arrived in England in 1975. According to our interviewee, his 'idea was to use Birmingham as a springboard to get Buddhism into the West'.[3] As he began to establish his spiritual community in Britain, he initially shared a house with a Tibetan group, and, subsequently, 'a couple of days a week, it was a Mahayana Temple, and a couple of days a week it was a Theravādan temple' – such a symbiotic relationship between Buddhist groups would be unusual in the countries where the traditions originate.[4] When alternative land became available through Birmingham City Council, through donations from followers drawn principally from the Burmese community, he was able to build the pagoda, vihara, and dhamma hall.

The purpose built Thai temple, Wat Buddhapadipa, is in Wimbledon, South London, in the grounds of a 1920s house (Barrogill House) bought in 1976 by Thai community members living in the area. The house became the monastic residence and offices, and a temple in traditional Thai style (one of only two 'architecturally perfect' examples of Thai building outside Thailand) was completed 1982, with funding from the Thai Government. The uposatha hall or temple (the consecrated building where the Buddha rupa, or image, is kept and where ritual ceremony takes place) is decorated with floor to ceiling murals. Whilst mural painting is a feature of Thai temples, many of those at Wat Buddhapadipa depict images drawn from popular British and Western culture. Initially painted in the 1980s, using British-Thai volunteer artists, the

murals depict political figures such as Margaret Thatcher, Saddam Hussein, and Ronald Reagan, alongside cultural and popular images of the time such as punks, a Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle, a Thai Airways plane and a NASA shuttle. As a result, the Wat Buddhapadipa murals were described to us as a 'time capsule of the 1980s' and function to visually and artistically connect Thai Buddhist practice and practitioners with the contemporary British landscape (Cate 2003). The temple is now over 30 years old and as an outcome of this project we have suggested to HE that it could be considered for listing.

While Wat Buddhapadipa mainly caters for members of the Thai diaspora, four of the fifteen Thai Buddhist properties in England are rural centres belonging to the English Sangha Trust (EST), linked to the Thai Forest Tradition, which has been attractive to convert Buddhists. In 1978, an American-born monk, who had spent almost 10 years training in the Thai Forest Tradition, Ajahn Sumedo, came to Hampstead Vihara - 'a small house on a noisy street' (Bluck 2006: 25), with three other Western monks. As Bluck notes: 'there were soon plans to move from London to "a place where something approximating to the atmosphere of a Thai forest monastery could be created"... and in 1979 the EST bought Chithurst House, a semi-derelict Victorian mansion in Sussex' (2006: 25) and established Cittaviveka – Chithurst Buddhist Monastery. This marked the beginnings of a successful Thai Theravāda sa*ṅ*gha in the UK, although 'the initial emphasis was often on renovation work rather than spiritual training' (2006: 25). To accommodate growing numbers of people interested in this form of Buddhism, smaller viharas were opened at Harnham in Northumberland (Aruna Ratanagiri Monastery, est. 1980) and Hartridge in Devon (Hartridge Buddhist Monastery, est. late 1980s) and, in 1984, Amaravati monastery was established at a former school in Hertfordshire 'as the Forest Sangha's main centre in Britain' (2006: 25).

The buildings purchased to form Amaravati were Canadian cedar wood huts that were funded by the Canadian Government in 1939 to be used as a summer camp for children. Owing to the break out of WWII, the buildings were never used for their intended purpose, but instead were initially occupied by wartime evacuees. Later, the site was used by Bedfordshire County

Council as a school for children with learning and behavioural difficulties, before closing in the early 1980s. From the first day that the Buddhist community moved in, there were 30-40 people living on site in the basic huts that had not been refurbished since the closure the school. All of the existing buildings on the site needed considerable attention, and the work was done slowly, and on a tight budget, by volunteers. Amaravati Buddhist Monastery today consists of a purpose built temple with cloister (est.1999) alongside the renovated huts. However, rather than following a Thai style of architecture, according to Bluck:

> The new Amaravati temple, whose deliberate use of British and Thai architecture gives a visual message of the fusion of the two cultures. Artefacts used in lay groups reflect the aesthetic preferences of individuals rather than copying a Thai style…Despite its Thai iconography, the Amaravati temple is a bold attempt at British Buddhist architecture (2006, 47-48).

In addition to the properties discussed above, a number of Theravāda centres are located in even more unusual settings. For instance, a Thai monastery called Wat Phra Singh has been set up in the former Waterloo Hotel, a pub in Runcorn. The Dhammakaya tradition currently has three temples in England: one in Manchester which used to occupy a rented former converted curtain-rail factory on Cheltenham Street (est. 2004) and has since moved into a former church, the Edgeley United Reform Church (est. 2008), one in Newcastle, also in a former church, and Wat Phra Dhammakaya in Surrey, located in the converted Brookwood Hospital in Woking (est. 2007). Wat Phra Dhammakaya does appear to be an anomaly in the pattern of building occupation and development that we have noted amongst many of the other diaspora-dominant Buddhist groups in Britain. Whilst the majority of UK supporters of Dhammakaya have Thai heritage and they have strong links to a Thai Theravāda tradition, they consciously choose to adapt larger premises rather than suburban houses, and do not wish to purpose-build in a Thai architectural style, preferring to renovate as sympathetically as possible to the original use. Including, for example, in Wat Phra Dhammakaya, renovating

Christian stained glass that was once part of the original chapel building. Whilst they offer Thai cultural activities and festival celebrations for occasions such as Songkran (Thai New Year) alongside periods of temporary ordination for young men in keeping with the Thai tradition, they also host regular meditation classes, groups and retreats for English-speaking non-Buddhists and appear to utilise their building to support a rather more 'outward-facing' or even missionising agenda than many of the other diaspora-dominant groups that we have encountered in this study.

Tibetan (69 buildings in total)

Table 3 to be located here: Tibetan: Location of building by tradition and how many are listed

Table 3 gives a break-down of the 69 Tibetan buildings by tradition, with the largest proportion of these belonging to the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT) (39). The spread of Tibetan Buddhism to England occurred later than the Theravāda, and came about following the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959, when monks and teachers fled to India and beyond. In 1961, the Dalai Lama became the Patron of the Buddhist Society in London and today, all four of the major schools of Tibetan Buddhist are found in Britain: Kagyu, Gelug, Nyingma and Sakya. Tibetan Buddhism in Britain and in the West more generally, is a tradition very much focusing on Western converts, owing to a relatively small Tibetan diaspora. The largest schools in England are Karma Kagyu and Gelug, with Sakya and Nyingma having much lower numbers of adherents. The largest single Tibetan Buddhist group at present in England is the NKT, which is drawn from the Gelug school.

The NKT formed in 1991, when Geshe Kelsang Gyatso formally split from the FPMT (Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahāyāna Tradition), a group co-founded in 1975 by Lama Thubten Yeshe and Lama Thubten Zopa Rinpoche. In 1976, the FPMT purchased the grade II* listed Conishead Priory – a neglected Victorian mansion in Cumbria – for £70,000, with support from growing numbers of Western followers and established the Manjushri Institute, which by 1977 had its own resident teacher, a Tibetan monk called

Geshe Kelsang Gyatso, who went on to form the NKT (Kay 2004, 53-80). Problems had been brewing since the late 1970s when Geshe Kelsang Gyatso opened up a Buddhist centre in Hebden Bridge, West Yorkshire, under his own auspices rather than that of the FPMT (Kay 2004, 61, 68). This new centre – the Madhyamaka Centre – later moved to York, and then to the impressive grade II* listed Kilnwick Percy Hall, a mansion in Pocklington, outside York. Another reason for the split was a dispute over the reliance of Geshe Kelsang upon the imagery of and devotional practice towards the 'dharma protector' deity Dorje Shugden. This practice has been rejected by the Dalai Lama and many other Gelug practitioners (Kay 2004, 70).

Today the NKT has its headquarters at the Manjushri Institute and has steadily grown over the past decades. The FPMT, by contrast, remains smaller with only three centres: one in central Leeds in rented office space; a rural property in Northumberland – Greenhaugh Hall – which has recently been purchased to set up 'Land of Joy', a rural retreat centre; and the Jamyang Buddhist Centre London, which occupies a former Victorian courthouse in Lambeth. The FPMT bought this Grade II listed building in 1995, after previously occupying a semi-detached house, also in London. In the 1960s and 70s, the courthouse housed a number of high-profile, high-security IRA prisoners before their trials. After fundraising, and successfully being granted a mortgage, Jamyang bought the building and undertook large-scale renovation work to transform the courthouse into a working Buddhist Centre. This renovation work included removing bullet-proof glass in front of what was formerly the Judge's bench, and renovating the former cells into accommodation rooms.

In contrast to the Theravāda traditions, there are far more urban properties within the Tibetan traditions, with the NKT being unusual in having 16 urban, 18 suburban and 5 rural. The NKT has consciously invested in urban city/town centre properties that will be visible and encourage passing interest. Also in contrast to the Theravāda buildings, where most are in the South of England, for the NKT, 26 sites are in the North, 11 are in the South and 2 in the Midlands. The NKT claims an ancient Tibetan lineage but also considers itself to be '"a recent development", responding to "the needs of the

contemporary practitioner" by enabling Westerners "to engage in systematic study and practice of Buddhadharma"' (Bluck 2006, 131). Its rather rapid expansion would seem to support Bunting's view that the movement aims to open 'a centre in every major UK town' (Bunting 1996).

The NKT has expanded quite quickly in recent years and it seems likely that has been facilitated by the choice to purchase cheaper properties in urban and suburban areas in the North of England. The urban properties include an old guest house (Atisha Kadampa Buddhist Centre, Darlington), a civic/municipal building (Buddha Land Centre, Keighley), an old school (Nagarjuna Kadampa Meditation Centre, Leicester), shops (e.g. Buddha Land Kadampa Buddhist Centre, Burnley; Ganden Kadampa Buddhist Centre, Halifax; Samudra Buddhist Centre, Buxton) and office space (Kadampa Meditation Centre Manchester). The suburban properties (in contrast to the predominance of smallish suburban semi-detached houses used by the immigrant communities of the Theravāda and East Asian traditions) are mainly larger properties, and two of these are Grade II listed: the former Birkby Baptist Church (Vajrapani Buddhist Centre, Huddersfield) and Bodhisattva Kadampa Buddhist Meditation Centre, former children's home in Hove. The 5 rural properties are also impressive in size and historical pedigree with a stately home, former priory and large rectory, with 4 of these being listed buildings (Kadampa Primary school and Tara Kadampa Meditation Centre, Grade II*, Ashe Hall, Derbyshire; Madyamaka Buddhist Centre, Grade II*, Kilnwick Percy Hall near York; and Manjushri Centre/Buddhist Temple, Grade II listed Conishead Priory near Ulverston).

East Asian (26 buildings in total)

Table 4 to be located here: East Asian: Location of building by tradition and how many are listed

Table 4 gives the break-down of East Asian Buddhist buildings (29) in England belonging to different traditions, with 3 of these being Grade II listed: the former house of Christmas Humphreys (one of the significant

figures/teachers in establishing Buddhism in England) – comprising a large suburban semi-detached house in London (Rinzai Zen); the impressive manor house – Taplow Court – now occupied by Soka Gakkai International UK, Berkshire; and the Taiwanese Fo Guang Shan, a former seminary linked to the Oxford Movement in central London.

The strong pattern of urban and northern properties found in the Tibetan traditions due to the NKT, is not present here and instead we find a profile more similar to the Theravāda traditions. While the two largest groups within East Asian Buddhism in Britain – the Serene Reflection Meditation tradition (SRM), linked to the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives (OBC) a Sōtō Zen group, and Soka Gakkai International UK (SGI-UK) – attract mainly convert Buddhists, there are some other groups that have emerged from within specific Asian countries (Bluck 2006, 18). As Kay writes, there are a number of Asian-based temples in Britain and although there is overlap between their activities and those of converts to Buddhism, 'the expression of Buddhism within Asian immigrant and refugee communities represents a phenomenon very different – religiously, culturally and sociologically – to the practice of Buddhism by British 'converts'' (Kay 2004, 27-28). As with the Theravāda groups discussed above, 'Asian-based temples function primarily as religious and cultural focal points within the immigrant Chinese, Vietnamese and Korean communities, and they are to be found, predictably, in the major urban areas where these Asian groupings are clustered (London, Manchester and Birmingham)' (Kay 2004, 29). Most of these temples do not attempt to draw in Western followers and, arguably, practice Buddhism in a way that does not typically appeal to most Westerners, i.e. with a focus on devotional chanting and ancestor worship rather than meditation and philosophical reflection (Kay 2004, 33).

Looking in more detail at an example of an East Asian tradition that does cater predominantly to Westerners, the OBC was established in Britain at Throssel Hole Abbey in Northumberland by Reverend Master Jiyu-Kennett (born Peggy Kennett) in 1972 (Oliver 1979, 179). First taking ordination in Malaysia and later in Japan in the early 1960s, she travelled to the United States to establish a monastic training centre at Shasta Abbey in California in

1970 (after setting up the San Francisco Zen Mission Society) and then supported the founding of Throssel Hole Abbey two years later (Bluck, 2006, 65-6; Kay, 2004,124). In 1970, the Northumberland farm buildings and land that were to become Throssel Hole Buddhist Abbey were purchased by one of Reverend Master Jiyu-Kennett's early disciples. This site had previously been a farm and a 'hippy commune', and the built structures that were there were basic and in a poor state of repair. What was eventually to become the monks' meditation hall had been a stone cow-shed, with no windows. Our interviewee recollected that the task of renovating these structures was initially rather over-whelming for the early community, but that they were buoyed by a visit from Reverend Master Jiyu-Kennett who, when asked 'Where do we start?', picked up a broom and replied, 'right here' and began sweeping the site herself.

Although initially the renovation was completed by lay and monastic community members, and within a very tight budget, the later building work was done with an architect, drawn from the community, who helped to plan the extensions and the additional buildings that were constructed. As with Amaravati Buddhist Monastery, the buildings of Throssel Hole do not resemble a typical Asian-style temple but instead take on Western architectural features, most likely in response to the needs, skills and aesthetic design ideas of the individuals involved in the renovation and also as a result of the landscape, structures, and materials available. In addition to Throssel Hole Abbey, there are currently six smaller OBC temples across England that provide regular meditation groups, events and ceremonies as well as a hermitage in Derbyshire and a retreat centre in Rochdale.

Non-sectarian (33 buildings in total)

Table 5 to be located here: Non-sectarian: Location of building by tradition and how many are listed

Table 5 gives a break-down of buildings from the groups that we have identified as non-sectarian (33). The largest of these groups is Triratna (formerly the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO)) with 25 buildings in England. There are striking parallels with the NKT in terms of the location of Triratna Buddhist centres. While the NKT is more focussed on the North of England and Triratna on the South, they both have a much higher proportion of their sites in urban areas than Theravāda or East Asian traditions, and also tend not to be so concentrated in areas where higher numbers of diaspora Buddhists are located (i.e. whereas the NKT and Triratna have roughly 5% and 4% respectively of their sites in the Midlands, Theravāda and East Asian have approximately 18% and 23% respectively of their sites in this region of the UK, which has attracted relatively high numbers of immigrants from Asia compared to many other areas). This fits what we know about Triratna and NKT as largely focusing on British converts and also having a stronger 'missionary' dimension and explains their focus upon urban settings where they can become an established high-street presence. Four of the Triratna buildings are listed, including: the Cambridge Buddhist Centre, Grade II* listed, formed partly of a renovated Georgian house and partly of the Barnwell or Festival Theatre and its foyer; and the London Buddhist Centre, Grade II listed, located in the former Bethnal Green fire station. As with the NKT, the suburban properties tend towards the more aesthetically impressive than those belonging to the Theravāda and East Asian traditions that have utilised semi-detached houses, perhaps suggesting a certain building type appeals to the community members seeking to establish centres. The five rural properties are also aesthetically impressive and include old farm buildings that have been extended and refurbished, a Victorian rectory and country houses.

What do Buddhist communities in England use buildings for?

Buildings that are used by Buddhists in England have a range of functions including Buddhist practice (which here is principally communal or individual

meditation, chanting and attending dhamma/dharma teaching) and the celebration of Buddhist festivals, as well as a location where cultural and community activities for Buddhists are carried out. The latter is particularly important for the diaspora Buddhist communities from Thailand, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Burma, Vietnam, China and Taiwan, and often involves activities in local languages and reflecting local customs and traditions. Buildings are important as a place for Buddhist monastics or other ordained persons to live, including those from a Western convert background as well as those from Asian backgrounds, and as a place for lay Buddhist communities to live together in a communal setting (which is particularly popular within the Triratna Buddhist movement). A number of Buddhist buildings function as spaces where retreats and courses are offered, often in rural locations, and there are two Buddhist schools for children and young people in England (the New Kadampa Tradition's (NKT) 'Kadampa School' In Derbyshire and the 'Dharma School' in Brighton). We also found buildings where Buddhist businesses have been established, and Buddhist ethical principles can be lived out (e.g. Windhorse: Evolution shops run by Triratna – which closed in early 2015; the Buddhist charity shop 'Lama's Pyjamas' run by Triratna's London Buddhist Centre; the NKT's 'World Peace Cafes' and book shops; and Jamyang London's cafe), and also buildings which are used as spaces where 'mindfulness meditation' is offered to non-Buddhists, sometimes upon referral from health professionals. In England, Buddhist businesses, including those that offer mindfulness teaching, are more likely to be found amongst Buddhist groups that attract 'converts' than those that predominantly cater to diaspora groups. Finally, a number of the buildings also offer spaces that other groups, Buddhist or not, can hire for events and workshops, although again, this was more prevalent amongst those buildings which are typically occupied by convert-dominant Buddhist communities, suggesting a particular relationship that convert-dominant Buddhist groups in England are currently developing both with the state and wider, non-Buddhist communities.

What kind of buildings do they choose and why?

Most buildings adapted by Buddhists in England have previously been used for non-religious use and there are rules that need to be followed for change of use. According to the 1987 Town and Country Planning Order, uses of land and buildings fall within a range of categories. Places of worship come under class D1:

> **D1 Non-residential institutions** - Clinics, health centres, crèches, day nurseries, day centres, schools, art galleries (other than for sale or hire), museums, libraries, halls, places of worship, church halls, law court. Non residential education and training centres.[5]

Change of use normally requires planning permission unless the new function falls within the same class. Thus, to turn a residential house into a place of worship would require planning permission, but to change a library or a law court into a place of worship would not. It is also possible for places of worship to be formally 'certified' for religious worship and also for the solemnisation of marriages. According to government guidelines:

> The Places of Worship Registration Act 1855 enables a place of meeting for religious worship to be recorded by the Registrar General. However, a congregation is still able to worship in a building which has not been recorded.[6]

Thus, although a community does not have to register their building as a place of worship, without doing this, marriages cannot be performed. There are also financial advantages to being registered as a place of worship, including not having to pay Council Tax or Business Rates.

While most Buddhists will generally have space to practice at home, and some have dedicated shrine and meditation rooms, which may also be used by others, many also go outside their homes for practice and cultural activities. We have identified a number of **broad types** of property/premises used by Buddhists in England:

1. ‘**Borrowed/hired periodically’ for meetings etc.** People’s houses frequently host Buddhist groups that may eventually be able to purchase or rent a property. This has been the historical pattern, but is still found today as groups within traditions already present in Britain seek to establish themselves in new towns and cities. Hired public spaces are also often used by Buddhist groups for periodic meditation classes and other forms of Buddhist practice (e.g. Friends Meeting House, community centres, healing centres etc.). We have put these together into one type as they both involve using a building periodically rather than having a permanent presence. This would not require planning permission.

2. **‘Teacher’s houses’** Sometimes teachers of Buddhism effectively and possibly ‘informally’ (i.e. without planning permission) turn their own homes into Buddhist ‘centres’. This may be a permanent change of use for which planning permission ought to be sought.

3. **‘Squatted or rented full-time’ solely for Buddhist purposes** Some houses were squatted by members of the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO) in the 1970s, before squatting was illegal, as they sought to establish Buddhist communities. Buddhist groups have also rented accommodation, usually before a period of fundraising and moving onto purchase a property.

4. **‘Purchased residential reuse and adaptation’** Buddhist communities have bought houses of different types (e.g. suburban residential homes, large urban houses, manor houses and mansions in rural locations). Often these have been extended or renovated to suit the needs of the community. There is a pattern of some groups having both centres in urban locations and rural retreats (e.g. in the NKT, OBC, SGI, Triratna). This would require planning permission, as it requires a change of use from C3 (dwelling houses) to D1.

5. **‘Purchased other reuse and adaptation’** Buddhist communities have bought other buildings, including shops on high streets, different municipal buildings including libraries, swimming pools, schools, old industrial sites, other places of worship. This might require planning permission if it involves a change of class.

6. **‘Purpose built’** Some Buddhist groups have been able to purpose build for their use (i.e. temples in traditional style e.g. Thai, Burmese, or modern retreat centres in Triratna). This would require planning permission, as it is a new building project.

7. **‘Reuse/adaptation and purpose built’** Some Buddhist centres have developed from a building that has been purchased alongside purpose built elements on the same land. This would require planning permission, as it involves a new building project.

These findings are broadly in line with the ‘four stage cycle’ proposed by Peach and Gale (2003) which maps the progression of the relationship between the British planning process and minority faith groups (and how this is manifested in changing building types) as the latter establish themselves in properties to enable practice and community building. The first of these is ‘tacit change and planning denial’ where places of worship are established in residential houses, often without planning permission; the second involves ‘the search for larger premises’, and frequently involves the adaptive re-use of existing buildings; the third stage is ‘purpose-built premises: hiding and displacement’, involving ‘hiding the buildings from public view or truncating their iconic features’ (2003: 483); and finally we find ‘purpose-built premises: embracing and celebration’ where the full range of traditional architectural features are on show (2003: 484-5).

While the first two phases are very prominent amongst Buddhist groups in England, the third and fourth are less so. We did map and visit some groups who had purpose-built premises or who had built onto existing premises in ways that incorporated Buddhist/Asian styles of architecture, but these were relatively few and were not particularly prominent or visible in public spaces.

Buddhist traditions with strong transnational connections often have access to a larger pool of donors and volunteers, which means that they can undertake more ambitious building projects. Therefore, it is not unforeseeable that some Buddhist groups, particularly those drawn from diaspora communities, may also develop in this fashion and build more Asian-style prominent temples and centres in English towns and cities. Another significant point is that Buddhism in England has attracted more Western converts than these other traditions. This appears to have an impact on the choice of building where many centres tend to reflect Western styles of architecture, both where buildings are reused and where new building has taken place. There are some Asian-style Buddhist temples in England but these tend to have been established by 'diaspora Buddhists'.

Although this four-stage model can be seen as a way of articulating progressive change as communities become more established and financially stable, it is also the case that particular communities may dwell within each phase at the same time. One example of this is within the NKT and Triratna – both movements that are keen to actively interpret Buddhism for a Western audience. Although both of these organisations are now well established, with many centres – both rural and urban – they still occupy phase one and two as they seek to set up new centres and groups and to establish themselves in new locations.

In our interviews, we investigated in more depth as to why particular buildings were chosen by specific communities. A number of groups chose to purchase and adapt large public buildings. This was seen as desirable as a large building had an advantage for Buddhist practice since, according to one of our interviewees at Jamyang London (in reference to buildings that Tibetan Buddhists had renovated in Britain):

> All these building had a big hall of some kind—a big space or hall. Schools have assembly halls, the [library] in Bermondsey had an upstairs function room,[7] we have our big courtroom, the swimming pool[8] is a huge space. All of these buildings have a big space, and that is obviously an attraction for a Buddhist centre because you want to have a shrine room, and lots of small spaces.[9]

However, for many, cost was a primary consideration in the decision to select a particular building to occupy, with individual community members having to raise funds to purchase buildings and to carry out work, and the renovation of public buildings in need of attention was often affordable. Other projects involving the renovation of public buildings were also undertaken at the Beaufoy Institute (a former industrial (or 'ragged') school for poor boys, which was built in 1907 by the philanthropic Beaufoy family in Lambeth) by the Tibetan Diamond Way group (linked to a Karma Kagyu lineage), and at the Triratna centres in Manchester (an old textile warehouse) and Bethnal Green (a former fire station), for example. These Tibetan lineages and Triratna are all groups that, in Britain, attract more Western converts than diaspora Buddhists. Our interviewee from Diamond Way told us that, until finding this building, which had been on the English Heritage 'At Risk' register for some time, they had 'rented properties…and met in people's homes, met in people's rented properties for that purpose, or hired shops or other properties, but we haven't actually bought anything until now.'[10] As with many of the buildings the work on the Beaufoy Institute was done by volunteers in what were described as quite harsh conditions, as our interviewee explained:

> The main hall was 2 degrees in March inside, and the problem was that the paint stripper wouldn't work at under 4 degrees. It was bitter, really bitter.[11]

We heard a similar story about the Triratna London Buddhist Centre (LBC), located in a renovated Victorian fire station in Bethnal Green. The LBC community members had looked all over London for a suitable building and had previously occupied a rented place, but hoped for somewhere larger and more permanent, suitable to their growing Buddhist community. According to Vajragupta in a recent history of Triratna (2010, 14):

> There, on the main road, was a huge, many-storeyed, red-brick Victorian civic building – an old fire station that had been empty for five years. Slowly but surely, it was starting to decay. It had become a den where

> local children and teenagers hung out. The walls and timbers were black and charred where they'd started fires. Graffiti was daubed on the walls. Someone else had painted over the graffiti: 'NO KIDS ON THE ROOF'. It stank of urine. Most of the windows had gone and were boarded over with corrugated iron, which had then been fly-postered.

It took the community three years to renovate the old Fire Station, with volunteers undertaking all of the initial work. Some of them lived within the building itself whilst the renovations were underway, and were exposed to austere circumstances, including, at one stage, when the building had no window glass, and was almost completely exposed to the elements. Again, according to Vajragupta:

> A team of men moved in and started work in June 1975. They slept on the floor on sleeping bags, meditated together in the morning in the skeleton of the old fire station, worked hard all day on its renovation, studied and did puja in the evenings (2010, 15).

While the initial renovation work for this huge project was undertaken almost entirely by volunteers drawn from the Buddhist community and the local area, for a second round of renovations many years later, professional builders were used. This was particularly necessary when ensuring the building complied with disabled access legislation. The sense of becoming more 'professionalised' in the approach to building as communities become more established is mirrored within other Buddhist groups in this context. This reflects a desire to make Buddhist practices widely accessible in attractive locations which is partly achieved by the growing support and increasing numbers of adherents in Britain (and correspondingly, a greater pool of financial support to draw on). Yet, it also highlights that groups must now comply with increasingly rigorous health and safety legislation; an issue that was not a consideration in the same way for those Buddhist communities who initially adapted buildings in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Manchester Buddhist Centre is similarly located in a building that has required much volunteer labour and hardship in order to renovate it. Originally

occupying an old house in Chorlton, according to our participants 'there was…a vision of bringing Buddhism into the city and engaging with the city more directly. So, this building was a shell effectively. It was a derelict warehouse, built in the 1860s.' The house in Chorlton was sold and the proceeds, along with a mortgage, were used to help purchase the Victorian former cotton warehouse in 1994. The community spent two years on the process of renovation, where:

> People were living on a shoe-string, and there were times that we didn't think that we had enough money to feed people…there were times when the finances were really stretched. And there was a lot of concern and worry about actually completing what we needed to do.[12]

Of a much larger scale than either of these Triratna buildings is the NKT's Madhyamaka Kadampa Meditation Centre, located in the Grade II* listed Kilnwick Percy Hall, near York. As our interviewee explained, much of the work over the years had been done with volunteer labour and whilst they continued regularly to use volunteer teams and the expertise of their community members, professionals are also used to carry out work, particularly in terms of more skilled specific tasks. While the house had been purchased with a mortgage, today the costs of upkeep come from people who live there and community donations, alongside income from meditation classes, courses, and retreats, a bed and breakfast, a café and a gift shop.

Many Buddhist communities had previously occupied other buildings in England, and the move to and development of the current property was part of a process of a period of settlement followed by efforts to lay down more permanent roots. Reasons for moving included the need for more space to house a growing Buddhist community, wanting to be closer to a city-centre (where it might be easier for existing and new members to access facilities), to be able to develop a space in exactly the way that they wanted without the restrictions inherent within a rented property, and to move to a building that was more aesthetically pleasing. For Wat Buddhapadipa, a temple complex that includes a purpose built Thai style structure in Wimbledon, a different

reason was given. We read that the house previously occupied in East Sheen was not entirely suitable since:

> With the exception of a small signboard outside, there were no other external indications to show the existence of a Thai Buddhist Temple…[and]…Thai visitors to London calling at the Temple were somewhat disappointed (Wat Buddhapadipa 1982, 128).

By 1971, discussions were underway to build a 'Thai style chapel' and this was opened in 1982. This certainly fits the profile suggested by Peach and Gale (2003) of a non-conspicuous presence of minority faith buildings in their early phases.

The Thai government put funds into this project and a number of other Buddhist buildings that we visited also had support from overseas funding sources rather than raising funds being the sole responsibility of individual community members. This includes the purchase of Taplow Court for the SGI-UK headquarters and the premises of Fo Guang Shan in central London, a converted Christian seminary, with funding drawn from Japan and Taiwan, respectively.

A final example of shifts that have taken place in the selection of building sites is another Triratna building – the West London Buddhist Centre in Ladbroke Grove. Our interviewee explained that when the centre opened in 1976, it was initially in rented rooms. They bought a building – 94 Westbourne Park villas – over twenty years ago, but this was intended as a provisional move as 'they weren't quite happy with [the building] because they didn't really see it functioning as a Buddhist centre. It's not a perfect Buddhist centre at all. But it was affordable.[13] However, 'since then [the building has] gone up so much in price' and, at the time of our interview, the community was in the process of finalising a building swap with a local developer that has seen them move into the lower ground and ground floor of a new development of luxury apartments, plus the receipt of an sizable additional sum to cover the costs of arranging the move (including to cover the fees for solicitors and architects). Interestingly, the fact that a Buddhist centre was moving into the building was being used as a selling point by the property developers, as had

become apparent in the July 2014 edition of the fashion magazine British Vogue, where an advert had been placed and the presence of a Buddhist centre was being used to 'enhance the value' of the property. This suggests a particular attitude that the wider British public might have towards Buddhism that, arguably, is not mirrored with other minority religious traditions in the same context and, as a result, has enabled an innovative working relationship to develop between a Buddhist community and a private housing developer.

What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals?

Our final research question aimed to uncover the value of buildings to Buddhist communities and individuals, including understanding what their significance is and what makes them 'Buddhist'. A number of the places that we visited stressed the role of the building in creating community for both Buddhists and non-Buddhists. For instance, one interviewee at the Manchester Buddhist Centre stressed its unusualness, for:

> …being a large Buddhist centre in the heart of a major city. Five minutes walk from the cathedral, the central library and the town hall. It puts Buddhism on the civic map…It's a vehicle for teaching the Dharma and creating Buddhist community. And [while] it does have multiple uses…pretty much all those uses are connected to the Dharma in some way. And they bring people into the building, and expose people to the Dharma and Buddhism.[14]

At Taplow Court, when we asked about value and significance, one of our interviewees drew attention to their 'attitude towards the experience when people enter a building'[15] and how the Buddhist attitude that they instilled in their volunteers who welcomed people into the building was to do this with 'a big smile, with a broad heart'.[16] She continued that

> people often comment on the atmosphere in a Soka Gakkai centre. And I think that is partly to do with the building choice, and the history of the

> building and what has gone before, but also partly to do with the spirit of bringing a space and environment to life through people. And it's through this—the way that we interact with the building that we use, I think—that can create a really extraordinary atmosphere.[17]

The idea of a building or a room in a building having a transformative affect on people as they enter comes not only from the type of building and how it is decorated but also from Buddhists practicing there, generating merit, or from 'blessings' having been bestowed by important teachers. Our interviewee at The Buddhist Society told us that

> It's kind of like the history, the flavour. All these people have meditated here, practised here. We've had the Dalai Lama here, we've had rooms blessed by people, inaugurated…. It kind of makes it a special thing…The Tibetan word for it would be *'adhisthana'*—'great blessings'—because you've got the karma of the people of the past. In a way, how could you ever use it as something [else]. I think that it's difficult because, I've heard people say about churches—'what do we do?' And there was a church in Islington that had been turned into flats, and people went to live there and said that there was still something of the 'churchness' about the place….
>
> …Maybe you develop this feeling of a centre where people practice and study, you know, people walk into here and say 'it feels like a Buddhist centre, because we can always smell the incense'. And other people say 'why does this place always smell of incense?' And we say, 'because we've been burning it since 1956'. So everything is imbibed by incense…[18]

As with some of the other buildings, our interviewee at Throssel Hole had a strong sense of what makes a building 'Buddhist' and the role that ceremonies have played in that:

> If you go up to…the ceremony hall, and you walk in the door. There's no two ways about it—that building, because it's a closed space of bricks and mortar, can hold an atmosphere, that you couldn't have if you were sat in a field…a building can actually, as it were, almost absorb, and then express, something deeper than itself, in the sense of what goes on there…So, you walk up into that room, and you feel the effect that that room… has had. People meditating in it every weekend, full-time, for the last thirty years.[19]

At Jamyang London, we were told that the building acted as a focus for bringing the community together but, in addition, they emphasised that, 'we've got some custodianship responsibilities to the building as a building.'[20] This idea of preserving the heritage of old buildings and adding to that heritage through a Buddhist presence was a strong narrative in a number of the places we visited, as was the importance of an attractive and pleasing aesthetic as conducive to Buddhist practice. Our Diamond Way interviewee told us that,

> We're not going to turn the Beaufoy into a Tibetan looking temple, because it's not. We're not trying to recreate something. We do have centres that look like that because they lend themselves in their architectural design, or they were built to be that. But we don't try to convert something from what it is into something else so much. Our gompas tend to be a lot more minimalist than Tibetans, …and I love to see that in its right place, but ours will be quite simple and high quality, hopefully elegant, if we can manage it.[21]

One of interviewees from the Manchester Buddhist Centre told us that:

> I like the fact that it's an old building that's been renovated. I like the idea of recycling the building. So this building's been put to new use, and I like that. Aesthetically, I like this building. It think what is more important to me is that this building now has a history of Buddhist use. That's what's important. And I know that a lot of blood, sweat and tears went into renovating this building, and those blood, sweat and tears were put

> in because there was a vision—a Buddhist vision. And there's been a continuation of that over time. That's what's meaningful for me being in this building. It is great that it's an old building.[22]

The very process of doing up the building as a community was also considered to be part of Buddhist practice and in carrying out the renovations members of the community had made subtle changes rather than dramatic ones in order to transform it into a Buddhist building. At the Manchester Buddhist Centre we heard that

> When we were renovating the building there were various places where we had to replace the cement…because the bricks have fallen out, or for whatever reason there would have been something else in the wall there. And when they did that, they got people to come in with small things… [and] embed them in the wet cement. So, upstairs in the shrine room, you can see in the wall all these little treasures that are stuck in the cement …—little bits of tiger's eye and amber—you'll see them when you go upstairs. And in one place, somebody has put an entire mala—a broken mala, broken into a line of beads under the window—which is still there. And there are bits of Chinese Jade and that kind of thing. And I've been told that underneath the shrine room floor, underneath the surface here, there are lots of pictures and blessings and mantras. And the idea was to take this historic building, but also to imbue it with 'Buddhistness'. So, there's continuity of use.[23]

We were also told how on school visits features of the building were used to illuminate Buddhist teaching

> I've been doing school visits for years and years…[and]… I always say to the children before we go upstairs… that the stairs are as old as the building…[and]…what's really unusual about them is that they are the original warehouse stairs—they're twisty. And I always say, as you go up them, try and work out what has happened to them, because it's a really good example of core Buddhist teaching. Because our stairs are

> completely all worn out—they've got dips. And it's not that they're bent, but that they've been worn out by the feet of hobnailed boots of people walking up and down them before we ever lived, over hundreds of years. So they're really good examples of impermanence. They're still there, so there's continuity—it's not that they don't really exist. This idea of non-self—no-fixed self. They're still there, but they've changed. So, kids, what's happened to them? And because I repeat this so often, I have a sense of these people—these men—who walked up and down the stairs in this building carrying these rolls of cloth for two hundred years.[24]

At Throssel Hole our interviewee also emphasised that the building can be seen as part of Buddhist practice where,

> If meditation can never be apart from daily life, then whatever you happen to find that circumstances need at the time, well, that becomes your vehicle for practice. So, if at one point it's building buildings, well that becomes your meditation practice, and then at some other time, it becomes whatever else is going in particularly.[25]

We asked why it was necessary to have a building at all, considering the emphasis within Buddhist teachings on the need to avoid craving (ta*ṇhā*) and attachment (u*pādāna*), including in relation to material objects. At Throssel Hole we were told that,

> One of the key members of our tradition, Great Master Dōgen, who was in the 13th century…in a long line…[of] great masters, would say that if the rain was coming in the roof in one place, you'd move somewhere else. But you weren't going to get into mending things and doing anything about it. Because the great matter of clarifying birth and death was so much more important than what you did with your buildings…However, there's the other side of it...that he [Dōgen] raised money to build buildings for his monastic community, but his view of it was that this was something he needed to do, but it's not the absolute

> fundamental reason for being here. We didn't come here to build a building. And if you see it that way around, then it kind of makes sense.[26]

Similarly, at Amaravati, we were told that,

> Non-attachment doesn't mean having no structures, or no conventions. …The use of structure without attachment is like the famous simile of the raft…If you are living on the dangerous shore where there's difficulty and fear and threat, and then you see on the other shore there's safety and security. And then you gather some sticks and some vines and you put them all together, make a raft, then you paddle across the water to get to the safe shore. Then, having got to the other shore, if you then pick up the raft and say: "This raft has helped me so much; I want to keep it. I love this raft. It's so great. It's got me to this safe place." Then you put it on your shoulder and you carry it wherever you go. So that would not be using the raft correctly. Now, you got across. So then you leave the raft on the bank and then you go your own way. So, that's in a little nutshell, exactly how you relate to structures, whether it's the eight-fold path, or whether it's the monastic rule, or whether it's the temple building.[27]

This indicates a further example of the validity of a 'buildings as practice' motif. Whilst the material environment may not be considered integral to Buddhist spiritual attainment, it is certainly a useful tool in order to focus attention and provide inspiration. Furthermore, particularly amongst the community members who adapted derelict buildings using volunteer labour (such as at Manchester Buddhist Centre, Throssel Hole, or the Diamond Way Buddhist Centre in London), the theme of 'building as practice' featured in testimonies in a further way. Here, they suggested that in facing the sometimes overwhelming task of adapting dilapidated buildings using an inexperienced, volunteer workforce, the process of building itself offered an opportunity to develop and enhance community relationships (particularly with new and fledgling religious groups), binding individuals together and allowing them ample opportunity to put mindfulness and equanimity into practice, especially when they faced obstacles in the adaptation process. Indeed, this

was valued highly, at least equivalent to the finished product of the building itself.

Conclusion

In this paper, through an analysis of data drawn from the first national survey of Buddhist buildings in England, we have highlighted the variety and significance of the built environment amongst Buddhist groups. Although previously an overlooked area of study, both to academics and heritage professionals, buildings are highly important to Buddhist groups as they are a focal point for religious and community activity and a means to bring individuals together, making the teachings of the Buddha and associated religious practices more readily available in a context within which they were once unfamiliar.

Although the study of Buddhist buildings in England is still in its infancy, our initial scoping has highlighted some broad trends that contribute to deepening our understanding of Buddhism in this geographical and cultural context. Whilst the diversity of Buddhism in Britain that is well noted by scholars is certainly writ large upon the buildings that Buddhist groups choose to inhabit, we identified some similarities in building style, development, and use between groups predominantly catering for 'converts' and those catering for 'diaspora' or 'heritage' Buddhists. In terms of 'convert-dominant' groups such as Triratna and the NKT, buildings are more frequently found in urban areas or are larger properties in suburban areas – Triratna having a higher proportion in the South of England, with the NKT a higher proportion in the North. Whilst both Triratna and the NKT have rural centres across the British Isles (sometimes functioning as retreat centres) their choice to be present in city locations reflects a more 'outward-facing' agenda to enable Buddhist teachings and practices to be accessed by a maximum number of people. These groups were also more likely to have 'Buddhist businesses' attached to their centres and have begun to develop working relationships with the state, particularly in the delivery of mindfulness meditation courses, some of which might be 'secular' in nature. Indeed, at both Jamyang London and Triratna Bethnal Green, the community had developed 'secular' spaces within their

Buddhist centres which were utilized for these types of activities, suggesting an interesting pattern of building development as these groups become more established and seek to expand on the services that they offer the wider, often non-Buddhist, British public.

Whilst it is possible that 'convert-dominant' groups might increasingly look to purpose-build their centres as the number of community members increases, this is unlikely to be wholly in one particular Asian architectural style. In fact, we found that the adaption and re-use of older buildings and the idea of custodianship of particular historic sites remains important for these groups, contributing in various ways to their Buddhist practice, correspondingly strengthening community relationships and appealing to a particular aesthetic. Whilst a set 'British Buddhist style' that Bluck (2006, 47-48) noted at Amaravati is not precisely, or consciously, replicated across other Buddhist groups, the use of indigenous materials, British architectural features and building techniques, and a more minimalist aesthetic that is stylistically in keeping with the surroundings (although by no means attempting to conceal their Buddhist status) certainly featured amongst several of the 'convert-dominant' groups. Indeed, if and when more of these groups venture into purpose-building it would be interesting to chart the possible replication of these features.

Conversely, we found that 'diaspora-dominant' groups, in the main, tended to occupy certain types of building, typically semi-detached houses, in suburban areas in order to support particular ethnic communities living around these locations, and because they were affordable. However, it is also these groups, when they become firmly established and are able to draw on increased financial support, that are also more likely to purpose-build Buddhist temples in particular Asian architectural styles in order to promote and preserve a particular cultural heritage. Correspondingly, the activities that they conduct within their buildings also provide support to this broad aim and include more overtly 'cultural' activities, such as dancing. There are, however, important exceptions to this broad typology. The Dhammakaya movement, for example, although catering to a community comprising mainly of people with Thai heritage (albeit with a missionising agenda), adapts and uses the built environment in a way that is more reminiscent of the convert-dominant NKT or

Triratna, with the prevalence of sympathetic adaption of large buildings using a more 'Western' aesthetic, particularly externally. Indeed, to rigidly classify building use and function into 'convert' or 'diaspora' categories runs the risk of overly simplifying the inter-, and intra-group hererogenity within Buddhist communities in the UK. However, whilst mindful of this, it remains that building selection and adaptation is related to the differing aims and intentions of Buddhist groups in this context.

Although this initial scoping study could certainly be extended, both to analyse any potential differences between the various countries which comprise the British Isles and also to incorporate a more detailed examination of certain 'heritage' communities such as Sinhala and Vietnamese who we were only able to consider in our broader mapping exercise, overall we have demonstrated that an analysis of buildings provides a useful alternative lens through which to view Buddhist communities in England. This lens enables us to discern the various things that these groups value, both as they initially establish themselves and later, as the various traditions take firm root and become ever more intertwined with the contemporary English religious landscape.

References

Almond, P. 1998. The British Discovery of Buddhism. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Ali, N. Kalra, V. and Sayyid, S. (eds) 2006: Postcolonial People: South Asians in Britain. London: Hurst and Company.

Ballard, R. 1994 (ed). Desh Pardesh: the South Asian Presence in Britain. London: Hurst and Company.

Batchelor, S. 1994. The Awakening of the West : The Encounter of Buddhism and Western Culture, Berkeley, Parallax Press.

Baumann, M. 2002. “Buddhism in Europe”. In C. Prebish and M. Bauman Westward Dharma Buddhism beyond Asia. Oakland, CA: University of California Press

Bell, S. 1991. Buddhism in Britain - Development and Adaptation. Unpublished PhD, University of Durham.

Bell, S.1998. “British Theravada Buddhism: Otherworldly Theories and the Theory of Exchange”. Journal of Contemporary Religion, 13, 149-170.

Bell, S. 2000. “A Survey of Engaged Buddhism in Britain”. In Queen, C.S. (ed.) Engaged Buddhism in the West. Boston, MA: Wisdom Books.

Bhachu, P. 1985. Twice migrants: East African Sikh settlers in Britain. London: Tavistock.

Bluck, R. 2006. British Buddhism: Teachings, Practice and Development,New York, Routledge.

Cate, S. 2003. Making Merit, Making Art: A Thai Temple in Wimbledon. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.

Chapman, M. D. 2008. Doing God: religion and *public policy in Brown’s* Britain. London: Darton, Longman and Todd.

Dwyer, C., Gilbert, D. and Shah, B. 2013. “Faith and suburbia: secularisation, modernity and the changing geographies of religion in London’s suburbs”. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. 38(3): 403-419.

English Heritage. 2012. Responses from the consultation on under-represented heritages, Final report. Bop Consulting (https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/responses-from-the-consultation-on-under-represented-heritages/responses-from-the-consultation-on-under-represented-heritages/ accessed 28/11/15).

English Heritage. no date. National Heritage Protection Plan 2011-15, Framework (https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/nhpp-plan-framework/nhpp-plan-framework.pdf/ accessed 28/11/15).

Historic England 2011. Designation Listing Selection Guide Places of Worship (https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/dlsg-places-worship/places_of_worship_final.pdf/ ,

Eisenstadt, S. N. 2000. “Multiple Modernities”, Daedalus, 129 (1), 1–29.

Gale, R. T. 2008. “Locating religion in urban planning: beyond 'race' and ethnicity?”. Planning Practice and Research 23(1), pp. 19-39.

Gale, R. T. 2004. “The Multicultural City and the Politics of Religious Architecture: Urban Planning, Mosques and Meaning-Making in Birmingham, UK”. Built Environment 30(1), pp. 30-44.

Gale, R. T. and Naylor, S. 2002. “Religion, Planning and the City: the Spatial Politics of Ethnic Minority Expression in British Cities and Towns”. Ethnicities 2(3), pp. 387-409.

Gilbert, D., Dwyer, C. and Shah, B. 2012. “Landscapes of diasporic religious belonging in the edge-city: the Jain temple at Potters Bar, outer London”. South Asian Diaspora. 4(1): 77-94

Green, A., A. Barton and N. Johns 2012. “Religion, public policy and equalizing opportunities.” Critical Social Policy. 32(4): 517-535.

Humphreys, C. 1968. Sixty Years of Buddhism in England (1907-1967). London: Buddhist Society.

Jawad, R. (2012) From Wellbeing to Ways of Being: Religion and Faith-Based Welfare in the UK. Bristol: Policy Press.

Kadish, S. 1996. (ed.) Building Jerusalem: Jewish Architecture in Britain. London: Vallentine Mitchell & Co Ltd

Kadish, S. 2006. Jewish Heritage in England: An Architectural Guide. Swindon: English Heritage.

Kadish, S. 2011. The Synagogues of Britain and Ireland. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kay, D. N. 2004. Tibetan and Zen Buddhism in Britain: Transplantation, Development and Adaptation, London, RoutledgeCurzon.

Krinsky, C.H. 1996. Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.

Lambie-Mumford, H. and D. Jarvis 2012. “The role of faith-based organisations in the Big Society: opportunities and challenges.” Policy Studies. 33(3): 249-262.

Lopez, D.S. 1998. Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mellor, P. 1991. “Protestant Buddhism? The Cultural Translation of Buddhism in England”. Religion, 21, pp.73-92.

Oliver, I. P. 1979. Buddhism in Britain. London, Rider.

Naylor, S. and Ryan, J. (2002) “The mosque in the suburbs: negotiating religion and ethnicity in south London”. Social and Cultural Geography Journal, 3, pp. 39–59.

Peach, C. and Gale, R. T. 2003. “Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs in the new Religious Landscape of England”. Geographical Review 93(4), pp. 469-490.

Saleem, S. 2010. “British Mosque Scoping Study: Preliminary Evaluation – version 1” (unpublished research for Historic England)

Saleem, S. 2012. A history of mosques in Britain (http://www.architectsjournal.co.uk accessed 22/10/15)

Saleem S. 2015 (forthcoming). The British mosque, a social and architectural history (Historic England).

Shaw, A. 1988: A Pakistani community in Britain. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Singh, J. 2014. The Cultural Value of South Asian Arts. Unpublished Critical Review carried out for AHRC Cultural Value Project.

Waterhouse, H. 1997. Buddhism in Bath: Adaptation and Authority. Leeds, University of Leeds (Department of Theology and Religious Studies).

Woodhead, L. and R. Catto (eds) 2012. Religion and Change in Modern Britain. Abingdon: Routledge.

Author Biographies

Dr Caroline Starkey is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Religion and Public Life, University of Leeds, UK. Her research is concerned with the establishment, development, and adaptation of religions of Asian origin within the British Isles, particularly Buddhism and Jainism. Her doctoral research concentrated on gender and ordination issues in contemporary British Buddhism (funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and Spalding Trust) and she remains particularly interested in the narratives of 'Westerners' who convert to Buddhism and the ways that they relate to 'traditional' Buddhist discipline.

Dr Caroline Starkey
School of Philosophy, Religion and History of Science
University of Leeds
LS2 9JT
c.starkey@leeds.ac.uk

Professor Emma Tomalin is the director of the Centre of Religion and Public Life at the University of Leeds, which alongside its Community Religions Project has a history of conducting empirical research on religion and religions 'near at hand' in the cities of Leeds and Bradford and beyond. She worked for 5 years on a major research project funded by the UK government's Department for International Development. Publications relevant to this work include her new book published by Routledge 'Religions and Development' and a book she edited for Oxfam in 2011, 'Gender, Faith and Development'.

Profesor Emma Tomalin
School of Philosophy, Religion and History of Science
University of Leeds
LS2 9JT
e.tomalin@leeds.ac.uk

Acknowledgement

This research received funding from English Heritage, now called Historic England, Project Number 6749.

Table 1: The relationship between religion and ethnicity (from 2011 census data)[28]

	Total	White	White	Mixed	Asian/ Asian British	Black	Other
Buddhism	247,743	33.8%	83,635	9,855	147,796	2,809	3,648
Islam	2,706,066	7.8%	210,620	102,582	1,830,560	272,015	290,289
Hinduism	816,633	1.5%	12,026	9,761	781,199	5,474	8,173
Sikhism	423,158	1.8%	7,460	5,122	368,503	1,431	40,642

Table 2: Theravāda: Location of building by tradition and how many are listed

Tradition	Urban	Suburban	Rural	Listed buidlings	North	South	Midlands
Theravāda (59)	**2**	**48**	**9**	**3**	**15**	**34**	**10**
Thai (17)	1	10	6	1	6	8	3
Burmese (11)		9	2	1	4	6	1
Sri Lankan (24)		24		1	4	16	4
Ambedkarite (3)		3				1	2
Samatha (1)	1				1		
Non-specific (3)		1	1			2	

Table 3: Tibetan: Location of building by tradition and how many are listed

Tradition	Urban	Suburban	Rural	Listed buidlings	North	South	Midlands
Tibetan (69)	**21**	**39**	**9**	**10**	**36**	**31**	**2**
Gelug							
NKT (39)	16	18	5	5	26	11	2
FPMT (3)	1	1	1	1	2	1	
Lam Rim Buddhist Centre (1)		1				1	
Kagyu (13)	2	10	1	4	4	9	
Sakya (2)		2				2	
Nyingma (2)	1	1				2	
Other (9)	1	6	2		4	5	1

Table 4: East Asian: Location of building by tradition and how many are listed

Tradition	Urban	Suburban	Rural	Listed buidlings	North	South	Midlands
East Asian (29)	**5**	**18**	**6**	**3**	**6**	**17**	**6**
OBC (Soto Zen) (7)		4	3		3	3	1
Soka Gakkai International (Japan) (4)	3		1	1		4	
Rinzai Zen (2)		2		1		2	
Fo Guang Shan (2)	1	1		1	1	1	
Vietnamese (6)		6				3	3
Pure Land (3)		3			1	1	1
Nichiren (2)		1	1			1	1
Other (3)	1	1	1		1	2	

Table 5: Non-sectarian: Location of building by tradition and how many are listed

Tradition	Urban	Suburban	Rural	Listed buidlings	North	South	Midlands
Non-sectarian (33)	**17**	**7**	**9**	**7**	**8**	**24**	**1**
Triratna (25)	15	5	5	4	7	17	1
Other (8)	2	2	4	3	1	7	

[1] In this paper, we focus specifically on Buddhism in England, as opposed to Britain. This is because our research was funded by English Heritage (now called Historic England and henceforth referred to as such) whose remit is to fund research on heritage in England.
[2] http://buildingbuddhism.wordpress.com (accessed 28/11/2015)
[3] Interviewee, Birmingham Buddhist Vihara, 17th June 2014
[4] Ibid.
[5] http://www.planningportal.gov.uk/permission/commonprojects/changeofuse (accessed 28/11/15)
[6] https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/361328/How_to_Certify_a_Building_for_Religious_Worship_and_Register_for_the_Solemnization_of_Marriages_F78L.pdf (accessed 28/11/15)
[7] Kagyu Samye Dzong, former Manor Place Swimming Baths, Elephant and Castle, South London, grade II listed.
[8] Kagyu Samye Dzong, former Bermondsey Library, grade II listed.
[9] Interviewee, Jamyang London, 14th October 2013
[10] Interviewee, Diamond Way London, Beaufoy Institute, 4th November 2013
[11] Ibid.
[12] Interviewee, Manchester Buddhist Centre, 17th February 2014
[13] Interviewee, West London Buddhist Centre, 10th June 2014
[14] Interviewee, Triratna, Manchester Buddhist Centre, 17th February 2014
[15] Interviewee, Soka Gakkai, Taplow Court, 24th February 2014
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Interviewee, Buddhist Society, 15th October 2013
[19] Interviewee, OBC, Throssel Hole, 28th-29th June 2014
[20] Interviewee, Jamyang London, 14th October 2013
[21] Interviewee, Diamond Way London, Beaufoy Institute, 4th November 2013
[22] Interviewee, Triratna, Manchester Buddhist Centre, 17th February 2014
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Interviewee, OBC, Throssel Hole, 28th-29th June 2014
[26] Ibid.
[27] Interviewee, Thai Forest Sangha, Amaravati, 22nd September 2014
[28] http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/LC2201EW/view/2092957703?rows=c_ethpuk11&cols=c_relpuk11 (accessed 28/11/15).